CARTOGRAFIE SOCIALI
Rivista di sociologia e scienze umane
Anno VII, n. 14, 2022

Direzione scientifica
Lucio d'Alessandro e Antonello Petrillo

Direttore responsabile
Arturo Lando

Redazione
Elena Cennini, Anna D'Ascenzio, Fabrizio Greco

Staff di supporto alla Redazione
Giuseppina Della Sala, Federica Graziano, Luca Manunza, Andrea Postiglione

Staff di supporto alla Redazione per le attività di internazionalizzazione
Lucio Castracani, Laura Giovinazzi

Coordinamento redazionale
Stefania Ferraro (Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa – Napoli)

Comitato di redazione
Manuel Anselmi (Unitelma Sapienza), Marco Armiero (KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm),Tugba Basaran (Kent University), Davide Caselli (Università Milano-Bicocca), Valentina Castellini (Università di Toronto), Alberto De Nicola (Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna), Nick Dines (Robert Schuman Centre – European University Institute), Stefania Ferraro (Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa – Napoli), Marcello Maneri (Università di Milano Bicocca), Alessandro Mazzola (University of Liège),Domenico Perrotta (Università di Bergamo),Valeria Piro (Università degli Studi di Milano), Ciro Pizzo (Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa – Napoli), Pietro Saitta (Università di Messina), Anna Simone (Università Roma Tre)

Comitato scientifico
Maurizio Bergamaschi (Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna), Emiliano Bevilacqua (Università del Salento), Fabienne Brion (Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve), Sandro Busso (Università degli Studi di Torino), Alessandro Dal Lago (già professore presso Università di Genova), Davide De Sanctis (Università degli Studi Federico II – Napoli), Vincent Dubois (Université de Strasbourg), Didier Fassin (Institute for Advanced Study School of Social Science, Princeton), Domenico Fruncillo (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Fernando Gil Villa (Universidad de Salamanca), Akhil Gupta (University of California), Michalis Lianos (Université de Rouen), Marco Martiniello (University of Liège), Giulio Moini (Sapienza Università di Roma), Carlotta Mozzana (Università Milano-Bicocca), Laurent Mucchielli (CNRS – Centre national de la recherche scientifique), Fabio Quassoli (Università di Milano Bicocca), Salvatore Palidda (già professore presso Università di Genova), Michel Peraldi (CADIS – Centre d'analyse et d'intervention sociologiques), Andrea Rea (Université libre de Bruxelles), Giuseppe Ricotta (Sapienza Università di Roma), Francesca Vianello (Università degli Studi di Padova)

"Cartografie sociali" is a peer reviewed journal

FLUSSI E COMUNITÀ: TRA RISCHIO AMBIENTALE E GOVERNO DELLA SALUTE PUBBLICA

A cura di Stefania Ferraro e Antonello Petrillo

MIMESIS

SUOR ORSOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Pubblicazione semestrale: abbonamento annuale (due numeri): € 45,00

Per gli ordini e gli abbonamenti rivolgersi a:
ordini@mimesisedizioni.it
L'acquisto avviene per bonifico intestato a:
MIM Edizioni Srl, Via Monfalcone 17/19
20099 – Sesto San Giovanni (MI)
Unicredit Banca – Milano
IBAN: IT 59 B 02008 01634 000101289368
BIC/SWIFT: UNCRITM1234

Cartografie sociali è una rivista promossa da URiT, Unità di Ricerca sulle Topografie sociali.

Direzione e Redazione della rivista hanno sede
presso l'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa
Via Suor Orsola 10 – 80132 Napoli (Italy)
www.unisob.na.it
cartografiesociali@unisob.na.it
cartografiesociali.rivista@gmail.com

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI
SUOR ORSOLA
BENINCASA
FACOLTÀ DI
SCIENZE
DELLA FORMAZIONE



MIMESIS EDIZIONI (Milano – Udine)
www.mimesisedizioni.it
mimesis@mimesisedizioni.it

Isbn: 9788857599366
Issn: 2499-7641

© 2022 – MIM EDIZIONI SRL
Via Monfalcone, 17/19 – 20099
Sesto San Giovanni (MI)
Phone: +39 02 24861657 / 24416383

Registrazione Tribunale di Napoli n. 37 del 5 luglio 2012

INDICE

Editoriale
Una necessaria histoire du présent: la sociologia tra le popolazioni danneggiate nei territori devastati
di Stefania Ferraro, Antonello Petrillo 7

MAPPE

Prendere le comunità sul serio
La ricerca in campo ambientale "con" le comunità interessate
di Rosalba Altopiedi 17

Amministrazioni locali e linguaggio del rischio
Cornici discorsive e azioni nel risanamento di Messina
di Pietro Saitta 37

Mediterraneo, migrazioni e delegittimazione dei diritti umani
La considerazione dell'altro tra condizioni antropiche e contingenze "naturali"
di Michelangelo Pascali 57

ROTTE

Il medico competente: criticità di una professione scomoda
di Angela Bagnato 83

I discorsi dei medici competenti durante la pandemia di Covid-19: verso un professionalismo *connettivo*?
di Sara Calicchia 103

The fall of the asbestos branch
A Sociological Approach to Self-ban Strategy of Italian Railways: between Laws, Market Regulations and Judgments
di Anna D'Ascenzio, Stefania Ferraro 125

RILIEVI

La salute mentale che non c'è
Tra disuguaglianze territoriali e nuove politiche post-pandemia
di Daniele Pulino 151

Semis: cronaca di uno spettacolo sui semi e sulla biodiversità
di Giulia Bocciero 167

WUNDERKAMMER

La posta in gioco nel giornalismo d'inchiesta ambientale italiano: industrializzazione, cambiamento climatico, salute
Breve reportage in tre tappe
di Fabrizio Denunzio 185

I diritti delle vittime in costituzione
di Laura Vastano 195

Una lotta, contro la distrazione collettiva
di Antonio Olivieri, a cura di Maria Lombardi 213

Suenos compartidos
di Hebe Pastor de Bonafini, a cura di Maria Lombardi 219

TRAVELOGUES

Il volontariato oggi, tra workfare e dovere sociale
di Federica Graziano 227

La guerra di Piero
di Andrea Postiglione 231

Anna D'ascenzio, Stefania Ferraro*

THE FALL OF THE ASBESTOS BRANCH
A Sociological Approach to Self-ban Strategy of Italian Railways: between Laws, Market Regulations and Judgments

Abstract:
The paper analyzes the management of asbestos at the Officine Grandi Riparazioni (Large Repair Shops; OGR) of the Italian Railways as a form of biopolitical domination. In particular, the authors examine the Italian State Railways Group's governance framework in response to demands for healthier working conditions within the disastrous context of the Italian railway industry. Outsourcing thus has become a new method of public governance, which has anticipated the current management and privatization government of public goods and services. The Group's managers engaged in outsourcing during a crucial moment of conflict between the labour movement and the political establishment, producing new forms of regulation of health policy in a still-open-ended struggle. In this scenario, the authors also analyze the role of the provisions of the law and the latest judgments in environmental disasters and deaths caused by asbestos.

Keywords:
Railways Public Company; Officine Grandi Riparazioni (ORG); Ban Asbestos; Judgments in Asbestos; Biopolitical Domination; Necropolitics.

1. *As a precondition*

Asbestos is a natural mineral widely used in the construction and shipbuilding industries, particularly in thermal and acoustic insulation, due to its elevated plasticity and water and fire-proof resistance. The use of asbestos as an insulating agent in railway carriages began in the 1940s with the application of chrysotile boards in specific parts (e.g., around the heating sys-

* The general structure of the paper is the result of cooperation between the two authors. However, paragraphs 1 and 2 were written by Stefania Ferraro; paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 were written by Anna D'Ascenzio.

tem, with crocidolite-containing mixtures sprayed on train carriages' entire internal surface). Asbestos is the primary cause of mesothelioma mortality and has been found in numerous industries in Australia, Britain, France, Netherlands, Italy, Japan, and Spain. During the 1950s, Sleggs, a medical practitioner responsible for the tuberculosis service in the district in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa, noticed that a group of patients with pleural effusions was not responding to treatments with new anti-tuberculosis drugs. He observed how this phenomenon was more common in patients from the West, where the asbestos mountains contained forms of workable crocidolite. Sleggs teamed up with a thoracic surgeon and a pathologist, and they concluded that the growth of pleural effusion cases was the result of a rare pleural cancer (i.e. mesothelioma). The physicians eventually assembled a series of 33 cases of this hitherto rare cancer in only four years. Following the publication of the paper written by Wagner, Sleggs and Marchand in the 1960s, scientists acknowledged that mesothelioma was caused by exposure to asbestos, especially during work processes. Battista (*et al.* 1999) has documented the etiological relationship between such work processes and the effects of asbestos fibres' inhalation. Also the American scientist, Selikoff, already in the sixties of the last century had identified all the types of cancer connected to exposure to asbestos.

All this to clarify that already in the mid-sixties the scientific community attested to the correlation between exposure to asbestos and mesothelioma.

The first Italian study that dealt with the carcinogenicity of asbestos in the naval engineering sector was conducted by the Institute of Occupational Medicine of the University of Genoa and was published by Zanardi and Fontana in 1971.

The current ban on asbestos refers to the process of eliminating it from the production cycle in terms of extraction, import, export, marketing, set up and production of natural minerals. In many countries, the laws that prohibit asbestos refer to the relevant funding issues, the definitions and methods for analytical controls, and cleaning-up guidelines to support former asbestos workers. Since asbestos-induced illnesses have long latency effects, asbestos banning is not a complete solution. On the contrary, significant efforts ought to be made to identify and compensate all patients with asbestos-related cancer, ensuring that they are treated in the most appropriate hospital units. By 2019, more than 52 countries have banned the import, export and trade of asbestos. Countries that banned asbestos a quarter of a century ago still contribute to the worldwide toll of more than 100,000 asbestos-related deaths per year. The ban does not exist in Russia, Kazakhstan, China, India and Indonesia, where asbestos diseases persist.

Around one hundred twenty-five million people worldwide have been exposed to asbestos in their work environments.

The ILO (International Labor Organization) estimates that only in Europe, in the next 20 years, deaths caused by asbestos will reach 500,000 units[1].

The first European directive (382) which prohibits the extraction, production and marketing of asbestos dates back only to 1991.

The Italian asbestos ban law (257) came into force in 1992.

Contextualising the policy decision to ban asbestos, Terracini (2019, p. 331) explains:

> To understand how stakeholders have shaped their attitude to asbestos during the years-long process leading to bans on asbestos, we should remember that the abandonment of asbestos was preceded by many notable events. The first was the beginning of the environmentalist movement emerging after the publication of Rachel Carson's famous "silent spring" in 1962. The second was the International Agency for Research on Cancer's finding, in 1977, that all forms of asbestos are carcinogenic to man. The third factor was a growing awareness, in the industry, trade unions and governments of the 1980s, on safer substitutes for asbestos.

Prior to the asbestos ban, transnational companies of the sector were aware of the dangers of asbestos and of the need to protect workers, as suggested by the Royal Decree 442 of 14 June 1909 and law 455/1943, which extended insurance to asbestos and silicosis illnesses to all Italian workers[2]. Accordingly, employers were obliged to report cases of occupational disease and the respective worker contaminations causing the conditions to INAIL (Department of Occupational and Environmental Medicine, Epidemiology and Hygiene, Italian Workers Compensation Authority). Uncoincidentally, between 1940 and 1980 the commitment of the Italian National Institute of Health (Istituto Superiore di Sanità - ISS) was such that it formed a multidisciplinary research group which launched epidemiological research on asbestos. ISS training activities for health and environmental professionals were also undertaken in cooperation with the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Prevention (Istituto Superiore per la Prevenzione e la Sicurezza del Lavoro - ISPESL), which was later merged with the Italian Workers Compensation Agency (Istituto Nazionale Assicurazioni contro gli infortuni sul Lavoro - INAIL).

---

1 Ilo, *Safety in the use of asbestos*, at the link www.ilo.org/safework/cis/WCMS_337080/langen/index.htm.

2 For a sociological analysis on the development of asbestos laws related to work and environmental disaster, especially in Italy but not only, see Ferraro 2016, 2018.

Regional Environmental Authorities operated in those areas of the country with a massive presence of asbestos in industrial activities, developing new skills for asbestos sampling and the subsequent analytical determinations. Likewise, Regional and Local Health Authorities operating in the same areas were involved in identifying asbestos-related diseases[3].

In Italy, despite the ban on the use of asbestos, there are at least three critical issues:

1. the geographic localisation of the asbestos processing factories;
2. the risk of prescription period of crimes related to the asbestos processing;
3. the management and remediation of contaminated sites.

The geographic localisation of the asbestos processing factories has followed the logic of raging on the poorest populations, that are also less capable of defending themselves from aggression and health-environmental and economic crimes (Petrillo 2015, 2016; Ruggiero, Gounev 2012; D'Ascenzio 2015; Saitta 2009, 2010, 2015). In all cases connected with the processing of asbestos, the logic of profit has produced spaces of exception: the regime of illegality in force within these production contexts has allowed the formal economy to pass smoothly into the "informal" one, considerably reducing the costs of managing the safety of workers and the environment[4].

Therefore, in short, asbestos processing can be analysed as an experiment in the logic of the globalized political economy, which needs marginal areas to be used for the sites of polluting factories and where usually there are workers with low bargaining power, therefore most exposed to blackmail.

About the prescription period's risk of crimes related to the asbestos processing, it is possible to say that the management of the "asbestos, work, death" triad is undoubtedly the clear proof that the Industrial legal systems are characterized by the non-reciprocity of rights and duties in the relation between the parts (Romano 2014, p. 251). It follows that the legal interpretations, in the face of the environmental disaster caused by asbestos, can shape the boundaries of a crime that does not exist (Forzati 2015, p. 9) and the protection of rights is reduced to a mere condition of principle; it is desirable in form but derogable in substance (*Ivi*, p. 47).

3 For a critical analysis about the results of the cooperation between national and regional/local institutions and trade unions growth to support the implementation of the national asbestos ban see: Ramazzini 1999; Boggio 2013; Terracini 2019.

4 See Petryna (2013) too, who examines the vexed political, scientific, and social circumstances that followed the event using anthropological tools to describe the moral and political consequences of the disasters.

In fact, even the most recent law (68/2015) is "wild and intrigued" and presents the classic defects of emergency legislation (Telesca 2015). This law still does not provide a clear definition of the concept of environment, therefore of the object to be protected, does not explain the purpose of the protection and does not establish certain criteria for measuring and quantifying the damage to both environment and public health. Furthermore, this law ascribes the crimes in terms of involuntary offences. It follows that a sentence for prescription of the asbestos crimes is a "perverse aspect" of the inseparable link between the concept of justice and the immanent ascertainment of the facts; it is no coincidence that Foucault (2019) has reasoned very much about this connection. In other words, the disaster ends with the cessation of the business activity, even if the effects are prolonged and produce disease and death (Gatta 2015).

Law interpretation techniques have also made use of the constant relationship between scientific knowledge, power and truth [as intended by Foucault (1980)]; for example, some judgments relating to the asbestos damage, while recognizing the causal relationship between asbestos and mesothelioma, stated that this relationship is not inevitable and it is provable in a defined percentage of cases. Furthermore, we should consider that, according to the Italian law, only the workers insured by INAIL with more than ten-year exposure to asbestos can claim compensation for asbestos damage.

Regarding the management and remediation of asbestos contaminated sites, until now, these activities have resulted in a substantial business, in which the speculation often prevails over the protection of health and environment. For example, half of the Italian regions do not even have a landfill asbestos site and every year more than 250,000 tons of material containing asbestos travel to Germany or other countries, with a cost of transport higher than the cost for the construction of landfill sites. Furthermore, according to the current regulations, each region should have a plan for the census, remediation and disposal of materials containing asbestos; yet, a complete national mapping is not yet available. It is estimated that in Italy there are over 30 million tons of contaminated material and over 1 billion square meters of compact asbestos[5]. Then there is the problem of asbestos illegal dumps, disposed during all the years of processing, to the exclusive advantage of the entrepreneurs who have thus saved costs.

5 For more information on these data, see www.tuttogreen.it/amianto-smaltimento-bonifica-rischi-salute/.

2. *Asbestos in Italian train carriages: a methodological and theoretical approach*

Below we want to analyze the case of the removal of asbestos from Italian trains, conceptualizing it as a form of governmentality and biopolitics (Foucault 2010) within the context of Officine Grandi Riparazioni (OGR), a large structure designed for the maintenance, renewal and repair of train engines and carriages located throughout Italy.

Until 1992, asbestos was widespread in passenger trains, used primarily to insulate entire carriages. This was carried out by the leader of the passenger rail transport supply chain, *Gruppo Ferrovie dello Stato Italiano* (FF.SS.), a public company owned by the Ministry of Economy and Finance[6]. Prior to banning asbestos, the mineral was used to insulate boilers, mains and gaskets.

OGR case is strongly related to the events of *Isochimica*, an asbestos factory in Southern Italy (Avellino), that we studied extensively with The Social Topographies Research Unit (URiT)[7]. Our research lasted two years and took place mainly through direct participation in workers and neighbourhood assemblies, in-depth interviews with key informants, collection of biographical materials and documentary examination of local press sources. Through the stories of the protagonists, we have tried – above all – to reconstruct their basic culture, to raise slowly and difficultly a common conscience. We also tried to put in place the uncertain strategies on claim plan (both individual and collective) at the trade union health, judicial and political level, as well as the difficult relationship between the victims and the rest of the population, which turned out to be mostly indifferent, even openly hostile in some moments.

As Petrillo writes (2016, p. 196), Isochimica

> is the story of a small factory (with no more than 300 workers at the height of its production) in a small town, and it is a little story, but inextricably linked to

6 The law n. 259 of 15th June 1905 established the autonomous administration of Italian state railways under the Ministry of Public Works direction. The first removal of tumorous asbestos from its branches began in 1958 with service order No. 85, 1985 but the asbestos ban coincided with the privatization of the railways group, which occurred through the resolution of 12th August 1992 sanctioning the beginning of the railways' privatization process; it eventually concluded in 2011. See Battista *et al*. 1999; Maltoni *et al*. 1995.

7 The results of this socio-ethnographic research are published in *Il silenzio della polvere. Capitale, verità e morte in una storia meridionale di amianto* edited by Petrillo (2015). See Petrillo 2016; D'Ascenzio 2015 too.

> a bigger historical picture. For many years, the Isochimica industry, based in Avellino, played an important part in a serious nationwide problem: the disposal of the asbestos that had been an integral part of many railway carriages.

Therefore, from 1982 to 1988 the Isochimica's workers removed asbestos from carriages and electric locomotives of the public company, Ferrovie dello Stato. Nevertheless, in this small story there are many others stories:

> stories that concern political, institutional and social responsibilities. They are stories that call into question local mayors, local and national politicians and administrators, and the absurd and destructive development models planned for this area after the 1980 earthquake. They are stories that involve the state and its departments: the health system, occupational medicine, supervisory bodies, the social security system, legal powers and the trade unions that so often seem to be suffering from selective mutism (*Ibidem*).

The earthquake of 23 November 1980[8] had a decisive role in the definition of economic, urban, social and political structures:

> An *ad hoc* law (219/1980) allowed reconstruction to take place regardless of the main standard regulations concerning the use of the land, tender notices and contracts, public expenditure supervision, city planning, commerce, environmental impact, occupational safety and so on (*Ivi*, p. 194).

This is the background that led to the birth of Isochimica: in several Italian towns, the OGR workers opposed this dangerous procedure to remove asbestos from the carriages and so FF.SS. outsourced this process, which was located in a small town in Southern Italy, already poor and also devastated by the earthquake.

On January 28th 2022, the Court of Avellino delivered the first degree of judgement of the Isochimica trial[9].

---

8 «After the devastating earthquake in 1980, which left about 280,000 people homeless, 8,848 injured and 2,914 dead, Irpinia became, in the name of reconstruction, an uncontrolled testing ground for the realization of a totally free development model, resulting in the construction of nine "Industrial Parks", four ASI (Areas of Industrial Development) and two Industrial Districts. Here, in this peripheral fraction of the national territory, it is possible to see the policies that were supposed to help develop this part of the South, but which have actually failed to do so (a case with many analogies to many other in all the world)» (*Ivi*, p. 192).

9 On December 13th, 1988 the factory was sealed but the subsequent trial was then suspended with an amnesty of the defendants.

The sentence comes thirty-six years after the first complaint presented by the WWF (World Wildlife Fund), which in 1986 reported to Avellino Prosecutor's Office the illegal disposal of toxic waste that took place at Isochimica. The first instance trial, in which 270 civil parties were filed, lasted five years and seven months, with 127 court hearings.

The sentence ordered ten years' imprisonment for 2 persons responsible for the safety of Isochimica and for 2 FF.SS. officials; therefore, it ordered twenty-two acquittals for persons who had to answer for connection to culpable disaster for the omission of official documents.

A temporary provision of 50,000 euro has also been provided for each of the families of the 33 workers who died from diseases related to prolonged exposure to asbestos. No compensation has been provided for former workers. This sentence does not satisfy all expectations but the greatest risk is that the crimes may be prescribed in the next stages of judgment, as has already happened in Italy, for example with the "Eternit" sentence[10].

Given this condition, it seems crucial to us to deepen the role of OGR to analyze in depth the important relationship between privatizations, economic profit, discretionary power[11] and biocide[12]. Through the outsourcing of asbestos removal the public train company, FF.SS., has exercised significant discretionary power domination on all of its workers. In Foucauldian categories (1980, 2010), the use of discretionary power suggests how the juridical act itself has lost its pre-eminent role in governance regimes, as the exercise of sovereign power has been delegated to other social actors, such as those active in the health field and in the construction of demographic knowledge. As a form of discretionary power – and without con-

10 Eternit is an asbestos factory in Casale Monferrato, a town of about 37,000 inhabitants, located in the Piedmont region in Italy. Throughout the 20th century, it experienced urbanization and growth because of the existing cement factories and their need for minerals. When asbestos reached the Eternit factory, workers dumped it without any protection. In 1986, the Eternit factory in Casale Monferrato went bankrupt and the mayor eventually banned asbestos from the town's territory. However, people were still dying. Hence, the struggle for compensation penalties and asbestos banned in the rest of Italy continued. See Natali, de Nardin Budó 2018; Ferraro 2016, 2018; Altopiedi 2014.

11 The term "discretionary power" means a power which leaves an administrative authority some degree of latitude as it regards the decision to be taken, enabling to choose from the several legally admissible decisions the one which it finds to be the most appropriate.

12 Biocide is the act of using a chemical substance or microorganism intended to destroy, to deter or to control the people's file and the animals' life.

sidering the consequences of outsourcing – the Isochimica situation represents a sort of hierarchy of workers' life.

Therefore, specifically, we conceptualize the shift to asbestos self-banning in OGR by Railway authorities as a case of biopolitical governmentality. As will be shown below, the context of the managerial power of Ferrovie dello Stato reflects rudimentary mechanisms of power used in modern states and facilitates the intersection of the politics of life and death. Borrowing from Castel (2003), this kind of self-ban represents a surveillance technique on labour.

In *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault (2007, pp. 20-27) differentiates among sovereign, juridical, disciplinary and biopolitical spaces and Isochimica is a biopolitical space to the extent that the public train company has been exercising governance through risk, introducing an economy within work and civil rights (Beck 1992).

Within this framing, a fundamental aspect of the historical-epistemological process is how workers' health has become a legal-political issue in businesses' privatization, a process which coincided with the decline of the welfare state and the arising of new discourses around the problems of the victimized people.

Furthermore, workers have become the object of analysis and care in the biopolitical domain (Foucault 2010; Rabinow, Rose 2003, 2006), which has re-defined the type of powers exerted over workers' lives. The birth of Isochimica from outsourcing can be categorized as a hazard transferred from Northern to Southern Italy, thereby continuing with a colonial form of industrial development. Petrillo (2016, 2013), for example, defined the economic relationship between the Italian nation and the South (also known as *Mezzogiorno*) as a form of colonialism within a country, paraphrasing the title of a book edited by Jane Schneider (1998).

Achille Mbembe (2003) with "Necropolitics" refers to the control of death as a crucial element of biopower, usually defined as the control over life. Biopower thus also suppresses and controls human desires, indirectly perpetuating the capitalist system (Deleuze, Guattari 2009). In addition, Isochimica situation connects the notion of biopolitics to the de-territorialization of the Welfare State.

From this perspective, Ferrovie dello Stato thus creates a perimeter of death in the de-territorialization of the welfare state by first experimenting and then introducing external pressure on OGR, thereby facilitating the industry's internal adaptation to a global work model through a performative dynamic. Indeed, the welfare state has been de-territorializing through outsourcing and discrepancies have augmented because different social agents

have exerted unequal economic power. Agents tend, by the same token, to submit subaltern groups to "objective" standards imposed by production requirements, where the re-organization of production benefits dominant groups (Bourdieu 2003, p. 93). The effects of the governance are not limited to the outsourcing of asbestos removal and remediation, but also concern the beginning of subcontracting strategies that have accentuated the discrimination of labor.

3. *A Hazardous Story: The Asbestos at Department of Officine Grandi Riparazioni*

> In the first months of 1971, the undersigned was employed at Ferrovie dello Stato [FF.SS.] as a qualified worker […] at Officine Grandi Riparazioni [OGR] – in its maintenance workshop – in Turin, where he worked until mid-1978. He then moved to the railway station of Campo di Marte in Florence. […] While in Turin at OGR, […] he was in a team responsible for reassembling the entire paneling, which was first embedded in an asbestos structure and then re-sprayed with asbestos. […] He held this position for about seven and a half years. […] Afterwards, in mid-1978, […] he was transferred to Florence, where […] he worked on minor repairs and was once more exposed to asbestos, albeit at a lesser degree (Osservatorio Nazionale sull'amianto 2013, p. 1)[13].

The above statement was reported in Vincenzo Grimaldi's complaint, as he was a direct witness of asbestos use. Many other biographies help to comprehend this complex case. Annibale Doninelli died because of asbestos exposure at the age of 45, after working at an OGR as a technician in Bologna department in 1975. The provision taken by the court was a compensation of 751,150 euro for his wife and son by Ferrovie dello Stato. We have also explored Bruno's story: he was contaminated by asbestos at the OGR in Bologna and passed away in 2005. During an interview, his daughter Angela said

> From 1962 to 1980 Bruno breathed asbestos, a very long time. He got sick a year and a half after the beginning of the trial against the nine executives and railroad officers and died shortly after this. He continued to engage in the difficult trial because he found it unacceptable that one could get sick while working (Osservatorio Nazionale sull'amianto, 2013, p. 7)[14].

13 National Observatory on Asbestos. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

14 The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

Bruno got sick with mesothelioma a year and a half after the beginning of the trial against the nine executives and railroad officers. The ruling acknowledged that contamination occurred specifically during the technical maintenance process. At the time, Bruno and his family fiercely resisted the extraordinary and destructive power of asbestos.

Following Foucault (2010), a regime can personify a historical issue through biopolitics, as the acceptance of such a truth gives rise to a process of subjection and subjectivation. Regarding the procedures of manifestation, they are an obligation for all individuals. Whilst policies do not withhold rights, they stimulate human beings' compulsions over these and the effects they expect from these obligations, when and insofar as they are fulfilled" (Lorenzini 2016).

> As for the governance of truth, the public company has provided extrajudicial management, using a generous compensation as a paradoxical practice of domination. When interviewed by a journalist at the Bologna Courthouse, Angela commented: «I would understand if it was just my dad who was contaminated, he had been employed at *Officine* in 1962. But no one else got contaminated? No one knows anything about the terrible effects of asbestos?»[15].

The truth on contamination is importantly faced by Rosalba Altopiedi's research (2014) about the Eternit case. The complaint given to a single worker not only represented the truth on asbestos contamination, but also a precious instrument on the asbestos affair. In analyzing the respective documents of the compensated workers, it is evident that the construction and maintenance of Italian railway carriages made extensive use of the mineral between the 1940s and 1970s. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the company used the mineral for carriage insulation and renovation. Some of the first reports on machinists contaminated by asbestos were written by Battista *et al.* (1999) and Maltoni *et al.* (1995), providing further detailed information on those workers which eventually contracted mesothelioma.

As Battista *et al.* (1999, p. 537) clarify:

> The use of asbestos as an insulating agent in railway carriages started in the 1940s, with the application of chrysotile boards in specific parts around the heating system. In the 1950s, the crocidolite mixtures were sprayed on the carriage's entire internal surface. Insulation workers were employed by expert companies and wore protective equipment, yet often operated while alongside

15 In Gentile G., *La Battaglia di Mio padre, morto d'amianto*, in «l'Unità», 28th June 2006. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

other workers which had no equipment for different tasks. Asbestos exposure could thus have been caused both by the work process itself, particularly that of assemblers, finishers, joiners, upholsterers, electricians, maintenance workers and cleaners; and through ambient air contamination.

In 1982, the company began drafting the asbestos self-ban. Outsourcing was deeply inscribed from the onset within its privatization strategy. As Rodríguez Miglio (2018) explains, outsourcing for engineering services and automobile manufacturers began in 1979 and is closely related to the decentralization of production. As he shows, the two elements constitute a phenomenon that was novel in terms of intensity and form, but not in its essence. Indeed, the commercial competition and the need for adaptation called for technical efficiency at the end of the global supply chain. In this local and global scenario, outsourcing allowed public and private companies to focus their efforts on what they knew best and seek specialized vendors for other production purposes. This allowed for the elimination of the necessary extensive infrastructure and the enhancement of more flexible production units. Outsourcing can thus be conceptualized as an early form of market flexibility, such that the public company's experimentation with it effectively anticipated the privatization of the sector. Uncoincidentally, the outsourcing agreement was reached in 1982, long before the process leading to the asbestos ban.

Although considerable knowledge on the mortality caused by asbestos has been collected since 1972, silence on the case has fueled extra-judicial solutions in accordance with biopolitical governance. This in turn has shaped a particular type of governance that is deliberately tailored to deal with trade unions and workers. The management board has faced important challenges, both external threats and internal conflicts, as evident in two key developments. Firstly, the crucial involvement of trade unions and workers in identifying and documenting the dangers of asbestos; secondly, workers have been developing new powers for maintaining sovereignty over the workforce and the OGR. In the summer of 1972, Ferrovie dello Stato was setting off a security plan for its departments, which the unions[16] approved in partnership with the company's board.

16 In this text we refer to the following railway trade unions: 1) CGIL-SFI (or SFI) is the Italian railroaders' union (*Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani*), with a more distinctive left-wing approach; 2) CISL-SAUFI (or SAUFI, *Sindacato Autonomo Ferrovieri Italiani*), the railways' Catholic unions; 3) UIL-SIUF (or SIUF, *Sindacato Italiano Unitario Ferrovieri*) is the non-partisan Railroad Units Union. The trade unions demanded for risk reduction in the maintenance departments. During the

This trade union action can be examined as having incorporated the liberal economic discourse and having in this way transformed the right to health into a social cost. In fact, the demand for wage increases has been exchanged for the health of the OGR workers. A culture of risk will thus reach those cases where job security is not obtained. However, as Rose (2001, p. 3) suggests, this occurs «in a spiral biopolitics movement, where the culture of risk is arbitrary».

As a political actor, FF.SS. thus initiated a complex entanglement between life and the politics of death when it waged war on asbestos. The board decided that newly built rollers would no longer be insulated with sprayed asbestos and deemed essential the workforce be equipped with adequate protection equipment. This shows how the apparatus was not interested in the concrete risks embedded in the production process, but rather exercised an arbitrary pressure, which influenced the constriction of trade unions' own discourse. In fact, management's actions changed when half of the workforce was sick and the trade unions began to assert themselves more decisively through strikes and exposing the deadly truth of asbestos.

Subsequently, the discourse on protections changed through the distribution of a pamphlet at the gates of the OGR in Foligno. The pamphlet was published by Ivo, Marco and Sergio[17] in the communist newspaper *Lotta Continua*. The document reported 31 cases of cancer within the OGR branch and was written by *Medicina Democratica*, a humanitarian organization providing medical and therapeutic assistance. It described the state of contamination at the Foligno department, communicating that the mesothelioma index was higher there than the town's average. Indeed, the index on cancer results was higher by 2.4 % between 1965 and 1974; and by 3.4% between 1974 and 1977. The most damaging departments were those focusing repairs and equipped with wrapping machines[18]. In the latter's case (with 13 deaths between 1967 and 1977), the average index for mesothelioma was 1.18, with an increase up to 1.75 between 1974 and 1977[19].

labor dispute, the monitoring of powders was approved through the provision of a plant physician and an environmental survey technician, with trade unions arranging the establishment of environmental activities. At the time, unions were struggling with funding for the asbestos removal after the first investment of 2,000 billion lire. As a result, a supplementary plan provided refinancing with an amount of 12,450 billion lire in 1981.

17 Ivo, Marco e Sergio, *Le vedove dei ferrovieri di Foligno*, in «Lotta Continua», pp. 14-16, July 1979.

18 *Ivi*, p. 14.

19 *Ivi*, p. 15.

As result of this, in a press note issued by SFI, SAUFI, SIUF (published on the daily newspaper *Unità*[20]), some workers protested against the train company. But later they began to disagree with the trade unions positions and in particular they dissented and opposed the left union SFI. Amongst them, there was the young Giovanni[21], who said:

> The comrades and I did not understand anymore. The strike had succeeded, but at the same time, the traditional trade union secretary told us that neither he nor our representatives would have participated[22].

The result was a new clash between trade unions, workers and *Medicina Democratica* activists distributing flyers which denounced the situation. Relating to this situation, Ivo, Marco, and Sergio reported Angelo's words:

> The grassroots associations push for the closure of the department because of the working conditions being hazardous to human health. But this is at odds with the trade union actions, which have put pression for the reclamation of carcinogenic departments only and suggested the expansion of new departments within the plants[23].

Both OGR workers and Cub[24] activists were punished severely and many people lost their jobs. These individuals paid for showing that railroad workers had an elevated risk of occupational exposure to asbestos because of its presence in old railcars and tracks. When working with these materials, workers were at elevated risk of developing asbestos-related diseases because just a single, invisible fibre of asbestos could cause mesothelioma (Magnani *et al.* 2020).

The FF.SS. board allocated two billion lire for the removal of asbestos and crocidolite from the wagons and locomotives. Therefore, the build-up to the asbestos ban and the outsourcing procedures became an affair of trade union defeat.

---

20 Romizi G., *L'occhio puntato sulle grandi Officine*, in «l'Unità», 8 luglio 1979.

21 Giovanni retired in 2007 after the mesothelioma diagnosis.

22 Ivo, Marco e Sergio, *Le vedove dei ferrovieri di Foligno*, op.cit., p. 14. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

23 *Ivi*, p. 16. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

24 The basic unit committees (Cub) emerged from four groups of unionized workers which were organized in the spring of 1971. The small trade union organization quickly spread throughout industries of the North, especially around the Italy's major industrial triangle (Milan-Turin-Genoa).

However, as far as maintenance is concerned, the FF.SS. board has started a radical change because the manufacturing worker is no longer the central figure as in the Taylorist-Fordist production scheme. According to Miglio (2018), in this way outsourcing is a manifestation of flexible specialization in post-Fordism. As Kumar indicated (2005, p. 88), «[…] the industrialization of production was ultimately followed by the industrialization of the mind». This industrial revolution thus did not solely produce economic level changes but influenced several societal spheres through the systematic application of social and scientific techniques geared at regulating the relations of production and thus industrial relations.

The theory of flexible specialization, which has emerged in developed countries relating to subcontracting, has *de facto* been recognised as the way forward. The pursuit of this strategy is a growing concern, for as this work moves and increases in developing countries, while its risks become the burden of new victims. Of course, the removal of asbestos has significantly reduced the risks of contagion but it has weakened workers' bargaining power jointly because flexible specialisation sustains a process for which the issues on the asbestos use in productive processes are simply moved elsewhere. In addition, this dynamic has strengthened employers' bargaining power *vis-a-vis* industrial unions.

As a private capitalist firm, the public company altered the existing distribution of work as well as the classification of wages and skills. Outsourcing is thus to be conceptualised as the emergence of a new form of labour-market segmentation, which also serves to start privatisation. FF.SS. initiated the outsourcing process through a ten-year agreement proposal plan, whereby six external firms (including Isochimica) accepted to engage in the proposal for asbestos removal from 516 electric locomotives, 1002 light electrical parts, 271 lightweight thermal parts, and 4044 carriages (Petrillo 2016).

Furthermore, 70 billion lire a year were granted to a non-listed company maintenance provider, such that the agreement between the rural factory Isochimica and Italian state railways group represented a paradigmatic occurrence. In 1983, the mayor of Avellino granted authorisation for hygiene treatment of ferrous materials only (in accordance with Article 48 of Presidential Decree 303/1956), while the USL4 (Local health company) was identified for disposal processes.

On 25 November 1983, 348 workers from the OGR Department in Prato accused the corporation's role relating to sub-supplier to Isochimica s.p.a. and work-related health risks. They knew that the introduction of subcontracting has been used as a sort of "refreshment stand" for conciliating the labour movement.

This view is endorsed by Pietro, an ex-worker of Isochimica at the Avellino train, who currently volunteers for a trade union. During our interview, he showed a newspaper, explaining: «This is my first talk. It was published in a local newspaper»[25]. The chapter tells the story of OGR: «The board has allowed the contaminated vehicles and started the Isochimica business in South Italy»[26]. Within this context, Pietro highlighted that:

> The wagons are sanitised directly at the train station. At first, we thought the factory's opening could be a sort of redemption from the earthquake situation, a way to find a job and make some money. But, in reality, those carriages were sent to us because we were the earthquake victims, and we needed to work[27].

Compared to this Marcello, an ex colleague of Pietro, added:

> We remembered our lunch breaks when we shook off our suits covered with dust before drinking our coffee. It was the only preventive measure at our disposal, but, at the same time, it further dispersed asbestos particles in the air. As a result, 20,000 tons of asbestos contaminated the Sabato river and the site of the factory[28].

Renato Altissimo[29], Secretary of the Liberal Party, proposed to reduce the economic power of the Italian State Railways in a more proportioned way through the privatisation of the sector[30].

---

25 Interview to Pietro, 67 years old, Avellino, 15 November, 2014. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

26 *Ibidem*.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 Interview to Marcello, 61 years old, Avellino, 15 November, 2014. The testimony was translated by the authors of this paper.

29 Renato Altissimo was secretary of the Italian Liberal Party (PLI) from 1986 to 1993. He was Minister of Health in the first Cossiga Government, in the first and the second Spadolini Governments, in the fifth Fanfani Government. He was Minister of Industry in the first Craxi Government. In 1993 he was sentenced for a bribe of 200 million lire. He admitted the wrongdoing, as he was involved also in the Enimont trial, for which he was sentenced in June 1998 to eight months in prison. In 2004, he joined the new Liberal Italian Party, which later joined forces with Forza Italia, thanks to a nomination in 2006 rather than through an election.

30 This liberalization proposal overshadowed the struggle taking place at the Santa Maria la Bruna's Department of OGR. The workers occupied the factory after finding out that twenty colleagues tested positive for asbestos. Workers' complaints turned them into the Italian state railways' enemies. For more information, see: Manente 2007 and Maggi 2013.

We also have to point out that in the early 1990s, Paolo Vaccari, revealed – in an article published in the weekly magazine *Panorama*[31] – that the sanitation of carriages proved to be a failure: only 700 carriages were either totally or partially reconditioned. The news later has been confirmed by a union trade note where writing that FF.SS. disposed only for the permanent removal of asbestos on rolling material present in 377 steam pipe rolls, in the case of 2146 rolls containing asbestos as the insulating material, and in 70 rotating rolls which were in an advanced state of degradation. The Company further confirmed the information in June 1995 in a letter. This note stressed that works on rolling materials prior to 1990 did not offer a full guarantee on the elimination of all the remaining asbestos still present in insulation and denounced the sales contracts of the infected to wagons to Eastern European countries. In the same investigation, some Trenitalia technicians confessed that the process of land reclamation was definitively not concluded until 2003[32].

4. *The Use of Asbestos Contamination as a Discursive Shock*

This story is not unlike other stories on environmental health struggles. Indeed, the dramatic elements of innocent victims, a deceptive corporation and an ineffective bureaucracy resonate with other public narratives about toxic exposure. It is through these narratives that unresponsive government agencies provide a framework for interpreting events and making judgments. All these stories are framed with a dramatic structure characterised by stark oppositions, simplification and moral outrage. These narrative elements are related to the liberal strategies to dominate the economically weaker territories and populations.

For example, the asbestos case weakened the most unionised areas of the North and gradually defined a new form of industrial relations in Central and Southern Italy. Furthermore, public rail transport privatisation proposals caused the loss of 40% of railroad jobs.

According to Manente (2007), jobs in the railroad sector began to decrease in 1988 and then witnessed an exodus between the early and mid-1990s. As a result, employment in this sector dropped to 112.018 in 1999. Dismissals continued in the early 2000s, thereby reducing employment in the railroad sector to about 100,000 workers in 2003.

31 Vaccari P., *La morte viaggia sui binari*, in «I rapporti di Greenpeace», p. 5. Retrieved from https://docplayer.it/16575527-La-morte-viaggia-sui-binari.html

32 For more information see Rossito 2008.

As discussed, the Italian state railways group launched a self-banning plan for asbestos and its agreement with small firms was used as a form of concession for addressing OGR workers' demands. The final act of the agreement effectively delimited traditional labour law, for its specific normative perspective has not centred on the rights of employees and trade unions. Labour laws tend to clash with other normative legal premises, particularly when the social and industrial grounds on which employment rights and collective bargaining cease to exist (Supiot 1999). In the OGR case, workers' rights clashed with social security. Nevertheless, anticipating the logic of privatization, subcontracting practices managed to facilitate successfully labour market flexibility procedures in the public system.

Subcontracting has significant and varied repercussions on workers, such as the inability to benefit from certain working conditions that collective resistance towards the company could guarantee.

Through subcontracting, each worker is subjected to different working conditions set by different employers and thereby fragmenting workers' struggles as each worker separately fights for his or her rights. This dynamic has negatively impacted the economy, as unemployment increased through the loss of around 104,292 jobs. Furthermore, it has unveiled the widespread inequalities in terms of wealth and power, while simultaneously inspiring resistance movements.

Post-Fordist theory remains invaluable for its careful attention to how changes over time produce transformations and for its analysis of specific transformations in specific places.

We can consider, for example, the theories about Third Italy's industrial districts (Bianchini 1991).

This approach effectively points to how transformations in economic life are not isolated from economic-material changes. Rather, post-Fordist theory connects these with developments in non-economic spheres such as the family and the balance between home and work time as well as men and women. It also explores lifestyles and consumption patterns, while also examining the notions of individual identity in relation to the acceptance of low-interest loans and the introduction of taxation benefits. Therefore, in the political bargaining game, secondary institutions (such as towns and provinces) have mediated conflict with the central authority and the job world. This political game has turned small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) into the subject of intense public promotion that has benefited them. In this political game, we need to position the relationship between FF.SS. and Isochimica, technically born as a medium asbestos business.

Indeed, the birth of SMEs reflected a compromise between the interests of big and small enterprises. The still evident systemic effects of this agreement rest on two essential elements: tax exemption through practices of the submerged economy and non-applicable rules, which are meant to protect and ensure job security. The fiscal pact signed between the State and the SMEs was thus also necessary for managing the welfare state. Coined as a failure of state action, government/governance techniques have resized the social space and led to a steady erosion of public sovereignty as well as a reduction of state/federal intervention in the welfare state. Borrowing from Kumar (2005), in this context the history of asbestos, the biopolitics sovereignty, representing the reframing of the monetary authority, has had paroxysms effects on OGR: outsourcing contributed to subtracting the power of managed work from trade unions and workers.

To be sure, the FF. SS. board's decision to outsource the asbestos processing is a case of schizophrenic capitalism (Deleuze, Guattari 2009); we explain why in the following part.

FF. SS. has relocated production and made extensive use of subcontracting as act of economic flexibility, intercepting the risks of the Workers' Statute, and acting to reduce them. To give an example, Act 300 – a fundamental legal instrument for governing collective labour relations approved on May 20, 1970 – marked a change of attitude towards organized labour and with respect to the Italian constitution's article number 39 and to the *abstentionism* of the 1950s and 1960s. The law did not intervene in the regulation of trade unions at a national level but rather aimed at promoting their presence at the plant level.

The act no longer focuses on the recognition of unions and the extension of collective agreements but on those fundamental rights granted to the most representative unions and workers to promote union activity and cooperative negotiating within the workplace. Those most influential representative groups and agents have been granted the time and the right to hold meetings on company premises, as well as employee time off for union activities, checkoffs, and exceptional protection against discrimination. The labour market was thus actively supported by establishing the minimum legal conditions necessary for guaranteeing a safety net for marginal employees. Nationwide and enterprise-wide collective bargaining has been encouraged within the broader regulation of the majority of employees' wages and working conditions.

Based on Act 300, the public actor existed and acted towards safeguarding health conditions. This emerges clearly from Article 9, which grants workers the right to monitor accidents or occupational diseases and promote research for protecting health.

Indeed, the train company constructed its discursive response by creating a stark contrast between workplace risk and asbestos risk. These different narrations on risk have produced biopolitical control over the population, leading (as we have seen) to a conflict between trade unions about the management of the asbestos dispute. The same rhetoric was used to subject workers to the subcontracted factories and to make them depend economically on the train company's decisions, which can influence aspects such as the number of workers and the training and structuring policies. As Robert Castel (2003) contends in his labour and welfare state history, in early-modern and contemporary Europe, the central issue is both a question of labour and social welfare control. These are two crucial constants, which directly bear on a community's embeddedness and its capability to work.

5. *Conclusion*

Through these analyzes we have tried to explain the governance practices behind the issue of asbestos contamination amongst public train workers, arguing and demonstrating that the Italian State Railways has experimented with a "perimeter of death" as conceptualised by Mbembe (2003) within the context of de-territorialization of the welfare state (Bourdieu 2003).

As demonstrated by the role of OGR, this public company implemented its management strategy by treating the cost of health and the need for work as instrumental, discursive means to control workers' rights and its economic profit. This has weakened trade unions' structure and has restructured the public transport sector, which, as a result, is characterized by flexible labour conditions. So, FF.SS. used subcontracting as a business strategy characterized by a form of biopolitical domination. In fact, this technique aimed to direct and control workers' social and economic power. Crucially, this biopolitical tactic produced a re-territorialisation of the processes of life and death production; biopower is not exerted through specifically confined and circumscribed spaces of authority, but through the creation of a new economic-productive context, which extends the reach of its control over workers' life and death.

Accordingly, the analysis investigated the emergence of these new channels of power, pointing to the active decisions taken by the company and their destructive consequences for the workers affected by asbestos.

It seemed necessary to deepen these aspects of OGR, as they are also crucial in understanding the mechanisms of political and economic power

that have defined the Isochimica story. Relating to the events of the Irpinian asbestos factory, after many years we have a first degree sentence which, however, does not take into account all political and managerial responsibilities; it does not take into account when FF.SS. outsourced the removal of asbestos to Isochimica was in effect a state and public company; it does not take into account the right to compensation of sick workers; it estimates the life of the dead workers only 50,000 euro.

So, we hope that these sociological analyzes (and the others we will work on later) will serve to speed up the next successive degrees of judgment by the Court, with new and more in-depth analyzes on responsibilities and compensation. Above all, we hope that the next steps of trial, in view of the gravity of the events, will avoid the prescription of crimes.

References

Altopiedi R., 2014, *Eternit trial: Teflections and doubts on a controversial verdict*, in «Epidemiologia e Prevenzione. Rivista dell'Associazione italiana di epidemiologia», n. 38, vol. 6, pp. 345-348.

Battista G., Belli S., Comba P., Fiumalbi C. Grignoli M., Loi F., Orsi D., Paredes I., 1999, *Mortality due to asbestos-related causes among railway carriage construction and repair workers*, in «Occupational Medicine», vol. 49, n. 8, pp. 536-539.

Beck U., 1992, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London, Sage.

Bianchini F., 1991, *The Third Italy: Model or myth?*, in «Ekistics», vol. 58, pp. 336-345.

Boggio A., 2013, *Compensating asbestos victims. Law and the dark side of industrialization*, London, Routledge.

Bourdieu P., 2003, *Firing back: Against the tyranny of the market 2*, New York, New Press.

Castel R., 2003, *From manual workers to wage laborers. Transformation of the social question*, London, Routledge.

D'Ascenzio A., 2015, *Microcosmo imprenditoriale irpino: tra polvere e macerie*, in P. Saitta, ed., *Fukushima*, *Concordia e altre macerie. Vita quotidiana, resistenza e gestione del disastro*, Firenze, Editpress, pp. 81-92.

Deleuze G., Guattari F., 2009, *Capitalism and schizophrenia. 2 vol*., London, Penguin Classics.

Ferraro S., 2016, *Diritto e amianto: la giustizia in polvere. Un'analisi socio-giuridica della sentenza Eternit*, in A. Simone, F. Zappino, ed. by, *Fare giustizia. Neoliberismo e diseguaglianze*, Mimesis, Milano-Udine, pp. 141-157.

Id., 2018, *L'impunità della strage da amianto: tra legislazione e giurisprudenza*, in S. Palidda, a cura di, *Resistenze ai disastri sanitari, ambientali ed economici nel Mediterraneo*, DeriveApprodi, Roma, pp. 202-224.

Foucault M., 1980, *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*, New York, Pantheon.

Id., 2007, *Security, territory, population. Lectures at the College de France, 1911-18*, London, Palgrave Macmillan.
Id., 2010, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*, London, Picador.
Id., 2019, *Penal Theories and Institutions: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1971-1972*, London, Picador.
Gatta G. L., 2015, *Il diritto e la giustizia penale davanti al dramma dell'amianto: riflettendo sull'epilogo del caso Eternit*, in «Diritto penale contemporaneo», n. 1, pp. 77-84.
Kumar K.,1995, *From post-industrial to post-modern society: New theories of the contemporary world*, Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers.
Lorenzini D., 2016, *On the Government of the Living*; retrieved: http://blogs.law.columbia.edu/foucault1313/2016/02/07/daniele-lorenzini-on-on-the-government-of-the-living.
Maggi S., 2013, *Le Ferrovie*, Bologna, il Mulino.
Magnani C. *et al.*, 2020, *Italian pool of asbestos workers cohorts: asbestos related mortality by industrial sector and cumulative exposure*, in «Annali dell'Istituto Superiore di Sanità», vol. 56, n. 3, pp. 292-302.
Maltoni C., Pinto C., Carnuccio R., Valenti D., Lodi P., Amaducci E., 1995, *Mesotheliomas following exposure to asbestos used in railroads: 130 Italian cases*, in «International Journal of Occupational and Environmental Health», vol. 86, n. 5, pp. 461-477.
Manente D., 2007, *Il lungo treno della privatizzazione: da Ferrovie di Stato a ferrovie di libero mercato. Trent'anni di trasformazioni raccontate dai ferrovieri*, in «Storia e Futuro. Rivista di storia e storiografia», n. 15, pp. 1-15.
Mbembe A., 2003, *Necropolitics*, in «Public Culture», vol. 15, n. 1, pp. 11-40.
Miglio R., 2018, *Understanding outsourcing and subcontracting: An approach from the theory of surplus value*, in «Latin American Perspectives», vol. 45, n. 6, pp. 114-126.
Natali L., de Nardin Budó M., 2018, *A sensory and visual approach for comprehending environmental victimization by the asbestos industry in Casale Monferrato*, in «European Journal of Criminology», vol. 16, n. 6, pp. 708-727.
Osservatorio Nazionale sull'amianto, 2013, *Atto di esposto del Sig. Grimaldi Vincenzo*, in «www.ambienteambienti.com», link: https://www.ambienteambienti.com/amianto-nelle-ferrovie-dello-stato-ancora denunce.
Petrillo A., 2015, ed., *Il silenzio della polvere. Capitale, verità e morte in una storia meridionale di amianto*, Milano-Udine, Mimesis.
Petrillo A., 2013, *Ethnicity as Politics, Race as Policy: Discourses and Spaces in Advanced Liberal States*, in M. Lianos, ed., *Dangerous Others, Insecure Societies: Fear and Social Divisions*, Farnham, Ashgate, pp. 129-139
Id., 2016, *The use of natural disasters to turn the rule of law into corrupt governance, favouring private companies*, in S. Palidda, ed., *Governance of security and ignored insecurities in contemporary Europe*, London, Routledge, pp. 191-213.
Petryna A., 2013, *Life exposed*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Rabinow P., Rose N., 2003, *Thoughts on the concept of biopower today*, link: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:w6i1X1ozVGsJ:is.muni.cz/el/fss/jaro2016/SAN106/um/RABINOW_ROSE_BiopowerToday03.pdf&cd=1&hl=it&ct=clnk&gl=it

Id., 2006, *Biopower Today*, in «BioSocieties», n. 1, pp. 195-217.

Ramazzini C., 1999, *Call for an international ban on asbestos*, in «International Journal of Occupational Medicine and Environmental Health», n. 3, vol. 12, pp. 285-288.

Romano B., 2014, *Il dovere nel diritto. Giustizia, uguaglianza, interpretazione*, Torino, Giappichelli.

Rose N., 2001, *The politics of life itself. Theory, Culture and Society*, in «Theory, Culture & Society», vol. 18, n. 6, pp. 1-30.

Id., 2006, *The Politics of Life Itself. Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century*, Oxford, Princenton University Press.

Ruggiero V., Gounev P., 2012, *Corruption and Organized Crime in Europe: Illegal Partneships*, Londra, Routledge.

Saitta P., 2009, *Spazi e società a rischio. Ecologia, petrolio e mutamento a Gela*, Napoli, Think Thanks.

Id., 2010, *Il petrolio e la paura. Popolazioni, spazio e altra economia nelle aree a rischio siciliane*, Roma, Aracne Editrice.

Saitta P., 2015, ed., *Fukushima*, *Concordia e altre macerie. Vita quotidiana, resistenza e gestione del disastro*, Firenze, Editpress.

Schneider J., 1998, *Italy's Southern Question: Orientalism in one Country*, New York, Berg.

Supiot A., 1999, *The transformation of work and the future of labour law in Europe: A multidisciplinary perspective*, in «International Labour Review», vol. 138, n. 1, pp. 31-46.

Telesca M., 2015, *Osservazioni sulla l. n. 68/2015 recante "disposizioni in materia di delitti contro l'ambiente": ovvero i chiaroscuri di una agognata riforma*, in «www.penalecontemporaneo.it», 17 luglio; al link: www.penalecontemporaneo.it/d/4071-osservazioni-sulla-l-n-682015-re-cante--disposizioni-in-materia-di-delitti-contro-l-ambiente--ovvero.

Terracini B., 2019, *Contextualising the policy decision to ban asbestos*, in «The Lancet», n. 3, link: https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(19)30134-2.

Wagner C. J., Sleggs C. A., Machand P., 1960, *Diffuse pleural mesothelioma and asbestos exposure in the North-Western Cape Province*, in «British Journal of Industrial Medicine», vol. 17, pp. 260-271.