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Second Level Organisations (SLOs) in Voluntary Sector: an Italian Perspective^{*}

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Abstract

Voluntary organisations give an essential contribution to the development and growth of civil society in every European country and they are undoubtedly one of the most examined components of the Third Sector. Much less attention has been paid, on the contrary, to the links among them, and to the relationships between voluntary organisations, other Third Sector's organizations and Public Agencies. In particular, a very interesting and rather unexplored field of study is the analysis of the structure of the relationships among these Italian organisations, to understand how they cooperate and coordinate their activities to promote common interests, to represent their interests towards Public Agencies and so on.

This paper addresses the issue of voluntary organisations networks, called nonhomogeneous Second Level Organisations (SLOs): a group of entities whose importance has been, in our opinion, deeply underestimate. In other words, we studied voluntary organisations whose members are not individuals but other organisations which are involved, in different ways, in the voluntary sector.

The purposes of SLOs are "transversal" to those of their members, because they are

^{*}This paper is the result of a joint research activity; nevertheless, paragraphs 2 and 4.1 have been written by Clara Benevolo, while paragraph 4.2 by Riccardo Spinelli; paragraphs 1, 3 and 5 have been written by both the authors.

not connected with the field of activity of the members but try to satisfy common needs and to support them as a whole: consequently, SLOs do not carry out voluntary activity, but representation, promotion, coordination, etc. They can aim, for instance, to supply services to the voluntary sector and promote it, to encourage solidarity and cooperation in a specific field of intervention, to increase the cooperation between profit and non profit organisations, to do representation and lobbying activity with Public Agencies, etc.

The underlying research of this paper was done in 2003, in an Italian region in which the voluntary sector has features such as to make it significant for the whole Italian situation and therefore interesting for an international audience.

Our study gathered detailed data on 79 SLOs, 57 of which were analysed in depth with an interview. A structured questionnaire was used to collect information about: origins, history, members, mission, activity, organisational structure, legal form, finance, human resources. Furthermore, we focused our attention on the relationships with other profit, non profit, and public organisations, for what concerns both their content and their stability.

Our paper goes into two of the most significant themes which were faced. First, we try to explain the birth and evolutionary path of the different groups of SLOs we found (especially, public and private ones). Second, we focus on networks and relationships, with a case analysis about those SLOs that work in the sector of handicap.

1. Introduction

Voluntary organisations are undoubtedly one of the most examined components of the Third Sector. Their role in the development of civil society is decisive in all Western Countries; in Italy, 3,2 million people (almost 6% of total population) (Istat, 2001) participate in voluntary activity, that is gratuitous activity in one or more non profit organisations.

Voluntary sector is a very complex reality, which can take different shapes. Voluntary activity can be done individually or within any kind of organisation or Public Agency (associations, cooperative societies, foundations, etc); someone even talks about "corporate voluntary activity" (Colozzi and Bassi, 1995).

- Three different forms of voluntary activity exist:
- spontaneous voluntary activity, mostly of individual nature;
- organised voluntary activity, which includes all people aggregations, even if only minimally structured;
- institutionalised voluntary activity, which comprises those voluntary organisations which meet all the requirements and aims stated by national and regional rules¹.

In particular, on a local scale, the role of voluntary organisations appears to be of crucial importance within the Third Sector and in the relationships with Public

¹In Italy, the most important law on voluntary activity is law n. 266/1991, which defines the features of the properly said "voluntary organisations".

Agencies, both in planning and designing social policies. In this context, voluntary organisations cooperate and coordinate their actions in many different ways, which have not be studied in depth so far.

In 2003, to investigate this topic, a research was done by *Cenpro - Centro Interdipartimentale di Ricerca sulle Organizzazioni senza scopo di lucro*, of the Faculty of Economics, University of Genoa², on behalf of the *Osservatorio regionale di promozione, informazione e documentazione sul volontariato*. The *Osservatorio* is an agency of the regional government of Liguria (Italy), and its aims are the promotion and diffusion of a "voluntary culture and knowledge", as well as the carrying-out of all the provisions of law on voluntary sector.

The research had quite a comprehensive approach, because it aimed to census all the SLOs in Liguria and to examine structural, organisational and relational features. This paper presents some empirical results of the study, with a specific focus on the birth and formalisation processes of "second level" voluntary organisations (as defined in the following paragraph), and on their formal and informal relationship networks.

2. Object

The research examined so-called Second Level Organisations (SLOs) in the voluntary sector in Liguria and, in particular, tried to identify and analyse roles and relationships of "second level" entities in the Third Sector in that region.

As a general rule, a SLO is an organisation whose members are other organisations, not individuals, as it is for "first level" ones. For what concerns voluntary sector, SLOs count as members other voluntary "first level" organisations (or people representing them), with the participation of non profit, for profit and public entities. SLOs represent the way in which voluntary organisations, together with other private and public entities, coordinate and promote themselves and their activities; in spite of their spread and of their primary role, they are not well-know, both on a local and national scale.

One of the most important features of SLOs is that their purposes are "transversal" to those of their members: in other words, they do not carry out voluntary activity, but try to satisfy their members' needs for what concerns representation, promotion, coordination in the specific sector. For example, they can aim to supply services to voluntary organisations, to promote their initiatives, to support cooperation in a specific field of activity, to stimulate collaboration between for profit and non profit organisations, to do lobbying and representation

²The complete research report is available on the official website of Liguria regional government, www.regione.liguria.it, in the section "Salute e sociale/Volontariato". The research was carried out by Clara Benevolo (research director) with Riccardo Spinelli and Sara Campi (junior researchers at Cenpro).

towards Public Agencies, and so on.

This is such a distinctive attribute that why we did not consider in our research those organisations (that we called "homogeneous SLOs"), which only bring together members which share field and content of activity and, above all, the name; for example, we excluded the local aggregations, on a progressively larger scale, of multi-level organisations, like the Red Cross, because the "lower level" members share both purposes, activities and name: consequently, the "upper level" organisation is no longer a distinct entity, but only a point of coordination for a local network of similar organisations.

On the contrary, in a proper SLO, members often share only the field of activity (for instance, assistance to drug addicts), while keeping their organisational independence; in some cases, SLOs do not gather members on a sectorial basis, but on a geographical one: as a consequence, "first level" members can be very diversified for what relates to their sector of intervention.

For what concerns SLOs' members, it is quite common that some of them are Public Agencies' representatives; in other cases, SLOs have come into existence according to specific regional or national laws, which provide for their birth and define their role and goals, as well as the organisations which can join the SLO itself. Moreover, there are other SLOs which have risen from the autonomous initiative of their first level members.

In our research, we identified two main groups of SLOs:

- the so-called "public SLOs", those who operate within regional, provincial or municipal Public Agencies;
- the so-called "private SLOs", which include all the other organisations; it is worth underlying that the "private" nature of a SLO does not mean that no Public Agency can join it, but it points out the fact that the SLO has not been born within a Public Agency and, therefore, cannot be included in its structure.

For what pertains to the names of the SLOs, there is not a biunique relationship with the public/private nature, even if there are some names (as *comitato, commissione, consiglio, consulta* or *osservatorio*) far more common between "public" SLOs, and others (for example, *centro, sportello, collegamento, coordinamento, conferenza, federazione* and *forum*) which are usually chosen by "private" ones.

3. Research hypothesis and methodology

The purposes of this research were³:

- to identify, analyse and evaluate the birth process of SLOs and their evolution from informal to formal nature;
- to map SLOs relationships and evaluate their strength in some specific fields of activity (such as handicap).

In our study, we moved from the following hypothesis:

- In spite of the heterogeneity of motivations, activities and partners involved, we suppose that it is possible to identify specific paths of birth, development and formalization of SLOs. Specifically, the two groups of SLOs ("public" and "private" ones) share similar birth motivations but show different drivers of formalization.
- The way in which "public" SLOs organise and structure themselves is strongly influenced by the Public Agency they refer to.
- SLOs are the focus of an internal relationship network and a node of an external one. With this last hypothesis, we supposed that any SLO could be the link between an internal network, made up of its members (which the SLO coordinate and promote), and an external one, made up of the SLO and other organizations, in which the role of the SLO is mainly to act as a representative of its members towards external partners.

On the basis of a series of defining criteria, we identified 79 organisations which satisfied all the conditions and could be considered proper SLOs. Then, we studied in depth 57 SLOs (17 "public" and 40 "private" SLOs), using structured interviews; the collected data were processed with qualitative methods of data analysis and the use of descriptive models of inter-organisation networks.

4. Results

4.1 SLOs' birth and formalisation paths

Most of the sectors in which voluntary organisations act (for instance, health and social services) are characterised by a multiplicity of operators (Public Agencies, for profit and non profit organisations, etc.), together with a strong

³As mentioned before, what we present is part of a much more extensive research on SLOs.

regulation or, on the contrary, its total absence (as it usually happens in front of emerging needs).

In both situations, the involved organisations tend to look for stable forms of cooperation, to overcome the obstacles that characterise such a composite scenario; these relationships arise from a common aim and are supposed to be stronger than the difficulties that could originate from the very different political, cultural and social backgrounds of the partners.

The survey showed that the way in which these early forms of cooperation evolve into a structured organisation are quite various, and strongly depend on the public/private nature of the rising SLO.

4.1.1 "Public" SLOs

Collaboration and coordination between Third Sector organisations and Public Agencies usually begin with meetings in which the Public Agency gathers all the qualified private entities to know their opinion on a specific theme, usually a very important and general one (for instance, immigration), or on a new set of rules which is going to be issued and which will regulate a specific sector or field of voluntary activity. With these meetings, the Public Agency tries both to get to know about the opinion of its partners (and of those organisations they represent) and to awaken them to the problem at issue.

These initial meetings can be more or less formal, include many or few organisations and usually lead to the creation of something like a *tavolo* or "working group": the public servant responsible for the elaboration of a policy or of a set of rules, call different people to collaborate in a project or to exchange views about the new rules. These people can come from "first level" organisations or temporary informal associations of organisations; otherwise, they can be experts on the matters at issue, or public servants of other agencies or of the same agency of the promoter.

In some cases, the request for a meeting can rise from the citizens themselves or from voluntary, political, religious or other organisations.

The promoter of these informal meetings sets their purposes and fields of activity; when the stimulus comes from the outside, it is the promoter who acknowledges it and gives legitimacy to it, by calling and arranging the meeting.

When the promoter realises that the meetings are productive and give a significant contribution to its activity, it can be induced to issue a specific rule of law, to set up and regulate a formal organisation, integrated in the Public Agency; most of the "public" SLOs we investigated seem to share this path of birth and growth.

While it is quite common that the Public Agency is aware of the need of cooperating with Third Sector organisations, even by creating a formal entity, it is far less common that the Agency commits itself in a constant support towards the newly born SLO: after a first moment of intense activity, often the meetings of the SLO become more and more occasional, and the participation of both the Public

Agency and voluntary organisations decreases. The need of formally "respecting the law", once that a rule has set up the SLO, is stronger the will of increasing and improving the effectiveness of the organisation.

Furthermore, these organisations usually do not have either financial or human resources at their disposal (except for those of the Public Agency they refer to), and they are consequently limited in their operations.

In general, the role and value of the Public Agency's participation in the SLO is strongly influenced by the extent to which the Agency itself is actually interested in the SLO's mission and in the pursuit of its aims; moreover, it is strengthened by the level of acknowledgement and legitimization that its activity receives from the organisations and people involved as members.

4.1.2 "Private" SLOs

In the execution of their tasks, "first level" voluntary organisations usually need some coordination of their activity and, above all, a form of common representation, particularly towards local Public Agencies.

The most common way in which this need of coordination and representation is fulfilled is through the creation of informal agreements, social networks which link the leaders of the voluntary organisations and some experts. Those people, working together and getting to know each other, develop an awareness of the need of an explicit, even if unstructured, place of coordination and of sharing of their experiences and best practises. The strong and/or frequent interaction, stimulated by the common aims, leads this network to give itself a name, as to be recognised from the outside.

A very frequent reason for this need to emerge is the fact that, without any form of coordination, there is a severe lack of effectiveness in the operations of voluntary organisations, due to overlapping of interventions and, at the same time, absence of covering of other unsatisfied necessities.

In other cases, it is the Public Agency itself that incites the birth of a SLO, to substitute a multiplicity of organisations by a single, strong and selected partner with whom to cooperate.

In both situations, the creation of a SLO makes it easier for all the organisations involved in the specific field of intervention to "talk to each other", to coordinate their operations and, finally, to achieve better results.

In Figure 1, we propose a representation of the birth and development paths of SLOs, both public and private; as pointed out, the two groups share similar birth motivations but different drivers of formalization.

4.2 SLOs as link between internal and external networks

4.2.1 The relationships analysis

As mentioned before, a SLO can be considered like a sort of link between an internal and an external network.

On the one hand, in fact, it is the focus of an internal network, made up by its first level members. In our study, we addressed this topic analysing the aims of the SLO, the member organisations and the activities it performs for them: generally speaking, the SLO acts like a pivot and usually manages to organise the global performance of the networks, increasing its effectiveness.

On the other hand, the SLO, as representative of its members, joins external networks, usually built around a common field of activity. To study this far more complicate kind of relationships, we referred to social networks theory (Kapferer, 1969; Merler and Vargiu, 1998; Morganti, 1981; Scott, 1997), assuming as network nodes the SLOs and all the organisations (profit⁴, non profit, Public Agencies, etc.) involved in the sector, and as links the relationships between a SLO and any of those organisations which were explicitly cited and considered relevant by the person we interviewed in each SLO.

In particular, we first identified the partners in the relationship, divided as follows:

- Public Agencies;
- "first level" organisations;
- SLOs included in our sample;
- SLOs excluded from the sample;
- Other organisations.

Then, we considered seven main types of content of the relationship, that is "what" the partners do together or a partner do to/for/towards the other:

- representation and lobbying;
- design of interventions, or participation in the formulation of policies;
- carrying-out of interventions;
- education and training;
- consulting;
- research, study and documentation;
- supply of other services.

The "direction" of every relationship (one-way or two-way) was studied too. We assumed, in accordance with theory (Kapferer, 1969: p. 293), that the more complex is the content of a relationship, the stronger the relationship: in

⁴Of course, we have excluded all the supply relationship.

other words, where two partners do many different things together, their relationships has to be considered stronger than another more focused one.

Usually, the quality of a network is valued according to the "strength" and intensity of the links, directly proportional to variables such as the duration of the relationship, the level of involvement of the partners and the amount of content exchanged (Morganti, 1998: p.60).

It was not possible to measure the "strength" of the relationships, because of the difficulty of creating a set of quantitative variables to take into account; no previous studies were available, because, as mentioned before, SLOs have not been investigated so far.

Therefore, we opted for a qualitative evaluation, based on the classification of any single relationship according to the following couples of opposite properties:

- explicit / implicit
- formal / informal
- durable / occasional
- frequent / infrequent

After collecting all the available information about all the relationships, we were able to build maps showing the networks of relationships between SLOs and other entities of the Third Sector, with a qualitative evaluation of the strength of each link.

With these maps, we were able to investigate different parts of the voluntary sector, for instance the system of relationships built around the "Centri di servizio al volontariato"⁵. What we propose is a focus on a particular sub-network, which links the organisations related to handicapped people and to their needs.

4.2.2 The network of voluntary organisations in the handicap sector

The supply of services to handicapped people is one of the most significant field of activity of voluntary organisations and its analysis with the methods cited above gave very stimulating results, that we present in this paper.

The network of the organisations involved in the handicap sector is as complex as the needs and problems of this particular group of people, and includes different kinds of organisations: Public Agencies, with usually a normative role; hospitals and medical clinics, where treatments are carried out; "first level" voluntary organisations, which usually work together with the families of handicapped people, to promote and defend handicapped people' interests; and so on. For what concerns SLOs, we found seven of them in this network,

⁵These very important SLOs were born according to law n. 266/1991 and have as statutory aim to help and support voluntary organisations, supplying services such as education and training, documentations, consulting for project management and so on.

which were codified as SLO1 to SLO7⁶.

Because of the presence of so many different organisations, it is quite interesting to investigate and describe the configuration, on a regional scale, of the network of relationships among the SLOs and between them and the other organisations which are involved in the same field of activity, for instance other local Public Agencies, health services, etc.

To show the structure of the network we used the drawing in Figure 2. At the top of a sort of pyramid, there is SLO7, a regional public one; its members, SLO 1 to 6, are at a lower level, and at the bottom you can find their members, that is first level voluntary organisations. The black dotted arrows identify the membership relations (in other words, the internal network).

The other organisations included in the global network are those which were explicitly cited as partners by SLOs (that is, the external network); we grouped them into homogeneous groups, written in italics in the drawing. A coloured arrow represents a relationship between a SLO (not considering SLO7, which shows connections only with its members and with the regional government) and another organisation belonging to the network: the colour identifies the content, in accordance to the key, while the direction of the arrow shows the direction of the relationship ("who" does something with/for/to/towards "whom").

SLO1 gathers those health entities which offer rehabilitation and sanitary services to handicapped people. Its main function is to negotiate agreements with the regional sanitary system for what concerns the treatment of handicap.

SLOs 2 to 6 are quite homogeneous. They operate on a local base, in an area which corresponds to a "provincia" (a geographic area, smaller than a region, which includes many cities) or to a part of a "provincia"; the members of these SLOs are mainly "first level" voluntary organisations which work together with the families of handicapped people, helping them to solve daily problems and promoting new and deeper forms of integration for those people. They are local units of big national homogeneous organisations, local treatment centres or other small local organisations.

These six SLOs (and SLOs 2 to 6 in particular) aim to coordinate and organise their members' activity, as well as to act, especially towards civil society, as a promoter of policies aiming to reduce and solve the problems of handicapped people (let us think about architectural barriers or job integration); at the same time, they act as representative of their members towards local public government.

It is evident, from this brief description, the double role of SLO 1 to 6 in the network: for what concerns the internal side, they try to be the place for communication and sharing of experiences; with regards to the external side, the representation function is the main one and lets all the internal network "to speak with one voice" to the exterior partners.

The six SLOs above mentioned are members of the "Consulta regionale per la

⁶For privacy reasons, we keep anonymous SLOs names, except for SLO7.

tutela dei diritti della persona handicappata", a kind of "third level" organisation (which we called SLO7), which is part of the regional administration. This "public" SLO was created by a regional law, to gather both public and private organisations involved in the handicap sector, and it is up to it to cooperate with the regional government in the formulation of new set of rules on the matter, and to act as a consultant for everything which concerns the problems of handicapped people.

The analysis of the network showed us that the system is strongly focused around Public Agencies. SLOs work together with these Agencies for what concerns representation, lobbying, design of interventions and participation in the formulation of policies; less important is the carrying-out of interventions aimed to awaken the citizenship to the problems of handicapped people and to remove all the obstacles to a full integration of these people. This is not surprising, because the operative projects are usually performed by SLOs together with first level organisations, far nearer to the problems of handicapped people and of their families; on the contrary, it is up to the cooperation with Public Agencies to face more general problems, in particular those dealing with the formulation of rules and the design of interventions and policies. This fact underlines a clear division of tasks and confirms once more SLO's function as a link between an internal and an external network.

Local health units plays a central role in the network, especially with regard to the formulation of agreements with rehabilitation and treatment centres. They usually work together with SLO1, which can do a sort of "collective bargaining" about the economic, managerial and substantial content of the agreements with the regional health service.

Far less important seem to be the relationships between SLOs 1 to 6 and other "first level" private organisations: this can be explained if we consider that most of the organisations which work in the handicap sector are already members of the SLOs themselves; therefore, the membership includes in itself all the others possible forms of cooperation.

The relationships among SLOs 1 to 6 are even less significant. The most likely reason for this lack of dialogue can be identified in the different geographical area in which they operate; they probably tend to prefer to build a "vertical" network, with those first level organisation which share the territorial area, rather than an horizontal one, which could link them with the other SLOs. SLO7 seems to be the only place where the other SLOs meet and share their experiences and practises.

From an overall view of the sector, some relevant problems arise.

First of all, SLO7, the regional one, seems to play a partially improper role, because it tends to be nothing more than the sum of local SLOs: in other words, it lacks of its own "personality" and, therefore, it is not able to totally fulfil its function of consulting and verification towards the regional government and its acts for what concerns handicap.

Then, some associations and first level organisations expressed the need of a direct representation in the regional government, especially for what concerns service planning and supply; in other words, they do not consider adequate the

representation role played by SLOs (in particular, by SLO 2 to 6) and think that a direct dialogue between them and the regional government could be much more effective. This could mean that SLO are not able to properly work as a link between their members and higher level organisations.

Lastly, vertical relations (from "first level" organisations to local SLOs and to regional government) do not seem to be able to satisfy all the needs of the organisations which work in the handicap sector: many of them hope for the creation of a matrix-structured network, in which, together with vertical relations, there is place for horizontal ones. This need arises from the fact that there are specific sub-sectors (let us think about the problems of people with Down's syndrome) which could take great advantage if the organisations were able to share experiences and best practises with no geographic limits.

5. Conclusions

SLOs represent a way in which voluntary organisations cooperate with each other, with other Third Sector entities and with Public Agencies.

Our research showed that these forms of collaboration are usually born with representation and lobbying purposes, and described how a SLO progressively structures itself with governance and management bodies. This is particularly true for "public" SLOs, which are strongly influenced by the Public Agency they belong to, above all for what pertains their governance.

It also resulted that voluntary organisations are usually quite able to dialogue with each other (that is, with other voluntary organisations, both of their specific sub-sector or of other ones) and with external organisations, such as Public Agencies or other Third Sector entities. The research found numerous histories of enduring coordination and cooperation, which belie the common belief that voluntary organisations tend to be self-contained and little opened to join together with a long-term perspective. On the contrary, SLOs give evidence that voluntary organisation are able to organise their action, particularly when they face multifaceted needs, which must be addressed not by a useless multiplication of interventions, but by a network and joint approach.

A more negative characteristic of SLOs is that their action too often does not go beyond representation and coordination. In other words, SLO's operative activity is strongly limited: the relationships between SLOs and other organisations are seldom focused on the carrying-out of interventions, on education and training, on consulting or on research, and, in these cases, they are too occasional and not able to enrich the partners.

From the network analysis it came out that, for what concerns the relationships among organisations, the SLO and its members are not always clearly divided, but it is quite common a sort of "contamination": for example, the SLO and one or more members share representatives and leaders, or the most relevant or active member strongly influences the management of the SLO. A

consequence of this situation is a quite common and widespread "confusion of roles": in many cases, the person we interviewed found it difficult to say whether an activity was actually performed by the SLO or by a member of its, or whether a relationship had as a partner the SLO or just a member. This can be a consequence of the lack of formal structure of some SLOs, but there are other circumstances in which it is an intentional misuse of the SLO itself, in particular for what concerns human and financial resources. In some extreme cases, the normal relationship between the SLO and its members is reversed, and the members themselves do fund raising for the SLO.

In conclusion, we would like to express some future research purposes that could originate from this work.

First, it could be very interesting to investigate the role of trust in the relationships among voluntary "first" and "second level" organisations. In fact, the importance of personal interaction in these relations makes it crucial that individuals can expect, from their interlocutor, a correct and honest behaviour even if the relationship itself is not regulated by rules, laws or contracts.

Moreover, it could be useful, to achieve a clearer understanding of SLOs, to analyse in depth the relationships and networks of "first level" voluntary organisations, in the various fields of activity. There are many surveys about voluntary organisations, but their focus is too much on "what" they do together and ignores "how" they do it.

This work is a first attempt to investigate quite a unexplored aspect (the network of relationships between organisations) of a well-known object (the voluntary sector); as a final research purpose, we believe that it could be rewarding to apply the methodology, once that its correctness is verified, to other parts of the heterogeneous world of Third Sector, to check whether they show similar dynamics for what pertains inter-organisation relationships.

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Source: adapted from Benevolo, 2003: p. 40.

Figure 2

The arrow's colour in the network drawing indicates the content of the relationship, according to this key:

- Representation and lobbying;
- ------ Design of interventions, participation in the formulation of policies;
- ----- Carrying-out of interventions;
- Education and training;
- Consulting
- ------ Research, study and documentation;
- Supply of other services;

The direction of the arrow shows the direction of the relationship ("who" does something with/for/to/towards "whom"). When the action is performed by the two partners together, the arrows has two points.

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N.B. "Other voluntary organisations" are organisations which are not members of a SLO and are not directly involved in the handicap sector. "Others", on the contrary, are mainly corporations, which cooperate with SLOs in different ways. *Forum del terzo settore* is a SLO which plays a very important role in the Third Sector in Liguria, mainly with a representation purpose.

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