New Actors in Multiagency Settings to Address, Redress, and Prevent Severe Labor Exploitation

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Abstract

This contribution conceptualizes multiagency settings and methodologies in the context of labor exploitation. It draws from existing literature and from an empirical base that includes the experience of practitioners engaged in outreach social work in the anti-trafficking network in Northern Italy with partners and stakeholders during the FARm project, an EU co-funded project to create preventive networks against agricultural labor exploitation in Northern Italy (www.project-farm.eu). The project brough together a vast partnership of private, public, and non-profit agencies, in a co-construction of knowledge and interventions for the prevention, contrast and redressing of agricultural labor exploitation, previously documented (Zadra & Elsen, 2022, 2023; Zadra et al. 2022). This contribution focuses on delineating a methodological profile of multiagency work. On one hand, it underlines the contribution of outreach social workers to the multiagency context, the synergy and boundary work that this setting entails. Secondly, it explores the evolving dynamics of multiagency settings, expanding alliances with new social actors to build more comprehensive responses to severe exploitation, following the change of this phenomenon across different time periods and territorial contexts. Finally, it showcases the proposed conceptualization by documenting new forms of multiagency collaboration experimented by the anti-trafficking agencies in Northern Italy with universities and labor services during the FARm project.

1. Labor Exploitation in Agriculture as a Structural Issue

Labor exploitation is a growing phenomenon. Its severity is measured according to the extent in which work conditions deviate from legal standards of decent work (Delautre et al., 2021). Severe forms of labor exploitation are defined as "work situations that deviate significantly from standard working conditions as defined by legislation … of the EU Member State where the exploitation occurs", especially concerning the areas of "remuneration, working hours, leave entitlements, health and safety standards and decent treatment" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2019, p. 10). When conditions of exploitation are imposed on persons under coercion, or under the pressure of vulnerable situations, it constitutes forced labor.

The difficulties of quantifying severe labor exploitation are many: the undergrown nature of organized crime, the absence of shared standards of fair work conditions, and the growth of undeclared economies, and more. Estimates, however, are worrisome: The International Labor Organization ILO in 2021 has estimated 27.6 million people victims of forced labor at a global scale (against 25 million in 2016), 12% of which are children, and 4.1 million in Europe & Central Asia (ILO et al., 2022). *The Atlas of Enslavement* by the Rosa-Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS, 2021) documents new forms of slavery as a growing global phenomenon, reporting that in Europe, even though "hundreds of thousands of persons – many of them migrants – are being exploited", anti-trafficking measures have significantly regressed in the last 10 years (pp. 49–50). The report also indicates Italian agriculture among the sectors affected by severe exploitation in Europe. Current conservative estimates show around 180,000 people subject to conditions of severe exploitation in Italian agriculture alone (OPR & FLAI-CGIL, 2020, p. 188). Legal measures are important but insufficient against this phenomenon: "The current reality of the world of work contradicts the basic assumption that forced labor, human trafficking and modern slavery are anomalous phenomena and can therefore be eradicated through criminal justice measures" (RLS, 2021, p. 17).

In fact, it is a structural issue with complex causes, particularly in agriculture. The process of industrialisation of agricultural production and the extension and globalisation of the trajectories of food, from the field to the table, have led to a decrease in small farms and the concentration of land in vast estates, with intense exploitation of land and labor. In addition, the multiplication of intermediaries and the pressure from large-scale retail monopolies to lower producer prices contributes to precarious labor (Corrado, 2018; Cornice et al., 2020). On the one hand, it has led to an erosion of working conditions, particularly the increasingly intermittent periods of employment, the contraction of wages, the deterioration of hygienic and housing conditions, and the intensity and concentration of working hours. This poverty of labor offer meets a low-agency labor demand, of many migrants and asylum seekers, particularly those recently arrived and/or without valid residence documents (Gansemans & D'Haese, 2020). Legal intermediary channels, both public and private, sometimes struggle to provide an effective labor force with the intermittent rhythms required for perishable crops. Immediate access to a cheap agricultural labor force is thus facilitated by illicit intermediaries, who pressure exploited migrants into inhuman production rhythms (King et al., 2021, p. 54).

2. Transdisciplinary Methodologies of Research and Development in the FARm Project

This contribution builds upon transdisciplinary reflections about a wide range of empirical materials collected and iteratively analysed and discussed in the FARm project (www.project-farm.eu), an EU co-funded project guided by a consortium of universities and including a wide array of partners, public, private, and non-profit from a variety of sectors, aimed to contrast agricultural labor exploitation through the creation or reinforcement of preventive networks for the co-creation of knowledge and interventions in the regions of Veneto, Lombardia, Trentino, and South Tyrol. The research culture and processes structuring the contribution of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano were guided by Susanne Elsen, particularly her views on

transdisciplinary and transformative research and development (Elsen, 2019). Moreover, her acute understanding of interprofessional dynamics, of stakeholder interest coordination, of participative co-construction of knowledge as well as integrated local development were essential to the impactful results emerging from the project.

The main steps of the process are described in Fig. 1. The empirical base includes more than 30 in-depth interviews with partners from the anti-trafficking networks active in the field as well as local stakeholders, workshops of joint and iterative construction of knowledge and interventions, transdisciplinary settings of case discussion, and more. Data was initially processed by enacting a thematic analysis of different types of gathered data, codified in MAXQDA, and informed by relevant literature. Resulting summaries were iteratively presented to partners and stakeholders for clarification, interpretation, and feedback. Thus, the many participants in this research were not considered only as expert sources or potential users of knowledge, but as active producers of such knowledge, engaged in iterative processes of data collection and data analysis. The process was, thus, coherent with the transdisciplinary methodology of social innovation research (Moulaert et al., 2017).

COLLABORATION BETWEEN RESEARCH AND OUTREACH

against severe exploitation in project FARm

1 - Joint and co-training
Joint analysis of cases, participatory workshops for the thematization of methods of intervention.

2 - Field missions
Participation of researchers in interventions and field missions, generating reflexivity on processes and collecting data on the territories of reference.

3 - Context analysis
Researchers provide scientific coaching in practitioner data collections to build analyses of local contexts.

4 - Concerted interventions
The participation of researchers in operational coordination meetings generates reflexivity and facilitates the transfer of expertise and mutual learning.

5 - Sustainable results
Anti-trafficking organizations have deepened collaborative relationships, with common languages and operational guidelines, enhancing their collective expertise.
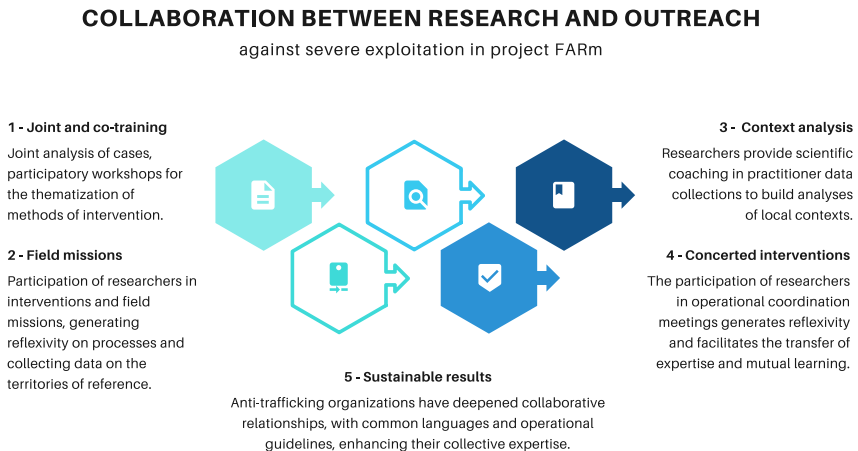
Fig. 1 – Actions in synergy between researchers and outreach social workers in FARm.

The outcomes and methodologies of the FARm project have been analysed and reported on in other publications, together with Susanne Elsen (Zadra & Elsen, 2022, 2023; Zadra et al., 2022). In this contribution we revisit a subset of the literature and the empirical materials, with a specific focus on multiagency settings. Anti-trafficking agencies in Italy have historically applied multiagency methodologies in the prevention and contrast of sexual exploitation and are presently applying it to address emerging growth of labor exploitation cases in a wide variety of fields. This brings them to widen the range of actors with which to establish operational alliances, and to widen the scope of their call to local stakeholders not only regarding more inclusive and accessible welfare systems but also to work jointly towards social and solidarity economies, fostering "an economy that works for people" (European Commission, 2021). In this collaborative contribution between research and field experts in anti-trafficking, we articulate a model of multiagency work that has been developed for many years by various agencies of the anti-trafficking national network, drawing particularly on the experience of an anti-trafficking public program, NAVIGARE, which operates within the Office of Social Protection of the Veneto regional government. After presenting the general features of multiagency work against labor exploitation, we identify the key contributions of outreach social work, and describe the widening of multiagency settings towards new social actors, presenting examples of multiagency collaboration with universities and labor agencies during the FARm project.

3. Features, Processes, and Actors of Multiagency Settings Against Labor Exploitation

The multiagency method has historically implied an openness of law enforcement to collaboration with other actors to enable more complex and effective interventions, particularly in organised crime contexts in Europe (Rosenbaum, 2002). This method is increasingly applied in the context of human trafficking involving a variety of public, private and third sector actors (Pajòn & Walsch, 2022), and incorporated into anti-trafficking policies

(Broad & Turnbull, 2019). It is characterised by a strong, structured, and continuous collaboration over time between agencies that have a common and complementary vision of the problem of trafficking in persons, and coordinate actions beyond a specific case. Degani (2020) explains:

> Multiagency work and the practices that characterise it enable the development of active (or proactive) multi-sectoral and multi-actor monitoring activities, aimed at a better knowledge of the specificities of the trafficking phenomenon on the territory of reference, as well as at the emergence, identification and, possibly, protection and social reintegration of as many victims as possible. (p. 24)

Both objectives have equal dignity in multiagency work: combating exploitation and assisting its victims. Without law-enforcement intervention and criminal prosecution of exploiters, the exploited would have no pathway to safety. At the same time, without specialised social support, this road would be oftentimes too difficult to follow, and the likelihood of re-victimisation would increase.

The multiagency method in preventing, combating, and overcoming exploitation differs from other forms of inter-institutional contact by the fact that the different actors involved share the same purpose and support each other both in reading the phenomenon and in structuring interventions, while respecting, however, the diversity in mandates, strategic objectives and methodologies envisaged by the other agencies. It implies a clear recognition of the fact that, to be effective in their own work, agencies need to rely on each other's knowledge, skills and practices. It involves a shared and contextualized understanding of the phenomenon in its evolution, as well as concerted strategies and actions, to positively contribute to each other's objectives. It is a synergetic cooperation that requires sufficient unity of purpose to be able to share a common aim, but also enough distance to understand and respect dissimilar priorities and institutional mandates, and to be enriched by the different points of view, without absorbing them into one's own professional perspective.

This delicate balance of synergy and mutual respect between institutions is built in time, usually through bottom-up processes. It starts with a connec-

tion centred on a particular project, which allows the actors of the different organisations to get to know each other and establish a partnership to jointly address a problematic situation. Cases may be identified by a referral from social services or third sector bodies, labor inspectorate, law enforcement, judicial authorities, or from a self-referral by beneficiaries themselves. This triggers partner institutions to engage in concerted actions. Such dynamics are sometimes reinforced from the top, through system-wide resources, and joint training (Elliott & Smith, 2020). It is undeniable that the discretionary role of individuals in the interpretation and structuring of arrangements and policies is an important element in these processes, and involves a mediation between professional ethics, operational evaluation criteria, available re-sources, individual motivations and more (Lipsky, 2010). However, the stip-ulation of formal partnership agreements allows a consolidation of insti-tutional relationships and makes the practice of multiagency working less dependent on individual dispositions or electoral turnover.

The effectiveness of multiagency work requires a clear definition of the role and contribution of each institution. On one hand, social workers engaged in anti-trafficking can offer law enforcement and supervisory bodies:

1) a reading of the needs of beneficiaries and facilitation in accompanying a request for help;
2) the possibility of entering into relations with people in vulnerable situa-tions;
3) a low-threshold observatory that guarantees in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon;
4) specific skills in social interviews aimed at an in-depth understanding of the exploiting conditions of potential victims;
5) a social protection and reception system aimed at the security and de-velopment of autonomy of exploited persons; and more.

Respectively, law enforcement agencies and supervisory bodies provide so-cial organisations with:

1) legal and safe access to the contexts to be monitored, even private ones;
2) contextualised discernment of working conditions with respect to legal standards;

3) indications on the elements to be collected in social interviews that may be helpful to investigations or legal proceedings;

4) referral of exploited persons to be considered as potential beneficiaries of social protection programmes;

5) support in the assessment of the risk to the safety of operators and beneficiaries, as well as forms of protection, and more.

4. The Key Contribution of Outreach Social Work

We established how essential it is to have clarity in multiagency work on each agency's mandates, methods, and contributions to the overall effort against severe exploitation. However, social professionals in the project felt there was less ambiguity about the role of law-enforcement agencies than about their own. In fact, when a high-ranking law enforcement official stated in an interview that "the first form of social support is stopping the exploitation by arresting those responsible", social professionals felt that not enough consideration was given to the time it takes to arrive to an arrest, and that the exploited persons' safety was to be prioritized during this lapse of time, which in turn might produce information leading to a faster arrest. Social agencies agreed on the need to better articulate and communicate the features and specificities of their outreach work, and we summarize here the profile they drew and which has been presented in detail by Zadra & Elsen (2022).

Social workers in anti-trafficking agencies recognized their approach in Andersson's definition of outreach social work, as

> a contact-making and resource-mediating social activity, performed in surroundings and situations that the outreach worker does not control or organise, and targeted at individuals and groups who otherwise are hard to reach and who need easy accessible linkage to support. (Andersson, 2010, p. 68 as cited in Andersson, 2013)

Outreach social work has a significant transformative potential (Grymonprez & Roose, 2022). It aims to offer support to marginalized or isolated persons and groups that are not reached by mainstream services, creating situated approaches by enacting a structured flexibility. Agencies in the project expressed the need of flexible methodologies, as well as increasingly comprehensive evaluation criteria, and a codification and validation of effective methods (also see Davy, 2015; Kiss & Zimmerman, 2019).

During the FARm project, we co-conceptualized with social professionals four (nonlinear) stages of outreach social work in contexts of exploitation and trafficking prevention:

a) contact and engagement of persons potentially exploited or at risk;
b) analysis of their needs and resources followed by a service agreement with micro-objectives to regain self-determination;
c) bridging beneficiaries with mainstream services according to need and assisting services in lowering their thresholds towards specific groups;
d) formal identification of situations of exploitation and referral to more structured supportive pathways and services (see also Zadra & Elsen, 2022).

As we see, the specialised support of social workers enables the development of a helping relationship, which supports the needs and choices of exploited persons and fosters their autonomy, as well as an effective connection with the territorial services in adequate and accessible modalities.

The essential contribution of outreach social work in multiagency contexts against severe exploitation is being equipped to reach out to persons isolated from exploitation and to support their transition from a situation of vulnerability to a reacquisition of self-determination. During that process, a relationship of trust is built, and the person's story is collected, outside of the places and times of exploitation, in ways that avoid re-traumatisation. In this way, and secured by protected pathways, exploited persons may produce more contextualised, comprehensive, and reliable accounts of the abuse they suffered. It may also increase the chances that they find and invest the personal resources required to file a complaint against their exploiters. In fact, the

time and energy that the process takes is often simply not available to severely exploited persons, as they are not always able to understand, seek and activate the support pathways they need on their own, either in training, employment, legal, welfare or psychophysical well-being. Outreach social workers follow persons while they *emerge* from exploitation, facilitating a safe space to develop an awareness which, in time, may lead to self-identification as an exploited person, and/or to the recognition of their needs to achieve greater autonomy, and to assess support pathways best suited to their situation.

5. New Alliances for Changing Contexts: Opportunities and Challenges of Multiagency Work

Over time, the openness to a multiplicity of actors, partners in the processes of law enforcement and prevention, has disseminated the multiagency approach, expanding its scope. In Italy, multiagency work developed in the contrast of sexual exploitation, and involved the police, street workers, and social and health services, as well as a greater involvement of the territorial commissions for asylum seekers, who decide on granting legal status to undocumented exploited persons. However, the growth of indoor prostitution, facilitated by digital marketing, has rendered necessary the intervention of the Postal and Communications Police[1] at the national level. On the other hand, the increasing visibility of trafficking for the purpose of labor exploitation may lead to the involvement of other actors, linked to the world of work: trade associations, trade unions, labor lawyers, INPS (National Social Security Institute) and INAIL (National Institute for Insurance against Accidents at Work), employment agencies, labor training and retraining organisations, bilateral bodies, among others. The institutional nature of the entity may facilitate the consolidation of multiagency collaborations with some actors and not others. Social workers employed within public organisations are facilitated, compared to private ones, in initiating collaborative relationships with law enforcement and supervisory bodies. On the other hand, with

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1   The Postal and Communications Police is a specialized branch of the Italian State Police, tasked with combating Internet fraud and computer crime.

private organisations, such as employer or trade unions, collaborations es-tablished by public bodies are often subjected to greater scrutiny.

While opening opportunities for more targeted and effective services, multi-agency connections may entail conflict and challenge (Waardenburg et al., 2020). Bringing distant interests and professional cultures closer together is not always possible, because of many factors, such as:

a) differences in the power, status, and financial resources of the organizations at-tempting to collaborate; b) tensions between differing, sector-based values and priorities; and c) power dynamics stemming from majority/minority gender and ethnic/racial patterns that vary by sector in some countries. (Foot, 2020, p. 665)

The benefits and complexities of generating multiagency alliances with new actors are already raising questions that organisations will have to answer, according to the specificities of each territory. Degani underlines the need of a participative approach inspired by equality:

The most successful projects are those that meet the criteria of equivalent relevance for the various actors involved, on matters on which there is an equal need for growth, so that the advantage gained by one actor automatically unfolds on the whole network. If this combination is not realised, … multiagency network work struggles to move forward and the idea of "horizontality" is lost. (Degani, 2020, p. 48) [2]

There has to be parity of position and priority on the issue so that the in-vestment of the various agencies in collaboration is proportionate. Another front of attention for the success of multiagency collaboration programmes pointed out by Degani (2020) are the different levels of governance, which, particularly in the migration issue, tend to be uneven, to the point of consti-

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2   I progetti di maggior successo sono quelli che rispondono a criteri di rilevanza equivalenti per i vari soggetti coinvolti, su materie su cui vi è un'esigenza paritaria di crescita, così che il vantaggio acquisito da un soggetto automaticamente si dispiega sull'intera rete. Se questa combinazione non si realizza, … il lavoro di rete multi-agenzia fatica ad andare avanti e l'idea di "orizzontalità" viene meno.

tuting a real battleground (Campomori & Ambrosini, 2020). The distance between the different institutional cultures, although respected insofar as it is functional to the diversity of mandates, must be progressively connected by a joint and mutually informed reading of the phenomena, so that it does not result in fragmented or parallel interventions, but favours synergic actions. Organisational cultures, in fact, are not crystallised and impervious to changing contexts, but are continually renegotiated.

6. Multiagency Experiences in FARm: Anti-Trafficking Organizations, Universities, and Labor Agencies

Among the new actors involved in multiagency collaborations against labor exploitation, we highlight the universities and labor intermediation agencies, which, as project partners, were facilitated in establishing collaborations. Regarding the synergy with universities, described in more detail elsewhere (Zadra et al., 2022), we have summarised earlier (Fig. 1) the main strategies jointly implemented between university researchers and low-threshold social workers. The process involved different phases:

a) *Reciprocal acquaintance*: Questionnaires followed by in-depth interviews helped universities get to know anti-trafficking agencies. In turn, agencies got to know researchers through training initiatives.

b) *Shared knowledge and interventions*: Researchers were invited to participate in the operational network of antitrafficking organizations, contributing with reflections on processes, during the construction of interventions in the field; researchers supported agencies in data collection initiatives and participated in field missions, learning about practice methodologies.

c) *Reciprocal training*: Participatory workshops were initiated between outreach social workers and researchers for the co-development of contextualized knowledge and interventions, on both outreach methodologies and mental health aspects of low-threshold work. The workshops aimed to pool the partners' expertise by creating common materials, languages, tools, and practices. The workshops were followed by a

reciprocal learning programme, in which each organisation presented specialized practices, and grounded them in social work epistemology.

d) *Embedding knowledge and experiences into systems*: The process of reflexivity and experimentation made it possible to evolve and refine interventions addressed to beneficiaries, codifying the methodologies of proximity assistance in procedural terms, and incorporating them as indicators for data collection and evaluation. In this way, collegial knowledge was structurally inserted in the anti-trafficking system, refining methodologies in the context of labor exploitation. The outputs of this codification work were collected in a comprehensive research report as well as guidelines practitioners, both of which have been incorporated in the agency's training processes.

Labor intermediation agencies were also new actors developing multiagency work with social outreach agencies during FARm Project. In the Veneto Region, the public program NAVIGARE created an alliance with the program Veneto Lavoro, a labor agency dedicated to fostering occupation. An iterative dialogue between the parties led to the sharing of contextualized knowledge and more effective interventions towards persons in vulnerable situations in need of developing instrumental skills for job placement. Regular programs which responded well with other uses, were modified when targeting groups in vulnerable situations, which were not reachable with the previous course strategy. The changes in occupational program features following multiagency collaboration are reported in Fig. 2.

Occupational programs

before and after multiagency with outreach social workers

FEATURES	BEFORE MULTIAGENCY	AFTER MULTIAGENCY	OUTCOMES
Recruitment	Labor agencies proposed to users	Outreach workers persuaded beneficiaries, provided childcare	+ participation
Group formation	12 person groups were required to activate a program	Groups of 2-4 persons were formed	+ interactivity
Location	Centralized: urban centers	Decentralized: locations organized ad hoc in beneficiaries' rural areas	+ accessibility
Time distribution	Courses of 20 hours, assistance requirements	Courses broken down in modules of 2 hours, chosen by beneficiaries	+ personalization
Results	Certificate of assistance	2 hour modules bring result in hand for beneficiary: creation of CV, email...	+ impact

Fig. 2 – Occupational programs improved by multiagency collaboration: before and after.

Programs did not start from standardized packages, but were constructed ad hoc, aimed at specific and changing needs of users in vulnerable situations, considering the rapid mutability of their contexts. Moving away from public classrooms in urban centers, and day-long schedules for large groups, labor agencies started engaging outreach workers in the recruitment process, and organizing ad hoc courses in remote locations, in diversified settings, splitting them in short, composable modules according to their needs. Each module offered a concrete result in-hand for beneficiaries: a SPID (personal digital ID, necessary for authentication in digital interactions with the public administration), a personalized job interview script, an e-mail address, a CV, among other resources aimed at facilitating access to the labor market. The agency included childcare when necessary and linguistic mediation services, as facilitators of the process not only during courses but also during the planning and recruiting phase.

As we see, the stages in this multiagency setting followed a joint context analysis, developed through processes of reciprocal learning. On the one hand, outreach social workers helped agents of labor intermediation understand the needs and realities of the hard-to-reach beneficiaries of training interventions. For instance, that some people with years of work experience have never had a work contract; that having a stable address is not a given for highly mobile populations; that people may have advanced educational levels that are not recognized by the country of residence. On the other hand, Veneto Lavoro shared with outreach social workers the process of course construction and the conditions for these courses to be officially recognized: the number of hours, of groups, of beneficiaries, the start and end times of the modules, and more. From this alliance and exchange of operational logic, the joint organisation of training courses was initiated.

The main takeaway is that through sensemaking iterative dialogue between two organizations, joint interventions were organized to reach groups of beneficiaries that they were not able to engage individually: the labor agency workers could not establish contact with the target group or imagine proposals that were accessible and preferrable to them. In turn, the anti-trafficking workers did not have the capability to create such training opportunities on their own.

7. Conclusion: Building Multi-level, Multi-Sector, Multi-Actor Connections Against Exploitation

By applying social innovation strategies, connections may be created and resources shared, relationships between actors in a local setting may change, thus generating more opportunities for excluded people. Prevention efforts against exploitation must be contextualised and involve the multiple sectors that control social structures, which are often fragmented. The social innovation approach involves the establishment of collaborative networks between different actors who pool their knowledge, infrastructure, skills, and strengths, with the aim of building innovative solutions to social problems (Moulaert et al., 2017; Elsen, 2019). As Ripamonti (2018) observes, collaborative connections enable social actors to gain critical mass by increasing their influence, overcome preconceptions by developing relationships of mutual trust, gain a systemic perspective of social problems by increasing sensitivity in the perception of new needs, develop generative power and a sense of community, and facilitate the creation of innovative solutions. However,

> the activity of fostering a local network does not take place in a *tabula rasa*: each context has its own networks of relationships, more or less structured and effective, which it is important to know in order to develop a fertile membership process. (Ripamonti, 2018, pp. 233–234, 238)

As fundamental as synergy is, it is not easy to create it.

Multiagency collaborations differentiate from other forms of networking, by starting from a common problem, and a shared set of objectives, albeit interventions are based on different strategic positionings, professional skillsets, and resource pools. Organizations start from common interests, and work on deepening the synergy, one step at a time. This makes it possible to share a reading of the phenomena subject to intervention and the operational methods of mutual support while respecting the priorities and instruments of each agency. The end goal is not to merge, but to enable the dynamics of synergy and collaboration multiply the impact of each distinct area and modality of intervention, building alliances that are sustainable over time.

As the important work of Susanne Elsen has taught us, the process of joint conceptualization of problems in transdisciplinary contexts facilitates the mobilisation of multi-actor, multi-sector and multi-level connections. *Multi-actor*, as they enable the active participation of professionals in the field and the people directly affected, creating new contexts by shaking up asymmetric and crystallised relationships, generating social innovation from below. *Multi-sector*, as the various sectors are connected, and fragmentation only erodes the capacity to respond in each of them: pooling knowledge and resources across sectors can trigger joint experimentation with new solutions. *Multilevel*, as complex problems require interventions at different layers of governance and make it possible for local contexts to draw on resources and knowledge from broader networks, enabling successful local experiences to grow in scale and have a bottom-up transformative effect on higher-level systems (see also Zadra & Elsen, 2023). It is a collaborative model that, despite its costs and challenges, enables organizations to cultivate different modes of collaborative work in the long term, to enhance the contribution of each actor, both towards concrete individual need and towards structural social change.

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