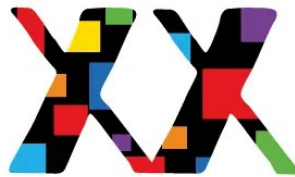


Speech

Alessandro Genovesi - General Secretary FILLEA CGIL



+ CONTRATTAZIONE  
+ RAPPRESENTANZA  
= **PIÙ DEMOCRAZIA**



CONGRESSO  
NAZIONALE  
**MODENA 2023**  
8|9|10 FEBBRAIO

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Dear comrades, welcome to the 20th conference of FILLEA CGIL.

Warm greetings to you and the *Camere del Lavoro* [local trade union groupings] in attendance.

We welcome **Tania Scacchetti** of the CGIL National Secretariat.

On the last day, we will be joined by our General Secretary **Maurizio Landini**.

Thank you to the many guests and comrades who, despite being super busy, have nonetheless found the time to be with us, if only for a few hours.

These comrades have supported us over the past 4 years, in deeds as well as words: from our friend **Vincenzo Colla**, former Deputy General Secretary of CGIL and now Regional Councilor of Emilia Romagna, to **Roberto Speranza**, MP, who has been my friend since our days at CGIL Basilicata and who, as a parliamentarian and Article 1 leader, has fought many battles alongside FILLEA CGIL.

I welcome **Chiara Braga**, MP, who by political appointment and through passion has fought major battles with us, including the one on the Public Procurement Code.

In particular, it is a pleasure to see two friends, **Paola De Micheli** and **Elly Schlein**, who, despite being very busy with the primaries for the Democratic Party, have found the time to be with us today. Our best wishes to them in pursuing their goal of bringing the Democratic Party closer to workers, pensioners and insecure workers.

This afternoon, we will also hear by video link from **Andrea Orlando**, MP, the former Employment Minister, currently working in Ankara with the European Socialist Party, to whom we owe the **implementation decree for the DURC di Congruità** [certificate of contributions compliance and statement of labor costs as a percentage of project value, ensuring payroll proportionality].

We welcome and thank the foreign delegations and **Tom**, the General Secretary of our European Federation.

**Paola Cammilli**, Global Campaigns Director, will be speaking on behalf of the World Federation and convey the good wishes of its Secretary, our friend **Ambet**.

Ambet would have wanted to be with us today but has been forced to take a few days' rest after suffering a minor accident. We wish him a speedy recovery.

Special greetings go to **Vasyl Andreyev**, Chair of the Ukrainian Construction Union.

For obvious reasons, we didn't know until the last minute whether **Vasyl** would be able to join us. Tomorrow we will ask him to convey our best wishes. But as of now - on behalf of the whole conference - we express our hope that **the weapons in Ukraine will fall silent as soon as possible** so that thousands of construction sites can be opened to rebuild his free and independent homeland.

We thank the representatives of the companies and the many managers of our bilateral funds, associations and Nuove Ri-Generazioni offices.

We welcome the former General Secretaries **Carla Cantone**, **Franco Martini** and **Walter**

**Schiavella.**

We warmly welcome **Enzo Pelle** and **Vito Panzarella**, General Secretaries of FILCA CISL and FENEAL UIL.

We thank the Modena branch of CGIL for their hospitality and our national office comrades for the great work they are doing over these three days.

Finally, allow me to welcome three people to whom I, and I think many others, owe a lot for the training they have provided:

comrade **Pierluigi Bersani**, who is already ready to give advice;

comrade and former General Secretary of CGIL **Sergio Cofferati**, who has attended several FILLEA CGIL events.

and lastly comrade **Luciana Castellina**, whom we all love and has been “one of us” since her arrest in 1963 during the demonstration by Roman construction workers. Yesterday evening, together with the delegations from foreign trade unions, we had the honor and privilege to present her with the FILLEA CGIL 2023 anniversary membership card.

I should say at the outset: please **don't be frightened** when you look at the speech folder. You will find it includes two additions because I was tempted to focus exclusively on matters regarding **representation and collective bargaining** or even **to describe what I think the suburbs of Rome will be like by 2030**.

In the end, my training as a former communist prevailed but, if anyone is interested, they will find notes for “**Two speeches never delivered**”. Furthermore, like 4 years ago, if you want to find out more there are **several footnotes** with further details.

Dear comrades, we arrive in Modena after **2,300 grassroots meetings**, with over 100,000 members voting and participation **up by 3%**, albeit still below 50%.

The majority document entitled ***Il Lavoro crea il futuro* [Work creates the future]** **received 99.25%** of the votes, the second document 0.75%, the lowest percentage of all the categories.

Many issues, in addition to those raised in the documents, emerged during our meetings and, for better or worse, all the reports from the provincial and regional bodies were based on an agreed analysis of the situation.

Today we are dealing with at least four processes:

- **new and more tense geopolitical relations** in which war has returned as the “standard method of resolving disputes” and brings American hegemony into question;
- **radical deglobalization** of supply chains with the “pandemic revolution”, which presents opportunities as well as risks;
- **virtualization**, via platforms, **of the majority of the added value produced by humanity** which, unless balanced by “policy”, will destroy more jobs than it will create;

- the challenge of **environmental restructuring**, which is **an urgent requirement for the survival** of mankind.

The ongoing clash **between nations**, as well as among **groups within the general population**, the **multiple suburbs and the few centers** of power, wealth, and knowledge.

With two trends: **a reduction in democratic participation**, starting with elections, and a **desire for strong leadership** which, in Italy, particularly as a result of the electoral law, has led to victory by the Right.

This presents the new issue of **how to achieve a new development model, economic system, and industrial relations model** that will restore the protagonism of work, in a context full of contradictions, avoiding the **self-preoccupation of social and political forces** and an **acceptance that only the current model is possible**.

This current model is exacerbated by the right with **more closed and authoritarian social relations**.

A policy of **“supporting the strong” and “penalizing the weak”**, as demonstrated by the proposals regarding **differentiated autonomy** - which above all penalize the **southern regions of Italy** - and the Budget, which we have mobilized against.

We judged the Government's initial measures on their merits, but it was to be expected that the right would make decisions **that only support particular social categories** (shopkeepers, professionals). The Budget confirmed which members of society they want to address and above all support.

The priorities **were not wages** but the use of cash, the reintroduction of vouchers, the “flat tax” for the self-employed and a cut in the **tax on profits from financial income** to 14%, compared to the 20% paid on the profits of companies.

These inequalities further **exacerbate the existing “fragilities”** which CGIL has always highlighted. For this reason we immediately raised the issue of **where to direct the huge resources** of the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP) and implement **“structural reforms”**.

We act with the conviction that, **as stated in the CGIL majority document**, a new social model can only be fair and democratic if it is based on **existing employment, on employment that must be transformed and protected, on employment that is missing and needs to be created**.

Knowing that as a category we are at center of the clash between **“production and income”**, between **“the energy transition and the status quo”**, at the center of the **demographic, cultural and multi-ethnic transition**, at the center of the **new structure of physical places and urban flows**.

Because of what we do and what we are: a meeting place, a place of interconnection and multiculturalism.

And because of our **political culture**, which, as **our first 136 years** remind us, makes us part of a community of values.

Values of the **left, comrades**.

We are the ones who want **more justice, more economic democracy, more representation and power** for working men and women, “Factory by Factory, Worksite by Worksite”.

We are for a freedom that is a **freedom from need**.

We are the ones who believe that only more collectivism and solidarity and less individualism and selfishness will save us.

We are the ones who, to use the categories defined by the philosopher Norberto Bobbio, stand “**on one side of the barricade**”.

For this reason we believe that the distance between political representation and representation in the world of work is a democratic problem for everyone, including us.

**For progressive, socialist and environmentalist parties** whose fragmentation has led to their virtual disappearance and whose long-standing subordination has led to a loss of the ability to plan and define an alternative, as well as a loss of passion, soul, and social roots.

**But also for us**, acknowledging that with fewer allies in society and among the institutions **we will be (and are) weaker**. It will be harder for us to defend the interests of workers, pensioners and the unemployed. Which is another reason why, personally, I support the active involvement of our members in political parties and associations.

**This must not of course replace our trade union action** and the need for us to maintain a presence first and foremost in the workplace.

Without closing our eyes to **positive developments**, such as the thoughts expressed by Pope Francis (to whom, not surprisingly, **we presented** – and we are honored that he accepted – **our 136-year anniversary membership card**).

**For this reason, we need to thoroughly develop** our thinking on the “democratic crisis”. And act accordingly.

**A democratic crisis that opens up a gap between the actions of parties and those of the social forces is a major problem** for confederal unions. A problem that must be tackled without shortcuts.

We have already seen an **explosion of nationalism and populism** attempting to respond to the crisis in the capitalist model, **without however focusing their criticism on the “factors” that generated the crisis in the model**.

What is needed instead is a **highly programmatic and planned response**.

Because we want to build a culture **that will provide short term as well as medium term responses**.

The issue today, as it has always been, is not the degree of autonomy of trade unions, **the legitimacy of which is and will always be rooted in working men and women**.

Where proposals and projects exist in that **mix of direct, delegated and organizational democracy** that has always characterized us.

And I say this with the respect of someone who was General Secretary of a *Camera del*

*Lavoro* and a regional confederation before managing a category of workers, someone who has immense esteem and gratitude for those who act as union representatives. We must never imply, not even unintentionally, that the Secretary or category official is always a "bureaucrat" and the *Camera del Lavoro* executive is always Spiderman himself.

Beware of messages and mechanisms that **weaken those who are required to support CGIL's line every day**, with its representatives, through the multiple daily difficulties, engaging in discussion with them from morning to evening.

It is not the position you hold that makes you a confederal "executive", **but the culture and political practice you express**, which is either confederal or not.

**Always based on what workers need, on the best you can offer them** as an organization, rather than our own internal issues, workers are far less interested in.

Because the risk I perceive is that due to this failure to speak up, to this cultural inattention, the **autonomy of trade unions will unwittingly become independence and independence will ultimately become "neutrality"**.

To paraphrase Gramsci: **while we hate the indifferent**, we're not **very attracted to neutral people either...**

**So we need a political and trade union project for Italy and Europe that restores the desire to "change the world".**

A project that involves a **"European plan for work"**, to direct the changes pursued by the Next Generation EU and NPPR plans, to offer new opportunities for good and stable employment, fighting speculators, exploiters and rentiers.

A project that is a vision of Europe as a **political and social union** ahead of an economic one. A vision for many years undermined by austerity policies and then relaunched with a new public intervention policy - including the first creation of EU debt - to respond to the health crisis.

This has led to **a renewed clash in Europe** between those who want to see recent events as a brief parenthesis and restore the "fiscal compact" and those who, like us, want to strengthen the new European course.

**The potential right-wing and populist axis in the European Parliament presents a risk that huge steps backwards will be taken!**

And we must be there to fight this. Without being frightened by it: **Qatargate is the action of scoundrels, period.**

Our history, our action, our voices are different, they are the **loud voices of workers' internationalism!**

And they must cry out even louder now for a Europe that defends its welfare model and, with diplomacy, cooperation, a "good example", become the bearer of peace and democracy in the world.

**It is up to us** (Europeans and Italians) to create the conditions to promote and manage a new **“compact between capital and work”** that is also a PEACE compact.

**We have a lot to do, but we're not starting from scratch.**

We have many confederal and unitary proposals, both national and from our European and world federations and the ETUC, and we can point to others in a broad context of alliances, **even with the most advanced and innovative sections of the national and international business community.**

We also have new generations on the march, which we must respect and support, even when we don't fully understand them.

We want to use this complexity as a starting point, **dealing with it and not ignoring it**, to offer our own point of view. For this reason we have chosen the slogan: **+ collective bargaining + representation = + democracy.**

Because based on these coordinates we can **build tools and develop meaningful action** to support workers in a changing world: **from illegal labor to “green” work, from hierarchical to more horizontal labor, from low-tech work to work integrated with artificial intelligence.**

This is the confederal trade union, **representing the world of work as a whole** and, in the name of solidarity, uniting what is fragmented by different conditions, technologies, job insecurity and company size.

A collective stance **against any form of corporatism** that reduces representation to individual protection alone, and **against any form of minoritarianism or mere testimony.**

However, a collective role requires **the establishment of binding rules.**

Which is why we are demanding **the implementation of article 39** of the Constitution for a law on representation and **the implementation of article 46** to ensure the participation of workers in corporate decisions. And for this reason we believe that, in order to deal with the transformations of the labor market, worker mobility, discontinuity of work, training needs, **the proposal to extend our mutual and bilateral approach in the construction industry to other sectors as well, in spite of all the differences**, is a sound one and provides an opportunity to re-establish a “collective identity” in a highly fragmented, dependent, autonomous and discontinuous situation of labor in modern SMEs, where there is little or no real protection.

We are proud of the strategy of defending and **relaunching bilateral entities** that led to the positive CCNL renewals in 2018, which gave birth to Sanedil and fixed the tripartite division of 0.75, 1.05 and 1.05, securing the **contractual function** of the *Casse Edili* [construction workers' funds] bringing them back to local level - based on their efficiency - and defeating the arguments of those who wanted such funds to be regional or even national.

And then the renewal in 2022, with a CCNL [national collective labor agreement] that will see us return to performing **a planning function for schools** and single-tier public administration bodies, bringing together **training, safety and the fight against the inappropriate lower classification of workers.**

Part of the work overload is a consequence of the difficulties faced in finding workers and technicians in our sector.



It is therefore **strategically important to increase the availability of training.**

Business Academies are fine, but our academies are the **Scuole Edili** [building schools], which must network and become poles of excellence, in terms of quantity and quality.

**This is not just a challenge for businesses, it is first and foremost our challenge:** because having more trained workers can help reduce individual work loads, but above all **knowledge and know-how is power**, comrades!

I would point out the **agreements reached on the NRRP**, the contract renewals for fixed installations (cement, brick, and stone in 2022), the **legislative achievements**, which we will probably be required to defend now, our insistence on **Urban Regeneration** as an arena where different models meet or clash, the centrality given to PINQUAs [national innovative housing quality programs].

**We have tried to steer this change** in recent years, and when there weren't the conditions for an agreement with companies or institutions, **we have worked to ensure that power relationships and alliances mature and move forward.**

One example is the clash with ANCE on the Special Commissioners or again on the *DURC di Congruità*. As a result of our fight, this payroll proportionality requirement was introduced into **Law 120/2020**, but it was through collective bargaining that we reached the agreement requiring verification of the percentage of the total value of the works represented by labor.

And in this respect **we should recognize the maturity of the employers' associations!**

The trade union agreement made it easier for the Minister of Labor - **Andrea Orlando**, who I want to **thank publicly** - to implement the regulation in Ministerial Decree 143/2021. We have also ensured that this payroll proportionality requirement also applies to **private construction**, beyond the initial perimeter established by article 105(6) of the Public Procurement Code.

I should also mention **Law 25/2022**, which makes public incentives given to the private citizens (the various construction bonuses) subject to the requirement to apply the comparatively most representative CCNLs for the sector (**I repeat the SECTOR**). **A victory which**, with the exception of the historic system that applies to ports, **no one else has so far achieved!**

This is an attempt also to counteract forms of dumping by other CCNLs: think of the "persistently open wound" of the **collective labor agreement for metalworking craftsmen**, scaffolders and restorers.

That said, we don't want to start a controversy and return to the subject of "payroll proportionality".

In the footnote you will find data on the first year of operation of the payroll proportionality requirement, **which is beginning to catch on**, although the figure **is still too low**.

As the **CNCE** data show, too many contracting authorities are still breaking the law, paying for Work Progress Reports without asking for the certificate of payroll proportionality and above all, in the private sector, the Revenue Agency needs to be more diligent in verifying compliance with its own circular 19/E on the requirement to state and apply the collective labor agreement for the construction sector to all works that benefit from public incentives.

As FILLEA CGIL, we are working with all trade unions and employers' organizations to implement and improve the tool, as demonstrated by the **recent agreement of 7 December 2022**, which will make the payroll proportionality certificate an even stricter requirement (with a negative social security contributions check being recorded in the BNI database of non-compliant businesses).

This is another reason why (as I will explain later) we are concerned about any potential backtracking in the new Public Procurement Code.

There have been other significant **legislative victories**, including **equal pay and terms of employment and application of the same collective labor agreement** to both contracted and subcontracted workers.

A result achieved following the **unitary mobilization** which, within a few days, resulted in initial discussions followed by an agreement between the Prime Minister's Office and the unions.

**This is a demonstration that where there is a will, useful and agreed solutions can be found.**

That night, in the Prime Minister's Office, we did the equivalent of the **"knight's move"** in chess. Instead of arguing for a maximum amount of subcontracting of 30% (which would perversely have harmed these workers), we chose **the path of qualification rather than competition throughout the supply chain** and effectively achieved the reintroduction of **article 3 of Law 1369 of 1960** on illegal intermediation.

The regulation that had been taken away from us by Law 30 of 2003.

In fact, during the night-long negotiations with prime minister Draghi, we asked - unsuccessfully - for the introduction of a **ban on bid discounts being applied to safety and labor costs**. We didn't achieve this at the time, but we did win it subsequently as part of **enabling law 78/2022**. All this was done in close coordination with the Confederation.

And while I am sure that most of the more than 180,000 new employees in the sector are new entrants or returning workers, given the increase in the average per capita hours reported, the reduction in so-called "part-time workers", the increase in the minimum hours to be declared for the purposes of Professional Construction Seniority, and the rules on subcontracting, etc., some (probably a third?) **are workers who were previously undeclared or illegal**.

Many of the "new" **anti-mafia** protocols, starting with the experience following the 2016 earthquake, are also going in the same direction.

The Legality Protocols signed after the 2016 earthquake with **the 12 prefectures affected** involve the implementing bodies, social partners and institutions in monitoring company data, social security contribution certificates and fairness, health and safety, verification of compulsory training, application of employment contracts, weekly electronic badges for construction sites to be sent to the relevant *Cassa Edile*.

All legality protocols must now be **applied as standard** to support – alongside an increasingly widespread policy of **reusing confiscated businesses** – what Falcone and Borsellino referred to as **"the social dimension of the fight against the mafia"**.

I would also point out the “**Consolidation Law on Private Reconstruction**”, to which F.L.C. contributed during a successful interaction with the various commissioners. Most recently with **Giovanni Legnini**, MP, who did an excellent job and who I thank on behalf of FILLEA CIGL.

There have therefore been several **contractual achievements** in the field of construction, but also in **fixed installations**, to protect **wages** and **professionalism**, all supported by this “**agreement**” on the industrial qualification of the sectors.

And finally the recognition of the **specific social security aspects of heavy work** in construction, confirmed again for 2023.

All of this is done to provide “**a contractual and legislative**” basis for the unionized management, based on **preventive bargaining**, of the resources available under the NPPR, the Complementary Fund and the ANAS and RFI Program Agreements.

We recall **the agreements signed at the end of 2020** with Minister Paola De Micheli, subsequently **reaffirmed and implemented** with the agreements signed with Minister Giovannini, **ANAS and RFI, the Special Commissioners pursuant to article 4**, as well as the **2022 Guidance Documents of the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport**. All intended to connect **respect for contractual parameters with Annex X of Legislative Decree 81/2008**.

There have also been numerous initiatives on health and safety issues, including the positive **changes to article 14 of the Consolidation Law**, the collaboration with the **National Labor Inspectorate and INAIL**, the shortening of recall periods to 3 years from the 5 required by law, the 16 hours for employees, the additional meeting day on 28 April in fixed installations, in addition to the **specific agreements on COVID** in the construction sector.

With regard to the management of Covid in particular, we would point out the consistency with confederal strategies of the protocols for protecting employment and ensuring production in complete safety, as well as the decision **to support compulsory vaccination from the outset and the vaccination campaign after that**. We agreed with the policy of the Conte 2 and Draghi governments, implemented by **Minister Roberto Speranza**, of putting health before profit, against those - including some local Confindustria branches - who argued for the exact opposite.

The establishment in several collective labor agreements of policies and tools to promote gender equality and the protection of women victims of violence, **confirms the effectiveness of collective bargaining** in developing regulations, protecting rights, and combating hate and indecency. Objective: to promote the sharing of parental responsibilities, remove all the obstacles that widen the gender gap and effectively prevent equal opportunities, while also improving the quality of work for everyone.

Above all, there has consistency at local level that is a source of pride for FILLEA CGIL, particularly given the positive progress achieved with the Confederation. For this I am grateful to our local leaders: **many of you, comrades, have grown so much politically** that you are even more deserving of our esteem and support.

Obviously the **united stance with FENEAL UIL and FILCA CISL** has been fundamental. Undoubtedly arduous, for all three organizations I believe, it proves that when we work together, when we think more about the workers and less about our disagreements we are second to none.

Our **united stance** is suffering today but our **objective remains** to protect working men and women, despite the current difficulties, which it would be wrong to ignore or deny, and **notwithstanding the recent and only partly healed wounds** between us and FENEAL on the one hand and FILCA CISL on the others.

Dear Vito and Enzo, as FILLEA CGILS **we will never desist from pursuing potential agreements and opportunities for united action**. But with mutual respect, in fairness, starting from our position among workers. This applies to FILLEA CGIL first of all, as well as to all the others.

Essentially **we believe that a “common thread” has run through our actions**, whether political, contractual, or relating to cooperation and even conflict, and that **as FILLEA CGIL, we have tried to honor the three slogans** we set ourselves at the 19th conference in Naples:

- **“more stable and secure employment”;**
- **“qualify companies by qualifying work”;**
- **“same job, same contract”.**

Obviously **we could have done more and better** and above all **a lot remains to be done to “consolidate”** the results achieved and implement them, but we believe we are moving in the right direction, as **recognized by CGIL** which, in its conference document, **urges the victories achieved by FILLEA to be extended to other sectors as well**.

Taking stock of these 4 years, it is important to realize that we have entered a new phase. This is another reason why we must extend and improve local collective bargaining (important areas of the country still have no collective agreements for Level 2 construction workers) and update corporate bargaining.

While are also equipping ourselves to parry the blows from the right. Starting with the potential **new Public Procurement Code**. We have to deal with legislation that has undergone extraordinary political evolutions.

Law 78/2022, i.e. the enabling law from which the decrees derive, was proposed and greatly improved by a political majority (and a government) that no longer exists today. The Democratic Party, Free and Equal Party and the 5 Star Movement are now in opposition, while Forza Italia is heavily subjugated to the more extreme right and Salvini's League - the party that lost the most votes to the Brothers of Italy - is in permanent electioneering mode.

When Parliament voted in the new law, **we expressed our support**.

It included all the protections achieved over the years, particularly thanks to the rapporteur **Chiara Braga**, MP, and several members of parliament and senators. With some positive additions, the specific nature of service contracts and the principle, strongly supported by the union, as I mentioned earlier, of **excluding the cost of labor from discount bidding** and recognizing contractual increases in price adjustments.

The Council of State itself did a good job, leaving it up to the government to deal with the political obstacles and pointing out that the **actual problems lay not in the enforcement but in the implementation time.**

It was at the subsequent stage that the **Meloni government** “entered the fray”. With its principle of “not inconveniencing producers”, which is definitely **not in the interest of workers.**

The drafts of the legislative decrees have never been the subject of discussion between the government and the trade unions. Unlike the past.

The legislative decree has some obvious limitations that will make it **harder to demand the protections we have won.**

The **first major problem** is the de facto liberalization of subcontracting. So-called “**cascade subcontracting**” risks bringing the problems of private construction into the public sector. The provisions of article 15(19) of the existing Legislative Decree 50/2016, which forbids subcontracting what has already be subcontracted, i.e. forbids a second (or higher) level of subcontracting, have disappeared.

From 1 July 2023, we may witness a theoretically limitless fragmentation of production cycles, a proliferation of micro companies - at best -, the establishment of companies without employees or with only a few technicians, i.e. legalized pieceworkers and gangers. In short, what we saw with improvised companies after the super bonus.

In this context, **it will be much more difficult for everyone, trade unions, serious companies, and public administration, to verify and enforce the same rules** on safety, respect for collective agreements, equal treatment, the payroll proportionality principle, etc.

What we are denouncing about cascade subcontracting is nothing new. It has been denounced for some time by our European Federation. See the “**Stop Exploitation in sub contracting chains!**” campaign of recent weeks.

This risk, connected with cascade subcontracting, is compounded by other unacceptable decisions: including the **weakening of ANAC, the extension of integrated contracting** to all contracts, without financial limits and even to unscheduled maintenance. And finally **the increase in financial thresholds, so that public tenders and calls for proposals are no longer mandatory.**

There are other priorities: **fewer and more highly qualified contracting authorities with more technical staff, digitalization and interconnection of all data,** incentives for **companies to grow in size and become qualified.**

These are the areas we ask the government, and above all parliament, to focus on. I want to stress that this is a unitary demand, as demonstrated by the amendments proposed by F.L.C. and subsequently approved by CGIL, CISL and UIL.

In the coming months, we need to equip ourselves at all levels, national and above all local, to:

- 1) engage in **advance bargaining with contracting authorities and prefectures** in order to agree on the greatest possible number of activities that cannot be subcontracted, **and to restrict subcontracting in sectors at the greatest risk of criminal infiltration**, using **article 65(3)** or **article 119(17)** in particular;
- 2) taking action to **demand the intervention of the Project Manager and Foreman**, as well as the clients themselves, **in the event of any violations of the rules on equal treatment** between contracted and subcontracted and/or sub-pooled workers, as we are already doing in many works;
- 3) oversee even more scrupulously the activities of the *Casse Edili* and the **implementation of the agreement of December 2022 on the DURC di Congruità**, in order to block the DURC for all subcontracted companies in the second tier (and beyond) and clients who fail to respect the minimum percentage of labor;
- 4) **promoting and managing a greater number of legal and lobbying action by the unions**. Legal action to ensure the **direct joint and several liability** of the client **must become the rule**.

Alongside this work to **safeguard the results achieved**, as FILLEA CGIL we have identified the following priorities in addition to the more general action of the Confederation:

- 1) **Policies for a real urban regeneration**: proposals for a “new *forma urbis*” are the development policies for our sectors. In this regard, in order to achieve the “zero balance” of land use well before the EU and UN target dates, a **framework law on urban regeneration** is needed to overcome the limits of contradictory regional legislation, ensuring minimum levels of urban protection beyond the limits of Law 1150 of 1942 and of Law 765/1967. And a “**political vision**” of **urban interventions** is needed, through widespread lobbying by the unions and social action to ensure that the Integrated Urban Plans and PINQUAs also become tools for bottom-up development. We propose the creation of **Urban Consultation Bodies**, consisting of unions, neighborhood associations, environmentalist organizations, in order to ensure participation in these processes.
- 2) **Industrial policies** for growth and industrialization in the construction industry. **We believe that the government's action** to change the super bonus rules is serious and fails to address the issue of **tax credits already accrued**, above all making the measure almost impossible for people on low incomes, often those who live in poorer conditions in terms of health and energy supply. For us, however, it is strategically important to maintain the policy of incentives as they are essential for regeneration, savings and energy efficiency and the safety of buildings, **differentiating the percentages and guaranteeing the transfer of credit and the discount on bills** for the most economically weak. The super bonus must also be maintained for public residential housing. It is curious that the government actually reduces the incentives for energy efficiency and then says that there are no tools to implement the European Directive to bring our homes up to class D.
- 3) Relaunch of the **Public-Private Partnership**, with a **hub of subsidiaries or publicly-owned companies to encourage the growth and specialization of private companies**. Stop strangling suppliers, investments are needed for them to grow. This is why the FILLEA document “**A proposal for an industrial policy for infrastructure**” and the priorities set since “**Connecting Italy**” is so important. We also believe that the confirmation and implementation of both the **2022-2031 industrial plan of Ferrovie dello Stato** and the **Strategic Document for road mobility 2022-2026** are essential.

- 4) A **specific industrial policy is needed that also ensures the right transition for the materials sector**, strengthening **research centers** in Italy; the ability to patent **new green materials**; the implementation of strategies for **lower energy consumptions** (furnaces, etc.) **and the reuse of products and materials**; **energy generation via CSS in cement plants**; the relaunch of the **forest supply chain**; the balanced management of **quarries**, with an obligation on the concessionaire to restore the environment, and ensure on-site processing of the material.
- 5) **Defense of the wage-setting function of the CCNLs**, to ensure a fair reflection of inflation. We believe that CCNLs are important for wages as they remunerate the wealth and productivity of the system, particularly for the purpose of internal consumption. As well as providing a stimulus for investment. **The renewal of the collective labor agreement for Wood-Furnishings** will be an important part of this strategy.
- 6) **Reduction of contractual and actual hours**. We believe that it is strategically important to reduce working hours to ensure ongoing training and to defend and develop professionalism in the light of production, environmental and organizational changes (*CCNL Wood* platform), as well as to monitor **actual working hours, discouraging forms of overtime work** in order to create new jobs and protect health. In construction, it means **respecting the maximum 8-hour day and ensuring that there at least four teams**, a protection now recognized in the collective labor agreement itself, but not yet generalized, not even in some large projects.
- 7) **Combating forms of insecure work** and including of VAT numbers.
- 8) Accelerating the **signing of secondary agreements in construction** with the signing of Local Supplementary Contracts and EVR checks at this time (2022 and 2023 for sure) when the sector is expanding. In the **“fixed installations” artisan** sector, the “de facto blocking” of regional secondary contracts that Artisan Associations have imposed across the country has to be removed.
- 9) More **recognition for technical and clerical workers** and **high level professionals** in general, not only artistic but also in manual work.
- 10) **Increasing contractual and lobbying action**, both general and sectoral, **in favor of the strong migrant component**. We need to **scrap the Bossi-Fini law on immigration** with a general amnesty for migrant workers already in the country and to **plan incoming flows, particularly for the building sector, with transparent procedures and tools** and an active role for training and matching supply to demand, even in the countries of origin. We must **resolve the shameful situation regarding former family allowances** for non-resident children.
- 11) **Health and safety must be standard areas of lobbying**, through **specific annual campaigns** that become platforms for secondary company and local contracts, with a stronger **interconnection with INCA** starting from occupational diseases.  
In this respect, we are pleased to see some advanced examples of participation, including the **Framework Protocol with Autostrade per l'Italia (Aspi)** that needs to be generalized among other leading players. We believe that the **“points license”** and **the introduction of an aggravating circumstance of “homicide at work”** remain priorities for action, particularly in order to qualify the companies themselves. Let's not beat around the bush,

few accidents are unexpected, most of them are due to excessive work loads and hours, poor organization of the construction site, haste, and a widespread return to piecework!

In order to be consistent with “our priorities” we must set ourselves **the goal of expanding worker participation**, which means **having and electing more joint trade union representations** in accordance with the CGIL conference document and the undertakings given at the last Organization Conference.

We have already started, and in many areas and General Meetings we are seeing more representatives, particularly from Construction, the sector where it is obviously harder to elect them.

But we must do more and a **good example is being set by organizations** that are actually earmarking financial resources and appointing executives to promote them on construction sites.

Alongside this objective, we must **continue to renew managers and militants**, including young people, women and migrants. We must continue to promote the appointment of **women comrades** to positions of leadership and their development.

We have difficulty promoting the appointment of **women comrades/migrants** to management positions.

**Among migrants** in particular, we are seeing a further stratification of the ethnic presence on construction sites, for which we need to equip ourselves better, also organizationally.

Things are going better as regards the inclusion of under-35s so it will be essential to renew our commitment to establishing the **Residential School, national training and the School of Higher Education**. Starting with more training for representatives and newly appointed managers.

The relationships built through the **Nuove Ri-Generazioni Association**, as a result of the excellent work done by **Gaetano Sateriale**, who we thank, and now by **Rossella Muroni**, with local organizations that “intertwine” with FILLEA, with intellectuals, urban planners, environmentalists, committees, Legambiente and ASVIS, student associations (UDU and Reds), **are assets** available to all our structures and the Confederation.

With regard to so-called “**traveling workers**” it is clear that they have once again become a qualifying element of our ability to represent and spread the word.

We must carry on with our work among **technical and clerical workers**. The good work already done by some of our branches has shown us the potential of this representation. We must also invest more in **artistic and highly specialized professions: restorers**, who have always been a major presence in the Federation, as well as **archaeologists and geologists**.

Investing in these activities with the **newly found financial solidity** of the national FILLEA CGIL and its main local branches.

In construction, FILLEA CGIL has **continue to grow in absolute terms** (we are the top trade union for the 6th year running), but have suffered a few setbacks **that have resulted in a drop from the maximum percentage point recorded in 2019**.

**We must all be aware of this and take action.**



We are also encountering **difficulties in fixed installation representation**.

In fixed installations as well, FILLEA CGIL remains the main trade union, with significant peaks in a variety of sectors and geographical areas, but **the general percentage of unionization remains low**.

It is unacceptable that we are still making insufficient “use” of **the positive outcomes of Arco, Concreto and Altea** to contact a greater number of working men and women.

**Spreading the word and increasing our representation** will therefore remain the priority objective for organizational support initiatives in the coming years, as will the **streamlining of management** to guarantee more local resources and oversight.

In short, comrades, we started from the grass roots and to these we must return, but always, I repeat always, with an eye to the future.

We who have been a “union of ordinary people” for almost 137 years.

Thank you

**Notes on collective bargaining in the face of old and new challenges:**

***inflation, organization of work and working hours, job insecurity and reorganization of production.***

**A crisis of representation and collective bargaining.**

In my opinion, there is a close link between ***the crisis of coverage*** (do we have a presence across all work places, both old and new?), the ***crisis of representation*** (how many union members are there?), the ***crisis of participation*** (why are members increasingly delegating their votes?) and the ***difficulties*** in national and second-level collective ***bargaining***.

These difficulties are not new, but have arisen from the ***countless technological and professional changes*** that have taken place and after years of attempts at destructuring in pursuit of “dumping”. The outcomes of these processes include overlaps in perimeters and dumping, in an attempt to pursue the same fragmentation of production cycles (outsourcing, use of outside contractors, etc.).

There is now a risk, however, that these difficulties will get worse and reach a breaking point in the face of both the ***new pressures*** to which collective bargaining and the role of the CCNL (national collective labor agreement), in particular, are exposed, and the additional new functions that it should fulfill in order to support the digital and environmental transition.

The pressures currently being exerted on the resilience, role, function and quality of bargaining and the CCNL, in particular, are: ***high inflation, rapid changes in the organization of work and increased job insecurity*** on the one hand; and ***autonomist tendencies*** on the part of the legislature and the ever-stronger ***incentivization of employer allowances*** on the other.

The “new duties” are the ***governance and support of the reorganization of production*** (in terms of professional qualifications, training and updating, working hours, “dematerialization” of the physical space occupied by companies, etc.) towards higher levels of digitalization and environmental sustainability (which is something more complex than just “energy efficiency”).

We therefore need to take account of all this and of the differences and complexities that characterize Italy’s production system and the world of work, starting from a few objective figures (these considerations relate particularly to the private sectors, excluding agriculture).

**Overview of the private sector.**

There were ***over 1.5 million active companies*** (over 180,000 in agriculture) in Italy in 2021 (INPS data for 2022), employing more than 14 million people. In terms of size, ***around 78.7% of companies are classified as having 5 or fewer employees***, while almost all (93.2%) are classified as having 15 or fewer employees.

In terms of geographical rankings, **Lombardy** has the highest actual number of companies, followed by **Lazio**, **Campania** and **Veneto**. On the basis of number of companies per head of population, however, first place goes to **Valle d'Aosta**, followed by **Trentino Alto Adige**, **Tuscany** and **Marche**.

In general, companies with more than 15 employees employ over 9 million people, of whom only **7.8% are on permanent contracts guaranteeing over 24 hours per week** (this affects how trade union and legislative regulations are actually applied in companies with more than 15 employees). More specifically, companies with more than 50 employees employ approximately **7.4 million people, falling to 6.7 million** if we subtract fixed-term contracts, apprenticeships and agency staff.

Companies with 1 to 9 employees employ approximately 3.8 million people, whereas companies with over 15 employees **employ only 400,000**, demonstrating the tendency of businesses to remain small and keep below the dreaded threshold of 15.

Basically, we could say – simplifying slightly – that our historical base (in other words the companies that should be easiest to get into) **consists of the 30,500 companies with over 50 employees** (only 832 of which – yes, just 832 – now have over 1,000 employees).

Just one figure on this: according to data from ADAPT, CISL and CGIL, corporate bargaining **should cover a maximum of 9,000 to 10,000 companies** (but there are no precise figures) with 100 or more employees, whereas, with the exception of construction, **local bargaining covers very little** (around 63% of people employed in construction at the beginning of 2023, less than 15% in agriculture and less than 6% in the tertiary sector).

For all other workers (around 8 million), the only contractual authority is therefore the CCNL, **for which verification of full and proper compliance is also directly proportional to size**. The only exception to this is the construction system, which makes it widely possible to verify compliance with the CCNL and local contracts, by means of the Casse Edili, the provisions assigned to these funds, the mutual system, the DURC/DOL (certificate of contribution compliance and the online version thereof), which now also includes the statement of payroll proportionality (DURC di Congruità) (in all public works and in private works with a total value of over 70,000 euros) .

### **Wages, organization of work (hours), job insecurity.**

#### **Defending and reviving the CCNL.**

We will discuss these issues separately for the sake of structural clarity, but it goes without saying that they are closely interlinked.

#### **Wages**

Calling into question the CCNL, perhaps in unprecedented terms, as well as the changes to production and consumption, risks causing **further fragmentation and differentiation between institutions. Significant differentiated autonomy** – starting with public CCNLs but with possible snowball effects on private sectors – poses the risk of a more or less

explicit return to local pay scales, i.e. wage differences (not excluding regulatory aspects) linked with geographical location, with obvious risks, especially for southern Italy. This is not about valuing or recognizing productivity, quality and effort, as has always been the case with second-level bargaining within the “enterprise” arena (e.g. group-wide agreements for companies with sites in multiple regions), it is a full-blown disjoining of the first level.

Furthermore, there is a ***growing move towards granting tax relief on benefits awarded unilaterally by companies, potentially as alternatives to collective bargaining*** (we shall discuss this again later, alongside unilateral wages). This is not a new form of tax relief, but the “Aiuti Quater” decree takes it to extremes, with a ceiling of 3,000 euros.

These risk are compounded by the ***unprecedented pressure of inflation***, which, in 2022 and 2023, represented and still represents perhaps the biggest shortcoming of an interconfederate model explicitly linked with the ***Italian consumer price index (IPCA) with the energy component removed***, which has prompted various categories, over the course of time, to cite practices, customs and changes in innovation as a basis for signing contractual increases above that index. And the index has now been further weakened by the significant proportion of inflation carried over from the high cost of energy.

Between 2022 and 2023, there is therefore a risk that we will have to cope with inflationary pressures of around 15-17%, against an already critical economic backdrop and after years of erosion of the purchasing power of wages.

Here too, however, it is useful ***to go into the matter a little deeper*** (without passing judgment, of course: every contract negotiation has its own market context, counterparties, power relationships, etc.; in fact the essence is to deploy the best strengths and experience to support the weakest sectors and workers).

On average, wages have lost over 6% relative to real inflation between 2005 and 2021, ***but not all in the same way*** (the reference is to the private sector and excludes agriculture): CCNLs signed with Confindustria have lost about 3.5%, as against 6.8% with Confapi, 10.7% with craftspeople and 14.4% with tertiary-sector associations.

Lastly, ***17% of national wage volumes are unilateral company payments*** (largely concentrated in mid-to-high-level posts). Where such payments can be absorbed, scope for acting as a wage authority has obviously been further reduced, as it has in the face of growing increases in unilateral payments in the form of “petrol/welfare bonuses” that are tax-free when given by companies.

In this respect, we have seen (and are still seeing to some extent) a similar dynamic in the differing abilities to protect wages, according to type (industry, cooperation, small and medium enterprises, craft companies), including in the construction and materials sectors overseen by FILLEA CGIL. However, the Federation has curbed this (in fact, gaps have been greatly reduced since 2018) ***by harmonizing wages and, above all, contractual costs in Construction in 2018*** (this was repeated in 2022 and is now undisputed, so the CCNLs of Ance Confindustria, Alleanza Cooperative, Confapi Aniem and Associazioni Artigiani are now harmonized), harmonizing ***Industria and Confapi CCNLs in the field of***

**materials** (wood for furnishing applications, brick and concrete, stone), whereas **there are still significant differences for “materials” with the craft section (“Artigianato”)**.

In view of the power of technology and the increasingly permeable boundaries between types of companies (SMEs, pocket multinationals, etc.), **the harmonization of costs in the same sectors** is clearly the only way not only to combat forms of dumping allowed by the same CCNLs signed by the same category, but also to **give a major boost to second-level bargaining**, which thus becomes truly acquisitive and raises general wage levels (as has been happening in construction since 2021; **obviously in those provinces where provincial agreements are signed** and the variable element of remuneration (EVR) is checked as per the CCNL).

We therefore have an **initial proposal** (with significant effects on the possible introduction of a legal minimum wage, linked to contractually established minimum wages) to **support Leader Contracts**.

Precisely because second-level bargaining is not widely practiced, **a Leader CCNL needs to be established for each sector**, below which contractual costs and minimum wages must not fall, regardless of the employers' associations that sign them. More specifically, CCNLs signed by Confindustria or those which, in comparative terms on the basis of like-for-like representation, provide the most advantageous economic and regulatory treatment for workers should be used as Leader CCNLs.

Furthermore, while at Confindustria “fixed installations” level, we have not managed to reduce the number of CCNLs (the one with the Wood for Furnishing Applications is an especially influential factor in this respect), in other sectors FILLEA CGIL's demand for a single “materials” contract is becoming a reality: see the **Materials CCNL signed with Confapi**, which combines several previous CCNLs.

We could therefore proceed, especially with regard to the craft associations and Confapi, in various ways: **either by refusing to sign contracts with lower minimums or by ensuring at least that the national minimums and contractual costs are achieved within 12 months** of signing, in the absence of second-level bargaining (corporate for SMEs, whereas for craft companies it is on a regional basis, and in many regions they have not been renewed for decades!).

Similarly, we need to **step up all action** (including in pragmatic and lay terms) to consolidate unilateral wage payments into “non-absorbables” (by leveraging the professional capability of the workers, who, as we have seen, are in the mid-to-high bracket) and to contractualize the various bonuses as far possible, **pending a return to a tax system that facilitates wages** instead of (or at any rate less than wage increases), “corporate welfare”.

This is what we tried to do on a small scale in the **Stone CCNL**, for example, by contractualizing 100 euros of corporate payments in the wake of the “Aiuti Quater” decree.

In relation to the second-level function, we have also identified another route (which is certainly longer and has repercussions that go beyond a mere round of negotiations): not

only to increase the number of possible referrals concerning organization to the second level (see also the next paragraph) but also to leverage the economic aspects of guarantees or arising from failure to negotiate (practices that are now established in many CCNLs, beyond the mere figures).

For firms with fewer than 15 employees, SMEs and craft companies, one way would be to **strengthen the existing bilateralism**, as a means of **ensuring actual adherence to** established practices and provision of services, whether wage-related or otherwise, but also **of verifying proper compliance with the CCNLs themselves**. Imagine, for example, that the provision for thirteenth-month remuneration, quotas for actual usage of time-off allowances, working hours reductions (RoL) or parts of holidays was made by means of payments to the regional bilateral confederate craft bodies (obviously divided by sector) or that there were **“trade schools”** (with provisions allocated to them) designed to **encourage professionalization and training to fill shortage occupations** (and **therefore recognition of increasing professional levels**, as recently introduced by the **Construction CCNL, which establishes an automatic transition from the first to the second and from the second to the third level**, against a blend of seniority and certified training, with all the wage-related effects that an increase in professional level has). It would also be **possible to verify** actual payments and salaries (by means of thirteenth-month installments), thus generating certificates of due and proper employment conditions (DURC/DOL certificates of contributions compliance) and verification of compliance with the signed CCNLs.

For more structured companies, with 50 to 200 employees, **German-style “supervisory committees”** could be codified in annexes to the CCNL, identifying **a small number of companies in which to road-test** forms of participation both in investments and profit redistribution. These companies should be guided by Pilot Committees from the national signatory parties (for all the examples cited, see **“La Partecipazione Incisiva”**, Carrieri, Nerozzi and Treu, Edizioni Il Mulino, 2015).

Lastly, significant wage increases need to be balanced (the goal we have set ourselves is to demand increases that are consistent with the burst of inflation, by leveraging factors such as timings and effective dates, bridging agreements, etc.), with other possible points of intervention. These do not have to be of an exclusively fiscal nature (i.e. extraneous to the negotiation), but could form an integral part of the broader dynamics of renewal, including by making the most of the points related to the organization of work, working hours, management, the formal employment framework, the fight against job insecurity, etc.. In fact, it would be useful to keep the three issues of substance together (wages in the face of high inflation, organization of work and working hours, professionalism and the fight against job insecurity) **with a view to finding a possible synthesis around these levers**.

I would also like to make an entirely political point about this, if I may: the Government of the right seems to have chosen traders, transport owner-operators and very small businesses as its preferred partners. These are all perfectly worthy partners, but they do not make investments or pursue economies of scale, quality and research into new processes and products. There is perhaps **a political space for a convergence of interests with more**

**structured**, more quality-oriented and more competitive companies, on both the national and international markets, aimed at seeking more innovative and participatory interventions (a bit like what is happening, albeit with inevitable differences, with the **more advanced representatives of our FILLEA counterparts**, who, like us, have chosen the challenge of qualification).

### Organization of work and working hours

The organization of work is changing rapidly and the pervasiveness of technology dictates not only the content but also **the time-frames of collective bargaining**. Consider, for example, **remote working** or the **different modulation of working hours along the same production chain**, or how hierarchies are becoming **increasingly horizontal** (even in transitions from one level to the next, and in professional content) **and less vertical** (to the extent that people in linking roles, such as middle managers and executives, are struggling).

**Codified participation could be the strategic answer**, but in the meantime CCNLs need to try to set a few limits, starting with three key aspects: **workloads, de facto working hours and the finalization of possible reductions in hours**.

**Workloads**: technology and the current fragmentation of cycles are threatening to polarize workloads more and more, **both physically and in terms of work-related stress**.

The **right distribution of workloads** (which is achieved by breaking a project down or determining hours on a team/pool basis rather than a purely individual basis) needs to be brought back to the forefront of negotiations. To do this, we need to “incentivize” negotiation on these matters. And alongside winning consensus for a specific business “quality” model, there is no greater incentive than to **act on the cost structure**.

Making it a requirement **hire staff for a fourth team** where continuous work-cycles are in place, **significant increases for working flexible hours**, and **big increases for overtime and additional time** are still powerful levers, alongside a willingness on the part of union representative bodies to raise disputes over health and safety issues (see **the national campaigns of FILLEA** on safety and the organization of work). The same debate on clocking in or recording work start, break and end times also needs to be made a central focus again, as do **Recovery Plans**, which must, without fail, be negotiated before authorizing overruns in hours on a weekly basis (e.g. The **dispute won by the Wood union** on Saturdays and public holidays).

**De facto hours**: this last point (in simplistic terms, the measurement of actual working hours, with all appropriate flexibility) also refers to the contradiction caused **by the increasingly difficult match between demand and supply of specific professional skill-sets**.

In other words, increases in de facto hours (and hence workloads) with everything this entails in terms of health, safety and occupational illness (e.g. musculo-skeletal disorders) is also (but obviously not only!) a consequence of the scarcity of various categories of technical and manual staff, due to low wages and no prospects of professional development (it is more than just a question of image).

Furthermore, for certain technical and clerical roles, **“target-based hours”** (more and more technical and sales staff are working on the basis of targets) are already a reality: denying their existence is leading to completely “liberalized” hours, with no control and often no “self-control” on the part of workers themselves.

Action needs to be taken to bring individual hours back within standard contractual hours, in three ways: for top-level staff and professional and/or remote workers, by starting to address and negotiate the issue of “target-based hours”, perhaps **by bending the old institution of “multi-period” hours to fit this innovation**; for “standard” manual and clerical staff, **by making more use of the employment lever** (managing peaks and stable increases by recruiting staff on a permanent or fixed-term basis) and **a fairer distribution between direct employees and contract staff** (in view of the even lower wages, peaks of piecework, holiday work and night work are frequently off-loaded onto the latter).

In large and medium-sized works (previously only in major public works requiring the approval of a commission, now also in private works, under the 2022 construction CCNL) **the first challenge is still to establish a maximum of 8 hours**, to **introduce fourth and fifth teams**, as is the case under the Wood agreement, for example, and to **avoid 10 hours per day, Saturdays and un-negotiated Sundays** (even by recourse to bonus payments outside the scope of the official payroll). Here too, costs (surcharges) could be used as a lever, but the employment battle is still strategic, and so too, for many jobs, is the **training of new specialists** (e.g. green building) or the re-training (including from other sectors) of people from occupations that have become obsolete, so as to “increase” the number of staff between whom workloads can be shared.

**Contract hours:** reducing contract hours is not only a question of justice (with today’s technology, worker’s hourly output has doubled compared with 20 years ago), but also of increased productivity (for certain sectors and processes) and **increased safety**. Now above all, this could/should be translated into freed-up time **for the purposes of professional updating and retraining in the light of technological innovation** in processes and products, and in the light of the environmental sustainability goals that are already changing products and the organization of work. For this reason, for example, in the **renewal of the Wood and Furnishing CCNL, we are proposing to cut working hours from 40 to 38**, and turn the two hours per week into working hours reductions (**ROL**). These are hours made available to companies, **subject to negotiation**, for training and updating in order to safeguard and enhance the skills of existing staff in the light of changes, with corresponding **professional recognition** (i.e. recognition of level, both horizontally and vertically, on completion of the training). Once again, of course, the purpose of choosing working hours reductions (ROL) is to leverage “cost” and prompt companies to negotiate on training, failing which the time is used as “freed-up time” or monetized at the end of the year. Here too, there is a clear direct or indirect link with wages.

### **Job insecurity**

Job insecurity comes in many forms. There is the job insecurity **that comes with the type of work contract** (fixed-term contract, agency staff, “mandatory” self-employment status,



etc.), there is **job insecurity that comes with position in the production chain** (you might be on an open-term contract in a team of piece-workers working on a second level sub-contract) and lastly there is (in the service sector more than in manufacturing) **the job insecurity that comes with involuntary part-time status**. Here I intend to shine a particular spotlight on the first two.

Job insecurity caused by the abuse of various types of contract affects many sectors. Where CCNLs have not standardized the descriptions (**there are only a few left**), attempts have been made to curb the practice **by setting maximum percentages** of recourse to fixed-term and agency staff contracts (fixed or open term). In the best-case scenarios, CCNLs have introduced maximum single percentages of 35%. **Many CCNLs specify 50% or more**. Here there is clearly a degree of softening of CCNLs, which even allow companies to increase the percentages. There may be several ways forward on this: **to try to reduce the percentages** or transfer **parts of these activities under the umbrella of seasonal work safeguards** (if there are obviously recurrent cycles) or, within the defined percentages, formulate **“stabilization scales”** under which the more these types are used, the greater the burden of stabilization (excluding, of course, contracts for the replacement of people entitled to keep their job). In construction, for example, in view of the specific features of the sector, we have defended the old percentages, whereas in fixed installations we have argued for seasonality (seasonal workers have the right to priority in being re-hired, stabilizations, etc.) and single percentages for all non-permanent contracts.

For people registered as self-employed, despite the attempt to include the Construction CCNL in the bilateral system (only ANCE was in agreement), no significant progress has been made. **Legislation is probably needed**, along the lines of recognition of **economically dependent status**, although all the recent signals from the Meloni government and the right-wing majority (starting with the increase in the flat tax for registered self-employed people to 85,000 euros) point in the opposite direction.

Lastly, a note on part-time workers in the construction industry and on **partially declared work and undeclared work** (the latter is **perhaps the worst form of job insecurity**): the effect of statements of payroll proportionality on the one hand (Ministerial Decree 143/2021) and the increase in the minimum payment of hours for the purposes of Construction Industry Occupational Seniority through the National Fund (APE, FNAPE), combined with the mandatory application of construction-industry CCNLs has “coincidentally” reduced the number of part-time workers, increased the number of beneficiaries of APE thresholds (at least 2100 hours are required over a two-year period) and the average number of declared working hours has increased by 20%. It is reasonable to think that this might be attributable to partially declared work, i.e. false part-time work with undeclared hours. Similarly, it is reasonable to think, in view of the registration of over 180,000 new workers in the Construction Workers Fund, that **the majority of them are new or returning** to the sector in response to increased demand for labor, bonuses and the proliferation of public works projects, but that some of them (let’s say a third?) have emerged from the **undeclared economy**, because they would not otherwise be able to work, or their clients would not be able to benefit from the various incentives now available.

The question of **outsourcing and the use of outside contractors**, which involves **two different forms of “lowest bidder wins” or “dumping”** is a more complex issue, which is also closely linked with the qualification and growth of the company and the organization of the production cycle (and hence the organization of work). This does not include outsourcing/use of outside contractors for specialist operations, where the cost of labor is equal to or greater than that of the main contractor company.

In fact, dumping can arise from the application of different CCNLs from those of the parent company and from the reduction of relative costs (unduly low classification of a job or worker, increased working hours, etc.) or from increased flexibility. Both, however, **reduce company boundaries**, extract value from the parent company, cause problems for the organization of production and fragment trade union representation (and thus **workers’ power**).

In the first case – the case of contractual dumping – this has been made possible not only by failure to implement Art. 39 of the Constitution, but also and especially by the improper expansion of the perimeters of various CCNLs (for construction, for example, the metal workers’ and multi-service contract) signed by CGIL, CISL and UIL (whose CCNLs, let us remember, cover 97% of private workers and 99% of public workers).

We must therefore draw a distinction between the **expansion of perimeters for new activities** (these are very rare cases in reality, and in any case are regulated by extension by existing CCNLs, in view of the ministerial tables and areas of representation) and **“invasions” of the historical perimeters of other CCNLs** by Collective Contracts where **trade unions have succumbed to pressure from their counterparts in employers’ associations** (who are interested in seeking converts by offering companies or their labor consultants less expensive CCNLs than the ones signed by other business associations) by implementing **“improper exchanges”** (you cannot “exchange” something that belongs to and is at the disposal of someone else!).

With regard to this possibility of companies choosing their CCNLs “a la carte”, CGIL **has already identified some guidelines** (2018 Congress) and laid some of them down in the **interconfederate agreement of 9 March 2018 known as the “Factory Pact”**.

For CGIL, the category of contract is determined by the **actual business activity**, even on a predominant basis (this is the definition used in the Procurement Code, for example, to identify which CCNL to apply) and, where perimeters overlap, the **most favorable economic and regulatory treatment takes precedence**.

So it is not just a question of “coordinating better” but also of **adhering to the constraints that we have all set ourselves**.

In the “Factory Pact” (letter [a], page 5) CGIL, CISL, UIL and Confindustria even set themselves the goal, by involving CNEL, of “carrying out a precise survey of the perimeters of category-specific national collective bargaining in order to establish a general framework and enable the social partners to assess the extent to which it is appropriate to the transformations taking place in the Italian economy. Surveying the contractual perimeters

will enable the social partners, where appropriate, to make the necessary corrections by intervening in the scope of category-specific national collective bargaining, ***in order, amongst other things, to ensure closer correlation between the CCNL applied and the actual work of the business***".

Note the words "***closer correlation between the CCNL applied and the actual work of the business***": Dr. Albini of Confindustria and the then confederate Secretary Franco Martini renamed this ruling the "FILLEA ruling." We would have expected resistance from the employers' associations in implementing this referral to the Interconfederate Agreement, but not a lack of attention from the confederate trade unions.

In view of the doubt, however, we, as a construction system, have made that comparison anyway. I refer everyone (and there are plenty of people who should read it before sounding off about construction-industry CCNLs) to the book "***Indagine sulla contrattazione collettiva dell'edilizia e sulle relative istituzioni paritetiche***" by Michele Faioli, with a preface of Madia D'Onghia, published by Giappichelli Editore, Turin 2021. In particular, I refer you to the comparisons between the various remuneration tables and the different surcharges (even after deducting training and safety costs, which should be important for us at CGIL).

Like FILLEA CGIL, we have worked very hard on this, alongside the other trade unions and industry associations, ***to defend the real application of construction-industry CCNLs*** in Italy. By acting first through the various agreements with the major public contracting authorities, then with the aforementioned statement of payroll proportionality [DURC di Congruità] (after the agreement of 7 December 2022 with the possibility of giving a negative DURC/DOL [certificate of contributions compliance] as of March 2023), and ***by making increasing use of the perimeters and Annex X to the Integrated Safety Text*** (Legislative Decree 81/2008), until we achieved a major victory in the form of ***Law 25/2022***: in order to benefit from the various public incentives for renovation work (bonuses of 50, 65, 80, 90 and 110%), it is a requirement to apply one of the 4 construction-industry CCNLs signed by FILLEA CGIL (which, as mentioned above, have the same contractual costs). This is resolving, albeit partially, the issue of workers leaving the construction-industry CCNL (e.g. restorers when incentives are requested). We therefore need to ***standardize the requirement that, in order to benefit from public incentives***, the parties must not apply a CCNL signed by the most comparatively representative organizations, but the most comparatively representative CCNL ***FOR THAT SECTOR!***

As far as ***job insecurity "from the use of outside contractors"*** is concerned, the subject is obviously a complex one because we need to draw distinctions between different sectors and different work processes; identify where the production chain of the goods or services begins and ends; which parts take place at or near the workplace (e.g. the factory warehouse, the construction site), in Italy or abroad.

As regards the first two cases (proximity, being subject to the same national legislation), the issue is ***the de facto re-introduction of the principle set down in Art. 3 of Law No 1369/60***, under which, in the event of contracting, sub-contracting or outsourcing, the

economic and regulatory treatment of workers along the supply chain is the same, at least as far as the CCNL is concerned. It is a very complicated game, but after the repeal of Law 30 in 2003, it is now topical again. **The re-introduction of this rule** in the relationship between contracts and sub-contracts in the field of public procurement **dates back to 2021**. **Decree-Law 77/2021**, subsequently Law 108, in fact incorporated this request from FILLEA CGIL (and this rule also remains in the draft decree implementing Enabling Law No 78/2022 proposed by the Meloni Government, although this is more difficult to verify, in view of the liberalization of multi-layer chain subcontracting). The economic and regulatory conditions applied to sub-contracted workers must not be lower than those applied to the contractor's employees and, where doing the same or mainly the same work, they must also have **the same CCNL**. Basically, subcontracting and outsourcing will only be considered to be industrial "specialization" if we assert the principle of **"same work, same contract"**, thereby encouraging companies to carry out the work in-house (if the company has to pay them the same, then it is better to be able to direct them too) or departures from the perimeter due to "higher value added" and not just the "lowest bid". **The challenge now is to bring these safeguards into the private sector in advance by law or collective bargaining.**

A confederate working group on these issues (perimeters and also national or local contracts, the famous coordinations) is therefore welcome, but only **if the "guidelines" are clear and consistent.**

In short, adaptations, pragmatic solutions, mediation, etc. **are part and parcel of the work** of negotiators, because the bargaining process involves multiple parties (trade unions and employers' associations), influenced by specific contexts and markets, etc. but **the effort and the aim must be clear**, partly as a matter of "contractual consistency" and partly as a matter of **credibility with all workers**. Where it can be done sooner and better, that's great. Where there are difficulties, take a few small steps. But turning back is no longer an option.

### **Rising to these challenges means governing the transition already**

In reality, qualifying work, giving a central role to training, governing working hours, contractually reassembling the production cycle, investing in tools to revive the function of second-level bargaining and also linking reductions in hours to permanent updating, **are already all levers** to facilitate the reorganization of production towards processes with higher technological concentration and greater sustainability (it applies to the construction industry with the relaunch of training, safety, better job classification, growth in company size and parity in subcontracts; it applies to the materials cycle and the frontier of recovery; but it is fair to say it applies to many manufacturing sectors.) The priority is to adapt everything to the specific characteristics of the sector and to the vast world of small and micro enterprises (hence the new focus on contractual bilateralism and the local level) by trying to ensure that the next renewals – which **will also be the "renewals" for deploying the National Recovery and Resilience Plan** – give us space to encourage reorganization.

How? By seeking **a more advanced balance between these three priorities** (wages, organization of work/working hours, and job/cycle insecurity). Where we get less on one point, we try to advance on others. By encouraging second-level bargaining but within

tighter and yet more innovative and experimental coordinates. By challenging the most structured companies, which believe in qualification, on the issues of reorganization of production, professional roles and flexibility determined by workers. By using all the tools at our disposal (for building workers, bilateralism and the oversight of legality/quality above all; and for fixed installations, by focusing on more technology) and if necessary – and it is necessary – by looking for new tools by drawing upon the best experiences, of which, fortunately, there are plenty of examples.

## Roma Est - Prenestino 2030

I still remember Ahmed, one of our members of FILLEA CGIL, standing on the roof of the apartment block in Viale Partenope, on the eastern outskirts of Rome, and shouting with child-like enthusiasm: *"We did it! Even the last apartment block in Prenestino is now zero-impact."*

Taking off his helmet and scratching what little hair he had left on his head, Ahmed saw the gratified look of all the others: the carpenters, metal fabricators, fitters and even the architect from the municipal council. Everyone was happy with what they had achieved, and probably even happier to be able to go and spend Christmas with their friends and family. They had hit their target – only just, but they had hit it – on that 23 December 2030.



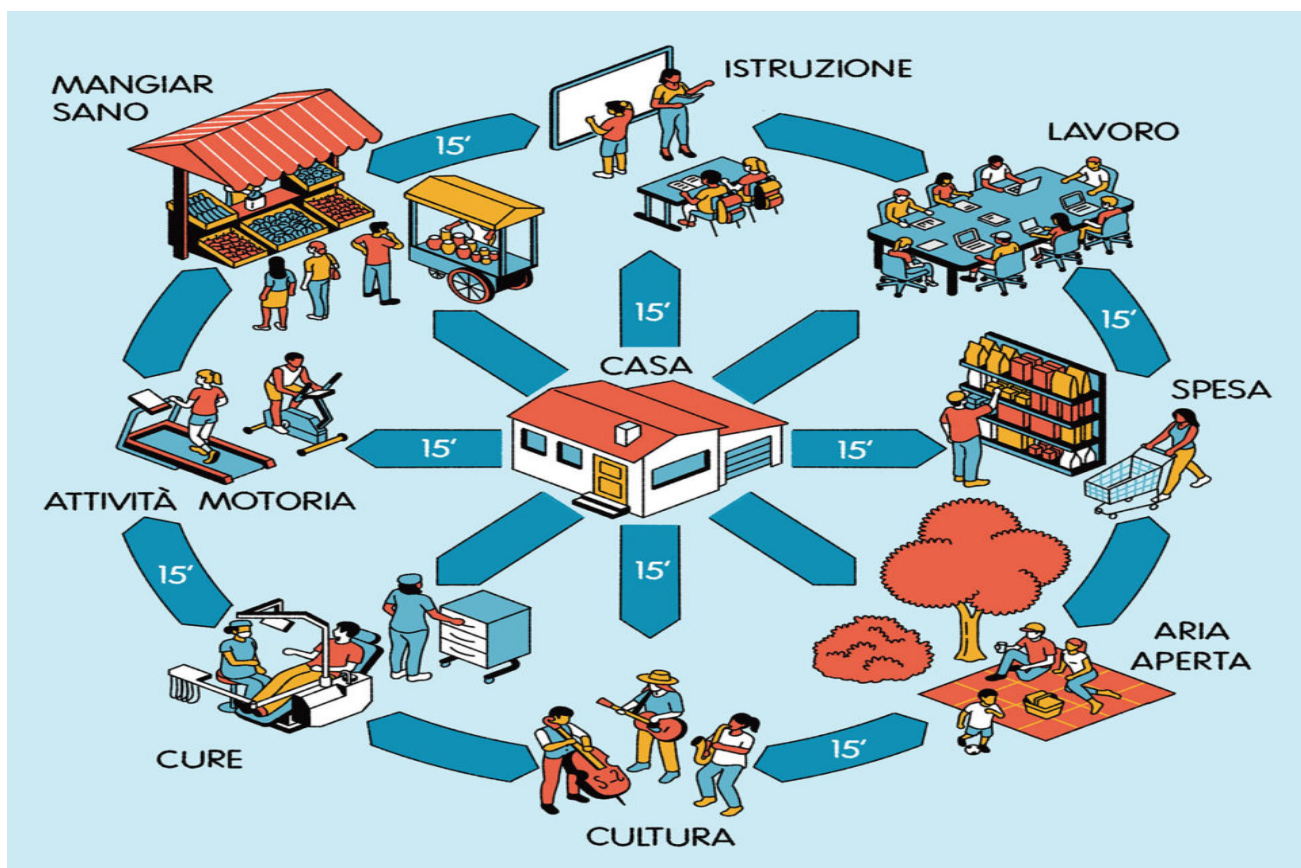
Mausoleo dei Gordiani, Via Prenestina, Rome.

The end of 2030, in fact, was the deadline for the commitments set out in the EU and UN Agenda for socially and environmentally sustainable cities, with almost zero impact in terms of CO2 emissions, with no more energy-hungry homes and buildings in classes D, E and F, and above all, without millions of people living in energy poverty and almost unable to pay their ever more costly bills.



It was not easy: the starting point in Italy was that 70% of the country's building stock was over 50 years old and made with highly polluting materials and construction techniques (in 2022, private buildings still accounted for 30% of all CO2 emissions and 35% of all electricity consumption), not to mention land use, the constant reduction of green areas and spaces, as all the studies showed (according to ISPRA, the country was still consuming 2.2 square meters of unused land per second in 2022).

And yet we did it. And not only do we now have a more sustainable building stock that is almost self-sufficient in terms of energy and safer in anti-seismic terms (few other countries worldwide are more vulnerable to earthquakes than we are), it is also situated in better-organized neighborhoods, with interconnected neighborly support services and home care systems. Not only are architectural barriers and huge buildings with no communal services (such as a social concierge or remote-care center) *a thing of the past*, but now, the ratio between reclaimed land and green and social spaces has risen from 1 meter per 1000 to 1 meter per 300, as the great architects of the turn of the century used to dream of. To put it in a nutshell, while cities might not exactly be "transitable in 15 minutes", they have become "transitable in half an hour at most" and that is no small thing (we are not French, after all).



But none of this happened by chance, and if the greatest period of urban regeneration undertaken for a long time involved hundreds of thousands of major and minor interventions, with very few injuries, very little off-the-books labor and higher-quality materials as well, that is because of the effort and commitment of lots of people, and their

willingness to get involved in a battle (between us and those who wanted to keep the old development model, between “producers” and profits).

It was the result of a change in public intervention: both in the form of targeted incentives for regeneration, awarded in proportion to the improvements achieved, and differentiated by type of intervention (single household or apartment block) with 100% guaranteed to people with the lowest incomes (who often lived in the oldest and most run-down apartment blocks), and in the form of direct intervention, by means of a new framework law on regeneration, which, among others, the trade union and FILLEA CGIL obtained in 2024 (don’t forget that at that time, there were only regional laws and some people were even talking about further “differentiated autonomy”).

And it was a requirement for everyone, whether private citizens or public administrations – that if they wanted to benefit from any incentives or resources – to apply minimum environmental criteria (CAM) and to apply the construction-industry collective agreement (this was achieved in 2022 under Law 25, while a man called Andrea Orlando was Minister of Labor). Not only did this ensure higher levels of safety and less undeclared work, it also resulted in higher quality, because the construction skills colleges at the time – thanks to the renewal of the CCNL in 2022 – were churning out thousands of new workers and technicians trained in green building, energy efficiency, etc.

And then there were all those regulations that helped combat the use of undeclared labor (at a certain point in 2021, it became mandatory in Italy to issue statements of payroll proportionality (DURC di Congruità), and that is not a swear-word, it is an instrument that brings thousands of workers out of the shadow economy), and restricted subcontracting to specialist fields (equal economic and regulatory treatment, which CGIL, having achieved it for public contracts, in 2025, achieved recognition for it in private contracts too).

In short, an array of economic, contractual and legislative changes were made, in addition to the decision to invest more in new materials: from reclaimed wood to silicon-powder bricks, concrete that absorbs CO2 particles and cement that makes it easier to create vertical gardens, involving the integration of plants that are not only beautiful to look at but also help the environment.

The result is that Italy now not only has more beautiful, sustainable and interconnected cities, where the modern world lives side-by-side with the artistic and monumental beauty of the past (lots of “minor monuments” were restored, thus further increasing Italy’s magnetism for tourists from all over the world), but we have also become the main exporter of sustainable building materials (getting ahead of the Germans for once), thanks to private investment, public research centers specializing in construction, and a series of public-private partnerships that were supported by a special “plan” known as the National Recovery and Resilience Plan.

But let’s not beat about the bush, these goals were achieved thanks to the ability to work as a system and a healthy willingness to kick up a stink.



On the one hand, thanks to integrated urban planning, the government and local authorities staked everything on an idea of regeneration and access to the right to housing (and also to the neighborhood) that was sustainable and of high quality, and that did not stop at simply restoring physical assets, but extended to restoring a system of social relations, services, spaces and economic activities designed for a society that had changed (with more seniors and more migrants, and more houses to rent, not just to buy).

On the other hand, there was a class of entrepreneurs that was urged, supported and offered incentives to grow in qualitative terms, with higher-skilled, better-paid workers capable of upgrading from “manual laborers” to “assemblers”, with fewer trowels and more “iPads” (the entire BIM revolution was based on thinking about building works in terms of reclamation, sensorialization, more maintenance and zero new construction.)



And all this was boosted by the construction trade union, its association called Nuove Ri-Generazioni, the many disputes raised by local trade union groupings (Camere del Lavoro), CGIL, CISL and UIL in their local areas which, with citizens' committees, associations, pensioners and lots of young people, spawned a period of bottom-up campaigns. These campaigns (for better jobs; the right to housing; green spaces and new social services; energy communities and a new public transport system) might have looked disconnected, but in fact they were different sides of the same coin: the coin representing the defense of employment that existed but needed to change, the creation of new jobs based on people's needs, the development of livable cities and neighborhoods where people could express themselves as citizens, as small or large producers in the circular economy, as remote workers and as young (or less young) creatives.

Basically, everything worked well: trade union relations, collective agreements and bilateral bodies were put at the service of reorganizing the production of a supply chain (from materials, through services, all the way to the construction site) that was no longer allowed to consume a single square meter of land and had a duty to reclaim and protect (2025 saw the launch of a major plan to combat hydro-geological destruction, which cost less than the 8 billion euros we had previously been spending every year on repairing damage caused by neglect, while also creating over 100,000 jobs); local bodies and the government, embracing an integrated vision, turned their attention back to urban planning policy, and planned monthly reclamation works starting in outer-city areas and hinterlands; the large public companies launched the largest-scale operation to install mini-wind turbines and solar panels ever implemented; and individual citizens, citizens' associations and the confederate trade unions gave the whole process a guiding hand by forming "Urban Advisory Bodies," which turned out to be vital incubators of the integrated urban plans envisaged in the National Recovery and Resilience Plan and in EU funding criteria.

At the beginning, of course, there was resistance: attempts were made to tamper with the Procurement Code in order to drag us back to the past and to an impoverished idea of employment and enterprise that would certainly not have been capable of generating investment in professional skills and technological innovations. Even within the union there was resistance or a lack of understanding of the choices made by the construction union, by those "bricks" at the SPI, by a few Camera del Lavoro Secretary Generals and everyone, outside the scope of conferences, was (we were) very wary of more participation... but in the end we got there.

With homes that are now self-sufficient and have bills of almost zero, starting with the least wealthy, with seniors who feel comfortable about going out and have pretty good neighborly support services; and there's even a growing number of businesses that live from the circular economy, and craftspeople who repair things (so that we don't have to keep buying new stuff all the time).

Admittedly, all these young people hanging out until midnight around Villa Gordiani or along Via Torpignattara, and all these small- and large-scale cultural events in the ungentrified districts, all that is a nuisance, but you know... they're kids... we've all been there.