**Edited by
Maurizio Bergamaschi**

The multidimensional housing deprivation

Local dynamics of inequality, policies and challenges for the future

SOCIOLOGIA del TERRITORIO

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Introduction. The multidimensional housing deprivation. Local dynamics of inequality, policies, and challenges for the future

by *Maurizio Bergamaschi*[1]

Horizon2020 project MICADO (*Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards*, Grant Agreement No 822717) aims to facilitate the exchange between migrants, public authorities and engaged civic society and ease migrants' access to regular social systems (housing, education, health care, and labor) and counselling services through attractive digital services. Thus, it will lower the socio-economic effort and expenditure in migrant integration, both for host economies and individuals. MICADO is an interdisciplinary international project that involves research institutions, public authority agencies and SMEs from Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Austria, whose purpose is to co-develop a MICADO- "one-fits-all"-solution (generic solution) that can be adapted by the local actors to their respective local challenges and manage migration issues with a local solution.

The generic solution has been piloted in the MICADO-partner cities Hamburg, Bologna, Madrid, and Antwerp, and was eventually be modified by the local communities. The outcome of the project will empower public authorities and local communities that attend migrants and refugees from their moment of arrival in the EU with more efficient and more effective digital services. It will also support migrants and refugees by enabling essential communication, orientation, and navigation within their new life environments. In the end, the MICADO solution shall be offered on an open-source platform and be transferable to communities in other European cities.

Within the framework of the H2020 MICADO (Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards) project, the working group of the Department of Sociology and Business Law of the University of Bologna has initiated a reflection on housing, which represents one of the areas, although not the

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[1] Maurizio Bergamaschi, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.

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only one, in which migrants experience a greater condition of vulnerability compared to the native population that hinders their full integration into their new living context. A survey conducted in the early 2000s, on a sample of migrant families distribute all over the Country, showed that the main obstacle encountered in daily life upon their arrival in Italy and participation in social life, even before work, was that of finding housing adequate to their needs. The mistrust and resistance of landlords, the sustainability of housing costs, both rented and owned housing, fragile primary and secondary support networks, excessive rents rate compared to the actual income capacity of many households, housing eligibility required in case of renewal of the residence permit in Italy and/or family reunification constitute a set of barriers that hinder access to housing adequate to needs and constrain the migrant's migration project and life trajectory. A situation that persists although on several occasions' Italian jurisprudence - and especially the Constitutional Court - recognized the existence of "housing rights" as early as 1980s: "Undoubtedly, housing constitutes, due to its fundamental importance in the life of the individual, a primary good that must be adequately and concretely protected by law" (Constitutional Court, Sentence No. 252 of July 15, 1983).

The housing request from migrants thus fits into the broader context of housing-related problems still unresolved in our Country. Foreigners generate an additional demand in an already critical context and share most of the difficulties encountered by vulnerable groups of the native population, but with a set of additional obstacles induced by the institutional system, linked to the precarious legal status, and to the market instability. At the same time, housing for migrants is the pre-requisite for obtaining those rights that in the absence of a home are denied.

More than a Century has passed since housing scarcity, which primarily affected workers migrating from the countryside and rural areas to urban areas, was considered the social issue *par excellence*. Increasing the availability of housing and securing homeownership seemed the appropriate responses, but nowadays, even in a Country Italy where homeownership is the prevailing tenure, the number of available housings has outpaced the number of households.

This phenomenon allowed an improvement in housing standard, but the housing issue is far from being resolved and it is constantly affected by dynamics, trends, and structural changes of various kinds. As D. Madden and P. Marcuse (*In Defense of Housing. The politics of crisis*, Verso Books, 2016) remind us, the housing issue is rooted in the structures of society, not a temporary and conjunctural malfunction of the housing market.

It is now agreed that the housing issue has largely different peculiarities than in the past and involves a wide heterogeneity of populations and social groups. If in the past the housing problem affected almost exclusively those who moved to more industrialized centers mainly for work reasons, today it involves a large segment of the population and is in fact the result of a multiplicity of phenomena. the current demand for housing is affected by public policy dynamics but also sociodemographic, economic, and cultural ones. The metamorphoses of the population in terms of life expectancy and aging, the increasing plurality of family patterns, contemporary migration flows, and the issue of (imm)mobility, especially during the pandemic, have profoundly altered housing styles and the request for accommodation.

In addition, growing impoverishment, attested by the increase in poverty and in general by the outcomes of a global economic and financial crisis, accompanied by major and profound reformations in the labor market and in welfare regimes, has impacted with disruptive repercussions on housing. Evidence of this trend is the serious and worrying upswing in requests and actual enforcement of evictions: there are about 70 thousand pending evictions as of 2019 (difference between execution requests and those executed by force), 32 thousand in 2020 and another estimated 40/50 thousand in 2021. Total 130/150 thousand executable evictions in 2022. Particularly in low-income families, housing absorbs an important share of family income, sacrifice other necessities to meet their housing needs. All this happens within the framework of a neoliberal turn in policies (housing, but not only) that affected lots of Countries and within the financialization of housing market that privileges housing as a real estate asset (and its exchange value) over its use value and material basis for the ontological security of all people. A turning point that is reflected in Italy in the so-called social housing policies that are, albeit with some criticality, more attentive to the sociality needs of individuals, the indoor environment and functionality of housing, the livability of shared spaces, the impacts on the neighborhood, as well as environmental sustainability. After one hundred years past the publication of F. Engels' *The Housing Question* (1872), the rent still drives economic growth, affecting land use patterns by expanding the building fabric.

The housing question is thus transversal today and embraces areas that are only seemingly distant from each other:
- urban development and land consumption, sprawl, gentrification, touristification but also the impact that urban redevelopment and regeneration programs have on the territory and their populations;
- poverty and social hardship, which refer primarily to access and the right to housing, but also to forms of public intervention, informal

housing and so-called affordability, or economic inaccessibility to housing;
–   inequalities and discrimination in access to the "house as a good", as well as the spatial distribution of populations, concentration and segregation, mechanisms of marginalization and processes of peripheralization of the most vulnerable segments of the population;
–   the role of the public actor, particularly with reference to its gradual withdrawal from the housing policy sector and the use of housing welfare as a last resource.

In light of these premises, the aim of the volume, organized into three thematic parts (*Local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation*, edited by Maria Grazia Montesano and Luca Daconto; *From housing deprivation to housing policies. Distinctive elements in the territory*, by Manuela Maggio and Alice Lomonaco; *Housing rights, migrant integration, and the role of ICT solutions*, by Teresa Carlone and Carolina Mudan Marelli), is to bring together scholars from different disciplinary fields who investigated the phenomenon from different points of view. Here presented, contributions that analyze the topic of housing and housing needs both from a theoretical standpoint, capable of reactivating a reflection on the distinctive features of the new housing issue, and from an empirical perspective, reporting results of completed or ongoing research, that provide elements of evaluation and methodological insights on the topic.

Local models and processes
of ethnic residential segregation

by *Maria Grazia Montesano, Luca Daconto*[1]

The study of the dynamics of foreign population settlement is crucial to understanding contemporary urban transformations. The international academic debate has widely highlighted the differences between the North American and European models regarding the distribution (and concentration) of migrants in cities. In fact, the levels of segregation in American metropolises have always been higher than in European ones, where, also due to the presence of a different welfare state, the structural conditions for the development of real ghettos are not present.

However, the absence of macro-concentrations at the urban level should not lead to considerations that mythologise European cities as inclusive and free of phenomena of marginalisation, exclusion and social isolation of migrant populations. Moreover, the 2008 crisis, neo-liberal policies and the consequent downsizing of welfare have increased housing inequalities - amplified by the pandemic - which have translated into new and different forms of socio-spatial segregation.

In this framework, the following section of the book collects contributions which, in the diversity of the topics dealt with and the methodological approaches, confirm the specificity of segregation phenomena in European cities, in particular in the South.

In the first contribution, *Hospitality and segregation in Turin. An ethnographic perspective on migration, reception policies and urban conflicts*, Erasmo Sossich analyses the case of a squat, and its eviction, in Turin, where more than one hundred asylum seekers and refugees, almost all of African origins, lived. The author defines this squat as an exceptional case of ethnic

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[1] Maria Grazia Montesano, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna; Luca Daconto, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca.

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spatial segregation in the context of Southern Europe, acted out in the name of urban regeneration, social mix, desegregation and social inclusion.

In the second contribution, *The localization models of secondary reception structures for refugees and asylum seekers in Italy. First results from the MIGRATE project*, Luca Bottini, Simone Caiello, Luca Daconto and Sara Giunti analyse the location patterns of Italian reception centres for refugees and asylum seekers (CAS). The results show how, following the Italian Dispersal Policy, the temporary reception centres are distributed in heterogeneous contexts from a socio-economic and demographic, morphological and accessibility point of view. This has an impact on the possibility of asylum seekers' and refugees' local inclusion.

In the third contribution, *The issue of housing and migrants. The role of women in social movements for housing rights, from stereotypes to social activism*, Francesca Colella, Giovanna Gianturco and Mariella Nocenzi analyse the role of migrant women as participants, within their ethnic communities, in social movements for housing rights, focusing on Rome as a case study. They show that, even in a housing emergency condition, empowerment, voice, and subjectification processes emerge through migrant women agency and their participation in social movements for housing rights.

In the fourth contribution, *The residential dynamics of foreign populations at the metropolitan scale. The cases of Bologna and Milan (2001-2011)*, Luca Daconto and Maria Grazia Montesano compare the medium-period (2011-2020) location dynamics of foreign residents in the Functional Urban Areas (FUA) of Bologna and Milan. The results confirm the lack of macro-segregation and the increased peripheralization of foreigners at the metropolitan scale in the two South-European metropolitan contexts.

The contributions in this section also focus on exceptional or emergency situations or conditions - e.g. the exception of the squat ex-Moi; the extraordinary reception centres for asylum seekers during the European refugee crisis; the housing emergency of migrant women - of which emerges the heuristic potential for the understanding of the segregation and contemporary urban transformations. In this regard, the chapters confirm the contribution of different methodological approaches (e.g. ethnography, qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, spatial analysis) in achieving a better understanding of the local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation in contemporary cities.

Hospitality and segregation in Turin.
An ethnographic perspective on migration, reception policies and urban conflicts

by *Erasmo Sossich*[1]

Introduction

This contribution analyzes the case of Ex-Moi, a squat located in the southern periphery of Turin. Occupied in 2013 and evicted in 2019, it consisted of four buildings inhabited by more than a thousand refugees, almost exclusively of African origin. Showing the intertwining of failed reception policies and urban regeneration projects, the article analyzes the Ex-Moi as an exceptional case of spatial and ethnic segregation in the context of Southern Europe, where, despite a marked economic marginality of the immigrant population, the processes of marginalization have not usually led to strong spatial segregation but to other processes, such as peripheralization, micro-segregation or socio-tenurial differentiation. In order to be able to understand the exceptional nature of the Ex-Moi case, the first part of the text is dedicated to the definition of a general framework of the housing dynamics of the foreign population in Turin. Urban policies aimed at governing this population are then addressed, and therefore the way in which reception policies participate in this definition of urban space. We then move on to the case of Ex-Moi, to the process that led to the occupation and the ways in which its *sgombero dolce*, "gentle eviction", was managed. Finally, the article ends with a critical analysis of the policies producing the urban "normality" and the policies that have been used to deal with the "exceptions".

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[1] Erasmo Sossich, University of Milan.

1. Methodology

The present contribution is based on qualitative methodology and makes use of different methods of inquiry, as ethnography, in-depth and semi-structured interviews, and finally documentary analysis, taking into account social networks contents, press releases, newspaper articles, official project and reports.

The access to the field was possible due to the previous involvement of the researcher in various moments of mobilization since 2017, but also in cultural, informative and recreational events hosted in Ex-Moi, and to the researcher's personal and political relations with some of the protagonists of these events, and in particular with a key informant. Concerns stemming from the auto-ethnographical and research-action character of the present work have also influenced both the field research and the subsequent reflections (Collettivo RicercAzione, 2013). Furthermore, it should be noted that the present work is part of a wider ongoing doctoral research project, focusing on urban change and immigration in Southern European cities.

2. Patterns of settlement

There are contexts in which racial spatial segregation has been and remains the norm (Malheiros, 2002; Wacquant, 2016; Arbaci, 2018). What would the four Ex-Moi's buildings be in the middle of a North American ghetto, where it is possible to cross entire neighborhoods whose borders follow the color line? But the Ex-Moi wasn't in Chicago. It was in Lingotto, a post-industrial neighborhood of Turin, a city where students, immigrant workers and families, often born from the meeting of people who arrived in the city during a long series of migratory waves, live together (Barbagli, Pisati, 2012; Badino, 2018).

International immigration in southern Europe has become a relevant phenomenon only since the late 1970s, established itself in the 1990s, during the so-called "migratory turnaround" (King, Fielding, Black, 1997), and reached its peak only in the 2000s, when arrivals in southern European cities exceeded arrivals in northern European cities. Unlike England, Belgium or other Northern European countries, characterized by a strong dynamic of spatial segregation in the inner areas of the cities and by parallel processes of suburbanization of the middle-upper classes, the cities of Southern Europe have not seen the affirmation of strongly ethnically segregated areas (Maloutas, Fujita, 2012; Allen *et al*., 2004).

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Following Arbaci reflection (2018), these *patterns* should be understood as a systematic process, created between four fundamental factors: *welfare regime, housing system, urban planning* and *land system*. Housing is thus the main differentiation mechanism: its various components structure the nature of the models found and, above all, are the main engine of the growing division between native and foreign groups.

The consequence of these processes is that even in a city like Turin, where international migration consolidated very early and reached a particularly intense pace during the 2000s, where it is estimated that 15% of the population is of foreign origin (Città di Torino, 2018), even in areas where the greatest concentration of foreigners is present, it does not exceed 35% (Circoscrizione7, 2011). Even in the so-called "immigration districts", the particular visibility of these minorities is rather due to the concentration of economic activities managed by foreigners, evident in the market area of Porta Palazzo or along Corso Giulio Cesare, rather than to the segregation of the resident population (Cingolani, 2018).

The marginalized condition of the population of foreign origin must therefore be traced back to social and economic causes, class originated rather than spatially, and in particular to the increasingly important role played by race in defining the differential criteria through which subjects enter in relationship with their workforce (Mezzadra, 2004, 2017; Mellino, 2011, 2012).

Even in the absence of spatial segregation, the immigrant population often lives in a condition of socio-economic marginality which manifests itself, among other things, in a housing condition marked by a higher probability of living on rent, and by a much higher probability of living in conditions of housing deprivation (Arbaci, 2018). In this case, in which it is instead appropriate to speak of *socio-tenurial differentiation* and *housing segregation*, it is clear that spatial proximity does not imply social proximity, undermining the assumption of a direct relationship between spatial segregation and marginalization, at the basis of social mix policies (Briata, 2014; Daconto, 2014; Arbaci, 2018).

3. Governance, immigration and urban regeneration

The transition from the *one company town* to a city of culture, from the *factory city* to the post-Fordist city, was accompanied by a long series of projects animated by a common vocation (Allasino *et al.*, 2000; Governa, Saccomanni, 2002; Semi, 2005, 2015, 2019; Santangelo, Vanolo, 2010; Briata, 2014). We therefore speak of integrated projects from a strategic

perspective, carried out over twenty years thanks to an exceptional political stability, guaranteed by the continuity of center-left city governments between 1993 and 2016 (Governa, Saccomanni, 2002; Briata, 2014).

The approach to the immigration issue carried out by these policies is exemplified by the *Urban Pilot Project* for Porta Palazzo, known as *The Gate. Living not Leaving*[2] and active between 1998 and 2002, in which the administration was able to develop an area-based strategy. In the intentions, the project would be inspired as much as possible by participatory mechanisms, focusing on a broad vision of the theme of inclusion and activating local involvement strategies addressed to the population as a whole, considering the common problems of immigrants and "natives". The project should have supported and reorganized the local commercial fabric, redevelop the physical spaces of the market, promote safety nets and intercultural activities, reorganize the presence of the police and at the same time support youth aggregation centers, and activate requalification plans of the degraded real estate assets, involving the owners in order to protect the resident population at the end of the renovations (Briata, 2014). Although the results on this intervention is debated, the writer lived these spaces only many years later, during the administration of Chiara Appendino (2016-2021), crossing roads perennially manned by police vans and subject to rapid *gentrification* processes, accompanied by the forced expulsion of the most marginal strata of both the resident population and local traders, culminating in the eviction of the "Suq", or in the expulsion of a large part of the traders from the historic Balon market (Migliaccio, 2017, 2018; Magariello, 2019; Semi, 2019; Sossich, 2020; Ferlito, Migliaccio, 2021).

Nevertheless, after the "security" based policies parenthesis of 2019, the approach to regeneration and urban development of the Movimento 5 Stelle[3] appears to give continuity to the previous agenda, with the promotion of local development interventions and the centrality given to the *AxTO - Azioni per le Periferie* (Actions for the Turin suburbs) project[4]. In this sense, the case of *Tonite* project[5] is particularly paradigmatic, a *zoning* intervention dedicated to "urban security", defined as an "urban inclusion" project that aims to "improve livability and the perception of safety (Ferlito, Migliaccio 2021).

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[2] Comune di Torino. *Progetto The Gate Porta Palazzo*. Available at www.comune.torino.it/portapalazzo/eng/comitato.htm.

[3] The Movimento 5 Stelle is the Italian populist political party which won municipal election in Rome and Turin in 2016.

[4] Città di Torino. *AxTO azioni per le periferie torinesi*. Available at www.comune.torino.it/arredourbano/bm~doc/relazione-generale-axto.pdf.

[5] Tonite. *Project*. Available at https://tonite.eu/en/project/.

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Shifting the focus by few hundreds of meters, this intervention is only apparently limited in ambitions, throwing a bridgehead beyond the banks of the Dora, and moving the boundary between the regenerated city and the suburbs beyond its natural border.

4. The Ex-Moi, the other exceptions, and their "resolution"

4.1 First regeneration

The four buildings of what will become known as "the largest occupation in Europe" were built for the 2006 Winter Olympic Games in the area of the dismissed Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable Market, namely "Mercato Ortofrutticolo all'Ingrosso" (MOI), in the perspective of the relaunch of the entire Lingotto, a district characterized by a strong industrial vocation in the southern suburbs and already subject of important re-functionalization projects.

The residential part of the former Ex-Moi Olympic Village develops along Via Giordano Bruno, and consists of 39 buildings arranged in a checkerboard pattern. At the end of the event they were partly used as social housing, partly as offices and guesthouses for university students, redesigning a city projected towards a post-Fordist development model, capable of welcoming new professionals and different kinds of city users (Rossi, Vanolo, 2015). However, part of the buildings remains unexpectedly empty, waiting to be assigned to future uses, creating a curious case of post-postindustrial urban void.

4.2 First and Second reception

In 2011, fleeing the civil war, tens of thousands of immigrant workers left Libya, crossing the Mediterranean. Many of them, after having landed in Lampedusa in the "First Reception" facilities, are quickly transferred to the "Second Reception" structures present on the whole national territory. Faced with a much greater inflow than expected, the Berlusconi government launches an extraordinary reception plan, opening special funding channels in order to subsidize thousands of projects.

It is during this period that the number of applications for residence permits for asylum-related reasons exceeds that for work reasons. In fact, from 2007 to 2015, applications for residence permits for international protection increased from 3.7% to 28.2% of the total, and the permits issued for a form of international protection and for asylum applications were respectively. 3.77% and 35.55% in 2016 (Ministero dell'Interno, 2016). The era of tourist visas, overstayers and recurrent *sanatorie* (amnesties), which had acted for

twenty years as the main policy of regularization of migratory flows, suddenly ends (Sciortino, 2000, 2006).

The opportunity for the reorganization of the reception system is therefore seized in the crisis triggered by the humanitarian emergency, and of this emergency bears the traits: in February 2013 the North Africa Emergency was in fact declared over, causing the immediate expulsion of thousands of refugees from reception facilities. Consequently, in Turin, hundreds of refugees suddenly deprived of a home and looking for a quick solution decide to occupy. In the space of a couple of weeks, after discussing the action with a part of the local anti-racist movements, supported by Gabrio and Askatasuna Social Centers, the choice falls on the abandoned buildings of the Ex-Moi (Romeo, 2017). This situation is clearly described by the words of Nico, activist of the Solidarity Committee active in the Moi.

> In February 2013 the Italian government suddenly declared the North Africa emergency closed. The structures, after using all the possible disciplinary sanctions to get rid of them, having kept them ignorant of the language, of Italian, made them sign some papers. They said it was for the confirmation of the place... but people could not read, and so they signed... then the police came and said "You signed this paper: get out of here!" Others gave them 500 euros, made them sign this sheet and told them it was the sheet for the exit... They were all people with residence permits in hand... There were no irregulars! (Nico)

The four buildings will house about 1200 people for 6 years, in a situation of complete self-management and complete abandonment. A self-management that does not resemble at all the assembly practice of the grassroot social movements, and that soon leads the Centri Sociali to partially disengage, in some cases disregarding the practices and perspectives acted by the occupants themselves[6].

In the following months, the Turin reception system was radically reorganized. Whether it is a response implemented after what happened at the Lingotto or an adaptation to the mayor shift in migration governance which is taking place all around Europe (Kreichauf, 2018), the investment in the reception system of the Prefecture of Turin went from 1 million euros in 2012 and 2013, to 13 in 2014, 26 in 2015, 47 in 2016. As of 31 December 2017, the people received in the temporary centers in the province of Turin were 4520, distributed in 409 centers, to which must be added the approximately 880 refugees and asylum seekers housed within the Sprar circuit (OpenPolis, 2019).

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[6] I address the history of the Ex-Moi from the point of view of its protagonists in another forthcoming text: *Viaggio nell'aparthied torinese*, in «Epidemia».

The State has therefore delegated to the local Prefectures, and through them to the third sector, a far-reaching social intervention. The preferred model was that of *accoglienza diffusa*, or "widespread reception", in order to avoid concentrations, possibly problematic, of asylum seekers and refugees, and promoting a model based on hundreds of small projects.

Like it or not, this model has appeared over the years to be capable of producing the expected results, accompanying migrants to adopt strategies aligned with previous migratory waves and avoiding creating further housing concentrations of asylum seekers and refugees on the territory. In the absence of data on the housing conditions of those who have just left the reception circuits, it is certainly difficult to draw a complete picture (Sprar/Siproimi, 2018). From my experience, of militancy and research, I can limit myself to say that the vast majority of international protection holders I met live in rented apartments scattered around the city, often peripheral and overcrowded, confirming the tendency to socio-tenurial differentiation, to peripheralization and micro-segregation of this segment of the urban population. To complete the picture, we must remember the frequent tendency to move to other cities or to rural areas, if not to leave the country (Peano, 2021).

4.3 Third Reception, or second regeneration

Despite the consolidation of the reception system, the occupied Ex-Moi was born, and none of the inhabitants seemed willing to leave it. The inhabitants quickly gave life to a parallel economy, structuring forms of self-management similar to those that characterize the informal settlements of farm laborers throughout Europe (Caruso, 2015; Staid, 2017; Stopani, Pampuro, 2018; Peano, 2021). For some of the inhabitants the movement between the Moi and other informal settlements is a constant, and it is normal, following the rhythm of seasonal work, to spend the autumn in Calabria, the winter in Moi and the summer in Guantanamò, in Saluzzo[7].

In the meantime, the occupation immediately jumped to the front pages of the local newspapers, as both renowned newspapers as La Stampa and La Repubblica and local tabloids give prominence to the news concerning the squat (Pogliano, Ponzo, 2019), but the elections are too close and the municipal administration of Fassino, already committed to the eviction of the

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[7] Saluzzo, a town close to Turin, hosted the informal settlement of Guantanamò for almost ten years. For years, hundreds of farm laborers lived in its self-built shacks, attracted by the demand for agricultural work that made the Monviso district rich. The history of this settlement, and the use of *accoglienza diffusa,* "widespread reception" in this context would deserve a separate study. For more on this topic, see Peano (2021).

Platz[8], one of the largest Roma camps in Europe, prefers to wait. It will be the new Movimento 5 Stelle mayor Chiara Appendino who will seek "dialogue" with the inhabitants of Moi, building a large table including the Municipality of Turin, the Region, the Prefecture, the Diocesi and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with the declared aim of quickly reaching of a shared solution. During the meetings the inhabitants of Moi insist on two fundamental points. First, that the projects are not to be assigned to the same associations that had managed the reception projects, whose abrupt interruption had led them, overnight, to be homeless. Second, that the solution would not be a 6-month or a 1-year projects.

The plan for the "liberation" of the four buildings is elaborated by the Compagnia San Paolo, and is called "MOI Project - Migrants an Opportunity for Inclusion". It is presented as «a project that addresses the housing and work emergency of the inhabitants of the buildings of the former Moi, to support their progressive autonomy and allow the restitution of the buildings for *urban and social requalification*». The Memorandum of Understanding therefore proposes to «identify and activate solutions that will ensure the safety of citizens and *requalify* the former Moi area from an *urban and social point of view*» (Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo). The project, proposing «temporary housing projects managed by the same well-known associations» (Nico), is received with disdain, resignation and anger (Comitato Solidarietà, 2017). Branded as a *sgombero dolce*, a "gentle eviction", the project is supported by a successful campaign, led by the major Chiara Appendino, aimed at shadowing the repressive aspect of the operation and highlighting its character of inclusiveness, along the lines of what was experimented during the eviction of the Platz between 2013 and 2015.

The operation will proceed gradually, over almost two years, and will begin in November 2017. In March 2018, four inhabitants of the Moi were arrested, accused of resistance to a public official, aggravated «for having prevented the continuation of the relocation activities of migrants through the use of violence», and suffer a whole year pre-trial detention. It will be necessary to wait until July 30, when many inhabitants will be busy with seasonal agricultural work, for the eviction of the last buildings (Magariello, 2019b).

806 of the inhabitants of Moi are taken to various reception facilities, of which over fifty in the Red Cross camp in Settimo, often spending more than a year there, in the company of other asylum seekers. They will

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[8] Located in the far north of the Turin suburbs, the Roma Platz Camp in Lungo Stura Lazio, was one of the largest in Europe, with an estimated population of between 1800 and 2500 people. It was evicted and razed to the ground between 2013 and 2015, during a project called "The possible city", whose declared purpose was the promotion of initiatives aimed at the integration of the people living in the camp.

gradually be included in various projects aimed at promoting "housing autonomy", divided into small apartment groups, in projects which will end in different periods throughout 2020. The timing of the project thus avoids putting hundreds of people on the street at once, thus avoiding the risk of recreating the conditions that had led to the occupation of the buildings. Nonetheless, the project ends in most cases by putting the hosts at the door without any alternative.

> The other day I passed in Corso Emilia... there I know many people. We said goodbye. Best wishes we said. And who knows... only they know where they sleep now. Sometimes we meet at "Oumar's house" in his tent under the bridge of Corso Regina... now he's a day laborer... they told me he went to Spain. Again, often, I thought about that project… in all of Italy, there has never been a mafia project like that.
> In the Red Cross field of Settimo, towards the end there were only three people left from the Ex Moi. Those who managed the project sent them to a house by themselves, where they paid their rent for three months and then they had to get by. The others were put in many houses, but by now they have thrown them all out. Many, many have gone to France. When I see someone… from that project… for weeks and months they haven't found work… nothing… those who have been lucky have found work in warehouses or as builders… but I have never yet seen one of them with a contract. All of them cry. (Idrissa)

Since 2017, the narrative proposed by the institutions and the media about the "gentle eviction" adopts diametrically opposed tones, underlining the inclusive nature of the MOI project (Migliaccio, 2019). To have access to the partial results of the project it will be necessary to wait until September 17, 2021, when a new Memorandum was presented in the presence of the various promoters and the Head of the Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Ministry of the Interior. The document, signed in June, extends the duration of the inclusion and "third reception" programs and presents the project as a successful model, to be adopted in other crisis contexts. It also reports that, of the estimated 1200-1400 inhabitants, about 800 people were included in the various projects and housed in various reception facilities, and that of these, after 2 years, about 300 people were accompanied to work autonomy and about 170 to housing autonomy. Finally, of about 100 people in precarious or irregular legal conditions, about 25% were "accompanied" to regularization. However, they do not provide further information on the conditions of those who have not managed to achieve work or housing autonomy, or legal regularity. It is also underlined that these results have been achieved thanks to the cooperation between the institutions and over 30 third sector actors. The narration about the regeneration of the "freed" spaces is even more enthusiastic.

Turin, 3 July 2020. Today the sale of the 7 buildings of the MOI, the former Olympic Village of Borgo Filadelfia, from the Fondo Città di Torino, (…), to the Fondo Abitare Sostenibile Piemonte (FASP), (…) After the definitive liberation from a long occupation, which ended last summer as a result of an innovative process of mobility, accompaniment and inclusion of the inhabitants of the buildings, towards housing and working autonomy paths (…) the district of the former Olympic Village will be completely renovated and will become a complex of social residences, with over 400 beds dedicated to temporary housing at special rates for students, young workers, city users. (…) The urban and social redevelopment of the buildings in Via Giordano Bruno overcomes the Covid-19 emergency and targets a new objective of modern and accessible housing, rich in personal services, for Turin - a university city with a strong cultural vocation that continues to live a phase of great planning, thanks to various initiatives. (CdP, Città di Torino, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo, Investire, Ream Sgr, Camplus)

Conclusions

The case of Ex-Moi shows how the spatial order of the city is anything but spontaneous. If it is true that the absence of widespread spatial segregation of the foreign population is to be ascribed to structural dynamics, both the regeneration projects and the local migration governance, enacted through the reception system, explicitly aim at avoiding forms of spatial concentration. Considering the position of many of these reception facilities, the fate of those expelled from the areas undergoing gentrification, and in general the housing conditions of a large slice of the foreign population, one cannot but think that segregation, in Italy, has only another form. Those who have tried to give a name to these processes spoke of micro-segregation, housing segregation, socio-tenurial differentiation, words that have the advantage of capturing a precise aspect of the phenomena concerned, but which in their character of technical lexicon risk to be unable to influence the public debate. Following the analysis of the Ex-Moi case, I therefore argue that it is correct and necessary to speak of segregation, and that it is indeed fundamental to re-appropriate this word, rather expanding its semantic field. Because with all the nuances of the case, we are still talking about segregation. Even when it is acted out in the name of the social mix, in the name of desegregation and social inclusion, as in the case of the Moi, or in the case in which the transformation of the city is mystified by narratives focused on the notions of security, decorum and urban decay, such as in the case of the Platz and the Balon market (Bukowski, 2019). Whether it is regeneration or security, or a mix of both, these

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rhetorics build the legitimacy of urban interventions through which people are dispersed, pushed to expatriate, scattered around neighborhoods where their deprivation and marginality shall remain an individual problem, never social, and never political.

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The localization models of secondary reception structures for refugees and asylum seekers in Italy. First results from the MIGRATE project

by *Luca Bottini, Simone Caiello, Luca Daconto, Sara Giunti*[1]

Introduction

A growing body of literature in political economy is studying the impact of the recent "Refugee Crisis" in Europe on the political and economic outcomes in host countries (Steinmayr, 2021; Hangartner *et al*., 2019; Gessler *et al*., 2021), with heterogeneous evidences depending on context characteristics and reception systems in place. However, very few contributions have explored the effects of the presence of asylum seekers and refugees at the very local level, where studies usually focus on capital or big and gateway cities, even if scholars start to analyse the diversity in different types of contexts (van Breugel, 2020).

Although migrant integration policies have often been defined in terms of national models of integration (Castles, Miller, 2009), in recent years a local turn (Caponio, Borkert, 2010) has been acknowledged in migration studies due to the growing interest towards its local dimension (Dekker *et al*., 2015). According to this turn, the local dimension does not simply mirror national policies, but intervenes in defining integration processes and policies. Reception patterns are in fact an intertwined combination of spatial (in terms of proximity and accessibility), material (physical structures and buildings) and institutional (norms and rules) dimensions (Zill *et al*., 2020), producing as a consequence a huge degree of unevenness between and inside territorial contexts.

[1] Luca Bottini, Simone Caiello, Luca Daconto, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca; Sara Giunti, Department of Economics, Management and Statistics, University of Milan Bicocca. Although the essay is the result of the joint work of the authors, the Introduction and conclusions are to be attributed to all authors, the paragraph 1.1 is to be attributed to Sara Giunti, the paragraphs 1.2 and 2 to Luca Daconto, the paragraphs 3 to Luca Bottini and Simone Caiello.

In regional and urban studies, the research shows how the spatial location and the contexts' features matter in shaping the local impacts of migrant localization strategies. Lichter *et al*. (2020) show that the distribution and the immigrant-native segregation patterns vary widely between and within European countries, characterised by very different economies, demographic conditions, and histories of immigration. With this respect, some scholars have been interested in the diversity of contexts of refugee reception systems. Proietti and Veneri (2021) show that, at the regional scale, hosted asylum seekers are less concentrated in urban regions than the resident population in 18 European countries of the OECD. In Italy, some authors denounce a "geographical issue" relating above all to the temporary reception centres (CAS), which host the largest number of asylum seekers and are often located in isolated or marginal areas (Cittadinanza Attiva, 2016; Aru, 2017). In Germany the number of asylum seekers is higher in districts with medium and highest deprivation compared to districts characterised by lowest degrees of deprivation (Bozorgmehr *et al*., 2017). Bini and Gambazza (2019) argue that in Milan there is a greater concentration of asylum seekers in the neighbourhood with a high percentage of immigrants and that the farther people go from the city centre, the more they can find reception centres.

In this framework, the paper presents the preliminary results of the MIGRATE project[2] which aims to identify the localization patterns of the temporary reception centres in Italy through the analysis of their spatial distribution and the socio-eco-demographic analysis of local contexts; and to assess the effects of the establishment of a reception centre on housing prices nearby and the levels of accessibility to key services and local opportunities offered.

In this paper the attention will be limited to the analysis of localization patterns of temporary reception centers in Italy in 2018. In the following section, we will first outline the dispersion policy adopted in Italy following the so-called refugee crisis and we will briefly review studies that have analysed the localization models of the reception system in different regions and countries. The presentation of the data and methods precedes that of the preliminary results of the spatial analysis. In the last section, the results will be discussed in the light of the current debate on the topic and the next steps of the project will be presented.

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[2] MIGRATE is an interdisciplinary research project born in the summer of 2020 from the meeting of a group of young researchers from the departments of Economics, Management and Statistics and Sociology and Social Research of the University of Milan Bicocca. The project is supported by the University through the call Bicocca Starting Grants, aimed at funding interdisciplinary and innovative research projects proposed by young researchers. For more information: www.migrate.unimib.it/home, accessed 01/03/2022.

1. Literature review

1.1 The refugee crisis and the Italian dispersal policy

During the 'refugee crisis' of 2014-2017, Europe faced an unprecedented influx of refugees and migrants. Around 3.5 million people applied for asylum in the EU-28 countries. This unexpected inflow has stretched the reception systems for asylum seekers, triggered a stream of reforms to strengthen existing reception management and divided public opinion in many destination countries (Dustmann *et al.*, 2016). The number of arrivals in Italy was around 150,000 persons per year for the entire period between 2014 and 2018, when it also dropped considerably. In 2017, Italy received 67% of the EU's migrant arrivals from Mediterranean routes and accounted for 18% of all first-time applicants in the EU-28.

The need to host and settle asylum seekers fostered the scaling up of the existing reception system in Italy, which is designed along two major stages/tracks. A preliminary phase of identification and assistance is conducted at major disembarkation sites (hotspots) and major governmental centers such as CARA (*Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo*). Secondary reception is carried out by the System for the Protection of Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), which was put in place in 2002 following the first refugee inflows from Balkans[3]. The SPRAR system is run by local municipality authorities on a voluntary basis and is not for profit. It is funded by the national government through money channelled to local municipalities and provides reception services such as language courses, psychological care, training and labor market integration programs. The SPRAR system is often singled out for its small scale organization, aimed at refugees integration in the local context. Yet, since municipalities' political orientation and administrators capacity determine the presence and distribution of SPRAR reception centers across the country, at the height of the Refugee Crisis (2014-2015) in December 2014, only 433 out of around 8,000 municipalities were hosting a SPRAR project.

Hence, a third (parallel) track of (second stage) reception centres was set up on an 'extraordinary' basis to deal with the lack of capacity of the existing reception system and to spread out the allocation of asylum seekers to the whole national territory. These Temporary Reception centers (*Centri di*

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[3] Nowadays the system has been changed into SAI (Sistema di Accoglienza e Integrazione) from 2020, after a period, from 2018, during which it had been turned into SIPROIMI (Sistema di protezione per titolari di protezione internazionale e per minori stranieri non accompagnati) by the "Decreto Sicurezza" (d.l. 113/2018).

Accoglienza Straordinaria - CAS) quickly replaced both SPRAR and CARA as the go-to system for the new government. The number of asylum seekers is centrally allocated to province-based Italian Prefectures according to the "Allotment Plan" (*Piano Nazionale di Riparto*), which sets the number of asylum seekers as a proportion of the provincial resident population (i.e. about 2.5 out of 1,000 inhabitants). The allocation of centres within the provincial territory is coordinated by local Prefectures, which open public bids that are eventually assigned to cooperatives, NGOs or private operators based on the quality of the project and the tender cost schemes.

This Dispersal Policy aimed to reduce the concentration of asylum seekers and refugees in urban and disembarkation areas, as well as to share the "costs" of reception and hospitality through a gradual and sustainable distribution of asylum seekers across the whole national territory. However, a critical point of the CAS system is that, unlike SPRAR, its 'temporariness' and private nature does not aspire to ensure the provision of integrated refugee reception services such as psychological support, training and job market integration. Thus, while CAS ended up being geographically dispersed, they are not territorialised as they do not have among their objectives the involvement of local realities and the activation of economic and social integration paths for asylum seekers.

1.2 The localization patterns of the refugees' reception system

Analyzing the location of hosted asylum seekers in OECD regions and cities, Proietti and Veneri (2021) argue that, in absolute terms, most asylum seekers are located in the largest cities, often the national capitals. However, they stress that, with respect to the total resident population, asylum seekers are on average less concentrated in predominantly urban regions. This is true also for Italy, where 42% of asylum seekers are settled in urban small regions with respect to 48% of Italian residents, while 46% live in intermediate small regions (42% Italian residents) and the 12% in rural ones (10% Italian residents). Furthermore, according to the authors, in the 6 countries considered (Italy not included) asylum seekers are mostly located outside FUAs[4] (57%), while the opposite is observed for the total resident population (41%). However, a recent report of OpenPolis and ActionAid (2021) stresses that, in Italy, in 2019, 43.1% of places in CAS were in central municipalities, poles or inter-municipal poles according to the SNAI classification, while 7.8% is

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[4] Functional Urban Areas.

located in peripheral or ultra-peripheral municipalities. In other terms, there is still no agreement on what the predominant localization models of the reception systems are and on the consequent geographical issues that arise (Cittadinanza Attiva, 2016; Aru, 2017). The diversity of the results is partly due to the different spatial units of analysis considered (e.g. OECD regions, NUTS 2-3, FUAs, Municipalities, Metropolitan cities or areas, etc.) and to the fact that the studies are limited to certain areas or case studies, as well as to the different definition and collection of data in the different countries and territorial contexts.

On this aspect, it should also not be forgotten that the different asylum seekers distribution can be influenced by the specific socio-territorial morphology (Boffi, Colleoni, 2016) that distinguishes the processes of urbanization and metropolisation in contemporary societies. Studies on metropolitan areas (see for Italy: Boffi, Palvarini, 2011), for example, have highlighted the limits of administrative subdivisions and defined territorial units based on the functions established, the level of attractiveness and connectivity and the daily mobility practices of the populations. Research on this topic has highlighted forms of monocentric, polycentric development, linear development, according to the distribution of social and economic functions and to the mobility/infrastructural patterns. The concerns about the distribution, concentration and segregation of asylum seekers is mainly due to the impacts of location on their lives and on the hosting territories.

2. Data and methods

We use unique first-hand data on refugee's resettlement and reception centers in the period from 2014 to 2019, collected by the authors through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to the universe of Italian Prefectures between July 2019 and February 2020 (Campo *et al.*, 2021). We collected data on CAS location and capacity, timeline and actual number of hosted refugees for the years 2014-2019. First of all, we geocoded all addresses of temporary (CAS) centres opened across the national territories during the peak of the crisis[5]. This procedure allowed us to analyse the distribution and location patterns of the temporary reception system in the whole country[6] and to calculate a street-network based accessibility to local opportunities, to be performed

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[5] The peak of the crisis was reached between 2017 and 2018.
[6] In particular, geocoding made it possible to locate all the CAS present on the national territory in 2018 (n=8163).

through the running of network analysis tools in a GIS environment. We combine the above dataset with open data from the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT-SISTAN) on the morphology (e.g. degree of urbanisation; level of peripherality, etc.), economic activities (e.g. location quotient) and socio-economic and demographic structure (e.g. incomes; ageing; socio-economic vulnerability) at the municipal level. In this way we are able to precisely define the profiles of the local reception contexts in Italy and to consider their influence in the assessment of local impacts.

In this paper the attention will be limited to the analysis of Italian temporary reception centers' localization models in 2018. To analyse the distribution of CAS, we made use of geocoded data and GIS. We used Kernel Density Estimation in order to evaluate the concentration or diffusion of reception centers in Italy. This approach allows us to calculate a density value of CAS, weighted for the effective presence of asylum seekers, for each cell (5*5Km) into which the surface of Italy has been divided. Conceptually, a smoothly curved surface (the Kernel function, see Silverman, 1986) is fitted over each CAS. The surface value is highest (and corresponds to the number of asylum seekers in each CAS) at the location of the CAS and diminishes with increasing distance[7]. This tool is very useful because it does not simply relate the capacity and the presences to the surface or number of inhabitants, but it allows to identify hotspots and to evaluate the grouping of the reception centers and their influence beyond the administrative limits.

Once having understood the spatial distribution of the CAS, another analysis that is proposed focuses on the investigation of the typology of territories, according to a set of socio-economic and spatial variables, carried out through a cluster analysis (k-means), in order to connote them[8].

Before performing the cluster analysis, the variables have been reduced by using principal component analysis (PCA). Specifically, variables 1 through 4 were analyzed extracting two factors. From these factors a new index of "socio-economic vulnerability" has been calculated, reducing the total number of variables chosen for the cluster analysis. Subsequently, the nine selected variables were normalized (z-scores) and finally subjected to k-means cluster analysis.

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[7] We used as the maximum influence threshold the average length of a trip in an average day in Italy, or 6 kilometers (ISFORT, 2019).

[8] The following variables have been selected as useful in measuring the socio-territorial properties: Structural Dependency Index; Incidence of young NEETs (15-29 years old); Incidence of taxpayers with total income <10,000 euros; Percentage of young people (30-34 years old) graduated; Residential density; Degree of urbanization; Location quotient of manufacturing industry; Location quotient of business services; Consumer services location quotient; KDE CAS; Inner Areas Classification; Altitude zone.

3. Preliminary results

Fig. 1 shows the density of refugees and asylum seekers living in CAS in Italy for the year 2018. The greater part of the Italian territory has density values greater than 0 and the areas in blue, where there are no CAS, are mostly uninhabited.

Fig. 1 - The density of asylum seekers and refugees living in Italian CAS in 2018
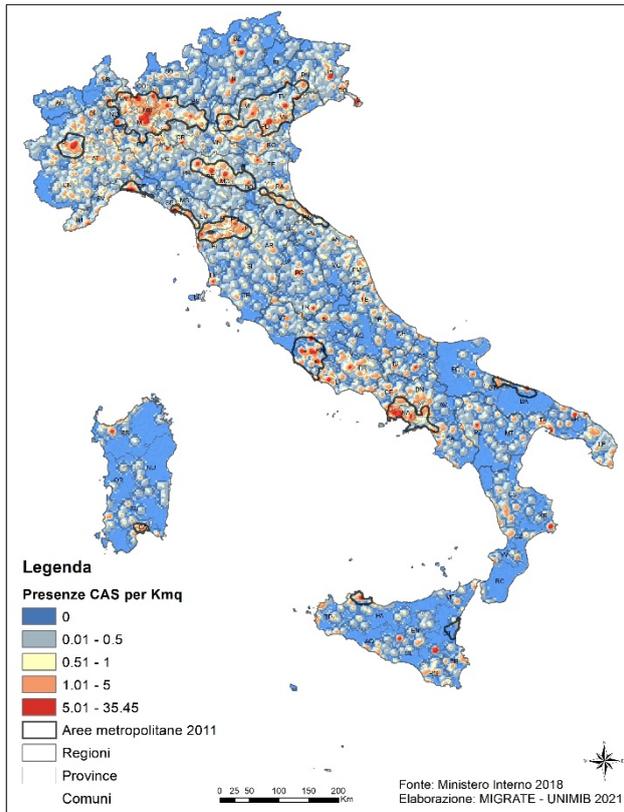
Source: authors' elaboration on data Ministry of the Interior (2018)

The spatial analysis of the CAS distribution through KDE shows different location models within Italian regions:
1) Widespread, such as the case of Marche, where there are no hotspots and the presence of refugees and asylum seekers is spread inside the region;
2) Polycentric, i.e. Emilia-Romagna, in which there are some hotspots with a higher density of refugees and asylum seekers spread inside the region;

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3) Spreading polycentric, i.e. Campania, where it is possible to find different hotspots spread all over the region;
4) Monocentric, i.e. Piemonte, in which the higher density concentrates in a single hotspot, while the other parts of the region have lower values;
5) Spreading monocentric, i.e. Lombardy, where various hotspots with high density congregate creating an homogeneous and large area with higher density values.

The analysis of correlation between the density of refugees and asylum seekers and some ecological variables confirms the "urban" nature of the Italian reception system (Tab. 1). In fact, there is a positive correlation with the degree of urbanisation and residential density, the location quotient of business services, income gaps and the population educational level. On the opposite, there is an inverse correlation with the ageing index and the level of peripherality.

Tab. 1 - Bivariate analysis between the density of asylum seekers and refugees living in Italian CAS in 2018 and some ecological variables

	KDE CAS 2018
Residential density (Istat 2018)	.444**
Degree of urbanisation (Eurostat 2016)	.372**
Peripherality (Ag. Coesione Territoriale 2014)	-.306**
Location Quotient Business services (Istat 2015)	.191**
Ageing index (Istat 2018)	-.116**
Young (30-34 yrs) graduates (Istat 2015)	.141**
Foreign population (Istat 2018)	.132**
Income gaps (Istat 2015)	.159**

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level*

With respect to the types of hosting territories, the best model of the K-means cluster analysis extracted three clusters that correspond to as many socio-spatial profiles that make it possible to analyze the characteristics of the territories where the CAS operate (Tab. 2). The first cluster includes the territories characterised by a high level of urbanisation and residential density,

corresponding to large urban centres. The second and third clusters, on the other hand, refer to those cases that include medium and small-sized centres.

Tab. 2 - Final cluster centers (N=7,631)

Final Cluster Centers	Cities	Suburbs	Rural
Residential Density (Istat 2018)	4.67	0.26	-0.32
Degree of Urbanisation (Eurostat, 2016)	3.45	1.71	0.51
Manufacturing Location Quotient (Istat, 2015)	-0.28	0.53	-0.28
Business Services Location Quotient (Istat, 2015)	1.01	0.34	-0.22
Consumer Services Location Quotient (Istat, 2015)	-0.27	-0.43	0.26
KDE CAS 2018	3.20	0.26	-0.26
Socio-economic Vulnerability (Istat, 2015, 2018)	-0.06	0.56	-0.34
Inner Areas Classification (SNAI, 2014)	-1.31	-0.74	0.48
Altimetric Classification (Istat, Ispra)	0.06	0.25	1.47

Conclusion: discussion and further developments

In recent times there has been a growing attention to the local dimension of migration and integration and reception policies. Local territories not only represent the context in which the impacts of policies and migratory flows occur, but they are an intervening factor in the definition and production of integration processes and policies. Furthermore, the characteristics of the local context influence the opportunities for the inclusion of refugees and asylum seekers, as well as the diversity of impacts in the different territories. In this context, the MIGRATE project aims to analyse the localization models of temporary reception centres in Italy and to assess the effects of their establishment on housing prices nearby and the levels of accessibility to key services offered to the guests.

The results presented in this paper contribute to the scientific debate on the topic in several ways. First, the analysis carried out using the exact location of the CAS, going beyond the administrative subdivisions, made it possible to highlight a spatial model of the reception system characterized by the spread of the structures over the entire territory and by the presence of

concentration areas, with different morphology, particularly within metropolitan and urban areas. The urban character of the presence of refugees and asylum seekers in Italy is confirmed by the consideration of socio-economic and territorial variables. Although in quantitative terms the host territories are those with high levels of urbanization, refugees and asylum seekers also live in sub-urban or rural contexts. In other words, despite the effect of the Italian dispersal policy, asylum seekers are distributed throughout the national territory in proportion to the provincial resident population, the heterogeneity of local contexts can determine differentiated impacts in terms of accessibility to opportunities and on the real estate market. Similarly, the monocentric, polycentric or diffuse character of the localization models of CAS can influence the variability of local impacts, due to the combination with the socio-economic territorial dynamics occurring in those specific territorial development patterns. Further research is needed in order to better qualify these interactions, elements that would help in better shaping local refugees integration policies, making them adhere as best as possible to the local peculiarities.

With this respect, the further steps of the Migrate project will shed some light on the implications for local housing markets of a larger share of refugees housed in decentralized accommodations. Likewise, the evaluation and measure of local opportunities accessibility for refugees and asylum seekers in a selected set of territories - on the base of the localisation patterns discovered from the mapping of the centres and the crossing with socio-demographic and economic structure of the territories in which they are settled - will allow to detect the level of potential inclusion provided by the structure of the local territory.

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The issue of housing and migrants.
The role of women in social movements for housing rights, from stereotypes to social activism

by *Francesca Colella, Giovanna Gianturco, Mariella Nocenzi*[1]

Introduction

In Italy, the leading role of migrant women seems to be substantially ignored. The stereotype of the migrant as a young male Muslim worker with no family in tow and driven by economic motives has obscured a very different reality, namely that of women, of various age groups, often married and with children, of different geographical origins, mainly of Christian religion, and who participate robustly in social life, changing the face of our cities (Colella, Gianturco, 2020). In the belief that migrant women have been able to carve out a new space for themselves in Italy's public and urban environment, we will briefly focus on the housing issue, since the urban environment is a key setting for studying the role of migrant women in their daily interactions in contemporary social movements and conflicts (Colella, Gianturco, Nocenzi, 2017). With this aim in mind, a broad and complex scenario demands to be considered, with its various issues relating to the changed sense of living in the contemporary cities. Numerous changes have occurred in this sense, especially in terms of the variety of housing demand, which is increasingly composite as a result, among other things, of socio-demographic dynamics and economic and cultural changes.

In our empirical research[2] we have looked at the role of migrant women as participants, within their ethnic communities, in social movements for housing rights at the national level, choosing Rome as a case study[3]. We hope that the

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[1] Francesca Colella, Department of Human Studies, University of L'Aquila; Giovanna Gianturco, Mariella Nocenzi, Department of Communication and Social Research, Sapienza University of Rome.

[2] The empirical investigation was launched in February 2016 and ended in May 2018.

[3] We adopted a "descriptive-exploratory" investigation logic (Agnoli, 2004, pp. 91-94), with a qualitative approach. Thirty qualitative interviews were carried out with immigrant

study of this topic can spark renewed attention to a widespread, differentiated area that has come into being «also from the changed social composition of the resident population and the emergence of old and new poverty, one of whose main causes are the incoming migratory flows» (Lo Piccolo, 2013, p. 22).

1. Migrant women and the sense of living in the contemporary city, from stereotypes to female voices

The phenomenon described emblematically highlights some interesting socio-cultural changes affecting migrants in Italy, not only as regards settling and integrating foreign communities into the social fabric (Colella, Grassi, 2020), but also as regards agency narratives and the female voice. Our aim has been to focus on a *dynamic* concept of citizenship, understood as a procedural political activity and practice, which harbors a fertile tension of defense, recognition, variegation and reformulation of rights, which goes beyond the strict guarantee of entitled rights (Friedmann, 1999). In general, women's mobility is on the rise worldwide, a trend visible in Italy since 2005[4]. According to the most recent estimates of the ISMU (Initiatives and Studies on Multiethnicity Foundation), as of January 1, 2020, women represent 51.8% of immigrant adults. Only if we analyze the foreign population of minors does the male component prevail (51.9% of the total, while females, among minors, represent 48.2%)[5]. Migratory trends and narratives are significantly gendered processes (Anthias, 1992; Anthias, Kontos, Morokvasic, 2013; Anthias, Lazaridis (2000), and so in analyzing the migration phenomenon the gender perspective has always taken the forefront, especially in recent decades (Macioti, Pugliese, 1991; 2003; Macioti, 2000; Abbatecola, Ambrosini, 2004; Ambrosini, 2017; Gianturco, 2004; Zanfrini, 2007).

Being aware that housing is only one of the spatial factors of change in the social corpus due to migration, we have tried to understand the role of immigrant women in the integration process of the various communities in Italian society. It is possible to observe how the frontline role of women in resistance actions is not characterized exclusively as literal conflicts and struggles, but also as a symbolic dimension that impinges on their own social group of

women active in the movements for housing rights, who operate throughout Italy. The women interviewees (significant witnesses) were identified with a sample cascade selection. Age between 25 and 50 years. Origin: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Egypt, Ecuador, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru, Romania and Ukraine.

[4] www.vita.it/it/article/2020/03/07/in-italia-limmigrazione-e-donna/154302/.
[5] *Ibidem*.

reference as well as on that of the movement within which they act, i.e., the external context of these groups, thus affecting the public opinion of the country in which they have chosen to live (Colella, Gianturco, Nocenzi, 2017).

We can identify in Italy's by now decades long housing emergency an emblematic phenomenon and a key field of study, since the home is undoubtedly a crucial place of class differentiation and the reproduction of social exclusion (Ambrosini, Sciolla, 2015). This field of study also allows us to highlight how participation in associations that deal with housing rights affects the extent to which identity and empowerment can enhance women's leadership skills, thus allowing them to acquire a non-simplified, non-stereotyped self-representation, in an effort to "neutralize" gender and migration narratives.

In recent decades, Italy's housing situation has undergone important transformations that have impacted the processes of social inclusion and exclusion. The study of the main socio-statistical sources that deal with this topic (Caritas, IDOS) offers several years of ongoing data on the progressive evolution of the housing emergency as one of the major causes of social inequality, among both the Italian population (Baldini, 2010) and, in direct proportion, those, like immigrants, who do not enjoy full citizenship rights. «For families, absolute poverty reaches 27% for households with at least one foreign person (31.2% for those made up exclusively of foreigners) and 6.3% for families made up entirely of native Italians»[6]. Some surveys classify the housing demand of migrants among those who are looking for even a temporary place to live, and those who want to upgrade their living situation (Cittalia, 2013). Although the latter are increasingly the subject of research aimed at highlighting the processes through which they strive to improve their quality of life, when they are not actually renewing the quality of slum areas abandoned by their original residents (IDOS, 2015): this is what comes to light from the analysis of the housing emergency of asylum seekers, irregular immigrants, refugees and migrants in conditions of extreme poverty according to *traditional* patterns poses constantly evolving features.

2. The specificity of migrant and indigenous female agency and the process of mutual adaptation

To verify the criterion of analogy in the processes described so far, we must insert it in the specific context of the case study: if and how can space,

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[6] *X Rapporto annuale. Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro in Italia*, edited by the Directorate General for Immigration and Integration Policies, 2020, p. 34.

and in particular housing, be considered a vital node in the processes of including migrants? Specifically, what is the role played by migrant women in attesting their housing rights? Can they counter the stereotype of the male-oriented gender migrant profile? And can they confirm that they behave similarly as natives do who are culturally different from them, but act in an equivalent context and for the same purposes?

The first two questions are closely connected. The feminization of migratory flows that reach Italy has already been discussed, and so too the extreme personal, cultural and motivational heterogeneity of the migrant profiles. Their agency is equally diverse if we consider that women migrate to rejoin their already emigrated partner, or because they acquire refugee status in fleeing countries in crisis, or even move alone to try to enter the labor market. Generally, cultural origins determine the causes and conditions of women's migration: women coming from religious cultures that more control their life choices, such as, for example, the Muslim ones, tend to have a migrant identity that is totally inserted in the life project decided by the head of the family, compared to women coming from more "secularized" cultures. In the latter case, although they may be forced by family socio-economic conditions to undertake a migration project, migrant women tell of a greater independence in their choices, against a greater loneliness and vulnerability in facing the insertion in the new social and occupational context. The different cultural identities of migrant women do not seem to condition, in turn, the evolution of migratory processes in recent decades overlaps with the tendency of destination countries to adopt increasingly restrictive measures toward the reception and subsequent stabilization of migrants, especially as residents, with obvious consequences for women. It is above all women who still feed the traditional south-north and north-north migratory flows coming from areas of the planet where crises and conflicts mainly involve them because of adverse demographic conditions, repulsive urbanization processes and non-sustainable environmental challenges, while their level of education and awareness improves, reformulating their social role.

These two aspects become deeply meaningful if we consider that in societies worldwide, characterized by ongoing transformations and where the power structure is strongly anti-feminist and androcentric, where there seems to be no space for equal values between genders, the full contribution of women risks being discouraged among the younger generations (Bonora, 2011, p. 11).

If we consider, in societies worldwide, both the country of origin and the host country, it becomes clear that the definition of the social role of these women is a complex process. At the same time, they reformulate and express themselves in spatial, and therefore social and cultural, contexts that are

different, able to maintain ties with its roots, while also weaving new and original relationships in a succession of socio-cultural features, helping to infuse meaning into the migratory experience. To start defining the role of women in migration processes, the research focused on the phase of the encounter of the different migrant female identities with other female identities, autochthonous and not, in the space of exception represented by the occupied residential areas, where the cultural background does not disappear, but is linked by universal values such as maternity, care, planning towards the future to those same values present also in the different cultural identities of the women sharing the housing occupation. In this way, migrant women become the stabilizing figures of the migratory paths, active subjects who employ interpersonal, planning, and work skills, and cultural knowledge. They "invent" life paths, pragmatically implementing a multiplicity of adaptation strategies to the different situations they face (Bonora, 2011, p. 10).

This special link that women have with the spatial dimension, especially in their role as migrants, highlights how it constitutes a vital node in the processes of inclusion for migrants in general, as well as for the life paths of women in particular. Space has an identity function, not just administratively from the value that residence takes on for both migrant men and women, but above all culturally, symbolically, in the process of social inclusion that is analyzed here as the objective of women's agency. In the tortuous paths that lead migrant communities to build new "adapted" spaces in the countries of destination, the attestation of the more universal right of citizenship is pursued by migrants as an authentic process of new identity construction, typical of those who promote social change (Touraine, 1984; 2012). The defining categories of human agency as outlined by Albert Bandura (1997) and Penninx's mutual adaptation process (2015) can help us to pinpoint how this is specific to female agency.

In particular, the social psychologist Bandura's concept of agency is useful because he defines his cognitive social theory as the ability to act robustly and in a transforming way in the context in which one is inserted, the product of an interdependent causal structure based on three nuclei of influence placed between them in a reciprocal and triadic relationship, to wit:
- biological, emotional and cognitive type personal elements;
- environmental events that circumscribe the subject and his/her conduct;
- behavior implemented in a given context.

Precisely the interaction between the subject composed of individual elements deriving from their culture and the context in which they are inserted define a certain type of agency that operates in that new context,

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transforming it. This is exactly what occurs with the actions taken by migrants who are "active and transformative" in their new context. The specificity of their induced transformations is well represented by the mutual adaptation process that Penninx (2015) describes as a cooperative action to redefine the spaces both within the migrant communities and externally with the host society, which results from the migrants' conduct. Hence the proof of the principle of analogy referred to at the beginning of this section, which can be found both in the process of recognizing the citizenship rights of Italian home-seekers, and in the rights of migrants who aspire to true and proper citizenship, including the right to space that is an integral part of it. The female specificity of the attestation of housing rights lies in their being potential recipients of social protection measures - therefore of inclusion - which demand the servicing of universally recognized needs for women, such as education, personal care, motherhood, freedom of choice, identification in a space of care for oneself and one's family, as will be attested by the interviewees themselves in our Section 3 analysis. Both migrant and autochthonous women, though culturally different, are alike in their basic rights and in the context in which they carry on their lives, and especially in claiming their housing rights as a manifestation of citizenship that substantially means equality and inclusion, and not a special privilege - a factor of exclusion and discrimination - which is the model established in the countries of destination (Colella, Gianturco, Nocenzi, 2017).

3. Survey and methodology

The associations analysed in the research are made similar by common interests carried out through similar activities, such as for *Action Diritti in movimento* - one of the most important housing movements in Italy - by *Blocchi Precari Metropolitani*, *Lucha y Siesta*, *ESC* and *Astra*. In particular, *Action* began in 2002 in the wake of the D.A.C. (*Diritto alla Casa*) experience, founded in 1998 by a group of Roman activists from the Forte Prenestino, Trentadue, La Strada, Corto Circuito and Tute Bianche social centers. It was in these contexts that 30 immigrant women between 25 and 50 years old were interviewed, coming from Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Egypt, Ecuador, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru, Romania and Ukraine. The countries of origin were not selected in the research design, but they are represented by the interviewees identified in the interview cascade. Focused interviews were carried out, aimed at identifying, in addition to their individual migratory paths, the elements that characterize their experience with housing

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problems in Rome and the related activities they carried out in the housing movements.

Hence our primary objective was to understand the *viewpoint* of the interviewees: their opinions, perceptions, interpretations, feelings and motives for their actions. All the interviews were transcribed by only partially re-adapting the language, i.e., by eliminating repetitions, and empirical materials were rearranged and analyzed by thematic analysis: i.e., the transcripts were broken down (*indexing*) with respect to this or that reference topic, with the aim of comparing the content of the various excerpts. The topics emerged partly in the theoretical framework and partly in the empirical phase. Consequently, the excerpts were merged and re-constructed, i.e., *transversalized*, with the aim of "illustrating" the theoretical discourse of the researcher and backing it up by practice (see Gianturco, 2005, pp. 125-130); placing «... in significant relation some portions of text, of variable length» (Pozzato, 2001, p. 131). The excerpts reported in the text refer to the women interviewed, but they were given fictitious names to maintain the anonymity guaranteed to them when accepting the release of their testimony.

4. Towards a recognition of migrant female subjectivity: confronting women's voices

Hence it is the job of scientific investigation to reformulate its conceptual bases in relation to migration, in the light of the new social role of migrants both in their communities of origin and in their host community, as subjects who claim the protection of fundamental rights, including housing rights.

Our survey shows how the associative practices of migrant women make them reflective subjects starting from their own world view and ethical convictions, as reformulated in the light of the behaviors they enact in their new context, for example by participating in public demonstrations and occupations. One of the main aspects is the empowerment process that grants them the dual role of belonging to the community of origin and of interacting with the host society, by carrying out activities other than those typical of family care or extra-domestic work (Marucci, Montedoro, 2009). Hence for them a role as "cultural mediators" is delineated in their ability to act as "nodes" between the cultures of origin and those of the places of arrival (Grasso, 1997), to produce, in turn, transformations that characterize agency in general and, in this specific case, the female one.

Among their most interesting roles is that of institutional mediators for housing rights, toward their communities of origin and those in Italy. We

dwell on this because it has interesting implications for our scientific investigation. The "unconventional" actions that women migrants engage in supplement traditional forms, such as occupations or boycotts, and joining for the first time initiatives with similar local movements. These are favored by the choice of women as subjects to be protected by external interlocutors, as they are often mothers of minors or defenseless and vulnerable subjects. Other unconventional actions are those that women carry out in co-managing forms of emergency and post-emergency (e.g., reconstructing spatial and symbolic places of a domestic type in new housing arrangements, even when temporary). The construction of an everyday living space considered one's own allows one to feel at home. Meriem, for example, who came from Libya, explains how cleaning also serves as an aggregation point for women in a common space and life experience: «... this house must always be clean and so we organize ourselves for this purpose. One day I do this, the other we do the cleaning, the groups, and so you feel at home, you have to keep it clean, it's not a hotel, where you sleep and then leave ... I like how we organize it ...». There are those who, instead, emphasize the dignity one acquires by having a space to live in. We talk about the "positive side" of - as Magdalina says, in employment with BPMs - «arriving "at my house", instead of staying in a tent, I have the wall and the bathroom nearby, let's say ... little things that are useful for building a decent, minimally decent life».

It is a generative action that offers occupations a symbolic image different from the most recurrent sanctionable one: it urges the institutions of the host country to adopt a non-coercive function, but a precautionary one of a universal right and a cultural expression, which are the furthest thing from traditional resistance actions. In such a context, already transformative in itself, migrants open up emancipatory and leadership paths within their groups, and connective ones towards similar indigenous communities. We see this in Maria's and Isabel's description of their experiences: «we're always among ourselves: women and children who come from the same country; sometimes even men, but more so women because we don't all work. (…) (Action) organizes meetings and I help out by spreading the word to everybody (the women of the same ethnicity) to come and participate in the assemblies, that is, I help to inform and organize the meetings» (Maria; bracketed text ours); «I often call my friends to talk about our problems, there are many problems. Managing the occupation is difficult but I try to help and get everyone to agree; (…) Sometimes we quarrel with other groups from other countries but then we try to become friends again, because we want a home» (Isabel).

Inevitably such actions change the stereotypes that within and between individual communities mutually identify women mobilized to obtain

housing rights. In turn, scientific investigation can only draw evidence of an unprecedented social role and identity, through which we can reformulate the cognitive categories we employ. Starting from the profile that Maria Carmen, an occupying migrant, describes:

Q: Are there people who are more active in the occupation?
MC: Sure, women. Men are lazy. Many women attend the assemblies, men are more apt to do the labor.
Q: So women are in politics and men are in maintenance?
MC: Yes, but not always. That is, women are very active, they have children, they need to be more on the ball.
Q: Could you be more precise?
MC: Well, while men don't think of everything, women do.
Q: And in assemblies and demonstrations?
MC: Women speak more in assemblies, and women are more active in demonstrations.
Q: And the situation within women's occupations?
MC: I'm single and have kids, but I'm strong. If a woman is alone, she can be strong, even though having a husband is important. But a woman alone is better than a man alone, men do stupid things.
Q: For instance?
MC: Well, men spend their money on trivial stuff, while women are more focused on their family, their home and their children.
Q: Do you think working women demand special support?
MC: I think other women want this, to make sure their kids are well tended.
Q: How many migrant women activists are there?
MC: A lot.

Some concluding remarks

In the new reception dominated by limited institutional "openings", a prospect of latent conflict seems to prevail in which they emerge as temporally and spatially circumscribed and which could become permanent, especially in the absence of significant changes in policies and administrative practices, especially as regards housing rights, as well as other spaces - e.g., for prayer. Hence the best strategy for grasping these fluid and partly covert dynamics seems to be to *listen* to the voices of the protagonists. Adopting the point of view of women through their stories is perhaps the only way we can make an in-depth scientific assessment of the phenomenon, by highlighting the *paradigm of difference* not just thematically but also methodologically.

Immigrant women in housing emergency have allowed us to understand how the growing housing crisis requires public intervention policies and a

clear turnabout in the use of resources compared to what has been done since the beginning of the migration process in Italy, which up to now has more or less coincided with the abandonment of social housing policies. Migrant women, as socially vulnerable subjects, act as interlocutors *par excellence* of the host society and its institutions. Thanks to their specific agency, unexpected transformations are being carried out in housing mobilization, by adopting unprecedented behaviors compared to those they would exhibit in their countries of origin, and thus modifying the common stereotypes and also the scientific ones by which we can grasp the phenomenon of housing inequalities.

Refocusing the object of study on their agency, the mutual adaptation process with the reference context, and on the transformations that they induce, proves to be an excellent gender sensitive analytical starting point for designing tools to combat housing problems in our societies.

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The residential dynamics of foreign populations at the metropolitan scale. The cases of Bologna and Milan (2001-2011)

by *Luca Daconto, Maria Grazia Montesano*[1]

Introduction: understanding residential segregation in Southern Europe and Italy

Segregation as a social phenomenon began to be investigated in the 1920s and 1930s in the US context, through the assimilationist approach developed by the Ecological School of Chicago. At that time, residential segregation was mainly defined as a form of isolation in which social distance is based upon physical separation (Park, Burgess, 1921). Although initially conceived as an ecological category, the concept of residential segregation has spread to different contexts. More recently, in Europe, residential segregation has been defined as unequal or uneven distribution of social groups among the neighbourhood of a city (Barbagli, Pisati, 2012). As a matter of fact, the concept of segregation has changed from an ecological category to a socio-spatial one, conceived as a multi-dimensional phenomenon in which structural forces (housing and labour markets, welfare system, etc.), as well as individual preferences and behaviours, and historical place-specific legacies and contextual factors play a role (Oberti, 2017; Arbaci, 2019). The academic debate has widely emphasised that levels of residential segregation in Europe are relatively low compared to the US cities. Two main reasons can be suggested to explain this difference. First, the presence of the Welfare State in Europe has been a moderating factor, both at the national and local level, in order to limit the development of ethnically and socially homogeneous residential areas (Esping Andersen, 1990; Andreotti *et al.*, 2012). Second, several empirical studies have shown that immigrants in Europe seem to follow a socio-economic rather than

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[1] Luca Daconto, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca; Maria Grazia Montesano, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.

ethnic logic in the process of settlement in a new urban context (Musterd, 2005; Bergamaschi, 2012). Further reasons must be mentioned - such as the impact of colonial past of the countries, the characteristics of migration flows (e.g. intensity, timing, origins), the level of racism and structural discrimination based on the colour-line - which have different effects on the distribution of foreign population. Overall, it is clear that segregation should be investigated considering the local context of analysis.

North-American scholars have largely influenced the subsequent debate all over the world. As a matter of fact, segregation has been investigated as an ecological category, strictly related to US-based theories (Maloutas, 2004; Arbaci, 2019). In fact, segregation has been mainly perceived in terms of concentration, directly associated with the image of American ghettos. The concentration, which is just one of the dimensions related to segregation dynamics (Massey, Denton, 1988), is still perceived as crucial in segregation studies and it represents a major issue in policies and public debate. A strong assumption of research and policies is in fact the correlation between segregation and neighbourhood effects, that is the effects of entrapment that exert a negative influence on people's life chances and that are able to reproduce inequalities only due to the fact of living in a specific neighbourhood (Castrignanò, 2014). Moreover, segregation has been studied for a long time as a quantitative phenomenon of concentration, usually analysed by computing indices and statistics. According to the mainstream theoretical approach, segregation is substantially synonymous with concentration. Consistently, if the indices of concentration are low for a certain ethic or social group, it is not possible to identify segregation dynamics for the group concerned. However, using the extensive definition elaborated in the European context, residential segregation can also take unusual forms. In fact, different concepts and images have been introduced to investigate segregation dynamics, such as the idea of micro-segregation (e.g. interstices or vertical segregation), marginalisation (e.g. discrimination in the access to the housing market) and peripheralization. In particular, the literature on interstices (i.e. micro areas with over representation of foreign population in which different nationalities overlap) sheds light on the importance of the scale of analysis: mechanisms of segregation and marginalisation can be visible only by focusing on small territorial units (Bergamaschi, 2012). Another example of micro-segregation concerns vertical segregation (i.e. people unevenly distributed according to their social group across the floors of a building), which has been used to describe residential dynamics in the Athenian case (Maloutas, 2020). More in general, these approaches emphasise that forms of spatial segregation could also take place in context

marked by social heterogeneity, where different social and ethnic groups live in spatial proximity (*ibidem*).

Moreover, from the 2000s some European scholars questioned the idea that a direct relationship between social and urban inequalities exists (Maloutas, 2007; Maloutas, Fujita, 2012; Pfirsch, Semi, 2016; Arbaci, 2019). When considering the local and social context, this relationship can be more complex: an inverse relationship between social polarisation and residential segregation can indeed be established. According to this new conception and considering a broader definition of segregation, social inequalities can also take unusual urban forms, different from (macro-)concentration outcomes. In fact, Arbaci (2019) argues that the mechanism of dispersal and desegregation (i.e., a reduction of segregation indices) can be also associated with increasing marginalisation dynamics, expulsion and segmentation rather than upward social or residential mobility. In this regard, peripheralization (i.e., mechanisms of expulsion from the city centre to outskirts) and "urban diaspora" (i.e., processes of expulsion of foreigners from the core municipality to the peripheral parts of the metropolitan area) seem to be suitable concepts to describe the emerging residential segregation patterns of foreigners in the Southern European context. Focusing on the role of the State as a producer of inequalities, Arbaci (2019) demonstrated these residential segregation patterns for eight cities: Lisbon, Madrid, Barcelona, Rome, Athens, Milan, Genoa, Turin. Moreover, recent studies have detected peripheralization processes in several cities in Italy (Mugnano, Costarelli, 2018; Bergamaschi, Montesano, Daconto, 2021). It is claimed that this process is ambivalent: peripheralization can be related to process of upward mobility for households, functional to the transition from renting to ownership, but also to dynamics of expulsion and discrimination in access to housing. However, studies on residential patterns of foreigners in Italy have been conducted to a large extent in urban poles and core municipalities, but several studies have highlighted a metropolitan development in which urban systems go beyond administrative limits and also include peri-urban and sub-urban areas. Accordingly, our work adds to the extant literature by investigating the hypotheses of peripheralization and urban diaspora at a metropolitan scale, comparing the cases of Bologna and Milan.

1. Methodology and data

What are the location dynamics of the foreign populations at the metropolitan scale? Does the peripheralization hypothesis work at this scale? What are the differences between different cases?

In order to answer to these research questions, we analysed through census data (Istat, 2001; 2011) the dynamic of the foreign population's settlement models in the period from 2001 to 2011 at the very local level in 2 metropolitan areas: the Functional Urban Areas (FUA[2]) of Milan and Bologna.

First, different indices that refer to the different dimensions of segregation identified by Massey and Denton (1988) were calculated taking into account the foreign resident population[3]. To test the peripheralization hypothesis, the location quotient of foreign residents was also calculated at the census tract level. Then, a spatial cluster analysis (Anselin, 1995) was carried out in order to map clusters with higher values of the location quotient. To understand the evolution of residential patterns between 2001 and 2011, we also made a comparison between the variation of the density distribution of foreign residents and the total resident population through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and Kernel Density Estimation (KDE) tools.

2. Results

For the years 2001 and 2011, the values of the indices considered show in both cases a slight decrease in the segregation of the foreign resident population for all the dimensions considered, except for that of isolation (xPx) and clustering (ACL) (Tab. 1). The values of these two indices are however very low and close to zero, while the absolute concentration values remain high despite its decrease. The decrease may be due to the inverse correlation between segregation and the demographic weight of the foreigners (i.e. the more numerous they are, the lower their segregation), as suggested by other scholars (Barbagli, Pisati, 2012).

In summary, this analysis confirms a relative absence of segregation in Milan and Bologna for the evenness, isolation and clustering dimensions, and a relative concentration of foreign residents. Furthermore, a slight increase in isolation and clustering between 2001 and 2011 emerged.

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[2] The Functional Urban Area is a spatial unit defined by OECD (2012). It consists of a city - a local administrative unit (LAU) where a majority of the population lives in an urban centre of at least 50.000 inhabitants - and its commuting zone - the surrounding travel-to-work areas of a city where at least 15 % of employed residents are working in the city.

[3] The following indices were calculated: segregation index (IS, Duncan and Duncan 1955); isolation index (xPx, Bell 1954); absolute concentration index (ACO, Massey and Denton1988); absolute clustering index (ACL, Massey and Denton,1988).

Tab. 1 - The unigroup residential segregation indices in Milan and Bologna

FUA	Year	Foreign Pop.	IS	xPx	ACO	ACL
Milan	2001	82288	0.43	0.10	0.92	0.04
	2011	247406	0.37	0.19	0.85	0.09
Bologna	2001	23101	0.39	0.11	0.92	0.03
	2011	70645	0.32	0.16	0.92	0.07

Source: authors' elaboration on census data (Istat 2001, 2011)

The analysis of the location quotient reveals interesting and different dynamics of the foreigners' residential patterns in the two cases. In the period considered, in Bologna (Fig. 1) there was a shift of the areas with high values from the centre of the core municipality towards the peripheral areas of the city, particularly in the north, as well as a low metropolisation due to the presence of few clusters in the commuting zone. In Milan (Fig. 2), on the other hand, peripheralization involves all the peripheral areas around the inner areas of the core and the metropolisation of foreigners is more evident, in particular in the northern part.

In order to grasp further the changes and specificities in the foreigners' residential patterns between 2001 and 2011, we compared the variation in the distribution of the density of foreign residents and of the total resident population in the 2 functional urban areas (Figg. 3-4).

In the period considered, in Bologna (Fig. 3), the density of the total resident population (Fig. 3, above) decreases in particular in the more central, eastern and northern areas of the core, while it increases in the south-western area of the core, in the belt and northern municipalities of the commuting zone. The foreign resident population (Fig. 3, below) shows a different pattern in which the density increases especially in the core, in the northern part and, to a lesser extent, in other municipalities in the commuting zone. It is interesting to note that within the core, in the north-eastern part, the area where there is an increase in the density of the foreign population corresponds to that where, on the contrary, there is a decrease in the density of the total resident population.

Fig. 1 - The clusters of census blocks with high values of foreign residents' location quotient in Bologna

Source: authors' elaboration on census data (Istat 2001, 2011)

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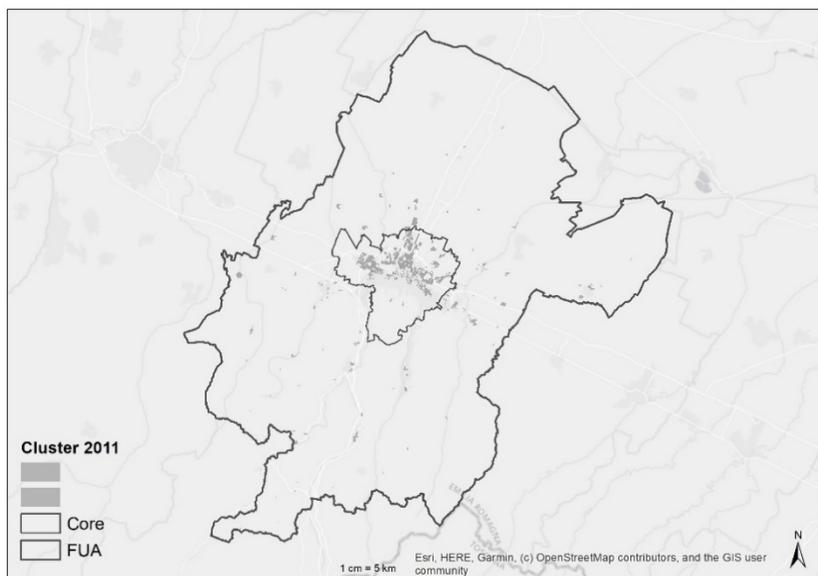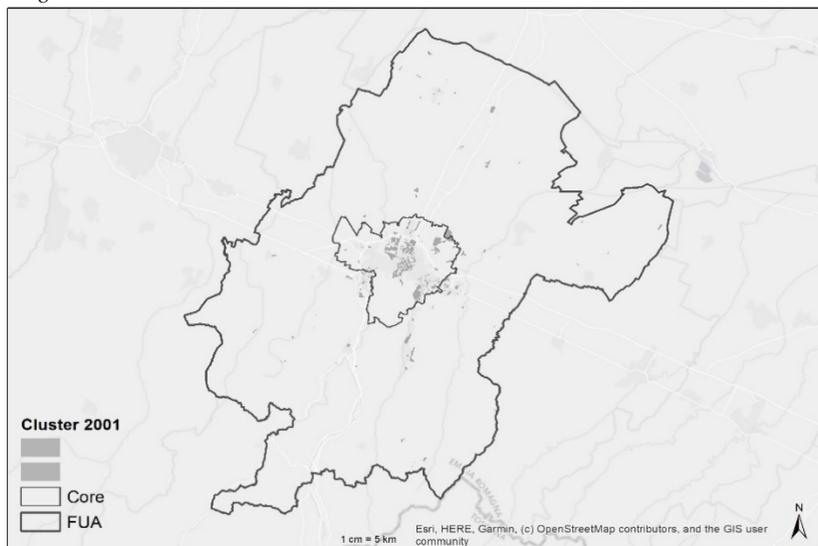
Fig. 2 - The clusters of census blocks with high values of foreign residents' location quotient in Milan

Source: authors' elaboration on census data (Istat 2001, 2011)

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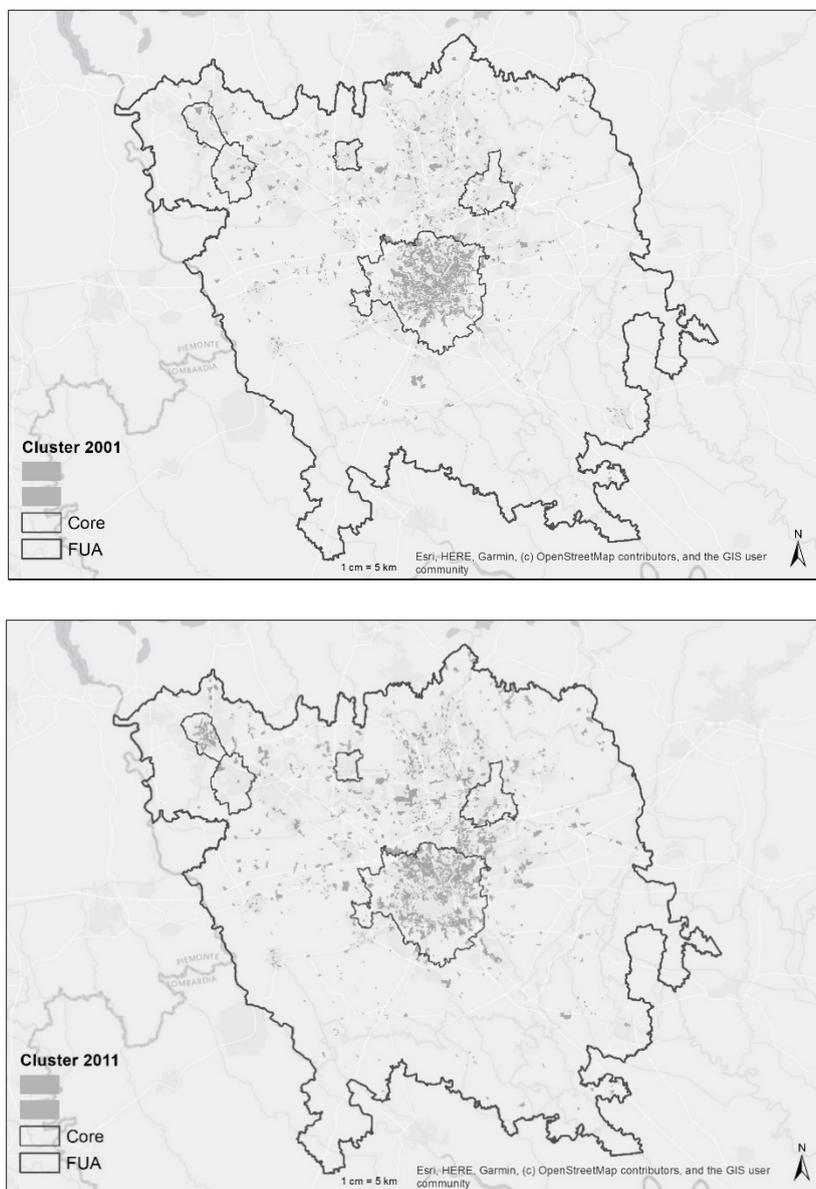
Fig. 3 - The variation of the density of the total resident population (above) and foreign resident population (below) in Bologna
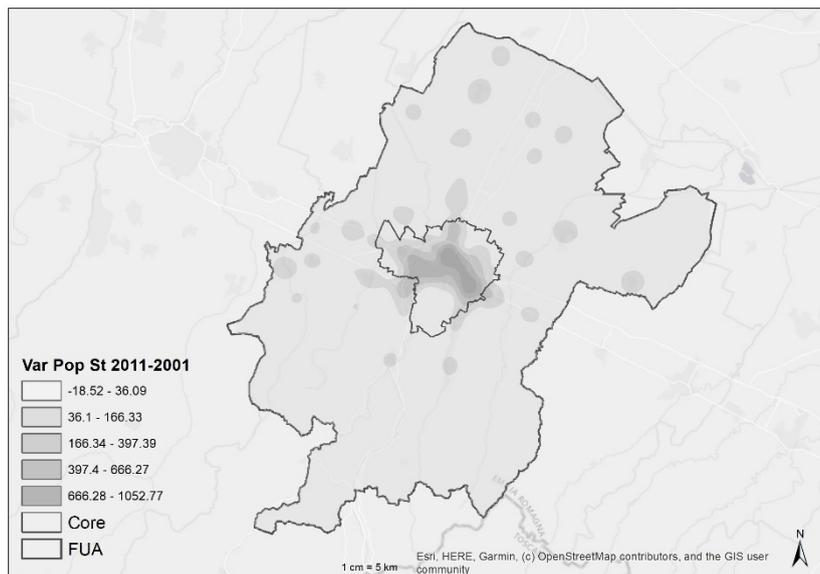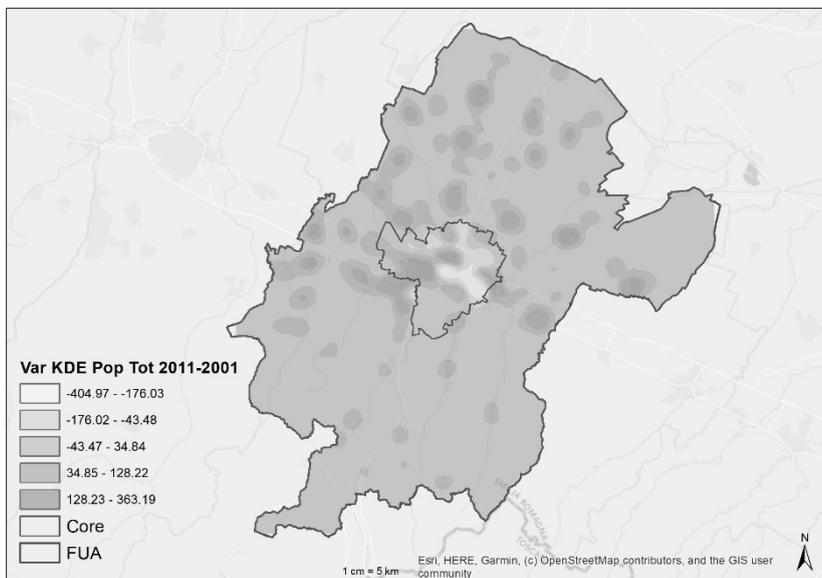
Source: authors' elaboration on census data (Istat 2001, 2011)

Fig. 4 - The variation of the density of the total resident population (above) and foreign resident population (below) in Milan
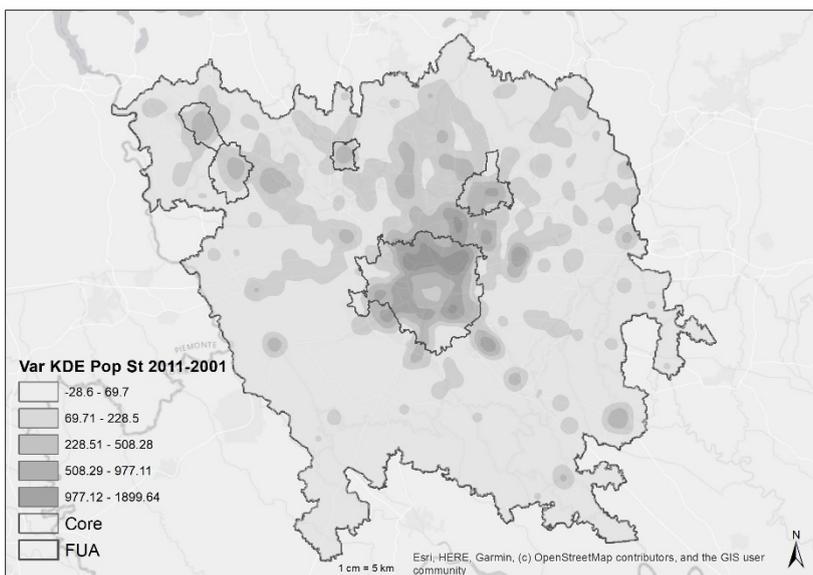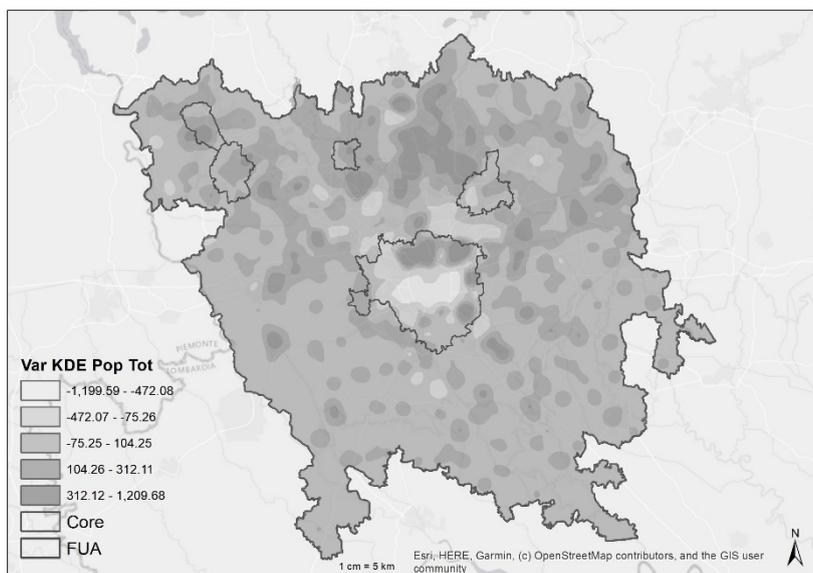
Source: authors' elaboration on census data (Istat 2001, 2011)

A different pattern in the residential distribution between the foreign and the total population is also found in Milan (Fig. 4). Here, the density of the total resident population (Fig. 4, above) decreases in the most central area of the core, while it increases in the northern peripheral areas of the municipality of Milan. Furthermore, the increase in residential density in the secondary cores and in the commuting zone of the functional urban area show a strong metropolisation in Milan, especially in the north. The density of the foreign population has changed differently. In fact, between 2001 and 2011, it strongly increased in the peripheral areas of the core, as well as in the belt municipalities of the north and, to a lesser extent, also in other municipalities within the commuting zone. As in the case of Bologna, also in Milan the comparison between the variations in the density of foreigners and the total resident population reveals areas where there has been a strong increase in the foreign population's density and a decrease for the total resident population, as in the case of the eastern peripheral areas of the core of Milan and the municipalities of the north belt. In other terms, these results suggest that "replacement" processes have occurred in these areas: a hypothesis that, however, requires further data and analysis to be confirmed.

Conclusions

The analysis of the changes in the residential patterns of the foreign population in 2 Italian metropolitan areas highlighted in both cases a low segregation, according to the mainstream indices (Massey, Denton, 1988), and the presence of a relative concentration of the foreign population. Furthermore, the values of the segregation indices decreased in the period considered, except for the isolation and grouping indices, confirming the inverse correlation between segregation and demographic weight. These results confirm the specificity of the residential patterns of foreigners in southern European urban contexts.

As pointed out, however, desegregation can be also associated with increasing marginalisation dynamics, expulsion and segmentation rather than upward social or residential mobility. With this respect, the results clearly highlighted the process of increasing peripheralization that characterises the residential dynamics of foreign citizens in the two metropolitan areas. The peripheralization primarily concerns the peripheral areas of the core of the functional urban areas, while the metropolisation is found above all in Milan, while it is less evident in Bologna.

In both metropolitan areas, the evolution of residential patterns of the foreign population are different from those of the total resident population. In some areas this is more evident because a sharp decrease in residential density corresponds to a significant increase in that of the foreign population, suggesting substitution phenomena to be explored through further studies.

While sharing common traits, attributable to the foreigners' residential pattern and segregation of Southern European cities, the two cases have some peculiarities. In Bologna a north/south demarcation emerges, while in Milan it follows a more concentric development model. Furthermore, the processes of metropolisation are more evident in Milan than in Bologna. These differences demonstrate the role of local factors, such as history, specific socio-territorial morphology and urban policies, in shaping the residential patterns of foreign residents.

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From housing deprivation to housing policies. Distinctive elements in the territory

by *Manuela Maggio, Alice Lomonaco*[1]

Public housing policies are one of the main fields of study for understanding contemporary housing dynamics and public commitment to housing needs recorded at the local level. The panel was formed to discuss and dwell on several topics: history and regulatory evolution in the field of housing policies; identification of old and innovative policy tools, with specific reference to housing support tools; narrative of experiences and practices of social mix.

Various scholars and practitioners in the social research field presented their work, discussing many of the issues that can today be traced back to the theme of housing, and it was possible to range, albeit without any claim to exhaustiveness, over a multiplicity of topics related to the macro-theme of housing.

This section brings together six of the contributions presented at the conference. The first, *The gap between supply trends and access to affordable housing in Italy. The need for new lines of public action* by Boni and Padovani (*infra*), contextualise the distinctive elements of the housing problem in Italy through an excursus on the main lines of action and the traits that characterise the housing discomfort recorded today. The urgency of discussing the issue stems, as the authors report, from two issues: the first relates to the (historical) difficulty of responding (by public policies) to the (very) social demand for housing. The second, which has arisen more recently, relates to the emergence of new and increasingly varied profiles of applicants for housing support. The housing sector, defined as the *wobbly pillar* of the Italian welfare system, is characterised by a low GDP investment in housing support actions and tools. In addition, our country has been

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[1] Manuela Maggio, Alice Lomonaco, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.

characterized as favouring the spread of homeownership, somehow delegating or at least prevaricating on a real solution to the housing problem and leaving it to the free market to find a balance between housing supply and demand. However, the housing problem is becoming increasingly pressing and it is now tangible how the public sphere is unable to respond even to the most vulnerable part of the population (through the historic instrument of public housing). The paradigm used so far, based on periodic 'corrective measures' capable only of plugging or reshaping the problems in terms of timing, is definitively out of date and prompts questions about possible solutions and the evolution of the perspective with which to approach the issue.

The second contribution *Public housing policies and the secondary aid network of Caritas Diocesana in Bologna* by Acquaviva, Bonora and Chiaro (*infra*) using insight from the work of Caritas Diocesana in the city of Bologna helps to highlight the evolutions occurred in terms of poverty and housing hardship after the Covid19 pandemic. Among the requests received by Caritas in 2020, as matter of fact, the housing issue was a relevant and the experiences recorded emphasised the fragmented characteristics and relative inadequacy of Italian welfare. The network of subjects from the third sector interested and to be potentially involved, can then play a leading role where it comes to create and design innovative solutions. The essay emphasises how contamination and collaboration between public and private sectors can be taken into consideration in the definition of new policy interventions and more efficient strategies for the resolution of housing discomfort.

The third contribution *Assessing assisted tenancy as a tool to promote affordability in the Italian private rental market* by Costarelli, Mugnano, Cortazzo (*infra*) brings attention to one of the main issues of the housing problem: the sustainability of rents, which represents the basic element of housing hardship. In the Italian context, in fact, mortgage and rent expenses are disproportionate compared to family incomes, so that low economic availability to support housing expenses is usually the requirement and the main element to access Italian public housing support (direct or indirect). In the face of the distinguishing characteristics of welfare housing (low public investment, shortage of social rental housing, asymmetry between income and housing expenses, new applicant profiles), the private rental space is one of the fields that needs to be fertilized so that it becomes a true meeting ground between supply and demand. Regulated rent/lease contract can therefore have a strong social value as it can amortise the expenses of those low-income tenants who, faced with a private rental contract, would no longer be able to afford the rent. This is still an under-exploited possibility,

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as the authors point out, and the fostering of trust and certainty for landlords seems to be the area to work on to incentivise the use of this tool with a view to preventing hardship and housing poverty.

The fourth contribution *Living in rental in Bologna between housing dynamics and migration trends* by Lomonaco and Maggio (*infra*), looking at the dynamics of renting in the Bologna area, introduces the theme of the different possibilities, forms of discrimination and the housing needs of foreign populations. Foreign residents are in fact, both at a national and local level, exposed to a whole series of objectively unfavourable and disadvantaged conditions compared to the housing conditions of natives (they live more often in rented than in owned properties, they are more subject to overcrowding, they live in older buildings and in a smaller number of square metres). On a local level, foreigners are also increasingly involved in public housing, social dynamic that confirms a subaltern form of integration, the greater precariousness of foreign populations, but also the impossibility of considering immigrants as a great *unicuum* since strong differences can be observed between one national community and another. The topic of migration is also discussed in the fifth contribution *Widespread reception and inclusion of migrants: an opportunity for the regeneration of rural areas* by Urso (*infra*) where a process of reorientation of migratory flows in the so-called "new immigration destinations" is made explicit, a dynamic that is changing the face of some of Italy's rural areas. The essay once again tackles the macro-problem of the integration of immigrant populations, where housing and places to live represent a magnifier for problems of a different nature. At the same time, focusing on innovative and inclusive housing strategies, the text focuses on the theme of the regeneration of rural areas and addresses the role that the housing choices and possibilities of migrant populations may have in impacting the Italian territory.

The last two chapters *Genoa's Biscione from the 1960s until today. From a stigmatised neighbourhood to a place where «it is nice to live»* by Gastaldi and Camerin (*infra*) and *Resilience & adaptation: social housing and mixité in post-Covid Milan* by Mugnano and Terenzi (*infra*) look into the territorial context of two Italian places. The first, dedicated to a historic public housing district in Genoa, allows us to delve, through the Biscione, indirectly into the history that characterises many Italian ERP (public housing) neighbourhoods, which arose between the 1960s and 1970s and were characterised by similar paths (top- down design, complex and difficult construction, a tortuous life path made up of a lack of services, the spread of petty crime and residents' discontent) but which today, also as a result of processes of selling part of the housing stock, not infrequently experience great serenity, dictated by the

contact with greenery, the presence of services, public transport connections with the city centre and the tranquillity that residents perceive within them. The ERP neighbourhoods themselves represent those spaces, where the housing problem is evidently strongly felt, where targeted public policies are always being introduced, developed, and monitored. One of these can be traced back to the principle of social mix, which several regions are adopting within their housing policy regulations and which the last contribution explores, referring to the Milanese case. In both cases, therefore, the habitability of places and the exploration of territories that can be identified as fragile assume importance. In fact, living experience does not end with the acquisition of a suitable dwelling for one's family unit, but implies a relationship with the surrounding environment, made up of inhabitants, territorial markers, built space, services, possibilities of movement and so on. The neighbourhood thus assumes a role of primary importance, particularly in relation to spaces characterized by concentrations of disadvantage and socioeconomic fragility, and co-housing an additional key issue for the public actor and local governments.

The contributions are therefore particularly heterogeneous and touch on various aspects related to housing and housing hardship, highlighting the main lines of investigation currently being pursued by researchers in Italy.

The gap between supply trends and access to affordable housing in Italy. The need for new lines of public action

by *Alice Selene Boni, Liliana Padovani*[1]

Introduction

Italy today, like other European countries (Feantsa, Foundation Abbé Pierre, 2021), has to face the serious problem of access to housing that affects a substantial number of citizens and a wider range of social profiles than in the past. New situations of temporary or permanent serious housing hardship (which also involve components of the so-called impoverished middle class) were added during the 2000s to the low income groups, traditionally recognized in the history of housing policy as 'entitled', at least on a formal level, to public housing or, in any case, to forms of public support.

The configuration of this situation has been influenced by a series of factors. Some of these are of a transversal nature, such as those induced by the large (and growing) inequalities in terms of rights / possibilities of access to work, services and housing that characterize post-Fordist societies, or those induced by the neo-liberal orientation of public policies that has greatly reduced welfare protections, or by the selective nature of urban transformation processes. However, this situation has also been influenced by more specific issues related to housing policies, a subject of more direct interest of this paper.

In fact, if we look at the housing policies proposed or implemented in the last two decades, we remark the persistence of a sort of reticence, perhaps because of difficulties of political consensus, in defining this state of affairs as an important problem to be brought to the attention of specific public policies.

A trend that does not seem to change if we turn our attention to the most recent period, including the initiatives that have arisen around the Italian

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[1] Alice Selene Boni, freelance researcher; Liliana Padovani, freelance researcher.

National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP). And this is despite important signs of recognition that the problem exists, which have also reached some institutional offices (Camera dei Deputati, 2017; Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica - Cipe, 2017) and have come from several authoritative sources: the same premises of this publication and the seminar that preceded it; the scientific articles produced in recent years; the surveys on housing conditions promoted by social housing companies association and the tenants' unions; the contributions promoted by the Forum Disuguaglianze e Diversità (2021) brought to the government attention on the occasion of the drafting of the NRRP.

Through this paper, we aim to support and document the need to discuss a new framework of housing public actions, after years of opacity on the subject. A set of initiatives that focuses on the question of ensuring a dignified living to those who cannot access a housing market increasingly oriented towards the luxury end and financialisation and who, on the one hand, are rejected by an inadequate supply of public housing and, on the other, do not have the necessary resources to access the new housing offer promoted within what is defined as social housing. What is at stake is not only the 'right' to housing but, in a broader sense, the possibility of a well-functioning country and society in its various expressions.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first presents contextual data on housing supply and demand in Italy with particular reference to the most vulnerable groups. To this end, we considered the reliability and consistency of data available from official statistics and second level studies or surveys, either carried out by research institutes and universities or promoted by civil society organisations (in particular tenants' unions and social housing companies).

The second part is dedicated to a historical re-reading of the principles that have guided housing policies in Italy in the last twenty years. This work was carried out, firstly, through a desk analysis of the measures approved at national level, focusing on their objectives, purposes, funds and target groups. Secondly, through our action research, consultancy and activism that have allowed us to meet and question civil servants and administrators, responsible for implementing national, regional or municipal initiatives at local level.

The third part, finally, is dedicated to the discussion of possible new lines of public action starting from the resources in terms of knowledge, financing and other material and immaterial resources that have been emerging in the recent period.

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1. Access to affordable housing: an increasing problem in Italy

There are no estimates on the extent of housing hardship in Italy. Moreover as remarked in the Nomisma-Federcasa Report (2020) there is no shared definition of housing hardship. However, it is possible to grasp the nature and evolutionary lines of these forms of discomfort by referring to several indicators.

Among these the divide between the evolution of incomes which according to some estimates have increased weakly on average in the period 2004-2020 while according to others have even decreased (Omi, 2021; Giangrande, 2020) and the increase in house prices (Omi, 2021). Housing prices that increased sharply in the real estate boom years between 1998 and 2006 and then fell, but which now with the pandemic are increasing again.

Other indications derive from the trend of evictions, equal to about 55 thousand notification per year from 2002 to date, that shows a continuous growth in the incidence of evictions for arrears (86% in 2020) (Ministero dell'Interno, 2021).

The hardship related to the economic difficulty of accessing better housing conditions is documented by the constant increase in the percentage of overcrowded households since 2010, +4.0 percent to 2019 (Eurostat, 2021). The EU average, in the same reference period, registered instead a constant decrease, leading to a difference of about 11 percentage points with Italy in 2019 (28.3% against 17.1% of the EU).

Data on the number of people in poverty, which has been growing in Italy in the last 15 years and accentuated during the pandemic, also indicates a potential increase in conditions of housing hardship[2] (Asvis, 2021). In 2020, in fact, over two million families were in absolute poverty (with an incidence of 7.7%), for a total of over 5.6 million individuals (9.4%). Within this group the percentage of renting families is high, 866 thousand families, 43.1% of all poor families. With an average rent estimated at around 330 euros per month, this item accounts for about 36% of family expenses and up to 39% in Northern Italy (Istat, 2021). A very high value if you take into account that most common definitions consider that a house is affordable when a person spends less than 30% of their income on it (Bargelli, Heitkamp, 2017, p. 156). The phenomenon is also confirmed by the data collected by Caritas Ambrosiana (2021) that provides an interesting additional indication, noting that almost half of their beneficiaries, who come

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[2] Individuals in absolute poverty have risen from 1.9 million in 2005 to 5.6 million in 2020 (Istat, 2021). Growth that has been accentuated following the pandemic (Asvis, 2021).

from the most disadvantaged groups, have not been able or have not been entitled to apply for support such as universal basic income or emergency benefit during the pandemic (*ibid.*). In these conditions of difficulty, losing one's home or not having access to adequate housing represents a case of extreme marginalization.

Therefore, it is an increasingly serious problem which involves a significant number of people. Just as an indication on the dimensions implicated, we can cite Nomisma-Federcasa (2020) and Istat (2021) estimates of about 1.47 million families in conditions of housing hardship (of which 1.15 million in rent) and more than 2 million families in absolute poverty of which almost 900 thousand live in rented housing.

2. The difficulty of local authorities to deal with public housing demand in the current state of affairs

Faced with the picture outlined in the previous paragraph, what can be perceived so far is the persistence of a heavily unbalanced relationship between public housing supply and demand that in fact makes it almost impossible to cope with these forms of housing hardship. From the data available for the year 2016 on the public housing waiting lists composed by submitted pending applications, 320 thousand (estimated by Cipe, 2017) and 650 thousand (estimated by Nomisma-Federcasa, 2019), it is evident that only 3 to 5 percent of them are granted. In fact, the number of homes assigned in 2016 was 16,900 (*ibid.*).[3]

An insufficient offer that also presents maintenance and management problems if we consider that about 55 thousand dwellings are vacant (*ibid.*) for various reasons: renovation, mobility, not fit to be rented. Another 30 thousand homes, on the other hand, are occupied without a regular contract. So, a potential of 85 thousand dwellings that could return to be part of the public offer.

The difficulty of municipalities to cope with the housing demand evicted from the market is proved by the spread of ad hoc housing solutions (shared housing, beds in housing communities, temporary flats or beds, hotels) (Tosi, 2017). These solutions, often promoted with the participation of the third sector, are addressed to people who, despite potentially having the economic and social requirements, doesn't find place in the public housing supply.

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[3] In line with the national average in the same year, in Lombardy 5% (67,176 applications against 3,329 assigned housing) and in Milan 3% (25,706 applications against 781 assigned housing). Source: Regional Housing Condition Observatory of Lombardy Region.

Furthermore ad hoc housing solutions are in most cases aimed only at categories considered fragile (single self-sufficient adults remain excluded) or involving the separation of the family unit, being directed only to mothers with children (Boni, Nava, 2018). A lack of affordable housing (public and private) which, as shown by several studies (Feantsa, Foundation Abbé Pierre, 2021), makes more difficult for the households in serious marginality to start a social inclusion path that focus, as in *Housing First* projects, on the availability of a house intended as a stable, safe and comfortable place to settle.

Furthermore, the impossibility of municipalities to respond today to the demand of those who are not able to access the market, takes shape within a particularly poor context from the point of view of measures aimed at facilitating access to a sustainable rental sector. The data of public housing (Istat, 2021) shows that in Italy it represents only 4% of the total housing stock (900 thousand housing). The corresponding values in France and the Great Britain stand at 16.5% and 17.6% respectively (Housing Europe, 2019)[4]. It is a very low percentage, which continues to contract over time, because of both the drastic reduction in funding for new buildings and the privatization of public housing that has accompanied the history of public housing in Italy (Camera dei Deputati, 2017; Forum Disuguaglianze e Diversità, 2020). The weakness of public housing policies in Italy is confirmed by data on public social expenditure on housing which, according to Eurostat, is 0.03% of GDP (9 euros per capita), compared to 0.7% in France (254 euros per capita) or 0.5% in Germany (224 euros per capita).

If we look at the private rental sector characterised by an increasing demand, the data shows: a substantial reduction in this stock over the last decades (from a percentage of 44.2% of occupied dwellings in 1971 to 21.2% in 2019); a strong orientation towards the high end of the market and the presence of an important vacancy rate accompanied by a poor predisposition of the housing landlords towards any form of subsidized rent (Cognetti, Delera, 2017). Moreover, housing allowances to help access to housing on the free market, are only partially able to respond to the growing housing demand, instable in time, and characterised by access criteria not able to intercept all potential situations of hardship (Boreiko, Poggio, 2017; Jessoula *et al.*, 2019).

In brief, a situation that makes impossible for local authorities to cope in the short, medium and long term, with around one million families who ex-

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[4] In Lombardy public housing is equal to 4% (about 161 thousand housing) (Regional Housing Condition Observatory of Lombardy Region). Only in some Italian cities are higher values: in Milan 11% (Nomisma-Federcasa, 2020), in Naples 11.2% and in Trieste 11.1% (Forum Disuguaglianze e Diversità, 2020).

press housing hardship (from temporary to permanent ones, from those of mild housing hardship to those at risk of social and housing exclusion).

3. Reticence to introduce housing problems into the public agenda

Despite sharp housing problems stated, what emerged in the last two decades, is a reticent attitude to tackle these issues and to insert them into the public policy agenda.

At the turn of the 80s and 90s began what could be defined as a progressive blurring of public policies for housing (Padovani, 2017). After the long cycle that started immediately after the Second World War with the Fanfani Plans, 1949-1963, and ended with the implementation of the projects promoted by the Ten-Year Plan (1978-88 and 1989-91 refinancing), the issue of housing has gradually disappeared from the public agenda and from the disciplinary debate. The result was a drastic contraction of funding and a decrease in both the production of new public and social housing[5] as well as of the rehabilitation of the existing stock.

A tacit abandonment of previous policies, without a public debate on the results produced and the reasons for change, a necessary change given the radical transformation that had occurred at the context. A sense of embarrassment in looking to the past to design the future of housing policies. On the one hand, a silence that presupposes an overcoming of the problems underlying the policies of the Ina-Casa and ten-years plans, on the other hand, the term 'housing emergency' frequently used in most of the legislative measures adopted throughout these two decades.

Looking at the entire period, new themes of attention have emerged. In a first phase, the housing problem was re-classified as a problem of improving the low-quality urban built environment produced in the post-war period. It is the season of integrated or 'complex programs' (PI, PRU, PRUSST) that emphasized the need for a stronger interaction between the different sectors of intervention involved in the programs. Subsequently, the focus shifted to residential areas characterized by low urban quality and a concentration of social and economic hardship: the theme focused is that of difficult neighbourhoods and distressed areas. It is the phase of the transversal area-based actions proposed by programs such as Neighbourhood Contracts, Urban, and other variations. Hence the transition to the

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[5] In this period the production of public housing has almost been canceled, going from about 20,000 dwellings per year produced in the 80s, to 7,000 in the following decade and 1,550 in 2005 (Storto, 2018; p. 188).

themes of city regeneration: "National plan for cities" (Monti Government, 2012), "National plan for the social and cultural redevelopment of degraded urban areas" (L.190/2014, Renzi Government) and the theme of the suburbs "Extraordinary program of interventions for urban redevelopment and security of the suburbs of the metropolitan city and provincial capitals" (Law 208/2015). A part of the public funds of the Ten-Year Plan not yet spent has been directed towards some of these initiatives.

Still during these two decades there have been two chances to reflect on the revival of a national housing policy. A first opportunity was offered by the debate around the Law no. 21 of 2001 'Measures to reduce housing hardship and interventions to increase the supply of rented housing'. Results were minimal and contents differently reoriented by the subsequent government coalition. In 2007, at the end of the 2nd Prodi government (May 2006 - May 2008) a proposal for a national housing policy was put forward and two programs were financed: 'Extraordinary public housing program'[6] and 'Urban redevelopment program of sustainable rental housing'[7]; initiatives however immediately disregarded by the next government (4th Berlusconi government) which had other priorities. Despite the failure of these specific programs, this phase of work left interesting traces resumed in the following years. Among these: the definition of social housing as a 'service', with an implicit transition from the house as a physical object to the function of inhabiting and the inclusion of social housing among the 'urban planning standards', with the constraint for new construction or regeneration programs to allocate a share of resources for social housing.

A complex period in which initiatives to relaunch a national housing policy - innovative but also weak in terms of consensus - promoted by center-left coalitions, alternated with more consolidated policies aimed at contracting public expenditure and referring to the contribution of the private sector.

A period of initiatives that were individually interesting, but episodic in nature, think for example of the lack of continuity with which have been allocated resources to support low-income tenants (Jessoula *et al*., 2019), or for the recovery and regeneration of public housing assets.

The most recent initiatives related to the NRRP foresee, on the one hand, the promotion of complex and integrated urban regeneration programs aimed at encouraging the regeneration of existing public housing. On the other, a new housing production according to the model of social housing, more oriented towards the medium than the low classes.

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[6] Law no. 222/2007.
[7] Decreto Ministeriale del 26 marzo 2008.

Within these programs some positive experiences from previous decades are assimilated and enhanced, in particular those which concern the theme of quality (integration between spatial and social aspects; functional, social and tenure mix; reuse and 'stop to land consumption'; energy efficiency and technological innovation; integration within the urban fabric). On the other side, there is a lack of attention towards some quantitative and quality dimensions: how many and which houses are necessary to respond to the different forms of housing hardship? How appropriate are housing solutions regarding the different needs of the inhabitants?

Even today what is observed is a persistent reticence to deal with the problem of public housing supply as well as with the need of an open discussion on new forms, purposes and meaning of a "public action" for housing in contemporary society.

Conclusions: perspectives of action

What if a partial but important component to resolve housing accessibility problems, discomfort and building decay in public neighborhoods and suburbs, was to enhance public housing stock quantitatively and qualitatively? What if the goal was to create a sort of portfolio of good quality public housing that could cope with both the problems faced by people in economic or social hardship who experience difficulties in accessing housing, but also the multiple and varied 'emergency' situations, especially in major urban systems?

The considerations made in point 4 show the great difficulty, almost impossibility, for public action to respond to these requests as things stand now. These difficulties are strongly linked to a public housing offer considered, compared to other European Union countries, below minimal thresholds that would be functional to the implementation of housing welfare policies. A condition of deficiency, that hinders the proper functioning of housing policies as well as other public policies.

Meaning and opportunities of a public supply of affordable housing
We have seen that enhancing the supply of 'public housing', a concept to be redefined in terms of content and purpose according to the context in which we are acting today, has barely been mentioned in the policies implemented over the last two decades. However, the most recent measures make funds available for the rehabilitation and regeneration of existing public housing, recognizing the need to promote important interventions

that can substantially improve the ability of this offer to respond to the articulated needs of contemporary living, with particular attention to social housing neighborhoods and degraded suburbs.

These resources could be considered an interesting experimental field for the design and implementation of new and more effective public policies for housing. An opportunity to look at these new programs beyond their specific objective of rehabilitation, as a strategic opportunity to address a set of structural issues which have largely been ignored. These include:

1. the need to clarify the purpose, significance, beneficiaries and characteristics of a public housing offer in contemporary society. An offer that is no longer characterized as a residual, charitable component for groups in conditions of serious hardship, but one that can be politically supported and publicly perceived as a response to recognized rights, but also as an opportunity and a resource for society as a whole (Barca, Luongo, 2020). A decent living for those in serious difficulty, but also a support for those who are transitioning through particular phases of the life cycle, or a mean to respond to specific needs of territories;

2. the need to build and share a sense of dignity and the value of the common good around this housing offer, urging 'respect' and 'care' on the part of users, managing bodies, public institutions and citizens. The theme is also to deconstruct the negative and exclusionary image for their inhabitants, which is repetitively associated with this type of offer (Padovani, 2018). A negative image additionally enhanced by a succession of programs 'selling off' these assets by the managing bodies or on the recommendation of the government;

3. on a more operational side, the need to address a number of issues related to the administrative, social and economic management of this type of housing supply. Among these: the profile and duties of the proprietors, the management bodies and the users; the interpretation and articulation of the concept of public housing as a service (Saporito, Perobelli, 2021; Bricocoli, Sabatinelli, 2019); the development of governance systems that allow dialogue with public and private actors and resources present in the communities; reconsideration of a financing system of managing bodies that, in fact, has produced a great deal of problems.

Finally, there is the matter of establishing differences and analogies between public housing and social housing offers and considering eventual possible synergies.

Where to start and with what resources

A good starting point could be provided by the communities and neighborhoods concerned by the projects promoted under the Recovery Plan, and by the choice to foresee an experimental work phase on the ground, that operates through pilot projects (Padovani, 2018). Public housing and in particular the neighborhoods and areas that require regeneration, which are the scope of the recently made available resources in the NRRP, could present the perfect opportunity. These are urban areas that in their life have incorporated policies and plans, models of living and, due to their anomalies and challenges, can be considered an interesting learning field-work to design new lines of regeneration programs. Programs that are able to meet the expectations set by new financing possibilities, but in addition, can contribute to the definition of an offer of public housing that satisfies the quality requirements needed today. A small field, but full of problems, initiatives and actors (from citizens to voluntary associations to local representatives of institutions) and also researches and projects. Therefore a potential source of useful knowledge to address the issues posed in the three previous points (Cognetti, Padovani, 2017).

A reversal of perspective, compared to the interventions made in these neighborhoods in the past, it would be a matter of producing ideas and quality proposals through a dialogue with the different administrations, technicians, experts and various assets that may be met along the way, starting from the bottom, at local level. It is a matter of understanding and learning in a practical way through a technical and cultural elaboration.

Starting from the public housing estates would also be an important symbolic declaration of commitment both towards public housing neighbourhoods and degraded suburbs, as well as towards those who cannot access a dignified home at affordable costs. A path towards new and more effective public actions for housing.

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Public housing policies and the secondary aid network of Caritas Diocesana in Bologna

by *Beatrice Acquaviva, Gloria Bonora, Gianluigi Chiaro*[1]

The San Petronio Fund during Covid-19 in Bologna

During 2020, the lockdown caused by the Covid-19 pandemic forced everyone to close themselves at home, causing bankruptcies and income reductions whose economic and social outcomes are still difficult to understand. In this context, during the 2020 lockdown, the Church of Bologna, through the Diocesan Caritas, tried to respond to the social emergency by establishing the San Petronio Fund. The Fund was designed and addressed, in fact, to those who for the first time found themselves in difficulty and had the aim of giving some fresh air to people and families who could not no longer working or waiting for layoffs.

Among the requests received, the housing issue was relevant and showed all its complexity and fragility. The requirements for access to the Fund were: total or partial loss of work (even non-regular) which occurred after 1 March 2020; monthly family income from 1 March 2020 below € 400 per member; live permanently in the territory of the diocese. In the application it was also necessary to indicate the composition of the family unit and attach the necessary documentation (identity document, pay slips or invoices, ISEE, ...). The eligible beneficiaries were able to receive income support commensurate with the number of family members: € 400 for the individual, € 500 for 2 people, € 600 for 3 people, € 700 for 4 people and € 800 for 5 and more people.

In a few days, 2,346 applications were received and 1,042 were accepted: in detail, 1,040 families received the contribution for one month and 966 families received the contribution for 2 months. Finally, 246 families with socio-medical problems were selected (large families of 6 or more members, single-parent households with minor children, families with a seriously ill

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[1] Beatrice Acquaviva, Gloria Bonora, Gianluigi Chiaro, Caritas Diocesana di Bologna.

member) who received the contribution for 3 months. From the analysis of the data collected, a significant change emerges in the audience of beneficiaries compared to the people usually listened to by Caritas. Speaking of the "gray band" is an understatement since the people who turned to the fund were, in most cases, in a vulnerable condition even before the pandemic but had never turned to social services or charities. The pandemic, therefore, caused a fall into poverty for many people who lived in balance on a thin line, with contractually precarious employment, poor protection and low wages, high expenses (especially for housing), with a poorly supportive family and social context.

About employment, the categories of workers who suffered the most damage during the first lockdown were all those who did not receive the paycheck advance of the wage integration measures from their employer. The production sectors most affected were construction and logistics, in which one can easily resort to on-call or very short interim contracts and where unfortunately many relationships are irregular. Self-employed workers have also suffered greatly from the lack of effective measures to cope with the impact of the decline in revenue.

Looking at the family situation, two thirds of the applications to the Fund came from families; they are the ones that have borne the greatest weight deriving from the total closure. The analysis of these aspects is closely intertwined with that relating to the housing condition. 40% of the people who applied live in rented accommodation by private individuals; 32% live in rented housing of the public body. In the family economy, most of the expenses - and even before that - of everyone's concern - are concentrated on the house, on all the expenses to ensure its safety and maintenance. Where it is necessary to pay a market rent, the impact on the family budget is clearly greater.

Alongside the data contained in the applications and documents presented, the experience of the San Petronio Fund has made it possible to collect testimonies, through which not only the concrete needs arrived but also the experience, the emotions, the hopes that people lived in April 2020. The selected and reported experiences are not only a testimony with a strong emotional impact of what was experienced by Italian families during the first lock down of 2020, but they constitute a potential (re)starting point for thinking about a more effective and truly housing welfare countercyclical with respect to the crises which now seem to be manifesting themselves with ever higher frequencies. It is clear that the families that have detected housing problems during the pandemic reported above are not families of "social services" but families that went on their own and in one way or another managed to pay rents, mortgages or bills. The lockdown imposed by the pandemic has

"revealed" the precariousness of an important share of Italian families who are usually not considered so poor even by Istat and, at the same time, reiterated that the Italian welfare system is unable to protect a family in crisis sufficiently.

Here are some of the most relevant to the housing theme.

I am a single mother with my 2 girls in charge; I have always looked for a job but with very short times and at the moment was waiting for a job trial, interrupted due to the covid. By order of the court, the father pays an allowance decided on the basis of his income as a worker, with which it is still difficult to provide for family expenses. I have been on the waiting list for Acer accommodation in Bologna for 3 and a half years; we live in a studio apartment with a rent of € 540 per month. I receive the citizenship income of € 173 per month. Unfortunately, as a costume designer for smaller companies, I do not have the opportunity to continue my business in this period.

We are a family with 2 children, an unemployed wife and me on layoffs. For the month of March I have received € 1,350, the next envelope I will take in May will be € 918, having not worked. I want to emphasize that we pay € 480 of rent per month, water, electricity and gas bills have arrived, plus the bills from the son's school. The situation is getting worse and worse.

Hello, my last working day was Friday 6th March. In April I received my total remuneration of € 200 and nothing more, because working under a contract as a sports assistant, if you don't work, you don't earn. I'm renting and paying € 450 per month and the bills keep coming. I asked the landlord if there is a way to pay less rent in this emergency but at the moment he has not yet answered me. I live alone and if you can help me I would be very happy so I can pay the rent and do some shopping.
The situation is difficult: the house is rented, I cannot work because the sector of my work (catering) will not resume soon. My mother receives unemployment and is just enough to pay the rent. We are alone, please help us.

Dear me, I am requesting even partial help because I have 3 children who are studying. I am legally separated and my husband is currently on layoffs. I am for rent and I have no property. The school where I work (private) has guaranteed the salary of March, perhaps April if the state contributions arrive, but will not be able to guarantee the salaries of May and certainly the following months. Parents are not paying the fees because the service has been interrupted, we are in danger of not reopening in September because many families have withdrawn due to economic problems.

I have not received my salary for 2 months now and that the employer informed me of the redundancy fund, which I have not yet received. My husband no longer lives with us and does not provide for the maintenance of the family in any way. I find myself renting € 480 per month, the bills, the condominium and the rent of my daughter who is a university student in Parma (€ 165 per month). I worked

as a dishwasher and cleaning lady, I received about € 1,000 per month and even before this situation I was in difficulty, but now even more so having my child in charge. The only worker in the family remains my nephew, who helps me every month with the sum of € 200.

I am a young mum with 3 children. The father exists only in documents. I have a job at a nursery school that for 2 months only put me on a paycheck € 400. How can I get on with 3 small children??? The homeowner is calling me every day for a rent of € 630 per month!!!

I had an economic reduction in my work as an employee as they reduced our working hours, they put us on compulsory leave and we were no longer able to work overtime and ticketing in the car, with a loss of € 400 per month. In my case, I am alone: I pay a monthly rent of € 675, the car installment of € 300 and the university of my eldest daughter. I found it difficult to pay the rent. I asked for a reduction and the owner only granted me € 175 less for 2 months, then I have to return the difference of € 350 in June, under penalty of leaving the house because if the emergency continues he cannot risk losing that money. This was his answer. So I'm worried.

It's my sister and I: I lost my job, my sister has put her on layoffs and she already has a fifth of pay on her salary. We pay € 550 for rent and € 150 for condominium fees, plus bills, power costs. If I don't find a job worth at least € 600 in salary it will be difficult to resume a decent life.

The emergence of these experiences has recalled how the Italian specificity of a fragmented welfare, where the implementation measures of the various housing, work inclusion and income support policies have been built independently from each other, makes the assessment of ultimate effectiveness of the entire public assistance system.

The secondary aid network of Caritas Diocesana in Bologna

The fragmentation of welfare is closely linked to the diversification of needs and their overlapping. Often multiple vulnerabilities are intercepted which reveal themselves, at a first level, as a need for help with rents, bills or food expenses but behind them there are many weaknesses that are often difficult to interpret. Below is a summary of these weaknesses as represented by a Nomisma research for Legacoop in 2021. Italian families show difficulties at various levels and in 55.8% families have at least one weakness.

Fig. 1 - Weaknesses in comparison
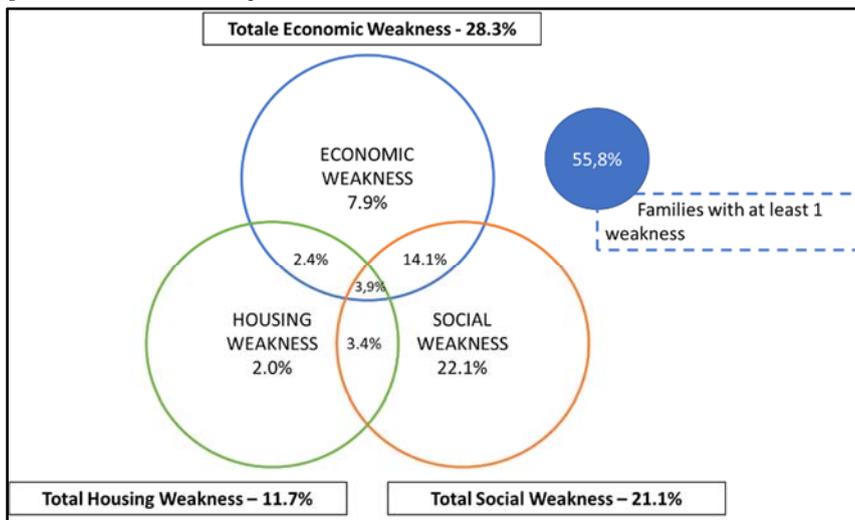
Source: Next Housing, Nomisma-Legacoop, 2021

Faced with this complexity, the Italian welfare system is unable to provide effective responses which are integrated by third parties from the third sector or by Caritas itself. The research promoted by Caritas Diocesana, ACER Bologna (Agency that manages the ERP) and Caritas Italiana with the support of Nomisma, in 2018, had already highlighted how the presence of a secondary aid network (compared to direct state or regional contributions), including Caritas, was fundamental for the families in housing disadvantage. This secondary network, however, risks increasing the "welfare short-circuit". The measures to combat poverty - introduced in Italy starting from September 2016, namely the Support for Active Inclusion (SIA), then modified into Income of Inclusion (REI), gradually becoming universal until July 2018 - they are added to the previous welfare measures by providing for the disbursement of an economic contribution to families in conditions of poverty. A series of important considerations, regarding the integration between SIA and REI and local welfare policies, had already emerged from the Evaluation Report from SIA to REI (November 2017) by the Alliance against poverty and from the First Evaluation Report on the impact of support for active inclusion in Caritas services (January 2018, by Caritas Italiana). Within this last Report it is also noted that the assessments carried out to date have been partial, focusing mainly on the economic aspect of the measure and not on the concrete use by families. From these analyzes, this question

emerged above all: towards what form of expenditure and primary need did the use of the contribution focus?

At the same time, ACER Bologna began to question how the SIA / REI benefit impacted the living conditions of its tenants: for which items of expenditure did they use the economic subsidy? Was it possible that, given the Italian specificity of a fragmented welfare state and the independence in planning policies for the home and those of social inclusion, "welfare short circuits" could be created?

To deepen this insight, suggested by experience, ACER Bologna - with the support of Nomisma and the involvement of Caritas Italiana and Caritas Diocesana di Bologna -, has promoted an analysis concerning the use of the SIA / REI by the assignees of housing of Public Residential Building, which in addition to benefiting from income support measures turn to the diocesan listening center of Caritas in Bologna. The study methodology was a telephone interview with a sample of beneficiaries of SIA / REI chosen by the cross between the ACER Bologna and Caritas Diocesana di Bologna databases (263 groups interviewed).

The survey confirmed the intuition of the actors involved: household expenditure is the most relevant for families, together with food expenditure. The beneficiary respondents (70 families) declare that they use the subsidy to pay bills in 80% of cases and for rent costs in 36%. However, this data does not mean that the cost of renting is mostly sustainable by families but rather that, if they are forced to choose, they prefer to pay the utilities rather than the rent, in order not to risk the termination of the contract from part of the supplying company. Given these problems, it is noted that the probability of being able to cover basic expenses by receiving a contribution is favorable for just under one out of two beneficiaries. Indeed, it emerged that the fragility of family units is due to various factors, such as the working conditions and the composition of the family (single-parent, large, with minors and / or elderly, etc.). The presence of at least one disabled person in charge of the family is a further factor that often severely limits the guardian in the search for a stable job. All this confirms the fact that the future effectiveness of these measures will not depend solely on an increase in the funds allocated, but on the strengthening of the entire social support network present in the area.

Although food expenditure is one of the most important items for SIA / REI beneficiaries, also due to the operating rules of the payment card provided to families, this need remains high, to the point that households, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, they reach out to other general food and subsidy assistance organizations or organizations that often offer an additional supplement for utility bills and rent. Furthermore, the interviewees reported

a recurring economic support "in fits and starts", since, sometimes even after only one first payment, INPS has set up checks on the objective requirements of the beneficiaries, effectively suspending the period of use of the subsidy. All this in a context of almost - still - absent computer accessibility for the applicant / beneficiary, who very often does not have the technological tools to be able to carry out even the simplest network operations. Ultimately, it is clear that, in the absence of SIA/REI support, the families receiving ERP are in difficulty despite the low rents for public housing (about € 600 per year). Food expenses, bills and other family expenses are difficult to sustain by households with an average annual net income of about € 9,000 (average of the non-beneficiaries interviewed). The situation can only be even more complex for beneficiary households with an average annual net income of approximately € 3,400. The contribution of the SIA/REI helps families to improve their economic conditions, but fails to give a complete response to their needs. Although food expenditure is one of the most important items for SIA/REI beneficiaries, also due to the operating rules of the payment card provided to families, this need remains high, to the point that households, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, they reach out to other general food and subsidy assistance organizations or organizations that often offer an additional supplement for utility bills and rent. Furthermore, the interviewees reported a recurring economic support "in fits and starts", since, sometimes even after only one first payment, INPS has set up checks on the objective requirements of the beneficiaries, effectively suspending the period of use of the subsidy. All this in a context of almost - still - absent computer accessibility for the applicant / beneficiary, who very often does not have the technological tools to be able to carry out even the simplest network operations.

The analysis shows that the presence of a secondary aid network (compared to direct state or regional contributions), including Caritas, is fundamental for the families interviewed. Without it, most of the primary and secondary needs (including health and child poverty) would remain without coverage. This secondary network, however, risks increasing the "welfare short-circuit", since it is as if a "derivative" loan were created to Acer Bologna (for rent) by the SIA/REI and the Caritas Diocesana di Bologna through the beneficiary families. In light of these misalignments and indirect flows, a moment of sharing the results was organized in which the following were present: ACER Bologna, the Diocesan Caritas, the Municipality and the Region. During this meeting, each institution was able to share their positions in an attempt to create a truly integrated territorial welfare system, which could be able to correct the current "inefficiencies" by enhancing the work of individual actors. The path of greater cooperation will not be undertaken

for reasons of "rationing of resources" - all the participants agreed on this - but by pursuing the principle of equity in the distribution of resources.

In the light of the results of the research, a shared question has arisen: it is possible to reason - avoiding total subsidiarity, but without eliminating economic support for families - on an integrated welfare that responds in an increasingly effective and differentiated manner according to the different social targets. demographic?

Some possible "therapies" emerged from the discussion table: in the first place the creation of a shared database was thought of, a tool for a territorial community work to be carried out with the various associations (with which to facilitate the accompaniment of fragile families in the municipal area); in addition, the structuring of a "one-stop shop" was hypothesised, which knows how to direct its users, according to their needs, to the entire support network existing in the city; finally, better synergies were hoped for between all the subjects to support the most fragile families. Returning to the current situation, what was observed during the 2018 research is still valid and accelerated. The pandemic has contributed to greatly speed up some dynamics that the various welfare tools would not have intercepted anyway or with respect to which the effectiveness would have been reduced. In addition, the prolongation of the pandemic in 2021 and the simultaneous postponement of evictions for arrears or of the enforcement procedures for foreclosure have once again contributed to diluting the real effects of the housing emergency of Italian families.

With regard to evictions, from 1 July 2021 the possibility of carrying them out resumed even if the "Sostegni" Decree 41/2021 (art.40 ter) introduced a further delay until the end of September in the case of measures adopted from 28 February and the September 30, 2020 and until the end of the year for the measures launched from October 1, 2020 until June 30, 2021. Despite these measures, the tension of the poorest Italian families remains high, which in addition to the contractions in incomes that led to the arrears observed, could also lose your job and, consequently, the possibility of definitively honoring the payments of rents or mortgages on your main home. In addition to the rental market, it should be remembered that households with mortgages are also exposed to the current crisis and that real estate foreclosures have been suspended until June 30, 2021 despite a recent ruling by the Constitutional Court on the legitimacy of the extension itself. In the coming months, the first effects of the pandemic on the housing situation of Italian families will begin to appear.

In parallel, the "classic" tools of housing policies, namely the National Support Fund for access to rented housing and those of the Fund for non-

guilty defaulting tenants provided for by the now historic law no. 431 of 1998, were financed with resources that do not seem absolutely adequate to provide an answer to emerging housing poverty. Beyond the economic coverage of the two instruments, since the beginning of the pandemic there seems to have been no concern about renewing the menu of housing policies by relying on Popular Residential Construction or the two funds mentioned. Most of the families will not receive any contribution and it is probable that even some of the families already assigning public houses could lose the right to their home due to arrears.

A further aspect also noted through the experiences of families requesting the San Petronio Fund was that relating to bills and ancillary costs with respect to the rent. This aspect, in Italy, is still secondary, while in Europe the issue of energy poverty and the need for structural interventions especially in Public Residential Construction is increasingly present in the political agenda and in the debate on housing issues. The need to guarantee economically sustainable housing cannot now be based solely on subsidized or agreed rents but must also include considerations about the "fixed" costs which in Italy are high and increasingly less sustainable precisely for those families with medium-low incomes or single-income families. or single-family with dependent children. The age of both public and private assets in Italy and the fact that the most energy-intensive assets are used above all for renting and for poor households is now a fact that tends to increase the risk of arrears and further housing problems. Going from a bill of about € 2,000 per year to one of € 300/400 for the use of heating in many of the cases observed through the San Petronio Fund would have already constituted a solution to a drop in income and such an exceptional situation. This aspect, therefore, must be the basis of any reasoning for the revision of the instruments of housing policies existing today in Italy.

With this in mind, within the Emilia Romagna Region, and partly also in other Regions of the country, during the pandemic some interventions in support of housing have been hypothesized that could constitute the starting point for the renewal of the Italian housing welfare. One of the first points from which we started again was that of the need to know the housing needs. The need for an Observatory on the National Housing Condition provided for by law no. 431 of 1998, today it is even more important and its absence is a serious fault repeatedly underlined by the Court of Auditors at the Ministry of Infrastructures. The Regional Observatories are in better conditions having been activated and in some cases even digitized. In Emilia Romagna, through a significant restart of the Observatory, new databases have been provided to interpret the housing needs already evident in the pre-pandemic

phase so as to foresee possible policy innovations in the current phase. There are still elements on which it is possible to work both locally and nationally and concern the increasingly in-depth knowledge of the economic conditions of families in housing disadvantage (families in the ERP ranking or waiting for the fund to support the lease), the need to cross families with high housing difficulties with families in charge of social services to offer integrated interventions and not in watertight compartments and finally, to widen the number of "observed" families to the maximum, for example to any family with an ordinary ISEE to divide the demand, differentiate the answers and avoid falling into repeated assistance.

On the latter aspect, the San Petronio Fund ran the risk of being yet another "non-repayable" instrument without a logic of family selection but the relationship with the families met and the "one-off" constitution of the fund guaranteed that the welfare aspect was contained to the maximum and reasoned in a logic that is certainly emergency but without falling into the so-called "poverty trap" which makes families addicted to the request for financial payments without intervening "upstream" on the conditions that led to the poverty manifested.

This logic has also prompted two other innovative interventions supported by the Emilia Romagna Region, namely the renegotiation of rental contracts through economic bonuses in favor of the owners of rental accommodation and the relaunch of the so-called "social rental agencies" which guarantee the meeting. from fragile demand and sustainable rents in the face of public guarantee funds or economic additions to owners to make the rent consistent with household incomes. The results of these attempts are not yet evident but they certainly provided an opportunity to think about a different use of funds for housing problems usually dedicated to the fund to support the lease which constitutes a short-term policy (rain funds useful for less than half of the families concerned) in the absence of other reasoning of a structural nature and not always and only conjunctural.

Final remarks

In light of this warning and the experience of the San Petronio Fund, new working hypotheses emerge as alternatives to the "classic" ones of social housing or funds for leasing or arrears.

Below are some design hypotheses that could constitute a revival of housing policies in the post-pandemic phase when the current contrast policies will show all their inconsistency.

- Establish the National Observatory on Housing Conditions provided for by law no. 431/98 and never really started despite repeated attempts. To define a public investment plan on ERP or, more generally, on the house, it is necessary to know the state of the public assets in each region and the housing needs divided into categories according to the severity and income situation. The Observatory could also dialogue with other third sector or private social subjects who manage databases of fragile people or people in housing disadvantage to better interpret the home needs and structure any shared solutions.
- Define a recovery program (possibly financed by the PNRR) of public rented accommodation at a rent equal to or less than 250/300 euros per month and parameterised management costs, accessible to families with an ISEE income higher than the income necessary for access to ERP, on average equal to 17,000 euros, with a percentage incidence of rent on income of less than or equal to 30%. The available public assets could also be added to the assets currently managed also by individuals from the private social sector or the third sector.
- Create regional or local rental agencies that intermediate between the supply of rented housing both publicly and privately (through agreements and guarantees) at controlled rents (about 250/300 €/month) and fragile demand outside the ERP (hypothetically from €20,000 to €35,000 of ISEE). The Agencies could also be equipped with public or private funds to invest in auction properties or portfolios of properties stranded in enforcement practices through the formula of the balance and write-off of credit to re-enter them in the public lease system. The Agencies could also be the managers of the public property recovery plan referred to in the previous point.
- Unify the rental fund and the default fund and make it structural and financed in an inconsistent manner. Also hypothesize the possibility of using the resources of the two funds to support the public-private agreements of the housing agencies with the further aim of thinning out the lists of households waiting for an ERP home with sufficient incomes to support controlled rents without falling in arrears.
- Reform the system of Home Businesses (companies that manage ERP assets) by increasing internal turnover especially towards families with greater economic difficulties, always taking into account the protection of the financial statements of companies if, in the next few years, a high rate of arrears occurs even among more fragile families.
- Hypothesize a transitory but automatic transformation of existing free-rent contracts into agreements with an agreed-upon fee in the event

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that the economic situation of families collapses. Possibly allocate part of the resources of the rental funds and the fund for arrears to transfers to the owners to compensate for the reduction in rent.

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– Hypothesize a transitory but automatic transformation of existing free-rent contracts into agreements with an agreed-upon fee in the event that the economic situation of families collapses. Possibly allocate part of the resources of the rental funds and the fund for arrears to transfers to the owners to compensate for the reduction in rent.

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Assessing assisted tenancy as a tool to promote affordability in the Italian private rental market

by *Igor Costarelli, Silvia Mugnano, Aurora Cortazzo*[1]

Introduction

Policy attempts to assign a social function to the private rental sector (PRS) are common to countries with a relatively low availability of social rent, such as Belgium, Spain, Czech Republic and, as we will see in this paper, Italy (Čada, 2018; Pareja-Eastaway, Sánchez-Martínez, 2017; Winters, Van den Broeck, 2020). In these attempts, policy-makers must deal with a number of issues, including persuading socially motivated landlords to allocate dwellings at social criteria while facing higher risks of rent arrears, and balancing the asymmetrical power relationship between tenants and landlords (Byrne, McArdle, 2020). On tenants' side, challenges include households' unfamiliarity with institutions, their mistrust in state officials, lack of assertiveness, language barriers and low self-confidence (Archer *et al.*, 2019; Green *et al.*, 2016; Hegedüs *et al.*, 2014; Pareja-Eastaway, Sánchez-Martínez, 2017; Verstraete, Moris, 2019).

Trust is widely acknowledged as an element that can improve interaction and cooperation between people and institutions. As such, it may help to overcome complex societal challenges, especially in times of uncertainty, absence of stable conditions and growing risk (Allen, 2003; Fukuyama, 1995; Healey, 1997, 1998; Lawson, 2001; Putnam, 1993). In this paper we focus on trust as an element of institutional housing policy aimed at assigning a social function to the private rental market in Italy, a typical homeownership society where a growing number of low-income tenants are being accommodated in the private rental sector (Poggio, Boreiko, 2018).

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[1] Igor Costarelli, Silvia Mugnano, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca; Aurora Cortazzo, C.A.S.A. - Comuni insieme Agenzia Sociale per l'Abitare.

In 2013 regional housing policy in Lombardy introduced a set of institutional arrangements incentivizing landlords and tenants at risk of eviction to adopt a system of rent control (assisted tenancy) to improve housing affordability and security of tenure. The lack of financial resources exposes low-income renters to discrimination and exclusion in the private rental market. Against this backdrop, institutional trust is thought to improve accessibility to the private rental market for those who would otherwise have limited chances. In our case study town, Cinisello Balsamo, institutional arrangements are implemented by the local social rental agencies. The aim of this paper is to assess the potential of assisted tenancy as a viable solution to promote housing affordability for low-income renters while examining the role of the social rental agency in reshaping trust relationship as to enhance the cooperation between institutions, tenants and landlords. After providing a conceptual framework of trust in policy-making, we continue by describing the features of the Italian private rental sector and the context of our research. In the last two sections we present our findings and draw some conclusions.

1. Conceptualising trust in institutional policy-making process

Trust is a complex, multidimensional and multilevel concept, involving individuals, groups, firms, and institutions (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998). The nature of trust is essentially relational: A (the trustor) trusts B (the trustee) with regard to B's actions that significantly affect A. Trust is A's subjective assessment of the probability that B will act as agreed, regardless from A's capacity to monitor B's actions. Trust is about reliance, willingness to act as agreed (Laurian, 2009) as well as willingness to be vulnerable based on positive expectations of the intentions and actions of the other (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998). Risk and interdependence are two necessary conditions for trust, which constitutes a way to deal with uncertainty and is an essential enabler of effective collective actions, cooperation, and conflict reduction (Giddens, 1990; Laurian, 2009; Putnam, 1993; Rousseau *et al.*, 1998). Trust tends to be reciprocal and strongly influenced by negative past events more than positive past experiences. Especially in contexts of high distrust, people tend to respond more strongly to information that confirms their prior beliefs than to information that contradicts them (Laurian, 2009).
Drawing on Rousseau *et al.* (1998), different forms of trust exist:
1) deterrence-based trust: one party will be trustworthy because existing sanctions exceed any potential benefits from opportunistic behaviour;

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2) calculus-based trust: the trustor perceives positive intentions in the trustee thanks to credible information (e.g. reputation or certification);
3) relational trust: is based on repeated, face-to-face interactions over time between the trustor and the trustee and is often shaped by emotions;
4) institution-based trust: stressing the institutional environment in which a relationship is placed, institutional-based trust distinguishes trust *in* institutions, i.e. the law as the object of trust, from trust developed by individuals or collective actors and their relationships *in the face of* specific institutional arrangements (e.g. contract) (Bachmann, Inkpen, 2011). Institutional-based trust can ease the way to formulating both calculus-based and relational trust (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998).

Institutional-based trust is involved in policy implementation. The government has a role in facilitating social trust and cooperation by providing information about agents and social systems as well as by increasing transparency. This usually occurs through face-to-face interactions, or facework, between experts, i.e. professionals or civil servants, and non-expert, i.e. citizens. Because citizens lack of knowledge of the system, the experts represent access points to government who are in a position to build public trust through such facework. Facework facilitates person-dependent trust but, as it relies on interpersonal trust, can be broken when a person leaves (Laurian, 2009). Trust is indeed susceptible to changes over time following a three-phases flow: (1) *building*, when trust is formed or reformed; (2) *stability*, when trust already exists; and (3) *dissolution*, where trust declines (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998).

Within institutional-based trust, institutions can act as a third-party guarantor between two parties, i.e. the trustor and the trustee. As Bachmann and Inkpen noted:

> in these circumstances, an individual or collective actor finds good reasons to trust another actor, individual or collective, because institutional arrangements are, like a personal third party guarantor, capable of reducing - which is not the same as eliminating! - the risk that a trustee will behave untrustworthily, allowing the trustor to actually make a leap of faith and invest trust in a relationship. (2011, p. 285)

Institutional structures are a constitutive element of institutional trust-based relationships. These structures can reduce the risk of misplaced trust through legal regulations, professional codes of conduct, and other formal or informal behavioural norms. In institutional trust-based relationships, institutions creeps into a relationship shaping the behaviours of both parties along the lines of institutionally provided templates and channelling the patterns of

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their interaction. As such, institutions can play a significant role in producing the conditions for trust building in situations where otherwise there would be none, including in cases of trust crisis and repair (Bachmann, Inkpen, 2011). In the following section, we outline the main features of the private rented sector in Italy.

2. The private rented sector in Italy

A growing share of low-income groups lives in the private rental sector which accounts for 14.8% of total housing stock. In 2014, 34.4% of low-income households were private renters. More than 70% of low-income tenants in the PRS spent more than 20% of their income in housing costs. For many private renters affordability became an issue after a rent law reform in 1998 which had liberalised the PRS (Poggio, Boreiko 2018). Such reform put an end to a 'fair rent' regime (*equo canone*) whereby rents could not exceed a threshold established by law and introduced two types of rental regimes. The ordinary regime (*locazione a canone libero*) allows landlords to rent out properties at full market prices for 8 years (4+4 years) while the assisted regime (*locazione a canone corcordato)* caps rent price for contracts lasting at least 5 years (3+2 years). Rent calculation in assisted tenancy takes into account dwellings characteristics, i.e. size and typology, market and land values as established by specific local agreements (*accordi territoriali*) which are jointly signed by social parties, i.e. owners and tenants unions. Territorial agreements, which are binding for signing assisted tenancies, usually apply only to capitals of provinces and municipalities facing high housing pressure (*comuni ad alta tensione abitativa*), as defined by law.

The 1998 rental reform laid the foundation for the establishment of social rental agencies (SRAs) (*agenzie sociali per la locazione* in Italian). SRAs aim to promote a wider use of assisted tenancy as a tool to boost the supply of affordable housing in the PRS. In Italy SRAs operate at municipal- or province-based level and are promoted by public authority alone or in partnership with non-state actors, such as non-profit organisations that can be appointed as manager of this service. To pursue their goals, SRAs offer trustworthy information about assisted tenancy and provide counselling and advice before and during the signature of contracts. This mission is shared by all agencies in the country albeit some local variations may exist since housing policy in Italy is regional based.

By opting for assisted tenancy, both landlords and tenants can enjoy several benefits. Landlords are entitled to lower tax rate on annual rent-income,

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i.e. 10% versus 21%, along with a 75% reduction on property-based taxes[2], while tenants are offered rent at below-market rate. Nevertheless, the ordinary regime is still the predominant tenancy. About 55% of new rental contracts in 2018 were signed at ordinary regime compared to 25% at assisted regime. In addition, the diffusion of assisted tenancy is uneven across the country, as tab. 1 shows.

Tab. 1 - Assisted tenancy as a share of total rental contracts in 2018 (Osservatorio del Mercato Immobiliare 2017, 2019)

Macro-regions (2018)	(%)
North-West	22.5
North-East	25.5
Centre	32.3
South	12.4
Islands	7.3
Largest cities (2016)	*(%)*
Genoa	59.29
Rome	39.61
Bolonia	42.80
Turin	34.54
Naples	18.92
Florence	27.97
Milan	4.23

The uneven distribution results from both institutional and territorial dynamics. From an institutional perspective, Regions and Municipalities are responsible for local housing policies albeit they operate within a common national framework. This means that each local administrations can develop different housing agenda based on specific priorities and needs. From a territorial perspective, urban dynamics shape different conditions for housing affordability. The latter is most problematic in the largest and densely populated cities where housing markets are tighter, such as Milan, Rome or Turin.

However, to explain the diffusion of assisted tenancy other factors must be considered, including landlords' motivations, market values of rental properties, and degree of municipal commitment towards assisted tenancy. The interplay of all these factors explains how difficult it can be to successfully implement this policy tool. For example, owners may refrain from choosing the assisted regime if the gap between market (ordinary tenancy) and

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[2] Property owners in Italy are entitled to two types of taxation (known as IMU and TASI in Italian) regardless if such properties are rented or vacant.

controlled rent (assisted tenancy) is too high. Implementing assisted tenancy may fail when owners are not guaranteed fiscal benefits on the long-term.

Political commitment is a critical factor. The share of assisted tenancy contracts has increased over the last years because of sharper fiscal policy (*cedolare secca*) which contributed to lower taxation on rental properties at assisted regime (Bargelli, Bianchi, 2018). Another reason is that a rising number of municipalities have renewed or signed territorial agreements which helped to reduce the rent gap between assisted and market regimes (Gaeta *et al*., 2018; Virgilio, 2012).

Another way public actor can promote assisted tenancy is to encourage a shift from ordinary to assisted regime while providing financial incentives to guarantee or compensate landlords from any risks associated to this shift (Gaeta *et al.*, 2018). This strategy involves social rental agencies whose staff members are in charge of providing verified and trustworthy information to landlords and tenants. SRAs offer accompaniment and engage in deep face-work activity to contrast mistrust and landlords' scepticism. For example, SRAs staff offers simulation of existing benefits and incentives tailored to each owner and tenant (Cerea, 2019). Social rental agencies operate on be-half of local authority to assign a social function to the PRS. The next section presents our research context.

3. Research context and data

The research context is the town of Cinisello Balsamo, 75,659 inhabitants in 2017 (census data), in the north of Lombardy's capital, Milan. To address the growing risk of tenure insecurity and housing vulnerability, in 2014 the munici-pality established a social rental agency which main task is to better connect housing and welfare services at city and regional scales. The agency is based at the Department of Social Services and Education within the city council. Staff members have different professional background combining technical, adminis-trative, and social expertise to address citizens' needs: they provide counselling and orienteering services to apply for housing benefits schemes and accompani-ment for assisted tenancy, such as simulation of tax relief and other advantages tailored to each applicant and signature of the contracts.

In the framework of two policy measures issued by the Region Lombardy, i.e., Delibera Giunta Regionale 1032/2013 and Delibera Giunta Regionale 2207/2014, the social rental agency in Cinisello Balsamo launched two types of institutional arrangements aimed to incentivise the supply of rental dwell-ings at assisted tenancy. The first type of institutional arrangement, or action,

involves tenants who are under eviction notice due to rent arrears. It provides a financial contribution for landlords to cover the amount of non-payment on the condition that the tenancy changes from ordinary to assisted regime. This shift temporary stops the eviction process. The second typology of institutional arrangement provides a financial contribution, *una tantum,* for landlords who are willing to rent out their empty dwellings adopting an assisted regime and establishes a guarantee fund to prevent future rent arrears for up to 12 months during the first two years of contract. Through both arrangements, between 2015 and mid-2017, totally 66 assisted tenancy contracts were signed. 46 contracts were signed as part of the first action and 20 contracts as part of the second action. Our study focuses on the first action as it represents the proper setting to examine institutional processes that involve interactions and cooperation between different actors, i.e., the SRA, tenants and landlords, in a context of power asymmetry, competing interests, risk and uncertainty.

Between April and June 2017, we collected three explorative interviews with civil servants aimed at collecting general information about the local housing market and the activities undertaken by the social rental agency. In addition, we conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with tenants (8) and landlords (10) who joined the institutional arrangements. Respondents were selected from the municipal database and reached thanks to the involvement of social rental agency staff. Interviews lasted on average 30 minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed for content analysis Interview track included questions covering topics such as tenants/landlords' situation prior to signing the assisted tenancy contract, their experiences after signing assisted tenancy, and the role of the housing agency in promoting assisted tenancy.

4. The circuit of trust

To better understand how trust is involved and evolves over the entire institutional-led process of promoting assisted tenancy, we developed two diagrams drawing on Rousseau and colleagues' (1998) classification of trust. The first diagram (Fig. 1) considers the types of trust characterizing the relationships between involved parties in each tenancy typology, ordinary and assisted. In the ordinary tenancy the relationship is established between two actors, landlord and tenant, which are connected by a relational form of trust. In assisted tenancy the relationship includes a third institutional party, the municipality or housing agency, which enters the tenant-landlord relationship providing institutional-based trust through institutional arrangements.

The second diagram (Fig. 2) describes the evolution of trust throughout three temporal phases: stability, dissolution, repair and re-building. The first two phases relate to ordinary tenancy while the latter refers to assisted tenancy and is enabled by institutional arrangements. Such evolution is presented as a circuit of trust and is outlined in the next sub-sections.

Fig. 1 - Trust relationships between involved parties
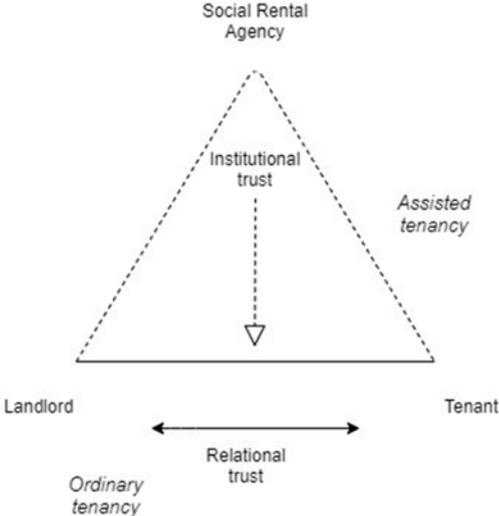
Fig. 2 - The evolution of trust. Authors' elaboration based on Rousseau et al. (1998)
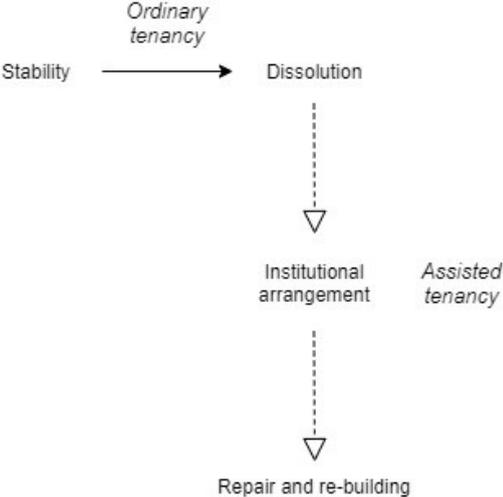
4.1 From stability to trust dissolution

In ordinary tenancy, the two parties can be envisaged as having the following roles and relationship. The landlord (trustor) trusts the tenant (trustee) about the regular payment of rent. This situation (stability) changed in light of contingencies and life events, e.g. divorce or loss of job, that undermined tenants' capacity to continue paying rent at market rate regularly. Tenants' difficulty in sustaining their tenancy undermines trust relationship with the landlord, leading to a phase of trust dissolution in the landlord-tenant relationship (fig. 2). As our evidence suggests, the shift from stability to dissolution is strongly permeated by emotional elements which feature relational form of trust (Rousseau *et al.*, 1998) typical of tenant-landlord interaction (Byrne, McArdle, 2020; Green *et al.*, 2016; McKee *et al.*, 2020). As one respondent commented:

> The tenant has lived in my apartment for more than 20 years. Because I was afraid about proceeding with eviction, I searched for an alternative solution even though I lost lots of money because of my generosity (…) He is not a bad person. He had to help his family out, but I was affected by this situation. He is not bad, he just suffers from the consequences of the crisis as the whole country. (Respondent n. 4, landlord)

The stages after trust dissolution involve the social rental agency and the institutional arrangements introduced to repair and rebuild trust between parties. Through such institutional arrangements, the public actor creeps into landlord-tenant relationship by offering a win-win situation for both parties allowing them to continue the tenancy agreement at new conditions, i.e. shorter length, lower prices, funding to cover tenants' debt, short-term (one year) guarantee fund. The municipality becomes a third-party within an existing - but deteriorated - tenant-landlord relationship in which tenants are threatened of eviction. The introduction of institutional arrangement marks a turning point in the tenant-landlord trust relationship wherein the social rental agency staff plays a key role in paving the way for a new phase of trust repair and re-building, as we will see in next sub-section.

4.2 Towards trust repair: the functioning of institutional arrangements

Our findings highlighted a crucial role of the social rental agency in offering help, counselling and support to both landlords and tenants. Most respondents were unfamiliar with assisted tenancy and did not know about the

range of benefits they could benefit from. When landlords were asked about how they came to know about assisted tenancy, it emerged that valuable information was acquired either through personal social networks (colleagues, friends, relatives etc.) or personal contacts with municipal offices and civil servants.

Both landlords and tenants are generally satisfied with their experiences and trustworthy with institutions regarding the chances to get their problems solved. Such experiences were characterized by deep face-to-face interaction between civil servants and citizens, confirming that frequent personal contact provided by experts, in this case the housing agency, is an essential element in the building process of institutional trust. Our evidence also suggests a strong person-dependent face-to-face interaction. Indeed, the majority of respondents mentioned the same contact person as the main access point to institutional information about assisted tenancy.

Institutional arrangements incorporate specific rules, routines, practices and behavioural patterns that are able to create common orientations and channel interactions between two or more actors (Bachmann, Inkpen, 2011), aiming to repair a negative behavioural antecedent, i.e. rent arrears, and promote institutional trust for the continuation of the tenancy. Proposed institutional arrangements include compensation from economic loss for landlords on the condition that they refrain from eviction, if any procedure had started before, and a new, affordable contract for tenants who can avoid eviction. In the next sub-section, we assess the effectiveness of institutional-based trust in creating the conditions for a new, longer-term phase of stability. We focus on institutional arrangements capacity to tackle the problem of housing affordability and security for low-income groups who joined this program.

4.3 All about trust? On the (uncertain) efficacy of institutional arrangements

Institutional arrangements had an overall positive impact on the short-term. By joining the offered scheme, tenants and landlords re-formulated their rental agreement at more advantageous conditions. However, in the longer-term the capacity to improve trust relationship and to provide a more structural response to the crisis of affordability and tenure security is weak. This relates to the difficulties in eradicating distrust and the persistence of economic vulnerability. Institutional arrangements resulted most effective in the very first stages of implementation when the housing agency exercised a higher degree of involvement. As one respondent argued:

We changed from ordinary to assisted tenancy because the tenant was insolvent. The tenant has not paid me the rent basically for 2 and a half or 3 years, so, following the advance of [anonymised name] we shifted to this contract, which allowed to reduce the rent and benefit from the help of municipality. In the period when the municipality supervised the tenant, I did receive the rent, but after then, I did not receive the whole amount of rent, just a small part of it which is not even enough to pay condominium expenses. I can no longer bear this situation, maybe I will have to execute the eviction with all the problems that this arises. (Respondent n. 4, landlord)

As highlighted in this quote, institutional-based trust and material help are not sufficient to eliminate the risk of rent arrear and misplaced trust. A high degree of uncertainty remains when tenants are not able to afford rent autonomously. As Bachmann and Inkpen (2011) argued, institutions can act as third-party guarantor between two parties and are able to reduce - not eliminate - the risk of misplaced trust. As the quote showed, the intervention of institutions was crucial as it provided favourable conditions for the two conflicting parties to cooperate and trust each other. However, when the benefits associated to such conditions run out, mistrust becomes an issue once again. According to some landlords, the provision of public incentives, as part of institutional arrangements does not compensate a perceived lack of mutual obligation:

Tenant interpreted this situation like the municipality makes a gift (...). Municipality helped him, I helped him as well, but you have not paid me for a year and exploited this. The municipality helped you, that is fine, but now are you working to collect the money for my rent and expenses? (Respondent n. 5, landlord)

The difficult eradication of landlords' mistrust is clearly connected to a persistence of economic vulnerability which undermines the efficacy of institutional arrangements. Life events, such as divorce or loss of job, have disruptive effects on low-income people's housing situation, exacerbating the risk of poverty and social exclusion. The mechanisms and reasons underlying households' incapacity to keep pace with rent payment need further consideration. In addition, examined arrangements neglect the burden of housing-related costs other than rent, for example energy bills, which we found to heavily affect tenants' financial budgets, as the quote below shows.

I have to pay large amount of money in electricity and gas bills. This flat features high ceilings so it takes long time to heat the whole place, it is horrible. I paid up to 1,000 euro, usually the provider reduces the power supplied because I never manage to pay on time, and they impose a penalty payment. (Respondent n. 2, tenant)

The overall assumption that problems of housing affordability are mostly caused by the high cost of rent is certainly relevant but other costs, i.e., energy, should be included as potential sources of housing deprivation. Promoting affordable and secure housing is not just about designing strategies to reduce the rent burden but also providing the conditions for tenants to maintain a dwelling autonomously. These conditions go beyond rent regulation and lowering housing-related costs to include measures to secure income stability.

Conclusion

This paper examined a set of institutional arrangements implemented by the social rental agency in the town of Cinisello Balsamo to encourage landlords and low-income tenants at risk of eviction to change a full market price rent regime (ordinary tenancy) into a rent control regime (assisted tenancy). This shift combines incentives for landlords (tax deductions and subsidies) and for tenants (lower rent and suspension of eviction). We focused on the role of social rental agency in promoting this shift through institutional trust and showed how the involvement of institutions in the private rental agreement reshaped trust relationship between tenants and landlords.

We found that a change in the rental agreement encouraged by institutional trust could not *per se* tackle the lack of affordability and improve tenure security of low-income tenants due to the fact that proposed measures had short-term effects ultimately benefitting landlords more than tenants. Thanks to this scheme, property owners were able to recover from the financial loss derived from tenants' non-payment plus some guarantees for one year. Tenants were provided with new conditions to maintain the dwelling in the short term, without any realistic means to afford housing costs by themselves for longer period. When landlords accept to join this programme, they get compensation for tenants' debt while still being in the position to proceed with eviction at the end of this program if tenants will not pay rent. As such, examined policy neglected the asymmetric positions between landlords and tenants and overlooked the underlying reasons why tenants fall behind on rent payments, for example the lack of stable income.

To some extent, the role of institutional trust in improving accessibility and stability has been overestimated. The financial capacity of tenants continues to be the benchmark despite the key role of institutional trust. While assisted tenancy is inadequate to address the problem of insecure tenure conditions and affordability for low-income groups in the PRS, this tool could be better used to address housing issues of tenants with higher income

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capacity. When it comes to address the housing needs of low-income groups, we argue for an overarching set of interventions addressing multiple factors of deprivation in both housing and welfare domain at large. Finally, it is paramount that housing policy interventions that seek to promote a social use of private rental stock act to *prevent* housing-related risks, such as arrears, rather than acting *curatively* (6, 1998) as examined arrangements did.

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Living in a rental in Bologna between housing dynamics and migration trends

by *Alice Lomonaco, Manuela Maggio*[1]

Introduction: Home and foreigners, a binomial to be further explored

The city of Bologna is a highly attractive urban reality. The historical presence of the university, job opportunities, quality of services, mass tourism and health tourism are all elements that contribute to its growth. From 2008 to the present, the municipal population has recorded a percentage increase of almost 4% and, in the same period, the foreign resident population has increased by more than 50%. The dynamics of housing constitute one of the major urban issues.

In addition to being influenced by the expansion of the city, the expansion of the city is certainly connected to the history and dictate of the local Regulatory Plans, which organised the urban extension. The Regulatory and Enlargement Plan of 1889, considered the first real town-planning instrument adopted by the municipality, included, among its objectives, "...to make the city's enlargement limit unnoticeable" in the face of the doubling of the building area and the presumable increase in population. The plan also designed the expansion of the neighbourhoods outside the city walls: «the aim is to create "working-class neighbourhoods" according to orthogonal grids, with wide streets and vast squares and gardens, capable of providing all the abundance of light and airiness that hygiene prescribes»[2]. The Regulatory Plan of 1955, having overcome the emergency phase dictated by the aftermath of the Second World War, envisaged the reorganisation of the entire territory and set as one of its objectives that of ensuring that the outer neighbourhoods would have churches, schools and squares, providing them with a real centre of life, imagining both an expansion of the suburbs and the

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[1] Alice Lomonaco, Manuela Maggio, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.
[2] www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/cronologia/bologna/1889/il_piano_regolatore_e_di_ampliamento.

placement of social housing settlements in the very periphery[3]. The General Variant to the 1970 Regulatory Plan finally aimed at the diffusion of greenery and services, 'in a suburb of a new kind'[4].

Although one of the main objectives of the local regulatory plans was to avoid or mitigate forms of territorial inequality, today in the city there is a certain lack of homogeneity concerning the diffusion of housing titles, with particular reference to rents and especially social housing. At the same time, the migrant population is unevenly distributed throughout the city: in Bologna, the migratory phenomenon has been growing since the 1980s; there were about 2,000 foreigners in 1986 and 61,984 today (data updated to 31/12/2021). Foreign residents account for 15.78% of the total population, a percentage above both the national and regional average, with more than 150 different nationalities (although there are a total of 13 nationalities that exceed the quota of one thousand residents). For these reasons, therefore, the issues of housing and the settlement of foreign communities at the local level seem to us to be connected and the home/non-native binomial is full of aspects to be explored.

In the period immediately following the Second World War, the housing sector was the most productive: between 1951 and 1961 the city of Bologna recorded a 58% increase in housing. The absolute numbers of dwellings owned (or owned by homeowners) have always grown over time, and ownership, which in the 1981 census survey involved 44% of occupied dwellings, in the 2011 census survey involved 62% of resident households. Renting for its part involved 62% of dwellings in '71 and 30% of resident households in 2011. Thus, what has occurred over time is the intensification of the spread of ownership, to the detriment of renting, which is, moreover, going through a phase of severe crisis. With the increase in short rentals in particular, it is possible to estimate an unfulfilled demand of 6,000 rented dwellings (Gentili *et al.* 2018), and it should be considered that a segment of the resident population that is particularly fragile on the economic side (but not only) is today in public housing lists without being able to find its place either in this housing sector or within the private market (Municipality of Bologna, 2018; 2021).

There are territorial implications to all this, although not all resident populations and not all urban spaces are affected in the same way. Today, in Bologna, in particular, there is an important demand for rented housing that

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[3] www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1955/il_nuovo_piano_regolatore_generale_prg.

[4] www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1970/la_variante_generale_al_piano_regolatore.

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neither the private nor the public market can fully satisfy, there are discrepancies between those who live in rented and those who own, and between native and non-native residents. Between these two segments of the population, inequalities occur in in terms of accessibility to housing, housing conditions and available living space, location of housing in urban space. At the micro-spatial level, this has implications in terms of vulnerability and potential fragility (Maggio, Bergamaschi, 2020). In addition, in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, ISEE values of some households residing in Bologna point out a worsening of income and housing conditions at the local level. There has been an increase in ISEE presentations by the so-called 'grey area', i.e. that population that does not fall within the economic poverty canons required to access public housing but at the same time, is unable, on its own, to compete with today's housing market. While between 2018 and 2019, in fact, in the province of Bologna the number of rented households that had presented an ordinary ISEE had decreased (-10.5%), between 2019 and 2020 a positive variation of 11.7% was recorded, demonstrating that this title of housing enjoyment represents an important area of observation and that there has presumably been a worsening of general economic conditions[5].

The essay, therefore, aims to retrace some of the key elements of the dynamics of housing in the local context, focusing primarily on the world of renting and more specifically on the access to rental housing of the non-native population with respect to some of the issues mentioned and the main problematic aspects.

1. Rental market and migration dynamics in Bologna

Despite the fact that in our country, already since the 1970s, the number of available housing units has exceeded the number of households (Baldini, 2010), allowing at the same time an improvement in housing standards (Baldini, 2010; Poggio, 2009), situations of discomfort persist, which, as the literature points out, tend to be recorded more frequently among households living in rented accommodation or coming from the most disadvantaged strata of the population (Filandri, 2012; Filandri, Autigna, 2015).

Emilia-Romagna Region stands out for having recorded a different rental housing curve from the Italian one: in fact, starting from 2006 the trend of

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[5] These data were presented on 12 April 2022 on the Seminar "Rent support in Emilia-Romagna between past, present and future", promoted by the Regional Observatory of the housing system (ORSA) - Urban regeneration and housing policies area of the Emilia-Romagna Region (realised in cooperation with ART-ER).

rented housing in the Region follows an increasing curve reaching 20.60% in 2011; then there is a decrease until 2015 (18.50%), followed by an increase that has its maximum value in 2017 (20.70%). At the national level, the trend, initially with a linear tendency, shows an increase in 2009 (19.20%), followed by a subsequent decrease until 2012 (18.20%), after which there is a constant growth until the last available value of about 20%[6]. The city of Bologna, in turn, is characterised by having a percentage share of rented housing out of the total number of inhabited or available dwellings. Although it has decreased over time, it still involves around 30% of the total number of resident households, a higher share in respect to the national value, which is precisely 20%. In 2017, about 83 thousand residents in the city lived in private rented accommodation (of which about 35 thousand university students) and about 24 thousand lived in social housing (in public housing)[7]. Such peculiarities certainly have an impact on the forms of local housing deprivation. In the whole Region between 2018 and 2021, for example, the demand emerging from the *bando affitto* "call for rent"[8] are in considerable increase. It is recorded an augmentation in the overall housing tension, about half of which distributed in the provinces of Bologna and Modena alone[9].

In spite of a phase of surplus housing with respect to households, in terms of quantity at least in Italy, a not irrelevant quota of the demand for housing still remains unsatisfied and involves increasingly large segments of the population. Regarding housing offer, the gap between the cost of housing and households' disposable income has grown "wider": between 1991 and 2009, urban market rents grew by an average of 105%, while household disposable income grew by 18%. In the last decade, rents have increased, on average, by 130% for renewed contracts and by 150% for new contracts" (Lodi Rizzini, 2013, pp. 240-241) and at least 9% of Italian households are in a state of housing-dependent poverty (Palvarini, 2010). The existence of a 'housing issue' is attested by the economic distress that involves over time increasing shares of rented households in the country (35% in the period

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[6] From "Tendenze del fabbisogno abitativo a seguito dei cambiamenti demografici".

[7] All the data presented at the seminar "Bologna. Politiche abitative in una città che cambia" by Marco Guerzoni at the University of Bologna.

[8] The Fondo Locazioni (Lease Fund) was introduced in Italy by Law No. 431 of 9 December 1998 ('Disciplina delle locazioni e del rilascio degli immobili adibiti ad uso abitativo') and was set up as a fund of a state nature intended to issue supplementary contributions for the payment of rents. It is an economic fund aimed at supporting residents with a regular lease that evolves annually according to the availability of resources.

[9] For further information visit https://territorio.regione.emilia-romagna.it/osservatorio-delle-politiche-abitative/fabbisogno-abitativo.

2010-2014) (Monti, Chiaro, 2017) and by the increase in the number of evictions that have risen, for example, from 26,937 in 2001 to 61,718 in 2016, the latter largely due (54,829) to a state of arrears, which highlights the decidedly critical economic conditions of those who are no longer able to sustain housing expenses.

Housing conditions, related to its title and type, get even worse when it comes to migrants' especially non-native migrants' dwellings spaces. These worsening conditions are determined by the building's location, dimension, year of construction and its state of conservation

In 2011, 5% of the dwellings in Italy were occupied only by foreigners: at the national level, although we are talking about very small shares, among non-native households the conditions of 'cohabitation' are more widespread (0.8% vs. 0.5% in the case of Italians) and the shares of those who live 'in another type of accommodation', i.e. not in a traditional dwelling, are higher (0.8% vs. 0.2% in the case of Italians). Among foreign families, as is well known, renting is more widespread, and based on the 2011 census data we know that it is precisely this target population that lives more often in older buildings and in a less than optimal "state of preservation". In fact, the 2011 survey gives us a picture in which

- – 41% of the foreign population (as opposed to 30% of the Italian population) live in residential buildings built before 1960;
- – 47% of the same (compared to 53% of the Italian population) live in buildings constructed between 1961 and 1990;
- – 12% (compared to 17% of the Italian population) live in buildings constructed since 1990;
- – 18% of foreign residents live in poorly preserved buildings (compared to 13% in the case of the Italian population) and 30% of them live in poorly preserved and old buildings (i.e. built before 1960) compared to 23% of Italians;
- – a significant proportion of resident foreign households in Italy (26%) live in housing of less than 60 square metres, which is 9% for Italians, while an equivalent proportion live in housing of at least 100 square metres, which is 47% of Italian households;
- – finally, 7% of foreigners residing in Italy live in overcrowded conditions[10].

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[10] In this paper, taking up the work of Dragana Avramov, Report on housing exclusion and homelessness, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 2005, the threshold of 'severe overcrowding' is set at 2. The figure is also updated to the 2001 Census as the information is not available for 2011.

Similar dynamics occur in the Bolognese territory, with all these conditions improved in the case of mixed family units (a category made up of people living in the same dwelling, with or without affective relations), which is a condition confirming that foreign residents are characterised by higher housing precariousness (Lomonaco 2020). Renting is most common among foreign residents in the city. It involved 76% of all households in 2011. The Italian population, on the other hand, was involved in 25% of cases and the share rose to 38% in the case of mixed households. The foreign population, in addition to having more difficulty in gaining access to housing ownership, resides in older dwellings and is over-represented in dwellings built before 1960. Foreign households, as at the national level, inhabit the worst-preserved housing stock. Infact, they live in smaller houses and are more exposed to overcrowding compared to the native population (with an average surface area of less than 80 square metres).

Tab. 1 - Non-native housing conditions - Italy and Bologna

Focus	Italy	Bologna
Total occupied dwellings	4.84%	7.01%
Rent-occupied dwellings	65,76%	75,74%
Coexistence	0,8%	1,90%
Residents in residential buildings built before 1960	27,06274	30,18067
Residents in residential buildings built between 1961 and 1990	20,42895	29,5042
Residents in residential buildings constructed since 1990	19,48617	19,24959

Bologna's foreign resident population is not homogeneously distributed throughout the city, but resides mainly in certain statistical areas and is more concentrated where the housing stock has a lower value (Lomonaco, 2020). If we look at the administrative division of the six neighbourhoods of Bologna which have an average population of about 65,000, we note that only two of them have had a 'constant' and persistent foreign presence since 2001: Navile, with its 22% in the northern part and San Donato-San Vitale, with its 17% in the eastern part of the city on 31/12/2019. If as the territorial scale of observation we adopt Bologna's statistical area (a territorial portion with an average population of about 28,000 units) we see (Map no. 1) that only some territorial realities inside the mentioned neighbourhoods report a greater presence of migrants: Bolognina and Corticella in the Navile neighbourhood, respectively with 26% and 18% of foreign residents out of the total resident population, and San Donato in the San Donato-San Vitale neighbourhood, with 20%. In these two areas which are both located in the northern part (Maggio, Bergamaschi, 2020), the foreign presence is over-represented compared to the city average of 15% (at the city, neighbourhood and area level).

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In the historic center, non-native residents' presence has been decreasing over the years. In the 1990s, they were particularly present in the historic city centre (Bergamaschi, 2012) and distributed more equally throughout the city. Today they are more concentrated outside the walls that surround and separate the historic core from the suburbs.

Fig. 1 - Territorial distribution of the foreign population - Bologna, statistical zone level (y 2019)
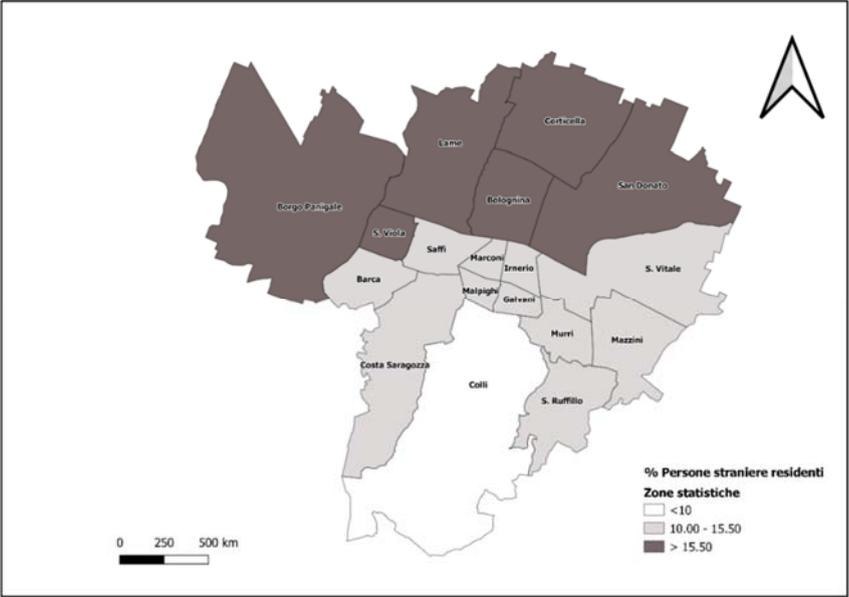
Source: Maggio, Bergamaschi, 2020

These dynamics contribute to the spatialisation of resident populations. First and foremost, units are made up exclusively of foreigners. The most disadvantaged units occupy more intensely certain urban areas, creating vicious circles that make portions of the territory increasingly fragile from a socio-economic point of view and generating urban interstices where the older, qualitatively inferior and physically reduced stock is the only housing opportunity and may therefore become the obligatory choice for certain social groups.

2. The role of social housing

Social renting is today in Italy the minority housing tenure par excellence: only 5% of housing is in fact counted among those with social rent and this

rental stock has been thinning over time as a result of actions and policies aimed at alienating the public housing stock (Guerzoni, 2013). In several countries, the number of applications for social rented housing has increased in recent years, while in the same time period the share of available social housing in the total housing stock has decreased (Pittini, 2012). Italy is among the last positions among the European countries both for the amount of social rented housing and for public investment in housing the sector. These factors, as time goes by, feed the unmet demand for social housing (Housing Europe, 2015; Lodi Rizzini, 2012).

In Bologna, public housing has been widespread since the end of the 19th century. It accounts for about 6% of the total housing stock and hosts about 6% of the city's resident population (Municipality of Bologna, 2018). Recently, several local studies have underlined the current evolution in access to public housing; in particular, the following trends have been verified (Bergamaschi, Maggio, 2020; Municipality of Bologna, 2016; 2018)

- – the reduction in the number of Italian residents involved in the demand for public housing;
- – the different involvement of different nationalities;
- – the greater involvement of young people and large households;
- – the lack of homogeneity regarding the economic condition of applicants with Italian citizenship and those with non-Italian citizenship.

With respect to the first point, while until 2009 most of the lists for access to Bologna's ERP were made up of Italian applicants, since 2016 the percentages have been reversed and today 60% of applicants are non-native[11]. Although Italian citizenship remains the majority within public housing, a similar dynamic occurs among the most recent allocations of social housing: over 50% of new allocations in the 2012-2016 period involved households with non-native applicants.

Concerning the second point, it has been verified that, although people of foreign origin are more involved than the native population, it is not possible to homologate the total ERP applications and allocations of non-native applicants to a single 'set'. There are some nationalities that would appear to be strongly dependent on the public housing system: in particular the Moroccan and Tunisian residents in Bologna. Recently, also Eritreans, Egyptians, Nigerians, Bangladeshis and Peruvians, are very much involved in public housing (Table 2).

[11] Even though an evolution from this has been recorded by the Municipality of Bologna (Municipality of Bologna 2021), it is a dynamic to be verified in the medium term in the aftermath of the Covid19 pandemic.

Tab. 2 - Residents in ERP, by citizenship, Bologna, year 2016

Cittadinanza (Paese)	N/a		(%)
	a Bologna	In ERP	
Marocco	3.927	2.014	51
Tunisia	1.204	489	41
Eritrea	485	185	38
Egitto	661	130	20
Nigeria	828	154	19
Bangladesh	4.917	813	17
Perù	1.314	182	14
Sri Lanka	1.378	157	11
Albania	2.643	293	11
India	763	76	10
Pakistan	4.062	343	8
Ucraina	3.736	277	7
Moldavia	4.011	296	7
Romania	9.450	662	7
Polonia	1.099	62	6
Filippine	5.277	294	6
Italia	328.721	16.913	5
Cina	3.670	149	4
Altra cittadinanza	10.221	1.478	14
Tot.	388.367	24.967	6

Source: Municipality of Bologna 2018

Similar dynamics, with other communities at the centre, also occur in the case of ERP demand (Tab. 3).

Tab. 3 - ERP applicants residing in Bologna, by state of origin and number in Bologna, year 2020

Stato di provenienza	ERP11-2020 (solo richiedenti con residenza a Bologna)		N/a residenti a Bologna	% su comunità di riferimento (2020)
	N/a domande	N/a persone		
Romania	278	839	10.300	8,15
Filippine	154	566	5.002	11,32
Bangladesh	456	1.628	4.916	**33,12**
Pakistan	236	1.049	4.087	**25,67**
Cina	22	85	4.006	2,12
Ucraina	134	264	3.816	6,92
Marocco	242	787	3.467	**22,70**
Moldavia	111	322	3.296	9,77
Albania	59	201	2.658	7,56
Sri Lanka	75	244	1.345	18,14
Perù	56	190	1.224	15,52
Tunisia	60	204	1.121	18,20
Italia	1.713	4.442	330.905	1,34

Source: Municipality of Bologna, 2021

Regarding the third point, it was verified that over time young people and households with four or more members are increasing among ERP applications and new allocations. Although a large proportion of ERP beneficiaries in 2016 were in fact elderly people aged 64 or over, only 13% of new assignees were in this age group. This polarisation between elderly Italians and young non-Italians is particularly evident in public housing: there is a high presence of elderly people among Italian residents, which in the case of the foreign resident population is replaced by young people, especially minors. Similar dynamics concern family units, among which the most numerous are more frequently formed by non-native residents.

These differences are evident between applicants and beneficiaries, among whom the average ISEE is in the first case 4,930 Euro for Italians and 3,729 Euro for non-Italians, and in the second case 9,854 Euro for natives and 4,076 Euro for non-natives. This data confirms that non-Italians, compared to Italians, are in a more disadvantaged position with worse economic conditions, and more and more apply to access social housing. However, they continue remaining in a disadvantaged position despite their access to social housing.

Local public housing is not evenly distributed within the municipal territory. In 2016, there were 10,629 inhabited ERP dwellings (6 per cent of the total number of inhabited dwellings in Bologna) and housed 24,967 individuals (6 per cent of the total number of city residents and about 18 per cent of rented households). Bologna, which is administratively divided into 6 neighbourhoods, 18 Statistical Zones, 90 Statistical Areas and 2,333 census sections, has a highly uneven territorial distribution of social housing. There are zones, but above all areas, that differ considerably in the share of current social housing, thereby creating real ERP neighbourhoods. In the Lame and San Donato areas, public housing exceeds 15% of the total and accounts for a very high share of rented housing: 48% in San Donato and 47% in Lame. Public housing is also concentrated in only a few census sections: this type of housing is therefore effectively confined to specific districts and often located in old buildings. In this regard, it should be noted that 44 per cent of the examined public housing was built before 1962, and 52 per cent between 1962 and 1999. A recent study (Maggio, Bergamaschi, 2020) has also shown that in Bologna, the neighbourhoods with the highest ERP concentration are the same ones in which the foreign presence increased with the greatest intensity between 2011 and 2016. In addition, during the same period the foreign presence intensifies and the share of foreign residents increases as the ERP percentage grows up (Table 4). Taking as an example what happened in the year 2016 alone, we can verify that where public housing

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accommodated at least 50% of the households, the foreign population was 26% of the total; where public housing accommodated at least 60%, the foreign population reached 27%; where public housing accommodated at least 70% of the resident households, the foreign population was 29%; and finally, where public housing accommodated at least 80% of the households, the foreign population increased to 31% of the total. In these territorial micro-portions, there is a decisively higher presence of the non-native resident population compared to both the rest of the city and the micro-spaces without public housing or with a quantitatively contained presence of it.

Moreover, even within public housing, foreign beneficiaries are more likely to be in overcrowded situations. In 2016, 1,147 households were in a situation of potential overcrowding, specifically: 299 households with more than 2 members lived in housing of less than 50 square metres; 329 households with more than 4 members lived in housing of between 50 and 75 square metres; 199 households with more than 5 members lived in housing of between 75 and 90 square metres; 320 households with more than 5 members lived in housing of less than 90 square metres.

Tab. 4 - Evolution of foreigners' share by macro-groups of census sections in Bologna - years 2001, 2011, 2016

|	N/a sezioni censimento interessate	% stranieri residenti			Variazione		
		2001	2011	2016	2001 - 2011	2011 - 2016	2001 - 2016
Sezioni con ERP	212	4,20	14,95	19,32	10,75	4,37	15,12
Sezioni senza ERP	1.716	3,70	11,22	14,49	7,52	3,28	10,80
ERP <10%	1780	3,67	11,22	14,44	7,55	3,22	10,77
ERP ≥ 50%	59	5,31	19,28	25,92	13,97	6,65	20,61
ERP ≥ 60%	45	5,78	19,74	26,87	13,96	7,13	21,08
ERP ≥ 70%	35	5,45	20,82	29,36	15,38	8,53	23,91
ERP ≥ 80%	22	6,45	21,63	30,81	15,18	9,18	24,36
Totale sezioni utilizzate	*1.928*	*3,79*	*11,88*	*15,35*	*8,09*	*3,46*	*11,56*

Source: Maggio, Bergamaschi, 2020

It is not possible to distinguish between foreign-only and mixed households, but we know that non-natives were involved in 41% of cases in the first group, 55% of cases in the second group, 54% of cases in the third group and 48% of cases in the last group. Although Italians and foreigners appear to be "equally distributed" regarding the condition of overcrowding, it is possible to state that non-natives, in relation to the percentage of their presence in public housing (around 32% of the total number of ERP residents), are more likely to live in overcrowded households.

Conclusions

Since the 19th century, Bologna has been an attractive city, but today this attractiveness still remains an open challenge. The 'limit of city expansion' is not imperceptible as it was aimed by the 1889 Regulatory Plan, the suburbs are often well identifiable, with precise ecological or socioeconomic markers. The suburbs are certainly 'neater' than in the past, as hoped for by a more recent Regulatory Plan. Even if they do not always have their own 'centres of life' and present attractiveness for neighbouring populations, they are often equipped with the resources and all the services needed by the resident population. However, the territories present various elements of inhomogeneity.

The issue of housing remains one of the main challenges for the city, so much so that the New General Urban Plan (PUG), which came into force in September 2021, includes among its strategies that of 'habitability and inclusion' by identifying certain urban areas that are potentially fragile from an economic-income, demographic and social perspective[12]. The map of social vulnerability coincides, albeit partially, with the map of the diffusion of social housing, making it possible to emphasise precisely a link between the housing problem and fragility (Figure 2 and 3).

Fig. 2 - Map of Bologna - synthetic fragility index

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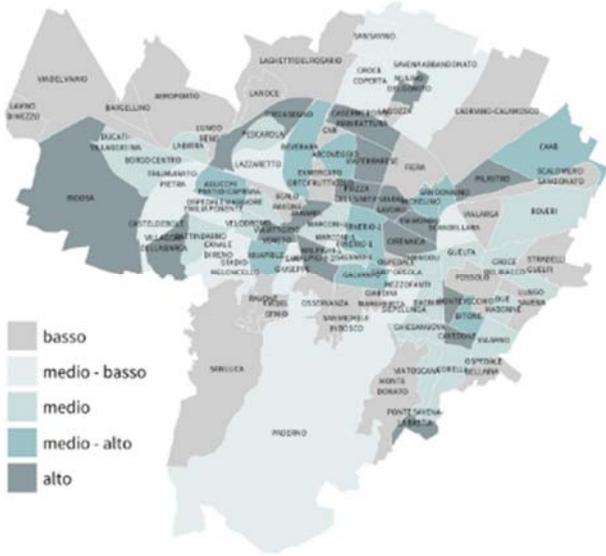
[12] Further information can be found at the following link https://sit.comune.bologna.it/alfresco/d/d/workspace/SpacesStore/ad08c574-b57a-4863-9deb-36fde7343c75/02_ApprofondimentiConoscitivi-l_DimensioneSociale_APPRweb.pdf.

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Fig. 3 - Map of Bologna - areas at risk of social marginalisation

Foreign populations turn out to be those on whom the greatest obstacles in accessing housing currently weigh most heavily. They are more precarious economically (registering lower incomes and ISEE values than natives), regarding the housing stock they have access to (often older, worse preserved and smaller in size than natives) and partially dependent on local public housing welfare.

All these dynamics risk contributing to the creation of a form of "structural housing exclusion" (Tosi 2017) and constitute forms of concentration of populations on the territory (Paone, Petrillo, 2016).

The way in which these populations find their place in the territory has inevitably an impact on the 'neighbourhood' system in which 'popular' increasingly risks becoming a summation of fragility and diversity in the contexts where populations coexist without necessarily coming into contact. In these spaces, it is evident how the urban question and the social question are intrinsically linked. The risk of peripheralisation, which implies the reproduction of segregation and marginalisation mechanisms within the urban space, is certainly one of the focal points.

In conclusion, we believe that the foreign population is subject to multiple forms of discrimination with respect to housing:

– Discriminations concerning housing traits, as seen above, recording a worsening of housing conditions from multiple perspectives;
– Territorial discrimination, understood as different access to the urban territory as a whole and over-representation in certain spatial micro-divisions.

On these aspects, there is clearly still ground for study, analysis and political-administrative action.

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Widespread hospitality and social inclusion of migrants: an opportunity to regenerate rural areas

by *Karen Urso*[1]

Introduction

Inner areas are described as monolithic spaces (Carrosio, 2013), characterized by progressive dynamics of depopulation, a stagnant economic structure, a lack of essential services and sometimes a loss of local identity. They are therefore perceived as areas in need of development interventions, unable to attract new populations (Elshof *et al*., 2017) and to retain old residents (Shucksmith, 2010). But the internal areas are also arenas of social innovation, spaces in which practices of resistance to the processes of modernization and industrialization take shape, and in which contrary migratory projects are carried out (Carrosio, 2013), capable of giving life to unprecedented transformations in social, economic, and environmental relationships. At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, phenomena on a global scale such as the capitalist restructuring of the agri-food sector and the development of new flexible technologies have turned inner areas into a destination for new migratory flows, which respond to the model of post-industrial migration (Pugliese, 1993). The diversity, the complexity, the multi-spatiality of the patterns of mobility (Corrado, 2020) crossing rural areas have needed the definition of new policies and practices for the social and spatial inclusion of migrants.

The aim of this article is to analyse the transformative dimension of international migration in rural areas, verifying the hypothesis that the adoption of inclusive housing strategies contributes to the regeneration of fragile areas. The focus will be on the reception paths for asylum seekers and international protection holders within the SPRAR project, highlighting how the adoption of a widespread and integrated reception model in the territory is

[1] Karen Urso, Department of Political and Social Sciences, University of Calabria.

able to trigger rural development processes. Two experiences of collective resistance and regeneration in rural areas, in the context of southern Italy, will be analyzed: the community of Camini (province of Reggio Calabria, in Calabria region) and the *Rete dei Piccoli Comuni del Welcome* (Welcome Network of small municipalities) (province of Benevento, in Campania region). These two experiences have been involved in institutional reception projects for refugees and asylum seekers coordinated by the Italian Ministry of Interior, in the framework of the Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati - SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), transformed in "Sistema di protezione per titolari di protezione internazionale e per minori stranieri non accompagnati" - SIPROIMI (Protection System for Beneficiaries of International Protection and for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors) in 2018 (D.L. N. 113/2018, and Law n. 132/2018), and in "Sistema di accoglienza e integrazione" - SAI (Reception and Integration System) in 2020 (D.L. n. 130/2020, and Law n. 173/2020). The arrival of foreign populations in these specific contexts, and their settlement in the community, has transformed the morphology and the social structures of rural areas. The article is organized in three parts. The first part presents the theoretical framework through a review of the literature on rural migration and on widespread reception. The second one presents the selected case studies and the third one a discussion on the impact of these projects on territorial redevelopment and regeneration processes. Conclusions follow.

1. The theoretical framework

1.1 Respatialisation of migration in rural areas: the emergence of New Immigration Destinations

Migration in rural areas is a relatively new phenomenon that has affected European rural areas since the end of the twentieth century. On the one hand, the processes of economic restructuring of agricultural work (Kasimis, Papadopoulos, 2005), on the other hand the emergence of geographical dispersion policies adopted by European states to share the burden of reception, have determined the arrival economic and informal workers to be employed in labor-intensive sectors, and refugees and asylum seekers in the most fragile areas of the country. The presence of the latter has aroused the interest of policy makers for the positive implications that these can trigger in terms of revitalization and social innovation of rural areas, capable of contrasting the processes of depopulation and degradation of rural areas. The small rural

communities involved have emerged as New Immigrant Destinations (Winders, 2014; McAreavey, 2012, 2017), as places affected by «migration to regions with little previous experience of immigration [...] concentrating on small towns and peripheral areas» (McAreavey, 2017, p. 7). These conditions make NIDs natural laboratories for investigating migrant settlement processes in twenty first century rural areas (Smith, 2005). The arrival of «new populations», of «unexpected groups in unexpected places» (Camarero, Oliva, 2016, p. 93), characterized by social, cultural, political, and economic diversity, has shaped rural NIDs into «rural melting-pot» (Oliva, 2010), transforming its composition and structure. The foreign presence within these areas «represent a social, political, economic, and cultural revolution» (Striffler, 2007, p. 676), and has redefined the rural space in many forms: from the creation of new jobs to the restructuring of the existing rural heritage and to the diversification of economic activities such as tourism, pastoralism, construction, and care services (Corrado *et al*., 2016; Osti, Ventura, 2012). Many authors agree in highlighting the benefits derived from the presence of refugees and asylum seekers in fragile areas, in particular for their contribution to the sustainability of public services and commercial activities (Corrado, 2020), in relation to the overcoming of the labor shortage, the tax revenue growth, the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Gretter, 2018), and to balance the population structure, that is getting older and older, giving rise to a «rural demographic refill» (Hedberg, Haandrikman, 2014, p. 129). Furthermore, the value of the properties and the requests for housing have increased through migrant entrepreneurship and the expansion of local markets (Søholt *et al*., 2018).

Although the presence of new inhabitants in rural areas is seen as an opportunity to revitalize fragile areas, the discontent of the residents, concerned about the arrival of asylum seekers, has culminated in a series of racist and violent attacks (Hubbard, 2005; McAreavey, 2017). Especially in small communities, the arrival of foreign population can question the sense of belonging to places, undermining the processes of cohesion (Milbourne, Kitchen, 2014). The absence of heterogeneity in rural spaces, the inexperience in welcoming, and the inadequacy of socio-economic inclusion paths, affect the ability of the countryside to accept differences (Leuba, 2017). Furthermore, spatial isolation of the foreign population, which is in many cases a consequence of the refugee decentralization policies of European governments, reinforce racism in rural areas (Blaschke, Torres, 2002). In particular, the temporary nature of the stay of refugees and asylum seekers, the limited access to targeted services, the poor knowledge of the language and the lack of autonomy constitute obstacles to the process of inclusion but contribute to

the creation of a new social stratification, intensified from the dynamics of exploitation and participation in the international division of labor.

1.2 Living in inner areas: the model of widespread hospitality

The increase in migratory flows in Italy has brought to the collapse of a system of services that is structurally inadequate and inefficient in terms of services and resources. Emergency approach have been therefore put in place, preferring security options that have fueled the processes of criminalization and discrimination. Unlike economic migrants who can, to a more or less flexible extent, choose where to settle, refugees and asylum seekers are constrained by allocation policies and, therefore, more dependent on a certain type of reception by the community (Kofler, Marcher, 2017). If on the one hand the situations of extreme poverty and discomfort in the housing sector are evident, on the other it is possible to trace local and bottom-up responses that have recognized refugees as opportunities. The housing issue is one of the most relevant spheres in the processes of marginalization and discrimination of the foreign population (Arbaci, 2008, 2019), however the phenomena of residentiality and of homelessness in relation to the foreign component still represents a marginal field of research and reflection (Bergamaschi, Maggio, 2020). If until a few years ago the housing question mainly concerned the natives, today it involves a plurality of heterogeneous subjects. In fact, during the last decade, throughout Europe the housing question has re-emerged on the political agenda as a strategic tool to support the inclusion of the foreign population and improve the standard of living (Arbaci, 2008); a new organizational approach has been therefore required to the request for hospitality. The use of widespread reception practices, aimed at experimenting with forms of autonomous living (in collective centers, apartments, or families), favors the possibility of activating more widespread processes of social integration, work placement and access to services. The path defined for Italy has evolved and perfected over the years, favoring a model integrated and widespread on the territory and oriented towards the social inclusion of migrants, as well as open to the widest collaboration with local realities, enhancing the planning capacity of the territories. The reference is to the SPRAR model, established by law 189/2002 for the use of the resources of the National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services and managed by the Ministry of the Interior. The SPRAR is made up of a network of local authorities that is committed to the implementation of "integrated reception" projects, with the aim of overcoming the distribution of food and

accommodation and instead guaranteeing the construction of real paths of autonomy and social inclusion. In 2018 it was replaced by the SIPROIMI model which changed its founding elements[2], in 2020 it was later replaced by the SAI, which restored the reception model for asylum and refugees, enabling beneficiaries to settle in the most fragile areas of the country through forms of decentralization of hospitality. The accommodation of the beneficiaries in the SIPROIMI/SAI network, during 2020, took place above all in the apartments (85%), often located within the inhabited center, and owned by the local authority or taken over in the private real estate market (Cittalia, 2021). The accommodation in apartments appear to be more functional since give rise to a specific self-organization of the beneficiaries, favoring the construction of relationships between migrant and local community and active involvement in local activities. This is still a residual practice, not fully capable of facing the present need in the country but is adopted both as a strategy for the inclusion of the foreign population and as a strategy of territorial requalification and revitalization. The Italian inner areas are in fact characterized from the high availability of abandoned and disused structures which, thanks to the involvement of public administrations, private individuals and third sector subjects, can be redeveloped and destined for reception. The adoption of models of collective management of common goods, recovery and re-functionalization of the abandoned structures conveyed by the reception have acted as a catalyst for the acquisition of new development trajectories.

2. Case studies and methodology

Methodologically, academic and grey literature about the phenomena of rural depopulation and on the social impact of immigration in rural areas has been consulted. Empirically the paper is based on a qualitative case study. Fifteen semi-structured interviews were conducted between 2018 and 2021 with privileged stakeholders: municipal administrators, welfare workers, refugees, economic migrants, residents. The interviews were conducted in Italian and the average length was about 45 minutes. All interviews were audio-recorder and transcribed for content analysis. The questions were defined with the aim of understanding how the settlement processes of refugees and asylum seekers in fragile areas contribute to the initiation of dynamics of regeneration and revitalization of the territory. Two experiences particularly

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[2] For further information see www.openpolis.it/esercizi/la-stretta-del-decreto-sicurezza-al-sistema-di-accoglienza/.

relevant have been analyzed. These have been identified in the context of Southern Italy, in areas traditionally of emigration, that have experienced immigration processes in recent decades. The selected cases lack structures, infrastructure, and income opportunities able to meet the needs of new inhabitants, but the arrival of new population has stimulated the activation of initiatives with the effect of encouraging development and revitalization processes (Corrado, D'Agostino, 2016). The use of the SPRAR model has made possible to experiment with multiple practices of widespread and integrated reception, in relation to the characteristics of the territories and the specific needs of the subjects received.

2.1 Eurocoop Jungi Mundu - Camini

Since the end of the 90s, the inner areas of Calabria, characterized by mass emigration processes, have been affected by the arrival of populations of different origins with beneficial effects on the processes of repopulation and the inversion of negative demographic dynamics. Among these, the municipality of Camini, a small village of about 300 inhabitants, located south of Calabria in the Locride region, has distinguished itself in the promotion of hospitality projects that have generated new social and economic transformations (Corrado, D'Agostino, 2016). Based on the positive experience of the Riace model[3], in 2011 the municipality of Camini launched the SPRAR project of widespread hospitality *Jungi Mundu*, managed by the social cooperative Eurocoop Servizi. The project currently hosts around 118 people, mainly from Syria, Eritrea, and Morocco, who populate the houses once abandoned, re-inhabit the places, and create spaces for economic and social exchange. The increase in population and consequently in the demand for housing for migrants has also encouraged the restructuring of the historic center of Camini, with the recovery of the abandoned and disused houses that the owners have granted free of charge. In order to recover the abandoned houses, a building cooperative involving both migrants and natives as members was created, which then gave rise to a widespread hotel for the promotion of solidarity tourism. The adoption of an approach based on housing self-management that encourages the autonomy of the beneficiaries has favored the processes of inclusion between old and new inhabitants. In fact, if in the first phase of reception the local population was not in favor of hosting the new inhabitants, thanks to the awareness campaign promoted by the

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[3] For further information see Corrado, D'Agostino, 2019; Sasso, 2018.

cooperative it was possible to establish solid social and economic relationships. Through the organization of community dinners, the organization of playful-recreational and sporting events, itinerant language learning paths, moments of socialization have been recreated. The reception of the foreign population has allowed the activation/reactivation of basic services suppressed following the depopulation, including the opening of the school and the post office, the restoration of the bus line, the establishment of a playroom, of an educational farm and of a baby parking service, the restoration of the bus line, and the opening of a bar and two restaurants. It has also stimulated the creation of excellent craftsmanship workshops (weaving, lutherie, ceramics, wood, etc.), which are created to encourage the professional training of adults, who work alongside local experts, and to support the school integration of minors. Thanks to some spontaneous collaborations and an effective interaction with the local population, many beneficiaries are currently employed permanently or seasonally. In order to diversify its funding resources, the cooperative also adheres to various programs. For example, the volunteer project promoted by Projects Abroad, a government organization based in London, manages and welcomes volunteers from all over the world. Furthermore, since 2018, Camini has joined the Erasmus+ and European Solidarity Corps projects, hosting young people and international students. In conclusion, the mobilization of different actors, the support of local administrations, have given centrality to the arrival of new populations who are recognized for their participation in a path for an inclusive and sustainable development.

2.2 Welcome Network of Small Municipalities

The project *Welcome Network of Small Municipalities* was promoted by the Caritas of Benevento (non-profit organization linked to the Catholic Church) and the Consortium *Sale della Terra* (Salt of the Earth) in 2017 in the Benevento province, Campania region, in order to network small Italian municipalities which, with a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants, are at risk of existence. It includes 32 member municipalities, some of which located in other regions[4], to date. The goal of the network is to respond across the board to the multifunctional needs of a diverse population through three

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[4] For example, the municipalities of Zocca (Modena), Feltre (Belluno), Tiggiano (Lecce), Roseto Val Fortore and Biccari (Foggia) and Giuggianello (Lecce), and other municipalities in the Molise region also joined the network.

development tools: the income for inclusion (Reddito di Inclusione, REI), which supports poor families in a path of out of poverty; the health budget (Budget di Salute), which provides for individualized therapeutic and rehabilitation projects, and the adhesion to the reception project (SPRAR). The adoption of a universalistic welfare system aims to respond simultaneously to the needs of the people hosted and the communities they welcome, in order to stem racism and xenophobia within the local communities that, following the State's abandonment, have closed themselves in localism dynamics, rejecting newcomers. Therefore, the network aims to contrast the exodus of population by transforming migration into opportunities for territorial development. Among the various activities, the network has recovered the uninhabited and abandoned structures in the historic centers, now used as private apartments for the beneficiaries of the SPRAR project. They are involved in social agriculture activities, cultivating abandoned lands, with vineyards and olive groves, for selling in local markets or by the Iper Conad retailer, and in re-functionalizing abandoned buildings, i.e., for tourism and care services. But are also involved in socio-cultural educational activities, craft workshops with therapeutic purposes, involvement in local parties or events, from sports competitions to volunteer days, from meetings in schools to gastronomic events. In addition to the creation of new income opportunities, the foreign presence has favoured the reactivation of community services, such as schools, commercial activities, and public services. To improve the living conditions of local inhabitants, the *Welcome Network of Small Municipalities* also promoted the creation of ten community cooperatives[5], engaged in local services and in the fields of social agriculture, tourism, crafts, and maintenance services. There are six community cooperatives[6] participating in the network to the present day; they share a mixed composition - migrants and natives - and the mission of stemming rural depopulation. Each of them is witness of innovative projects involving both natives and migrants, including and organizing local resources. Examples of these projects are the creation of *Borgo Sociale* which hosts nine young asylum seekers and refugees (in Roccabascerana), the management of a widespread hotel in Campolattaro, which involved ten guests of the local reception project, the organization of the *AlimenTiamo* small market which gave work to the local unemployed and to the asylum seekers and refugees of the reception project of Chianche. A new model of organization of production based on the initiative

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[5] For further information see Depedri, 2015; Borzaga, Sforzi, 2019.
[6] Among these Tralci di Vite in Chianche, Ilex in Pietrelcina, Cives in Campolattaro, Pietra Angolare in Petruro Irpino, ConLaboro in Sassinoro, and Tilia in Roccabascerana.

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and direct participation of civil society in the production of goods and services in the general interest of the community has been created around the network, which has generated opportunities for income and employment in the tourism, agriculture, and crafts sectors, benefiting the entire territory.

3. Discussion

The analysis of the experiences identified shows how the adoption of a widespread reception model increases the autonomy and social capital (Coleman, 1990) in the beneficiaries. Taking care of the management and care of the domestic space makes the beneficiaries autonomous and allows them to extend the network of personal relationships (friends, neighborhood, community), thus integration from a social point of view (Ferretti, 2017). This process is not limited to mere residency, but also involves paths of accompaniment, autonomy, and inclusion. It is therefore a process that involves both the physical dimension of space, but also the social and relational one in which migrants, encountering the receiving society, negotiate spaces for survival, autonomy, recognition. Adherence to the SPRAR, with a view to territorial development and growth, has also made it possible to redevelop the real estate assets and strengthen essential public services, interpreting these new presences as opportunities to trigger processes of revitalization not only of territorial contexts, in abandoned working and housing sectors, but also proposing new uses of public and collective spaces (Albanese, Fioretti, 2015). The cases presented have had a large availability of empty housing and the possibility of starting redevelopment interventions of existing spaces, promoting a path of environmental architectural enhancement. In order to counteract the depopulation of the historic centers, a dense series of parallel activities has been developed that attempt to recover the historical memory of the territory and its local knowledge, precisely to facilitate the interaction between natives and refugees and to promote the lasting integration of new arrivals. The widespread reception model, which guarantees a dignified housing arrangement, even if only temporary, is opposed to situations of temporary segregation which tend to resist and to naturalize over time. Despite the growing presence of available places, many refugees and asylum seekers reside in informal and dilapidated settlements, without essential services such as clean water, bathrooms, and electricity. However, is important to highlight that accommodation in rural communities does not automatically lead to the initiation of social inclusion processes, rather the exclusive hous-

ing integration can determine the self-exclusion of the new inhabitants, causing potential conflicts with the natives and ghettoization processes (Membretti, Quassoli, 2015) in which migrants are segmented and excluded in "ethnic niches" (Membretti, Lucchini, 2018). The processes of insertion that are triggered in the most fragile areas allow us to think of these presences as opportunities, but it is necessary to understand to what extent small communities are willing to host. Furthermore, rural spaces risk taking the form of "places of transit" (Kasimis *et al*., 2003), given the temporary nature of migration and the short-term presence of beneficiaries (Hedberg, Haandrikman, 2014). The simple transfer of a foreign population or migrants into an empty context, with vacant spaces and available jobs, does not automatically imply a process of successful inclusion and a regeneration strategy, since these are subjectivities that define themselves and can continually redefine themselves, and not necessarily tied to a permanent space.

Conclusion

The objective of the article was to analyze the processes of integration of the foreign population in rural areas, as a strategy of territorial redevelopment and regeneration. The actions promoted by the local actors have redefined and reorganized the places and spaces for production and socializing. The presence of new migrant inhabitants has started processes of local transformation, inversion in demographic trends, reactivation of the local economy, establishment of new partnerships and institutional agreements acting as a catalyst for social services and for the acquisition of new trajectories of development. The experience of widespread reception is a positive project example of how the collaboration between public and private actors has encountered, with innovative solutions, the reception of asylum seekers and refugees, despite a nationally managed policy that is still managed today in emergency way. However, some critical elements referred to SPRAR model should be highlighted. At the end of the stay in the SPRAR, most of the guests are forced to migrate again, and to earn a living elsewhere because at the end of the project there is no guarantee of successful socio-working placement. Further difficulties concern the management and bureaucratization of the reception project. The fragility of the contexts of insertion, associated with the absence of a shared orientation for the development of internal areas through the promotion of refugee's reception, has led to discussing the sustainability of the SPRAR model (Papadopoulos *et al*., 2013). However, studies show that SPRAR can be linked to local development paths,

involving above all the community, and triggering participatory processes. It therefore seems useful to highlight the need for integration between interventions and social services and direct involvement of the beneficiaries, who become an active part of the inclusion process. In conclusion, due to the positive results that have ensued, the new inhabitants are understood as the authors of a «model of (re)population of fragile areas» (Annunziata, Fioretti, 2015).

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Genoa's Biscione from the 1960s until today. From a stigmatised neighbourhood to a place where "it is nice to live"

by *Francesco Gastaldi, Federico Camerin*[1]

Introduction

This research explains the connection between the migration processes after 1945 and housing issue in the Italian city of Genoa. In particular, we deepen the experience of the Ina-casa Forte Quezzi neighbourhood in Genoa - the so-called "Biscione"- from its construction in the 1960s until today and address the main urban and social changes occurred over time.

Following WWII western Europe faced critical housing shortages, brought about by destruction of war years, as well as high marriage rates and rapid expansion of urban population (such as population migration from the countryside to urban areas) and incomes. Consequently, the mass provision of social rental housing units represented the primary means for resolving housing welfare issues across much of western European governments (Wendt, 1962; Diefendorf, 1989).

In Italy, the State was the economic programmer for housing sector through the experience of the so-called "Ina-casa plan"[2]. This plan was regarded as a sort of Keynesian mechanism for the Italian economic development following the Christian Democratic party motto «not all proletari-

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[1] Francesco Gastaldi, Iuav University of Venice; Federico Camerin, researcher Margarita Salas, Universidad UVA de Valladolid-Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM), Grupo de Investigación en Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Sostenibilidad (GIAU+S), Valladolid-Madrid. This work is the result of the strict collaboration between the authors. Sections 3, 4 and conclusion are attributed to Francesco Gastaldi, introduction, 2 and 5 to Federico Camerin and section 1 to both Authors. Federico Camerin has participated as co-author within the research project "Urban Regeneration as a new version of Urban Renewal Programmes. Achievements and failures". This project is co-funded by the Spanish Ministry of Universities in the framework of the Recovery, Transformation and Resilience Plan, by the European Union - NextGenerationEU and by the Universidad de Valladolid.

[2] Ina stands for *Istituto nazionale delle assicurazioni* (national institute for insurance).

ans, but all owners» (Pombeni, 1979, p. 149). The national housing plan was launched by the Ministry of labour and social welfare Amintore Fafani in 1949 on the basis of three regulations: the Law no. 43 of 28th February 1949; the Regulations of the Presidential Decree no. 340 of 22nd June 1949, and the Regulations of Presidential Decree no. 436 of 4th July 1949 (Astengo, 1951; Istituto Luigi Sturzo, 2002). This plan aimed at boosting employment through the building of social housing neighbourhood units according to a series of instructions contained in specific Modernism-based manuals (Vv.Aa., 1953; Campomolla, Vittorini, 2003), but without any connection with the implementation of the Italian Town Planning Law no. 1150 of 17th August 1942. The Ina-casa plan lasted 14 years and expired in 1963, for a total expenditure of 936 billion Italian Liras. The main result of this policies were the opening of approximately 20,000 construction sites, the employment of 41,000 workers per year in the building sector, and new 355,000 housing units (Beretta Anguissola, 1963). The impacts of the plan, however, were negative in terms of living condition due to insufficient amenities and public equipment provided to the social housing neighbourhoods. Despite this, Ina-casa plan had been claimed to furnish better social housing neighbourhoods than the successive experiences of state-led interventions in the field of social housing (Acocella, 1980, pp. 30-33, 77-113, 183-197; Di Biagi, 2001; Ginsborg 1989, Sotgia, 2012).

The causes of the Ina-casa plan's negative impacts found their raison d'être in the post-WWII reconstruction phase (Campos Venuti, 1993a, pp. 7-16). During this period real estate market forces - builders, contractors, entrepreneurs, landowners and real estate companies - drove the urban development patterns of the Italian cities and strongly influenced national and local decision-making process. Speculative projects based on massive waves of urbanisation without paying particular attention to improving the living condition of citizens (Campos Venuti, 1967) made uglier and less inhabitable the Italian cities (Cederna, 1956; De Lucia, 1992). The main results of this urban development period were the displacement of low-income classes out of the historic centres, the vertiginous increase in the urban rent of central areas for the emergent middle class and the growing city tertiarisation (Campos Venuti, 1993b). In addition, the economic gap between Southern and Northern Italy pushed an enormous displacement of people towards the north-western industrial triangle enclosed by the cities of Genoa, Milan and Turin, usually being housed in new Ina-casa neighbourhood units (Ascoli, 1979). The peripheral social housing neighbourhoods dealt thus with the arrival of millions both from the country and the South, acting as a trigger for the extensive urbanisation (Indovina, 1972; Cervellati, 1976).

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1. Methodology

Our work comprises seven sections. In the Introduction we provide the explanation of the post-WWII national context in terms of social housing. The third section is dedicated to the migratory process occurred in Genoa and the social housing needs after 1945. The fourth section deals with the making process of the Biscione in relation to Genoa's urban development patterns. The fifth section reviews the recent studies released on the Biscione and the sixth section reports the results of the questionnaire to the Biscione's residents. Eventually, the conclusion summarises the findings of the inquiry and delineate the research gap to fill in the next future.

The methodology relies on two phases. First, the literature review of the Genoa's social housing issues based on archival research carried out at both Genoa's City Council and Regional territorial building company[3] headquarters. Second, a specific fieldwork with the use of questionnaires filled in by the Biscione's residents in the early 2021. Two are the main objectives of this work. On the one hand, to discover the main features of the Biscione projects in terms of architectural, urban planning and social aspects. On the other hand, to partially fill the lack of knowledge about the Genoa's Biscione making process and understand the metamorphosis of this social-housing neighbourhood over the decades.

2. Migratory processes and the housing question in the post-WWII Genoa

As a pillar of the industrial triangle, Genoa attracted many citizens after 1945 even though their accommodation was utterly unsatisfactory. According to the housing inquiry commissioned by the Genoa City Council's Social and Labour Studies Office to the sociologist Luciano Cavalli (1957, 1964), in the early 1950s about 5,600 people lived in improper and neglected flats, sometimes shared by several families.

This inquiry found that many immigrants were living in shacks, ruins, basements and bombed-out buildings within the historic centre (around 1,400). These immigrants occupied all the available space: attics, basements and even houses destined for demolition in extremely precarious economic and hygienic conditions (Cavalli, 1964, pp. 68, 70, 72). New Genoa's inhabitants came from the Southern Italy - mainly from Calabria,

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[3] The so-called Arte - Azienda regionale territoriale per l'edilizia.

Sicily and Sardinia regions -, the central Apennine hinterland, the lower Piedmont and many immigrants were refugees from Venezia Giulia and the former Italian colonies (Eritrea, Yugoslavia, Libya and Somalia).

Cavalli's inquiry showed that the 53% of immigrants in Genoa in the period 1952-1956 were born in northern Italy and only 29% came from southern and insular Italy. A total of 391 families comprising 1,391 people were living in ruins and wartime ruins on which they have built wooden and metal huts, being the 25% of population living in Genoa's slums. The inquiry proved that almost all of them were not Genoese, but southern immigrants arrived in the post-WWII period. They housed in slums mainly for sociological and cultural integration reasons. First, a total of 67% of southern heads of households could not rent real houses because they were too expensive. Second, southern immigrants were often poorly integrated or even rejected by the indigenous population and therefore they tended to have social relations only within them. Third, and consequently, even when immigrants can afford renting a house, they remained in the slums.

The social exclusion dynamics involving southern immigrants occurred while Genoa was developing and modernising into a metropolis reaching an all-time high of 848,121 residents on 31st December 1965. In this context, the attempt to overcome the existing social precariousness relied on the building of new social-housing neighbourhoods based on the Ina-casa plan. In 1966, the approval of the detailed plan - "piano particolareggiato d'esecuzione" in Italian - for Via Madre di Dio led to the destruction of an entire district to make way for a business centre. The urban renewal operation consequently expelled the existing population that was partially relocated to the new social housing interventions. The most relevant social housing units during the post-WWII period were the 1950-53 Bernabò-Brea, the 1953 Mura degli Angeli, the 1950-54 Porta degli Angeli, and the mid-1960s Forte Quezzi neighbourhoods. These interventions provided real solutions for housing low-income classes and catalysed the city growth towards unbuilt areas (Moriconi, Rosadini, 2004, p. 37).

3. The Ina-casa Forte Quezzi neighbourhood in Genoa ("*Biscione*")

The Ina-casa Forte Quezzi neighbourhood is known as "Biscione" due to its shape resembling a large grass snake. The project was led and designed by architects Luigi Carlo Daneri and Eugenio Fuselli and carried out as part of the second seven-year period of the Ina-casa plan. This residential settlement consisted of about 850 flats arranged in three three-storey and

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two six-storey long buildings[4]. This social-housing neighbourhood covered approximately 33 hectares of greenfield hills of the Bisagno river valley, being located in the Genoa's northern periphery bordering Marassi district. The intervention aimed at accommodating the largest number of poor people with precarious housing conditions in low-cost land (Patrone, 1982). Moreover, this project marked a pivotal way to evaluate both the insertion of new buildings in a fragile orographic conditions like the Bisagno river valley's morphology and the landscape perspective and perception of the snake-shaped buildings (Porcile, 2018, p. 131). Eugenio Fuselli, a Genoese urban planner working at that time at the Faculty of Engineering and one of the Biscione designers, explained in the essay *The longer housing* - "La casa più lunga" in Italian - the relationship of the Biscione with the existing landscape (Fuselli, 1968). He highlighted the relevance of the buildings' shape and put emphasis on the fact all the buildings curve naturally into the folds of the basin and the reliefs: whichever way one may look at them, they seemed to be much shorter than they really were. This was demonstrated by the comparison he made with Ratti Fortress, situated in the background of Genoa at a short distance from Quezzi. Ratti Fortress seemed much longer than Quezzi Fortress, even though it is shorter, because it is an entirely rectilinear body.

The neighbourhood was designed between 1956 and 1957 and built between 1960 and 1968 - being managed from 1963 by Ges.ca.l.[5] - and accommodated approximately 4,500 people (Sirtori, 2013, p. 93). The social housing unit was functionally autonomous and supposed to provide the following amenities and services: a neighbourhood centre, a market, a nursery and primary school, a church, sports facilities, entertainment halls, and green spaces[6].

A great collective euphoria pushed ahead the building of these neighbourhoods for three main reasons. First, the large amount of public financing allowed the realisation of important works in a city totally unprepared to receive such a massive influx of people as stated by Cavalli's inquiries (1957 and 1964). The need to accommodate large number of people and the influence of Modern Movement theories were behind the large size of these

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[4] The buildings were named "A", "B", "C", "D" and "E".

[5] The 1963-to-1973 Ges.ca.l. - the acronym stands for "Gestione case per i lavoratori"- was the state entity intended for the workers' housing management.

[6] Nevertheless, not all these features were provided once finished the buildings works in 1968. The community centre was built in the early 1980s on the site of a building that had partially collapsed during the catastrophic flood of 7-8 October 1970. The school was built in the 1990s and the church was inaugurated only in 1997 in the place envisaged by architect Daneri, but the latter was built with a different architectural style.

interventions. The idea of concentrating thousands of people in a single container derived indeed from the architectural visions of Daneri's ideal references, especially Le Corbusier's Plan Obus in Algiers (Sirtori, 2013, p. 97; Paone, 2009, p. 26).

Second, the building of the Biscione[7] should be contextualised also in the euphoria the post-war "economic miracle" (Ornati, 1963), a season of growth towards the logics of an unlimited development in which Genoa was a relevant pillar. In the 1960s the city did not yet enter into the crisis that would later affect the more traditional economic sectors, largely linked to the Italian state holdings (Doria, 1997). During the boom period, the city's economic situation was particularly prosperous: the port was at the core of the Mediterranean trades, and the metalworking, steel and shipbuilding industries were booming thanks to substantial investments by Iri[8].

Third, this period underwent to a huge real estate speculation on the Liguria coast overwhelmed by the boom in mass tourism that required the construction of second homes. It was a speculation also in terms of housing in the city. In the light of the spending limits for acquiring the availability of the areas to develop the Ina-casa plan, the roads leading to the public housing estates on the hills had boosted the wild development of large blocks of flats, as it happened in the southern surroundings of the Biscione (Gabrielli, 1971, p. 11-15)[9] (see Fig. 1).

Bruno Gabrielli addressed the issues of the city expansion of that period, being mostly related to the uncontrolled residential booms and the underestimation of the needs in terms of public amenities and facilities (Gabrielli, 1963, 1969, 1971 and 1978). The first comprehensive town planning tool, the 1959 Urban development plan - *Piano regolatore generale* -, was blamed to be ineffective in managing the waves of migration and the socio-cultural and economic transformations related to the massive urbanisation process. In his writings, Bruno Gabrielli analytically highlighted the many mistakes and missed opportunities for creating a healthier and more liveable city, as well as the contradictions of a tumultuous urban development. The implementation of the 1959 Urban development plan (Comune di Genova, 1959) resulted in a low quality of life in the suburbs, a lack of space for leisure and sport, a weak coordination between municipal policies and port

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[7] See Bonelli (1959) and Daneri (1959) for a debate in the magazine *L'architettura, croniche e storia*.

[8] The Institute for the industrial reconstruction - *Istituto per la ricostruzione industriale* in Italian - was created in 1933 and dismissed in 2000 (Saraceno, 1953).

[9] Urban planner that have dealt with the Genoa's urban development in the second half of the 20th century. He was also Emeritus Professor at the local University and town planning councillor between 1997 and 2006 (Gastaldi, Storchi, 2018).

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development choices, and a coexistence between industrial activities and housing. In the ever-growing city, most of the new buildings were erected where they should not be, i.e. on the banks of streams and even on steep and landslide-prone terrain. The lack of adequate runoff led consequently several Genoa's rivers to burst their banks and have disastrous consequences in the 1970 flood (Gabrielli, 1971). The 1959 Urban development plan was considered an inadequate tool for planning the city development in the early 1960s, but the City Council adopted the modification of the new plan only in 1976, being successively approved by Liguria Region only in 1980.

Fig. 1 - The result of the uncontrolled real estate development in the Biscione surroundings. Large condominiums are located in the southern part of the Biscione's building E

Source: photo by F. Gastaldi (2021)

4. The Biscione today. Towards the rediscovering of an underestimated neighbourhood?

The need of an in-depth inquiry on the current state of the Biscione neighbourhood relies on the findings of a number of studies published in the last 20 years along with the national interdisciplinary workshop "Bor-

derline" carried out in 2013 (Bertagna, Giberti, 2015). The main findings that propelled a new in-depth inquiry on Biscione are the following.

First, the existence of a comfortable built environment where social life is possible. More than 10 years ago, Bucci and Lucchini (2010, p. 52) claimed that «here lies the secret of Forte Quezzi. In spite of the most recent real estate speculation and the services never completed, the five residential units do not constitute a peripheral enclave that turns its back on the historic centre. Being accurately integrated in the pre-existing landscape, the Biscione neighbourhood constitutes a possible new way of living in Genoa»[10]. According to Porcile (2018), the relationship between the Biscione and its surroundings is the result of very precise design choices. The qualities of the original project for housing the poor, mostly the peculiar panoramic relationship with the landscape, ended up in a liveable place (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 - A panoramic view of the Biscione's building A towards the city centre and the sea

Source: photo by F. Gastaldi (2021)

Second, this neighbourhood changed over time the bad reputation that still accompanies other social housing units in Genoa, especially those built

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[10] Translated from Italian to English by the Authors.

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in the 1980s, such as Pegli 3 neighbourhood. However, it is true that the delays in the implementation of a number of public amenities and equipment - plus the absence of many of the pedestrian paths that would have made the Biscione surrounding green areas a real urban park - contributed to aggravate existing social issues and the gradual abandonment by the residents (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 - The relationship between the Biscione's building E and the surrounding green spaces

Source: photo by F. Gastaldi (2021)

As to social issues, petty crime was widespread in the 1980s and Biscione was associated with negative connotations like other large social housing neighbourhoods. As to the depopulation, Biscione's inhabitants decreased from 3,800 in the early 1970s to 2,700 in the 1990s, and nowadays the residents are presumably 2,000. Despite this, the survey "Empowerment/cantiere Italia" (Scotini, 2004) discovered that the Biscione's inhabitants had a good perception of the social environment, approximately 70% of the flats were owned by the residents, and the presence of immigrants was very small but well integrated with the rest of the community. In an interview with the president of the Bassa Val Bisagno Borough Massimo Fer-

rante[11], the Biscione turned out to be rediscovered by the children and grandchildren of the original residents. Their life choice was settling in the neighbourhood and this intergenerational change has gradually developed a strong sense of belonging and community along with a higher presence of young families than in other sectors of the city. These assumptions are not confirmed by nor public inquiry by local authorities or academic studies. The lack of knowledge about the changes occurring in the area arise many questions around these social changes and the apparent reconfiguration of the Biscione's identity if compared to the 1980s and to other Genoa's social-housing neighbourhoods.

5. The inquiry

A first step towards a deeper understanding of the current social situation in the Biscione was carried out with the help of the local cooperative "Coop Il Biscione"[12] in March 2021. We conducted an empirical research on the basis of an online survey that Coop Il Biscione helped us to submit to 40 residents of the Biscione (Tab. 1)[13]. The 40 residents were asked to answer "Yes" (Y), "No" (N) or "I don't' know" (D-K) to the following questions:
1. do you find any inequalities and discrimination in finding a proper housing unit in the municipality of Genoa?
2. Do you find any inequalities and discrimination in finding a proper housing unit in the Biscione?
3. Are you satisfied with the forms of public intervention to improve the neighbourhood quality in the last two decades?
4. Did any episode of informal housing take place in the last five years in the Biscione?
5. Did ensuring home ownership seem to be an appropriate response to the social issues of the Biscione?

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[11] Interview by Francesco Gastaldi on 16 March 2018. The diminution of Biscione residents has followed the wider dynamics of depopulation of the neighbourhood from the 1970s until today (Comune di Genova, 2018, pp. 174 and 228).

[12] Created in 1981 as community service for children, in 2018 it has become a cooperative aiming to manage social, health and educational care services, as well as commercial, agricultural, industrial or service activities aimed at the employment of disadvantaged people.

[13] The interviewees' personal information is classified (the interviewer had no information on which stakeholder group they belong, their age, gender...) in compliance with privacy (European law on privacy, the so-called General Data Protection Regulation, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32016R0679).

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6. Do you think that the Biscione has positively influenced the formation of identity, sense of community and emotional and social well-being?
7. Is Biscione today a "safe" neighbourhood?
8. Are non-residents coming to experience the Biscione in their free-time?
9. Would you define the experience of living in the Biscione a positive during the pandemic?

Tab. 1 - Results of the interviews. Elaboration by F. Camerin (2021)

Answers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Y	32	3	10	0	27	33	38	4	30
N	7	35	21	31	6	4	2	12	6
D-K	1	2	9	9	7	3	0	24	4

This inquiry shows a positive perception of the Biscione's residents about living in this neighbourhood for economic reasons and the quality of the built environment. According to the statistics provided by the real estate portal "Mercato Immobiliare[14], the historic and urban centre are more expensive in comparison with the Biscione neighbourhood. By August 2021, the average price for housing sale is 1,896 €/m² and 2,322 €/m² in the historic and urban centre, 1,589 €/m² in Genoa and 1,176 €/m² in the Biscione neighbourhood. Despite being a place of petty crime in the 1980s and 1990s, today the neighbourhood is though as a safe place, greener with respect to other areas of the city and with an excellent panoramic view. A relevant factor for this new perspective may has been the progressive sale of the residential units that has seemingly contributed to solve the social issues. The intergenerational change - which is still an understudied phenomenon - may have played an important role in the formation of a new identity and sense of community, as well as the abundant green spaces may have positively influenced the emotional and social well-being since the 2020 pandemic outbreak.

Conclusion

Genoa, as well as other Italian cities, was the scene for the implementation of numerous Ina-casa neighbourhoods. However, these social-housing interventions resulted in "peripheral islands" in economic, social and urban

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[14] Data found in www.immobiliare.it/mercato-immobiliare/liguria/genova/.

terms mainly due to the negative post-WWII city-making process patterns based on speculation and uncontrolled urbanisation.

The Biscione neighbourhood stands out today as a good result of the social housing policies in Genoa and in the whole country after 1945, even though regarded by many to be a "building monster". Although the planning and implementation of the Biscione was based more on the logic of speculation and on providing an immediate response to the housing emergency even at the cost of its quality, the perception of the Biscione has positively changed over time. In addition, the buildings of the Forte Quezzi neighbourhood continue to represent a lively and vital part of the city, also thanks to the inclusion of social functions that have improved its community life[15].

The observations of the studies published in recent years and our recent fieldwork and interviews may be the proper base to develop further economic, sociological and urban analyses on the Biscione. An in-depth understanding of the positive change that Biscione is experiencing can be achieved by public institutions-fostered - including academia - surveys. These studies should be aimed to pinpoint the way of life of Genoa's citizens, including social-housing neighbourhoods' residents, to identify the possibility of a phenomenon of 'gentle gentrification'[16], and to frame the opportunities to face the negative trends in terms of socio-economic attractiveness compared to the other two cities belonging to the Italian industrial triangle, i.e. Milan and Turin (Clark, Moonen, Nunley, 2018). The hypotheses to investigate may be the following: Is a phenomenon of social change happening in the Biscione? Is this social change traumatic if we consider the city as a socially just space? How did this process of gradual expulsion of the Biscione's traditional inhabitants evolve and consolidate over time? Is this social change definitively reconfiguring the neighbourhood into a new identity?

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[15] Testified also by the video that won the "Living landscapes" - *Paesaggi abitati* in Italian - competition held at the 2014 Venice Architecture Biennial that documented the current status of the Biscione neighbourhood (https://vimeo.com/128093228).

[16] A socioeconomically inclusive urban transformation (Larsen, Hansen, 2008).

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Resilience & adaptation: social housing and mixité in post-Covid Milan

by *Silvia Mugnano, Alessandra Terenzi*[1]

Introduction

The city of Milan embodies the neo-liberal model of the most advanced contemporary metropolises, based on images of creativity (Florida, 2002), competitiveness, attractiveness and urban marketing (Kavazatzis, Ashworth, 2007). Such an urban model, however, often implies the growth of dangerously unfair social dynamics. The housing conditions and the dynamics of territorial localization represent a central asset to initiate and consolidate any process of integration and rooting for every citizen. However, in Italy the high costs of the private market, combined with the weakness of adequate public housing policies still anchored to outdated models, make access to the housing market often inaccessible for many social and economically fragile categories.

Social housing is one of the feeble responses to housing needs for the most vulnerable social groups and also for those identified by literature as belonging to the "gray area". The aspect of innovation that characterizes many of the social housing projects seems to have been a capital and an important resource for the local contexts in the pandemic period.

In particular, this contribution aims to study the capacity for "reaction" and "transformation" that such realities have developed following the explosion of the Covid-19 pandemic. The need for physical distancing and isolation in one's own homes have led to reflect, not only in the theoretical field, but also in that of public and private policies. Real estate developers seem to have grasped this issue very well - especially on the need to promote the quality of living - and the experience gained in the field of social housing could help in this sense. Through two milanese case studies, the residential

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[1] Silvia Mugnano, Alessandra Terenzi, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca.

and multifunctional complex of the Barona Village and the solidarity housing complex in Via Carbonia, the contribution will analyze how, in a short time and thanks to the long experience in the reading of different needs, the transformative capacity and the strong relationship with the territory, these social and solidarity projects have managed, better than many others, to respond to the pandemic emergency.

1. Methodological approach

The methodological approach developed for this research and the output data used for the critical analysis are the result of a qualitative survey carried out between July and October 2021, focused on the two districts under analysis: the residential complex of the Barona Village and the solidarity housing complex of Via Carbonia 3, both in Milan. The survey, particularly focused on the quality of living, made it possible to understand to what extent the projects can effectively respond to the targets' different needs and to different levels of housing satisfaction. The research has been elaborated through the realization of 28 semi-structured interviews (19 for Carbonia and 9 for Barona), addressed to both significant and privileged actors. In the case of the significant actors, the target concerned the inhabitants who live in the complexes, as well as other citizens who use some of the spaces and services offered by the two places; such interviews have involved people belonging to different age groups as well as inhabitants coming from different nationalities. The privileged actors, on the other hand, concerned social workers belonging to the two cooperatives of reference for both projects: La Cordata, in the case of the Barona Village and DAR Casa regarding Carbonia.

The interviews were joined by numerous on-site missions, workfields, participatory observation activities, as well as on-site collection of photographic, audio and video documentation. In the case of Carbonia, more specifically, being an extremely young and recent project, the research activity has also concerned a monitoring activity of the consistency between the originally set goals and the results achieved during this first year of the Carbonia3 project.

2. Social housing as a new way for community living

Public housing in Italy, which is currently one of the main housing policy tools aimed at meeting the housing needs of disadvantaged people, represents only 4% of the total housing stock, compared to 36% of the Netherlands,

22% of the UK and 20% of the European average (International Observatory for Cohesion and Social Inclusion - OCIS, 2019). According to Federcasa Nomisma data, 4.781 million families (about 18.5% of Italian families) live in rented homes, of which only 695,000 in public housing. This lack depends on two factors: on the one hand, on few investments made in this sector (from 1951 to 2001 about one million ERP homes were built, a drop in the ocean if we compare it with the national building production). On the other hand, the Italian choice at the beginning of the 90s (law 560/1993) to follow the neo-liberal policies already promoted by other countries with advanced economies, such as the British *Right to Buy* policy, strongly desired by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (Jones, Murie, 2006), led to a selling and alienation plan of the public social housing stock which was not compensated by a new building plan. It is estimated that about 180,000 social housing units (ERS) were built between 1993 and 2008, about only one third of the sold assets with a loss of 22% of the previous assets (Federcasa, Censis, 2008).

In this context, the social private sector in collaboration with the public sector have developed, in some cases, an innovative intervention plan, proposing accessible housing solutions for an ever increasing demand of social categories considered fragile.

The reality of social housing in Italy takes place in a basically weak housing welfare context. In fact, compared to other international contexts, in which this sector is complementary to that of public housing, in the Italian case it has overlapped and replaced the latter, especially in terms of economic resources, promoting a disinvestment of the public actor in favor of the private social sector and failing to answer to the increasing number of families in housing emergency.

In this context, social housing experiences have begun to develop in an increasingly important way, even if still quantitatively residual, especially in Milan (and, more in general, in its region). This work has shown how many experiences of social housing are strongly contributing to develop a new model of inclusive living aimed at creating an active citizenship based on an idea of home which, going beyond walls and beyond the limited physical boundaries, can primarily express an openness to shared spaces, activities and services, based on the construction of relationships of conviviality, trust and solidarity.

In general, it can be argued that in the context of social housing experiences, although not without criticalities, a different attention has been paid to the multidimensionality of living, through a different design of individual and shared spaces and a greater attention to the creation and promotion of social mix policies. The *space of living* becomes then *a place for community*

living, where the inhabitants can share and exchange with each other. This different approach of living seems to have become an interesting and transformative lever in the pandemic emergency phase.

3. Two Social Housing experiences in Milan: experimentation laboratory

The research focuses on two social housing projects in Milan - Carbonia 3 and Villaggio Barona - both aimed at pursuing new opportunities, policies and actions in the field of housing policies.

The project of Carbonia 3 was born in response to a call launched by the Municipality of Milan in 2019 and won by the cooperative Dar Casa, aimed at offering a temporary response (maximum eighteen months) to the growing needs of families in housing emergency in Milan, often coming from previous evictions.

The building, made available by the Municipality, is adjacent to the Quarto Oggiaro district, a highly problematic suburb: of the forty-eight total accommodations, each of about 40 square meters, thirty-two are intended for families in housing emergency, while the remaining sixteen are directly assigned for short periods of stay by Dar Casa to young people between 20 and 35 years old, characterized by students and precarious workers.

The Carbonia project experiments a coexistence model based on the principle of social mixité, aimed at triggering an active relationship between the different categories of inhabitants for family composition (singles, couples, families), generation, origins, traditions, religions and customs. The young inhabitants, paying a controlled fee, should act as "active guests" and community activators, promoting animation, solidarity and social cohesion activities in the common spaces, involving families and children.

The second case is the Barona Village, born in the early 2000s by the Cassoni Foundation. Inside the village there is a building known as "Zumbini 6", a residence with 80 beds (including 66 rooms and 4 apartments) for medium-short stays, managed by the cooperative La Cordata and characterized by multiple activities, functions and projects. Among them, a university residence for students that, enjoying a controlled fee, are engaged in several social activities; a project for young people between 18 and 21 years old in charge of social services; a social hospitality project aimed at people and families who are in a state of housing emergency; a project for the reception of mothers with dependent children and a solidarity tourist accommodation facility. All these activities and residential functions are unified by the presence of several common areas, (such as the kitchen, the games room, the

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study room, the laundry room, the garden and an amphitheater, a coworking area, bar restaurant etc), working as strategic tools of sharing and interaction between the different guests of the structure.

During the first phase of the pandemic emergency, both Carbonia and Zumbini lost a major part of their guests, as it happened in many other receptive structures but, in both cases, due to their particular nature, defined by such high number of activities of social promotion, their capacity and time for conversion was immediate, transforming these places of living a precious resource for the whole city.

4. Adaptation and resilience in the first emergency phase

During the pandemic, as well as in the difficult path of building a new urban dimension post-pandemic, the social housing sector, unlike other consolidated urban realities, has demonstrated from the beginning a resilient approach, characterized by a marked adaptive and rethinking capacity, able to answer to new urgent needs and acting as a real social heritage, as well as an effective tool for listening to the territory, becoming an important resource for the whole city with regard to temporary accommodation.

In the case of Carbonia, becoming a hub to host the quarantine of people normally housed in collective structures; in the case of the Barona, by starting a new reception project called "Zumbimbi", aimed at hosting minors between 6 and 14 years old whose parents were positive to Coronavirus, rather than children who lived in communities or contexts where it was not possible to create situations of protection.

One of the several lessons highlighted by this pandemic, is the general low adaptability of spaces (as for the vaccination hubs which, after the peak in attendance, have quickly become semi-deserted places), while such contexts have shown a strong ability of to catch the different needs during the pandemic, not only in the first emergency phase but, rather, in all the different pandemic phases.

Furthermore, such experiences do not stop only at the temporary housing reception of social fragile groups in pandemic times, but they also played a central role for other aspects, as for the provision of new work spaces for companies affected by a process of spatial re-scaling after the pandemic, due to the staff reduction or to the increasingly widespread practice of remote work. Such experiences of social housing have also used their green areas, transforming them into community gardens for the neighborhood.

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The Barona Village, in particular, has enhanced its open spaces and green areas which, since the past year, have begun to welcome an increasing number of people, including many more fragile inhabitants such as the elderly of the neighborhood. In this historical phase, in fact, in which the enhancement of open spaces represents one of the main strategic objectives of regeneration of the post-Covid metropolis, the green spaces of the Barona Village take on an increasingly central and strategic value, not only for a local range of users, but also for a much wider range through several new events, even in continuity with what was previously interrupted, but enriched and renewed, such as outdoor theatrical performances, collective gym, care activities of the social garden, as well as chess and yoga courses.

Among the various proactive and resilient reactions triggered by the pandemic, the Barona Village also participated in the Lombardy Region call to obtain funding for the creation of an inclusive public playground where children, through play, can create relationships achieving inclusion in a social mix perspective, regardless of their abilities. The new playground, which also provides numerous educational activities for schools, would represent a case of an inclusive and socially useful project on several fronts, not only for the children who would use it, but also in terms of management, care and maintenance of the place, being entrusted to the members of the Opera in Fiore cooperative, which provides for the inclusion in the labor and social world of fragile categories with particular attention to ex-prisoners.

5. Spaces as reaction to the pandemic: between separation and union

The role of space, both private or public space, closed or open, rather than residential, urban or territorial space, is physiologically defined by an open dualism regarding its role, between division and union; in some cases a dichotomy prevails, triggering reactions of tension and conflict between the two dimensions; in other cases, the boundary between separation and union becomes more liquid and blurred, leading the two dimensions to intertwine, contaminating each other. This is evident both in urban planning - originated by the need to control and manage the relationship between these two dimensions - and both in any other action bottom-up, in the spontaneous use of places.

If this dynamic defines the intrinsic character of the relationship between space and society, during pandemic events, both roles of space, between separation and union, are suddenly loaded with greater weight, responsibility and related consequences. In both the study cases, this dualism emerges as a

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prompt, effective and once again resilient reaction to the upheavals triggered by the pandemic.

In the case of Zumbimbi, a space with a traditional vocation for social mix, sharing and coexistence between different groups, has suddenly been transformed into a place with areas and functions divided by barriers and separate paths, in order to respond promptly and safely to the new, urgent needs that the building was called upon to fulfill, by welcoming the children of parents affected by Covid. Similarly, the whole Carbonia 3 complex, born from a project aimed at creating mixité through the sharing of common spaces between different social categories, was promptly redesigned to accommodate people in quarantine and the same spaces, from elements born to unite, have become new separation tools, essential to ensure the safety of every guest.

A second scenario offered by the analysis of the same two contexts, shows how the effect of the pandemic has also been reworked in an inverse way, in this case in order to strengthen the role of union of certain spaces. In the Barona Village this process is evident in the new projects for the re-functionalization of multiple spaces previously used for more traditional functions and later redesigned in order to create community hubs of sharing activities through the interaction between different categories of users and inhabitants. On a smaller scale, the same happened in Carbonia, where the closed central space, currently used exclusively to host periodic meetings between social workers and guests of the structure, has quickly become the privileged object of a new redesign, with proposals for new and multiple uses coming from the young "active guests" of Carbonia.

The third and final scenario shows as, in both contexts, the pandemic has triggered the development of spaces characterized by a balanced dimension of union, albeit in separation. This is particularly evident in the new use of open spaces which, maintaining a safe distance between people, allows to rethink in an innovative and original way the central role of certain activities in consolidating community building paths.

Once again, therefore, such social housing experiences offer immediate and effective responses, rethinking in a new way the relationship between space and the practices that take place in this space.

Conclusion: innovation comes from the margins

What clearly comes out from the field work in both contexts is certainly this unique ability of the suburbs to act and react with a creative, innovative and resilient approach. The ability to generate new social potential and new

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planning as a reaction to the crisis, in fact, emerges more and more often as a *leitmotiv* of certain contexts often hastily identified as "peripheries", be they geographical peripheries, social peripheries, urban peripheries or global peripheries.

In such places, life as an experience, as "navigation on sight", which creates encounters, proposes scenarios, between places, people and circumstances, seems to be welcomed with a different approach than the generalized tendency to standardize. Such peripheral experiences have shown the importance of enhancing the central role that each individual can play, working on creation, collaboration and promotion for building a shared sense of community.

The collaborative approach allows to activate resilient and proactive reactions to sudden crises, as with the pandemic, where this mechanism was significantly strengthened.

Such experiences of social housing have shown an alternative approach characterized by a "generative welfare" that, in addition to collecting and redistributing, is able to regenerate the available resources thanks to the empowerment of people, in order to enhance social policies and benefit the entire community, in a context of subsidiarity and solidarity.

Furthermore, from a more strictly spatial point of view, the social housing model perfectly fits the post-pandemic needs, at the economic, housing and social level: on the one hand, enhancing the ancient idea of the "city in 15 minutes", built on proximity and neighborhood relations; on the other hand, rethinking collective spaces, not only with regard to urban squares and courtyards, but also to real portions of buildings, which become central in social housing projects, responding to a need for sociality and for a shared community that is increasingly widespread - especially in the post-pandemic phase. The two cases have shown how, very often, the most successful activities and paths are precisely those that arise spontaneously, with structures created from below and directly from the interactions created from time to time between the inhabitants, which become a mechanism for reacting but also, at the same time, the very nature of the action.

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Housing rights, migrant integration, and the role of ICT solutions

by *Teresa Carlone, Carolina Mudan Marelli*[1]

Housing represents a major challenge for the communities that populate contemporary cities, and often it is a field in which we observe dynamics of exclusion or difficulty of access for the less wealthy and more vulnerable segments of the population, discriminated in the private real estate market and forced to wait for long periods in the allocation of social housing. Although there is a growing belief that information and communication technologies (ICT) can play an important role in the management of housing problems, for example by improving the transparency of housing supply and facilitating the match with increasing demand, so far it is not clear whether ICT are able to reduce the burden of discrimination in access to the housing market, especially for foreign residents. The three-variable equation (housing issue, migrant population, and ICT solutions) is still understudied and poorly investigated in national and international literature, making it difficult to provide some empirical and theoretical elements capable of directing future reflections and policy actions. The following section intends to discuss the results of two H2020 projects (MICADO "Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards" and REBUILD - ICT-enabled integration facilitator and life rebuilding guidance) exploring housing needs of vulnerable social groups and the potential contribution provided by ICT solutions, addressing with a critical perspective the role of the latter in building a right to housing that is fairer as well as smarter (Shamsuddin, Srinivasan, 2020). The aim is to provide some analytical insights and partial adaptive responses to what emerges as one of the main challenges for effective integration of the migrant population, which is often economically more vulnerable and socially discriminated.

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[1] Teresa Carlone, Carolina Mudan Marelli, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.

The first contribution by Foresti, Lauricella, Demertzis, Katis, Pollini and Caforio (*infra*) intent to analyse two territories, in Greece and in Italy, where local services involved in migrants welcoming and integration process are addressing the housing emergency by implementing actions and good practices that go beyond the sole offer of accommodation facilities. The central theme is the inclusion of third-country migrants in the urban context, where the housing issue plays a key role. To facilitate a process of effective access to adequate and affordable housing, the actions implemented are linked to a new generation ICT tool: the REBUILD App as the output developed in the H2020 European funds. The two case studies reported, Regional Unit of Kilkis (GR) and Bologna (IT) face different critical aspect. In the first case, the greatest challenge is represented by refugees who are looking for accommodation while leaving the camps, disadvantaged in the search for housing by their low employability rate, a limited availability of houses to rent and the lack of trust with the local people. In Bologna, the housing context is marked by the gradual intensification of tourist activity and the reduction of properties for residential rental, reducing the possibility to finding an accommodation. For some people this search becomes even more difficult, as they are discriminated because of their origin, religion, gender identity etc., regardless of their economic status. The essay presents how the use of the ICT, intended as a digital companion able to support the migrant in the new context of life, could have a potential added value under various perspective such as access to the dataset of available homes, the ability to learn about the characteristics of homes remotely, see their privacy protected, and the opportunity to access more services and supports from local services. These potentials, however, must be accompanied and complemented by other measures (the "Discriminazioni alla porta" project is presented) that can mitigate the important discriminations and exclusions that migrants face in their integration process on the territories.

Carlone and Marelli's second contribution (*infra*) reaches similar conclusions, starting from the results of the research carried out within the project framework of H2020 MICADO project. Access to decent, safe, and affordable housing is one of the main challenges for an effective integration of the migrant population, often economically more vulnerable and socially discriminated. The digital solution developed with MICADO stands as a tool to facilitate interaction between migrants, PA and third sector in - among others - housing policies management, trying to mitigate some of the most common critical issue they are facing at local level. However, the results of interviews conducted with third sector and PA operators in Bologna and from the results of the co-design workshops held with different groups of migrants show

some criticalities that technological solutions cannot always help to limit. The partial presence of data on housing rankings and housing availability, and the need to constantly update them, makes them fragmented and inconsistent; the dynamics of racial discrimination and exclusion of migrants from the private market in the belief that they are economically unreliable segments of the population are just some of the critical issues that have emerged. Difficulties are not reduced in the housing transition phase, which is a much more complex process than "looking for housing" requiring levels of autonomy in terms of work, language, and access to services and facilities.

The essay attempt to define the boundaries within which ICT solutions can effectively represent a significant facilitation and help in the search for housing. The main conclusions undelaying limits and potentials of the app and ICT tools in mitigating and/or limiting the paradoxical and exclusionary aspects associated with the search for housing by the migrant population, guaranteeing equal access to the private and public real estate market and in acting as a support for the PA and the local authorities that manage these services.

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Beyond emergency housing and social exclusion. The integration of territorial actions and good practices into ITC tools: Greece and Italy

by *Giulia M. Foresti, Anna Lauricella, Dimitris Demertzis, Kalliopi Kati, Alessandro Pollini, Alessandro Caforio*[1]

Introduction

The housing emergency for migrants and refugees is a challenge that affects many social contexts, as achieving housing autonomy is a necessary precondition for the refugees to be able to start on a path to independence and a fundamental step in the integration process into the local community.

Art. 21 of the Convention on the Status of Refugees states that «In regard to housing, the Contracting States, in so far as the matter is regulated by law or regulations or is subject to the control of public authorities, shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory treatment as favorable as possible and, in any event, not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances». The European Union law is also in line with the Convention: art. 32 of EU Directive 95/2011 provides for the principle of equal treatment in access to housing between beneficiaries of international protection and third countries citizens who are legally residing in their territories.

This paper presents the results of a research carried out in the European research and development project "REBUILD: ICT-enabled integration facilitator and life rebuilding guidance". Funded by the EC Horizon 2020 program, REBUILD aims to design and deliver a series of ICT-based solutions (including a Digital Companion with Artificial Intelligence) based on profiling, users' needs analysis and intelligent matching with available services. REBUILD mobile app provides smart support for access to services through an intelligent chatbot, that aims to improve both the effectiveness of the services provided to migrants and refugees by public administration and local organizations, and the wellbeing of migrants themselves. Two specific case

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[1] Giulia M. Foresti, Anna Lauricella, CIDAS – Italy; Dimitris Demertzis, Kalliopi Kati, OMNES - Greece; Alessandro Pollini, Alessandro Caforio, UNINETTUNO - Italy.

studies will be presented (Kilkis in Greece and Bologna in Italy) focusing on the way housing emergency is experienced by refugees and addressed by the Institution, the third sector and the civil society, through the implementation of actions, programs, and good practices. The perspective of these two areas was made possible by the fact that two REBUILD project partners - CIDAS and OMNES, that deal with the welcoming of migrants - are active there. This paper presents the future housing ICT-based scenario where digital technologies have been adopted to support the implementation of local policies to guarantee access to a decent accommodation for refugees and migrants. The ultimate scope of the research is to accommodate those disadvantaged groups on their search for accommodation, taking into consideration structural obstacles inherent in the access to housing rights, fostered by the discriminations that third country citizens suffer in our societies. The first section of the contribution presents an analytical approach, followed by user research and field observations provided by REBUILD partners. Paragraph 1 describes the housing emergency in the Greek and Italian contexts and highlights best practices while Paragraph 3 presents the research carried out in the two Countries. The user research is based on the experience gathered in the first activities organized within REBUILD project, including the interviews and questionnaires with end-users and local service providers. The focus on participants' personal experience and the knowledge gathered has been used to design future REBUILD service interactions. Paragraph 4 will describe the REBUILD housing scenarios aiming at the transformative nature of ICT design and development.

1. Theme and Case Studies: challenges and best practices in the Greek and Italian contexts

Greece has always had scarce welfare policies, especially concerning social housing. However, larger-scale immigration issues began mainly after the fall of the Soviet Union where, first, ex-Soviet citizens and then Albanian migrants and asylum seekers arrived in Greece in search of better living conditions. Intolerance and discrimination by locals and landlords have been prominent for decades (Drydakis, 2011). Similar issues are brought back into light with the influx of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and nearby regions. Greece has experienced an increased amount of migrants' influx since 2012 with the escalation of the "Syrian exodus". To respond to the need to reform the migration and asylum policies, the Greek government introduced in 2016 the Law 4375, that reorganized the Greek asylum system and included the

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provision of four types of camps, while additional places are offered in city apartments, with priority to the most vulnerable by ESTIA program (Gemenetzi, Papageorgiou, 2017; Kourachanis, 2018; http://estia.unhcr.gr/en/home/). Additionally, IOM launched in June 2019 the Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection (HELIOS) program, aiming at promoting the integration of beneficiaries of international protection, currently residing in temporary accommodation schemes, into the Greek society. The program provides, among others services, accommodation support through subsidies (https://greece.iom.int/el/hellenic-integration-support-beneficiaries-international-protection-helios). Currently, according to the Greek Migration and Asylum Ministry, 46,380 asylum seekers and refugees are residing in Greece. The majority of them are hosted in the ESTIA II project and in Facilities of temporary accommodation in the mainland, while 5,760 are residing in Reception and Identification Centers (R.I.C.) in the islands and in the prefecture of Evros at the Greek-Turkish borders (https://migration.gov.gr/en/statistika/). Calculating the beneficiaries of HELIOS, the official recorded refugee population in Greece is approximately 50,694 people.

Moreover, the ever-increasing push from the Greek government to promote a model of "autonomous integration" instead of "protection", by merely relying on the minimal opportunities for job counselling and Greek lessons provided by NGOs (Kontogiannidis, 2020; Sehou, 2020) leads to a vast gap of welfare services for groups exiting those programs, as they are inadequate to provide with enough qualifications to integrate within the Greek society. As a result, most people either move on to the next European country to spend prolonged time periods in camps once again (e.g. Germany), or find themselves homeless, in extreme poverty (Diotima, 2019; Sehou, 2020), seeking temporary shelter in city squares, abandoned buildings or empty lots (Kathimerini, 2019; Magra, 2020). In the Regional Unit of Kilkis more than 2,000 refugees and asylum seekers are hosted, approximately 1,400 of them live in a camp, 510 reside in flats provided by the Ministry of Asylum through the ESTIA II project and 350 refugees reside independently in rented flats, supported with subsidies by IOM.

In Italy, the legal system provides for equal treatment between refugees and Italian citizens in the right to access housing support measures (art. 29 para 3-ter of Legislative Decree 251/2007). For this reason, there are various support measures and housing transition projects at national level for refugees leaving the migrant reception system: during 2020, housing placements in favor of refugees were 2,144 (29 more than in 2019). Despite these protections, many aspects still affect the possibility for refugees of achieving housing autonomy, as their job insecurity (53.1%), excessively high rents (29.7%) and the mistrust

shown by estate agents and landlords towards potential foreign tenants (28.9%) (https://www.retesai.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Rapporto-SIPRO-IMI_SAI_leggero.pdf). Furthermore, the scarcity of properties for rent and the need to contact a large number of interlocutors greatly disadvantage refugees, generally suffering from poor economic capacity and facing linguistic challenges when interacting with private landlords and housing agencies.

In Italy, the National Reception Program for Refugees (SAI), that involves 794 reception facilities in which are welcomed 37.372 people (https://www.retesai.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SINTESI-ATLANTE-SAI-2020.pdf), provides refugees and holders of international protection who left reception and integration programs, through ministerial funds, contributions for rent, utilities and furniture and dedicated local service providers. In the Metropolitan City of Bologna, even though refugees who left the SAI's reception programs benefit from the same national measures, other *services* and *projects* are carried out with the intent to guarantee housing inclusion, addressed to migrant and Italian families or individuals. The Municipality of Bologna provides the services of Pronta Accoglienza "Ready for Accommodation" (emergency solutions for precarious economic incomes) and Transizione Abitativa "Habitat Transition" (long-term solution for more defined single/family situations). Moreover, the social service ASP Città di Bologna, created the so-called Agenzia per l'abitare, that operates as a real estate agency, with direct access and applications for refugees, migrants, and Italian people, that refers them to the private market after an assessment of existing services and projects in the area.

In order to face the housing emergency, are also active on the territory different AMIF projects co-funded by the European Union with the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund Emergency Measures, managed by the social services and the third sector: META, Reboot, Inside&Aut, Ancora 2.0 projects provide guidance and support in finding accommodation, mediation activities with owners and mediation with landlords and estate agents, housing transition and contributions to support independent living. The same type of support in housing transition is provided also to third countries nationals and asylum seekers by NAUSICAA project, funded by National Fund for Migration Policies 2019. Recently arrived families - not in charge of the reception and integration programs - are supported by LGNet AMIF project, with an emergency placement in hotels.

In this context, it is very important to mention two important bottom-up experiences, very active on different issues, including the housing emergency, fostered by the connection with local third sectors, NGOs and associations. *Famiglie Accoglienti* - Welcoming Families is a group of citizens of Bologna who have hosted in their families and homes young people of

other nationalities; *Discriminazioni alla porta* - Discrimination at the door (DAP), a network set up in 2020 in Bologna to respond to the transversal difficulties and multiple racial and other non-economic discrimination experienced by both the migrant population and the more socially excluded Italian population in their search for a home, with the scope to create a non-discriminating rental register.

2. Methodology

The user research interviews had the goal of identifying the most relevant themes for migrants and refugees in housing, health care and legal scenarios and to gather requirements and suggestions which would be then integrated when designing the REBUILD technology. The migrants' experience in the two countries the case studies take place in has been observed through fieldwork and contextual interviews, analyzed within participatory sessions, and elaborated into future and envisioning scenarios. The observation of users in the real context of use allowed us to know first-hand the way users interact with the systems, the context within they do so and whether technology supports or their activity or not. The contextual inquiries have been carried out in parallel with the fieldwork, in the form of semi-structured interviews with end user. Referring to the research on housing scenario carried out in RE-BUILD project, the user research was made to record the reality in the context of the small semi-urban area of Kilkis and the city of Bologna. The target group involved was chosen as the most typical social group affected by the housing policies in Greece and Italy: people that no longer are supported by the existing housing programs. Interviews focused mainly on the difficulties during their search for a rental house after they left the existing housing programs supported in Greece and the reception programs in Italy, their relationship with the ICT tools and their views of an application that could facilitate the reported difficulties. Furthermore, in order to have a more interdisciplinary approach on the housing emergency, the research process involved also local service providers that have extended experience in the humanitarian sector and migrants' reception programs in the area of Kilkis and Bologna; the local service providers' observations on affordable housing, obstacles for minorities and app suggestions for better access to accommodation choices are also reported through those interviews.

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3. Outcomes and Results

3.1. Migrants experience in housing scenarios

3.1.1 Main critical issues

User research held in Greece reported that, even though migrants are residing in the area for more than one year, information on available houses is coming through the humanitarian organizations that also support the communication and bureaucratic procedures, because of the linguistic barrier migrants are incurring. The participants also report that the lack of income is one major difficulty: in the area of Kilkis the rental cost is not very high, but since they did not have a stable job, it impossible to find a landlord to proceed with signing a contract under these circumstances. Xenophobia and exclusion due to migrants' background was brought up as an issue by researchers and further discussed by the participants, with different perspectives linked to the importance of the barriers imposed by the lack of local job opportunities.

A similar issue is found in the Italian research: when an accommodation is found through the same-nationality friends network no feelings of being discriminated against are reported, and the Italian owners always give the respondents a rental contract. Finding a house through a network of mutual friends or acquaintances often lead to live outside Bologna and for this reason in many occasions having to travel a long way to work. When a social network is not available, accommodations research after leaving the reception and integration program can occur through the local service organization, that also support communication and bureaucratic procedures to access. Main critical issues arise when the migrant decides to leave the system: in autonomous searching for an accommodation, discrimination, homophobia/transphobia, linguistic barrier, and job's precariousness are reported as obstacles. Also, the documents status is reported as a great difficulty

«I'm a transgender and foreign person and the real estate agents told me that the non-correspondence of my documents would have created problems with homeowners» (these reported are the words said by a transsexual migrant interviewed during the research implemented during the prog. RE-BUILD, in order to collect the difficulties in accessing services and rights).

3.1.2 Familiarity with online technology and opinions regarding an ICT

For all the participants in the Greek research internet connection and interaction are resources that allow them to connect with their family members and they all own a smartphone (if they are a family, they own one unique and shared smartphone). Phone calls and voice messages are the preferable way of communicating, especially for those with low level do literacy skills. The use-value of a smartphone has increased during the Covid-19 pandemic due to the lockdown imposed and the consequent school lessons online that were thus organized for the children enrolled in school. The participants reported that they are aware of groups in the social media through which people can share experience and information and also receive information for available houses all over Greece. In light of these, the discussion moved to the proposal of an ICT tool that will serve, among others, the need for housing research in terms of information about availability and their costs, bridging the communication gap, facilitating the bureaucratic and legal procedures. All participants were positively intrigued by such a proposal and stated that such tool seems to be helpful, and that it comes at the right moment because of the new national approach that endorses the autonomous leaving for refugees. In the Italian panel of users using internet through their smartphone is normal and very important, in order to stay connected with their family members and friends, and this use-value increased during Covid-19 pandemic. They are also familiar with social media and other applications: some general platforms are used to find a house (Facebook market, Google, Facile.it), but the existence of a dedicated app/tool online with houses available is reported as very more useful, also because it would be capable to network people with the same needs, give privacy to them and help finding friendly communities and associations at local level.

3.2 Local service providers' experience in housing scenarios

3.2.1 Main critical issues

All the interviewees engaged in the Greek research mentioned the lack of income and the language barrier as the most crucial factors, together with the mistrust from the owners (in smaller areas owners feared they would not receive their rent on time, in larger cities prejudice due to their ethnicity is considered a recurring phenomenon). A lack of understanding of the technicalities of the Greek legal procedures when renting a house is also mentioned, along with unaffordable prices in larger urban centers. The main

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obstacles that refugees have to face in searching a house in Italy are multiple discrimination, the need to be supported by any local entity/ subject that may provide them with guarantee, lack of income and language barrier. The difficulty for some refugees to adapt to the reality once leaving the reception program has been also mentioned together with the access to the housing services. All these aspects are even worsened by the structure of Bologna's property market (few houses for rent, short term rentals, small landlords and tenant selection) and by the Covid-19 pandemic that is affecting the local house availability.

3.2.2 Support mechanisms

All the participants in the Greek pilot mentioned humanitarian housing programs (HELIOS, ESTIA, ESTIA II) as main support mechanisms for refugees and asylum seekers, specifying that the most important service they provided was the mediation and networking with homeowners, as well as the training on the use of real estate platforms for refugees (Spitogatos.gr, Helioshome). However, after signing these programs out, migrants do not receive any further support, but occasional support from local organizations/ initiatives (such as OMNES). Finally, interviewees added that the owners felt safer when a program was involved during the renting process. In Italy what emerges from the interviews is that lots of efforts are being made to find innovative solutions to guarantee the right to housing. On one hand, with the Municipality sponsorship and dedicated services, on the other hand through the research and experimentation of customized solutions that attempt to be systemic. Moreover, the involvement of civil society become a fundamental element in responding to the emergency, as well as the training provided by public services and third sector to refugees on the tools needed to access and self- manage the lease contract. All the respondents affirmed that Housing is a big issue, and they consider it as transversal, general, that needs a central direction. The current dedicated financial and human resources on Bologna's territory have to be centralized. Therefore, it would be desirable to create networking of resources and opportunities (i.e between all the Municipalities that belong to the SAI network) and to create collaborative housing policies, empowering and involving also civil society through the organization of awareness raising events.

3.2.3. Apps and sustainable solutions

When asked about whether an app (like the REBUILD app) - where communication between interested parties and autonomous actions is encouraged - would work efficiently, most of interviewees in the Greek study had impressively good feedback on it, with the only obstacle being, in some cases, the old age of both owners and/or beneficiaries. All participants agreed that such an initiative would empower people since there are not other alternatives outside humanitarian programs.

All the participants in the Italian panel stated that refugees and asylum seekers are "connected" people, able to use ICT tools that are immediate, intuitive, and that can link a lot of people. For this reason, the computerization of housing research is an added value but, all the interviewed affirm that the ICT tool must provide virtual information desk that refer to dedicated physical local service providers, possibly available at a single office, centralized in the city of Bologna.

4. Human-centred design of REBUILD Housing service

Main outcomes from the user research have been then elaborated into the future REBUILD housing scenario according to the scenario-based design method applied in the project. In particular, the most relevant user requirements discussed in paragraph 5 are:
- overcome barriers and exclusion: linguistic barrier, Xenophobia and exclusion are reportedly described as major critical issues to overcome;
- group networks: the importance of establishing and maintaining same-nationality friends networks and groups;
- connectedness: internet connection and interaction are commonly used resources, migrants and refugees are "connected" people, able to use ICT tools that are immediate, intuitive, and that can link a lot of people. ICT tool will serve, among others, the need for housing research in terms of information about availability;
- understanding procedures: the lack of understanding of the technicalities of the legal procedures, the training needed by third sector public services on tools and services needed to access and self- manage the lease contract.

We used scenarios (Carroll, 2000, 1995) in our design process to help elicit and structure data from activity analysis, the envisioning of roles and functionalities of the intelligent Chatbot, and the assessment and validation

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of the envisioned solutions. Through the REBUILD scenarios both the functional and non-functional requirements necessary to fulfil the goals identified, satisfying the usage scenario and respecting the legal and ethical framework, have been described.

Thus, scenarios have been working as a crucial design tool throughout our design process. We used scenarios because they are one of the most valuable techniques for understanding what users want to use and for planning potential impacts of the developed system, especially from a service design perspective.

4.1 REBUILD Housing scenario

In this paragraph the Housing Scenario designed in REBUILD project is presented. It has been developed as a result of the scenario-based service design activity that held to the validation by local service providers and migrants in dedicated co-design session.

> Nobel downloads the REBUILD App, and surfs through the free content provided by APP. He wants to find a home and in the free area of the APP he finds the suggestion of national web site containing offers of houses for rent. They are quite general, but he would like to find a room in an apartment with other young people and he would be provided with more information about how much the rent of a home/room is, so he decides to register and provide some personal information in order to be profiled and offered with a better service. Nobel accepts to register and then he logs in the APP. The Digital Companion asks him the city where he's living and other information about his personal profile (student/worker, age, if he's looking for a home/room), lists all the possible offers and provides him with Facebook groups where a virtual communities organize in order to share needs about a home/room rental. Furthermore, the Chatbot indicates him that it is very important to ask how long the contract lasts and if there is a deposit to be paid in advance, and explains the differences between referring to an individual or an agency.

In REBUILD we proposed a more specific approach on scenario-based service design, as a concrete means to offer a dedicated point of view on the problem and on its particular solution, but it also provides flexible descriptions of the hypothetical user journey and use of a service. This approach also helps in investigate their possible performances, identify opportunities, weaknesses and strong points before actual fulfilment. In the following image the Housing service blueprint is shown (see Fig. 1).
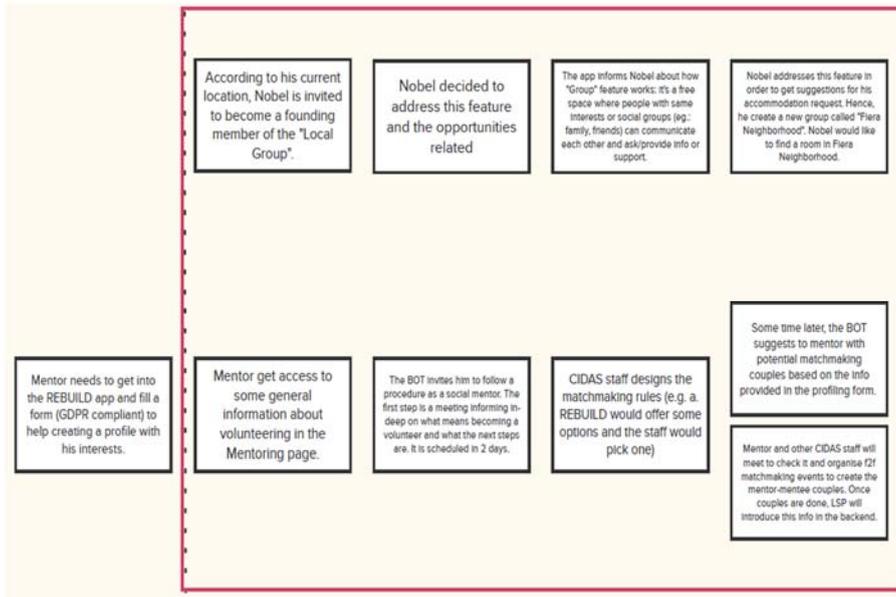
As shown in the scenario, the interaction approach of REBUILD Chabot aims to support a behavior that is both reactive and proactive, therefore able to react and respond to user actions but also able to follow up on preferences, interests, and potentialities of the user by proposing behaviors, actions and interactions in a rule-based conversation.

Supporting migrants and refugees with limited or any literacy skills has been a relevant and particularly complex need emerging from the pilots. The approach proposed in the codesign session and further elaborated through the project lifetime was based on a conversation system (two-way communication), based on pictograms.

The design of the interfaces for the conversation is shown in Fig. 2.
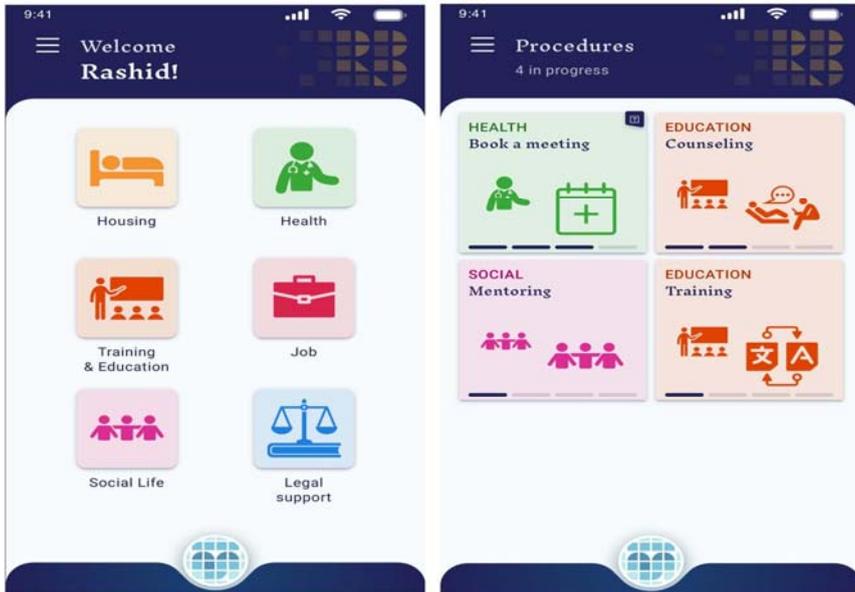
In the design of the Digital Companion user interfaces, support and guidance goes beyond the conventional structure of error messages, alarms, presence of instructions and labels, and more formal informational material.

REBUILD defined a conversation system through a chatbot enabling the user to interact through a dialogue system based on pictograms: users can "build" their question or request to REBUILD chatbot selecting pictograms from three main categories: 1) domains, the main categories of social and support services provided at local level by public administrations and private organizations, grouped in relevant areas such as health, legal, education, etc.; 2) services, representing actions or specific needs related to the selected domain, such as a request for an appointment, the information about geographical localization of an office, the request of a meeting with a cultural mediator, etc.; and 3) possible further specifications related to the "request" built using the first two categories of pictograms. Pictograms are provided according to the Software as a Service paradigm: each module of REBUILD can use pictograms independently from other modules, in any time, in a secure manner.

The Housing scenario has guided the design of the housing service interaction and interface as shown in Figure 3.
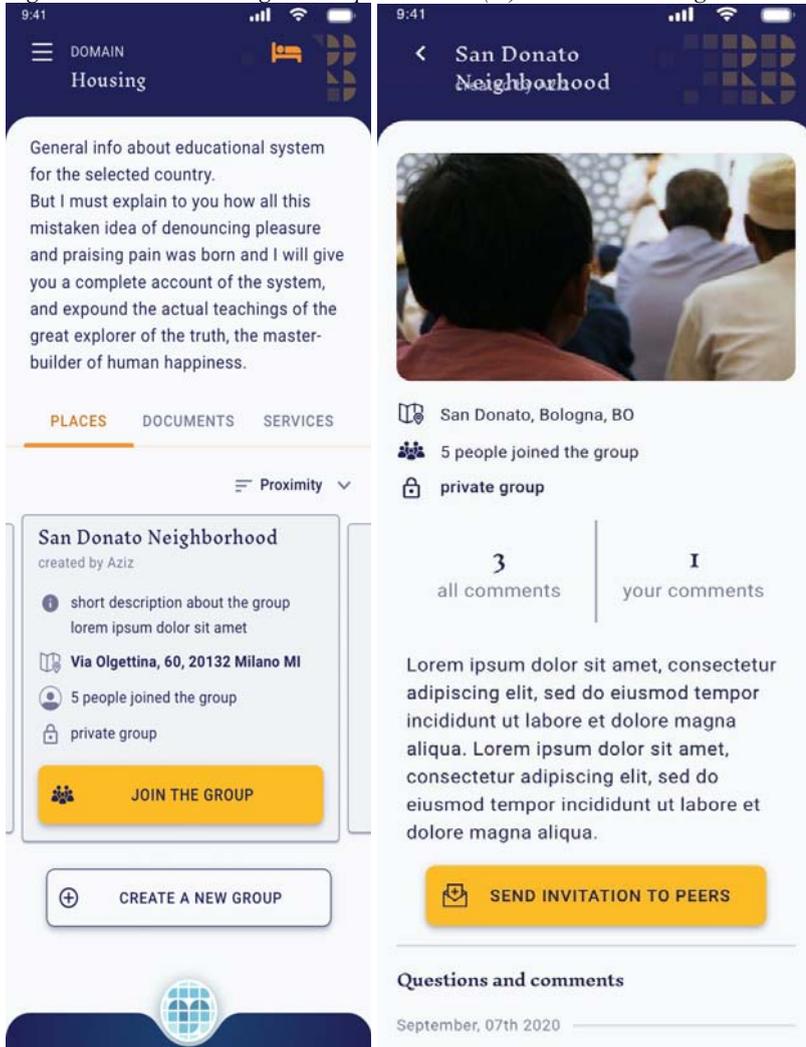
Conclusion

As recently discussed by Garito (2017), in an increasingly interconnected society the current role of ICT is crucial for the integration of migrants and refugees, especially in the democratization of knowledge for the empowerment of individuals. Guiding and supporting users in accessing housing services and achieving their goals is one of the primary objectives of the Digital

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Companion: easy to read for migrants, able to support the understanding of interaction possibilities, and provide orientation and guidance for relevant actions in accessing services. In building the Digital Companion the design and development team used most of its AI-based components to address this challenge; user profiling helped in understanding user needs and to valorize their backgrounds; local service providers' services catalogues powered the match-making system, finding matches among users' needs and services provided in the same region; the recommendation system, finally, proposes to the user the services available for the needed domain and need, in the user's region, also integrating a "proactive" component of the application enabling REBUILD to propose services, places, events that potentially are relevant for the specific user of the application. Furthermore, the design of the Chabot as a mediator of communication between migrants and public administration services was intended to be part of a person-centered approach (Norman, Spencer, 2019), in which the interaction with the social context is recognized as a crucial aspect and value in the reconstruction of the person's social life.

When considering the potential benefits of REBUILD for migrants and refugees, the framework considers several dimensions among which impacts on education and human capital (including the above-mentioned issue of language barrier), impact on citizenship and social capital, impact on employment, impact on trust in institutions and impact on digital literacy. In analyzing the value added of REBUILD for service providers other dimensions will be considered such as impact on efficiency, increase in collaboration among local actors, impact on the quality of local policies thanks to the availability of better-quality data on migrants and impact on service digitalization. Finally, a community that is better able to include migrants and refugees, that have better integrated local services and that take advantages of the potentialities of services digitalization can become a community with higher quality of life for all, but also a community that save considerable resources that are now allocated to welfare, health and justice costs generated by the non-integration of migrants.

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Limits and opportunities of ICT in access to the housing market for the migrant population. Considerations starting from the Bologna case in the MICADO project

by *Carolina Mudan Marelli, Teresa Carlone*[1]

Introduction

This contribution is focused on the relationship between migrants, housing issue, and new technologies and is part of a broader reflection developed within the European Horizon 2020 project MICADO[2] started in 2019 and ends in June 2022. The MICADO project aimed to develop new technologies that could facilitate the integration process of migrants by providing innovative services capable of intervening in some of the main dimensions of social integration processes: work, health, education-training, housing.

In the following pages, we will first present the state of the art of studies on the issue of migrants' housing, which was carried out using a vast corpus of articles, reports, and programmes, which was constructed through the method of systematic literature review[3]. Systematic Literature Reviews (SLR) provide robust, reliable summaries of the most reliable evidence, a valuable backdrop on which decisions about policies can be drawn. The SLR is meant to review and synthesize evidence on social interventions and public policy. The overall objectives of this SLR are: obtain a general picture of documents related with migrants/asylum seekers/refugees' integration in the last five years; study different associations about policies for migrant integration implemented in the last decade, and their effectiveness if possible, performing a more exhaustive study in the sectoral policies of health,

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[3] The SLR is based on the Campbell Systematic Review, an adaptation of the Social Sciences of the Cochrane Systematic Reviews, the leading journal and database for systematic reviews in health care.

housing, education, employment and participation; find individual characteristics and contextual factors affecting integration; record policy outcomes. With this purpose, each Consortium's city (Antwerp, Bologna, Hamburg and Madrid) conducted a systematic literature review that included: all articles in the Web of Science from the last 5 years that included the term migrant OR refugee OR asylum seeker OR ethnic OR newcomer (in English, Dutch, Italian, German and Spanish) AND integration OR inclusion OR assimilation (in English, Dutch, Italian, German and Spanish) AND country OR list of all regions OR list of main cities (Belgium, Italy, Germany and Spain); a selection of local or national reports from the main organizations that deal with migrants and refugees in the city[4]; this selection was completed at a European level with reports from the main organizations (EU, EC, OECD, etc.) dealing with migrants and refugees. In general, each topic presented below contains a brief introduction based on this EU literature followed by the SLR analysis.

In the first part of this contribution, we will show how in fact the housing issue is crucial to the success of any integration process. But obtaining housing for migrants within the European context, as the literature has shown, calls into question contextual factors and individual characteristics that in many cases represent a major barrier to housing integration. Secondly, starting from the research material collected during the first two years of the project, we will focus on the case of Bologna, a city that was part of the four pilot cities involved in the project (together with Hamburg, Madrid and Antwerp). As we will show, the processes of facilitating the housing integration of migrants through the use of new technologies, however promising they may be, show structural limits, i.e. not attributable to the researchers' choices and possibilities, but due to greater causes, such as the availability and ownership of data on available housing, which has an important impact on the possibility of updating them automatically, or the presence of strong forms of stigmatisation of migrant living and of real racist attitudes towards them; up to the issue of social housing, which sees a strong process of digitisation of application procedures, procedures that clash with the not always sufficient level of technological skills of migrants applying.

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[4] In the case of Antwerp, the reports were of non-governmental and non-profit organisations or specific projects on the subject (especially on housing). For Bologna, reports from the Italian Statistical Office (ISTAT) on immigration and other reports by non-profit organisations such as Caritas Migrantes. In Hamburg a monoCharty on a specific concept of integration that is of major relevance for the German context, as well as five reports from regional and state organisations were added. In Spain some reports of the NGO CEAR (Spanish Commission for Refugee Aid) and the Permanent Migrant Observatory linked to the Ministry of Employment and Migration were included.

1. Housing and migrants' integration

Access to quality housing is determinant to migrants' integration, well-being, security, stability and educational outcomes (Diaz Ramirez, Liebig, Thoreau, Veneri, 2018; Rechel, 2011). It is also instrumental to the integration process, as an address is many times needed to claim residence rights, financial support, health insurance, etc. There is a consensus in the fact that integration is a multi-dimensional concept, although there is not such a clear agreement on what its main dimensions are. This difficulty is due to the strong interrelation between different dimension that affect the integration process of migrant, for example employment integration is strongly affected by education, while education is affected by access to quality housing that also intervenes in physical and mental health, which in turn is affected amongst other things by precarity or overqualification in employment. At the same time, some dimensions are clearly more fundamental for the migrant's life, as housing and employment. On the topic of employment and migrants' integration, there are countless scholarly publications that have analysed the relationship between this and the integration processes of migrants, while on the topic of housing and migrant's integration there is limited academic literature (Pannecoucke, De Decker, 2015). This is primarily due to the lack of a systematic data collection and analysis on migrants' housing and living situation. As clearly show in the literature review (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2) there is a significantly higher number of studies in the domains of education and employment in general, while there are very few studies and innovative action on housing at European level, as well as with regard with the national scientific literature on this topic. Although most research applies qualitative methodologies, with an extensive amount of ethnographic research. A quantitative approach to data analysis is found especially in the fields of employment, health, and education.

Fig. 1 - Most frequent topic in the SLR
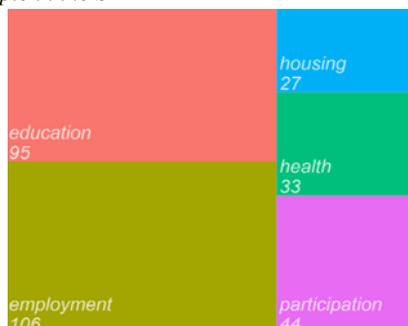
Source: D 1.2 Migration challenges for Micado

Fig. 2 - Most research topics by city in the SLR
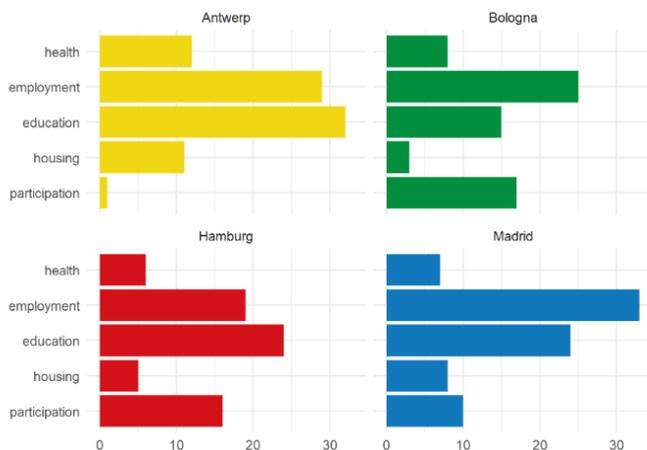
Source: D 1.2 Migration challenges for Micado

2. Characteristics of the housing situation of migrants

Statistical information on the housing situation of immigrants is not easily accessible yet. The share of owners is significantly lower among migrants than natives, and particularly low among non-EU foreigners.

Migrants are also statistically more likely to live in an overcrowded household than native-born population, in all age groups and all countries. However, Italy shows the highest overcrowding rates which was among the EU-born eight times higher than for their peers in Spain and roughly three times higher than for their peers in Germany and Belgium. Spain and Italy present the more polarized distribution with a low rate among nationals and high rates among foreign citizens. Here we must acknowledge national differences in Germany where the rent culture is firmly established among nationals, so differences between them and EU-born and non-EU born people seem less significant. On the other hand, countries like Spain or Italy where homeowners are the main trend among nationals, increase the differences between them and those who struggle with financial constraints and legal limitations to buy a home. These difficulties duplicate the barriers to rent a home in which private contracts and tenants tend to ask for more guarantees from the migrant population than from nationals. Moreover, the countries where housing is more regulated by governments tend to show that non-nationals encounter fewer barriers to access housing. Another explanation could be the lack or hidden information regarding these questions which

makes it more difficult to be addressed by both scientific research and institutions. In most countries, foreigners are facing a higher likelihood to be overburdened. The housing cost overburden rate is defined as the share of the population living in households where the total cost of housing accounts for more than 40% of a household's disposable income (Eurostat, 2018, p. 43). Germany is the only country where there are no signs for a particularly high incidence of overburdening among foreigners. Non-EU foreigners are not systematically confronted more often with the issue of overburdening. Spain and Italy present the most polarized distribution with a low rate among nationals and high rates among foreign people. Scholars have emphasized the role of local and regional levels in the relationship between migration and housing since migrants are more likely to rent, live in substandard housing and concentrate in specific areas, which can cause an impact on local infrastructures and the perception of immigration (Diaz Ramirez, Liebig, Thoreau, Veneri, 2018). The role of the local and regional levels in particularly important according to the literature and regulations in the housing dimension this is the level where the regulation is organized but Policy actions in this area are fragmented across different authorities and often-voluntary work of NGOs and initiatives is crucial.

3. Contextual characteristics affecting housing integration

The housing situation affecting the migrant population does not develop in a social vacuum. As is evident from the literature, the characteristics of the socio-economic context of the migrants' country of arrival, as well as the national legislations plays a fundamental role, offering or inhibiting possibilities of access, both to the housing market and to entire areas of cities, which tend to reject the migrant presence. For example, unfavourable legislation makes it sometimes difficult for migrants to enjoy financial and social network advantages (Mahieu *et al.*, 2019). Many asylum seekers stay in secondary accommodation facilities even though their application has already been approved due to packed housing markets and a lack of information and support in finding their own flat (El-Kayed, Hamann, 2018). The residency requirement additionally obliges every person with a granted asylum to reside in the federal state where the asylum procedure took place. Having the ability to access an adequate and stable home opens, on the other hand, the possibility of family reunification, that is not an automatic right, not only in Spain (Vickstrom, González-Ferrer, 2016), but also in Italy, Belgium and

Germany. So, to have poor housing conditions decrease the integration capacity for migrants.

In addition to the structural barriers, migrants encounter supplementary obstacles and difficulties (Mahieu, Ravn, 2017): one of the biggest is discrimination (Benhaddou, Devriendt, 2014; Verhaeghe, 2017; 2018; Winters *et al*., 2013). Migrants are often dependent on social welfare and turn to social welfare institutions for paying a deposit (Mahieu, Ravn, 2017), this can be an additional barrier for private homeowners to accept them as tenants (Winters *et al*., 2013). First generation migrants are more often discriminated compared to other migrant generations (Pannecoucke, De Decker, 2015).

Discrimination by landlords is another contextual characteristic that affect the housing integration process. Dill *et al*. (2015) list the fear of unstable rent payments, prejudice and slower housing value appreciation as the main reasons of landlords discriminating against migrants (2015, p. 357). El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) state that this discrimination is common with both, private house owners renting out individual flats as well as non-profit housing companies working on a bigger scale (2018, p. 142). The massive disadvantage people without a German citizenship, with a migrant background or even only with a non-German name are exposed to, led to the practice of some supporter groups renting apartments on their own to then sublet them to migrant tenants (El-Kayed, Hamann, 2018). Even if non-profit and non-governmental organizations regularly publish reports with policy recommendations (Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen, 2017; Winters *et al*., 2013), policy actions are fragmented as different authorities are authorized to develop policy.

To address housing issues by policy makers is to invest in proper data collection (Noppe *et al*., 2018a; Struyck *et al*., 2018). The often-voluntary work of NGOs and initiatives is crucial. El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) describe an initiative that developed a web-based matching platform that brings together offers for rooms in shared flats and refugees (2018, p. 143). However, these are small-scale ideas that do not match with the number of refugees and migrants waiting for appropriate housing.

The integration policy index (MIPEX) shows an overall better performance for Germany and Belgium, being the latter who obtains the best scores according to MIPEX. Scholars agreed on highlighting the pernicious effect of unfavourable legislation that limits migrants' scope of action. For example, forbidding them to move or change homes or sometimes making it difficult for migrants to enjoy financial benefits and the advantages of social networks, like reducing their integration allowances if they share a flat.

Space plays a crucial role on integration, which also brings to light the importance of place-based interventions. Cities differ substantially from each other in their diversity. Furthermore, within cities, a large and varied diversity is found across neighbourhoods. Migrants often live in segregated neighbourhoods together with other foreigners, which may provide networks that might be beneficial for as regards looking for a job but makes social contact with natives difficult. In literature on residential segregation there are two strands of studies that attempt to explain this phenomenon, with one suggesting that immigrants voluntarily sort themselves into ethnic enclaves and the other suggesting that discrimination is the main reason for ethnic concentrations and is actually unwanted (Dill *et al*., 2015, p. 363). Added to a lack of essential information and knowledge about the housing markets, which are increasingly tense in many German cities, refugees have limited access to housing due to federal laws (El-Kayed, Hamann, 2018, p. 142).

4. Individual characteristics affecting housing integration for migrants'

Housing is crucial in migrants' integration process, as an own address is a compulsory requirement to claim residence rights, obtain financial support and health insurance, etc. (Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen, 2016). Housing offers security and stability and is a lifelong growth asset, as well as being a measure of economic success that promotes or impedes social inclusion processes. Being deprived of shelter is one of the most crucial hurdles immigrants face during the integration process. Some authors identify homeownership and living conditions as among the most important aspects of the immigrant assimilation process.

Housing design, as well as the materiality and design of public spaces have a direct impact on a person's well-being (Eckenwiler, 2018, p. 563). In addition, it shapes a sense of belonging, has an impact on community relationships and enables access to healthcare, education and employment (Phillips, 2006 cited in Mahieu, Ravn, 2017). In a similar understanding, Levecque and van Rossem (2015, p. 50) underline the importance of being able to «root oneself» and to «produce […] a feeling of settling down' successfully at a new place». This practice seems particularly important for refugees who experienced prosecution and is connected to a feeling of uncertainty and not belonging. Thus, studies stress the significance of an early transit of refugees from shelters to individual housing (El-Kayed, Hamann, 2018, p. 135) as well as diverse and interconnected neighbourhoods (Dill *et al*., 2015; Kruse, 2017).

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The three most discussed topics in literature are spatial distribution, discrimination in the housing market and the more precarious living conditions of migrants compared to natives. Migrants more often rent their house, live more frequently in an apartment, live in low-quality housing with less comfort, they have less space, live in older houses and spend a larger amount of their family income on housing costs (Noppe *et al*., 2018a; Pannecoucke, De Decker, 2015). Furthermore, migrants are overrepresented when it comes to social housing. The proportion of candidate-tenants for social housing of non-EU citizens is also higher and is increasing. These migrant groups report more financial difficulties related to living expenses, running costs and other housing-related expenses (Noppe *et al*., 2018b).

Migrants often find themselves in a precarious position regarding housing availability and are restricted to a limited segment of the housing market, i.e. the 'private, secondary market', referring to low quality houses in unattractive neighborhoods but still with a high rental (Pannecoucke, De Decker, 2015). People with a non-EU background are more often dissatisfied with their living conditions (Noppe *et al*., 2018). One out of three houses of non-EU citizens are inadequate, against one out of ten houses inhabited by Belgians. In Spain, (Colom Andrés, Molés Machí, 2017) find that immigrants are less likely to own their primary residence in Spain, even though is the more usual form of housing. For immigrants, tertiary studies increase the likelihood of being owners.

The concept of homophily - the tendency to rather interact with people of a similar background and experiences - can be used to explain the voluntary formation of ethnic districts. Dill *et al*. further state that these enclaves may provide 'informal information networks' that are beneficial, for example, for finding a job (2015, p. 354). Simultaneously, she found that migrants are rather unhappy to live in a segregated fashion with practically no contact with natives (2015, p. 354). Moreover Kruse *et al*. state that exclusive same-ethnic friendship preferences can be problematic for ethnically diverse societies, since they enhance negative interethnic attitudes (2016, p. 130). At the same time, there are studies about very diverse neighborhoods, where people had less trust in each other (Koopmans, Schaeffer, 2016, p. 971). Following these examples, on the one hand, neighborhoods should be developed with a diverse population and, on the other, they should provide people with incentives and possibilities to meet and interact with each other, to overcome prejudice, increase mutual understanding and create a sense of social cohesion. Along these lines, the geographic distance between Muslims and Spaniards has increased in recent years as a consequence of increased hostility towards this ethnic group, which has settled in segregated areas (Edling *et al*., 2016).

Language proficiency does not play a role in discrimination in Belgium (Coenen, Van der Bracht, Van de Putte, 2015). Regarding the specific group of asylum seekers and refugees, other challenges are added to previous obstacles: while they are waiting for the decision on their asylum application, they are bound to be living in a reception housing system where living conditions are far from optimal. The current reception model prioritizes collective housing, which is contradictory to the needs of this vulnerable migrant group (Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen, 2017). In collective reception centers, privacy and autonomy are compromised, and residents report they feel unsafe. When a residence permit is obtained, the migrants are often pressed by time limits set by the government: two months are granted (extendable by a maximum of one month) to find housing, which is extremely difficult given their limited knowledge of the local language and housing market, but also to overcome various (institutional and/or administrative) barriers, and the limited available options due to - amongst others - discrimination (Mahieu, Ravn, 2017; Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen, 2016).

Space plays a crucial role in integration. Conceptualizing all people as being embedded socially and spatially sheds focus on the spatial aspect of integration (Eckenwiler, 2018). Current debates and conflicts related to the lack of adequate housing and the growing heterogeneity of urban populations call for a spatial turn in migration studies. Regarding the urban space as places that are created and sustained, transformed, or neglected in ways that foster or perpetuate inequities generates implications concerning place-making as a crucial process in migration and integration. This also calls for the importance of place-based interventions (Eckenwiler, 2018). Cities differ substantially from each other in their diversity. Furthermore, within cities, a large diversity and variety is found across neighborhoods. This goes along with the significant differences in lifestyles and socio-economic inequalities (Oosterlynck, Verschraegen, Van Kempen, 2018). Studies have focused on the effects of neighbourhoods and specific research areas (for example, a city or a neighbourhood), target populations and local urban policies. This allows them to delve deeper into the effects of the area and grasp all parts of these effects to the fullest. Furthermore, it prevents researchers from interpreting research results in ethnic terms. Effects of a neighborhood or area are seen as potential ways to impact the lives of the inhabitants of these areas, and increase their life chances, social cohesion in society and improve their living environment. The basic assumption of these studies is that there are 'neighborhood effects' or 'contextual effects of the living environment', suggesting that features of people's living environment impact the inhabitants of the area, regardless of their individual characteristics. Local policymakers have

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applied this perspective, shifting from a pluralist recognition of ethno-cultural diversity, and even the inclusion of various forms of diversity, to a neo-assimilationist approach (Albeda, Oosterlynck, 2018). Increasing emphasis is put on securitization, which considered ethnic diversity rather as a threat to the city's social cohesion or a social problem. This shift also impacted how policymakers have redistributed their resources. More attention has been given to the reduction of socio-economic inequalities and people's individual responsibilities to integrate with society, to achieve upward social mobility and contribute to society (in an economic way) (Saeys *et al*., 2014). Additionally, since 1982, increasingly more policy initiatives have been undertaken to stimulate neighborhood-oriented policies, which in the end also attracted an increasing number of middle-class groups to previously deprived neighborhoods, with the purpose of stimulating quality of life, economy and security (Albeda, Oosterlynck, 2018).

Two main lines of research can be distinguished. A first line focuses on how neighborhoods are ethnically diverse, and how this growing super-diversity impacts the lives of the inhabitants *and* the neighborhood itself. Here the focus lies on the unequal distribution of people across neighborhoods, and how these patterns are in line with already existing social inequalities. This means that in most cases the most vulnerable or poorest groups in society, such as many migrants, live together in the same neighborhoods, which in turn, are also often the deprived or the poorest ones (Albeda, Oosterlynck, 2018; Verhaeghe, Van der Bracht, Van de Putte, 2012; Geldof, 2013; Fleischmann *et al*., 2013; Albeda *et al*., 2018; Oosterlynck, Verschraegen, Van Kempen, 2018).

A second line of research concentrates more on the links these neighborhoods have with migration patterns (Schillebeeckx *et al*., 2019; Schrooten *et al*., 2019). The importance of having local social networks within a particular urban zone or neighborhood is found to facilitate the arrival of newcomers within this city and promote migrant integration. The increasingly superdiversity in cities has reshaped urban space and the position of migrants. This increases the number of transnational contacts and networks of these migrants. Hence, more trans-migrants can be found within the large migrant population, complicating the functioning of these super-diverse societies. When this group of trans-migrants arrives in a relatively deprived neighborhood or area, and is faced with undesirable living conditions, these living conditions may stimulate them to migrate even more rapidly and put less effort in settling within the society where they are currently living (Schrooten *et al*., 2012). Some interesting dynamics of identity formation in public space appropriation carried out by some Latin-American migrant groups in Seville were found by Martín-Díaz and Cuberos-Gallardo (2016).

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Some authors point out that the most vulnerable populations in Italy have gradually been expelled from urban centers (as in other European cities), stressing that 'cities have become economically hostile areas of life for part of the population, especially for social areas outside the residual public supply of houses, which, at the same time, are below the income levels set by the market for access to housing' (Avallone, Torre, 2016). However, with the bursting of the real estate bubble at the start of the century and the economic crisis of 2008, these processes have accelerated, and counter-trends have reached maturity: the 'housing careers' of migrants have been interrupted, or have even taken a step backwards, bringing migrants back to previous housing situations, rejecting them to conditions of precariousness and homelessness (Tosi, 2017). A compilation that shows the reverse trend in home ownership effectively shows the trend of overall sales and purchases concluded by immigrants in the period between 2006 and 2010. The drop in the five-year period is almost fifty percent (Petrillo, 2018).

On the other hand, in Spanish rural areas, some villages have implemented different programs to attract migrant population to rural settings. As Sampedro and Camarero (2018) show, there are different initiatives from councils and different groups, such as agricultural trade unions or non-governmental organizations, in which municipalities provide work or housing to newcomers.

Policy discourses and initiatives have undergone some changes in the organization of urban space and ethnic diversity, which have also clearly impacted individuals' outcomes. Simultaneously, migration patterns and flows alter over time. This intertwinement also applies to the impact of policy on integration outcomes. Policy changes are hard to evaluate as they coincide with changing migration patterns, economic trends, and globalization changes. For example, many initiatives in Antwerp (Saeys *et al*., 2014) focus on the creation and stimulation of social cohesion. However, more projects are oriented at social mobility and to a lesser extent at enhancing the economic performance of the city, and their success depends on the available financial resources. Finally, due to new and ever-changing urban environments, local policy makers and social workers have to constantly re-organise their work (trans-migrants: Schrooten *et al*., 2019; Roma population: Hemelsoet, Van Pelt, 2015).

5. Migrants integration and housing in Bologna: the MICADO case

As previously stated, the MICADO project intent to facilitate the exchange among migrants, public authorities and engaged civic society and ease migrants' access to regular social systems. Among those, housing is one

main topic to be address and the project aims in undertake it through attractive digital services. In the latest years we witnessed an increasing use of this kind of technologies in tacking societal challenges it's important to critically analyse the impact of this phenomenon on people's and institutions' life. As we are still in the process of experimenting ICT in the housing field it's crucial to monitor and evaluate the possible outcome of its use.

This section will be dedicated to the description and analysis of the main obstacles and opportunities in using digital instruments and/or platforms in the housing process for foreign people and their role played in the mitigation of the main urgent aspect linked the right to housing for migrants. As presented in the previous paragraphs, there is a combination of various and multiple factors that play a relevant role in searching and acquire a living situation that is suitable for migrants' needs. A lot of obstacles and paradoxical side effect could come to life and make this research complex and frustrating. In order to understand (or at least identify) some of them and propose some solutions, the following paragraph will share some reflections arose from interviews conducted within the MICADO project in Bologna. The methodological choice to focus on this city only (leaving behind the other 3 pilot cities: Hamburg, Madrid, and Antwerp) is linked to the peculiarity of the housing (private and public) system and the need to define a specific context in which to conduct the research activities. The UNIBO research group conducted a series of interviews with asylum seekers and refugees' service providers and local authorities in Bologna in June and July 2019, together with a total of 4 workshops involving 4 different groups of migrants (asylums seekers, women, migrants who have been living in Bologna for more than ten years and families) in July-August 2019 to identify some of the main criticalities that migrants face in their everyday life on health, education, work and housing. Nevertheless, the housing dimension has proved to be the one most affected by conflicts and problems that hinder the access of migrants and their integration process.

In this field, the most debated issues were access to rented housing through the private market and access to social housing. Except in the workshops with asylum seekers, in which the migrants present, forced to reside in the SRPAR and CAS facilities, have not yet been confronted with the issue of access to housing and, in short, do not know neither the obstacles nor the facilitating factors. Migrants, except for asylum seekers, have all expressed deep disappointment with the dynamics of searching for rented accommodation, although some positive elements have emerged. In short, we could identify these hindering factors that go through the housing issue for migrants since their arrival in Bologna, to date: low or precarious income and wages;

regulation of rental contracts; legal status of the migrant subject to annual renewal of the residence permit; racial discrimination and strong cultural prejudices; difficulty in seeking information and clarification and public institutions real estate. Moreover, these difficulties are exacerbated by some of the specificities of the Bolognese context, its strong university character, and the intensification of tourism in the last decade. Among the facilitating factors, on the other hand, the role of family members, people from work and the solidity of compatriot's networks are often a valid support for migrants in finding a decent accommodation. It is not unexpected that some of the dynamics described in the previous paragraphs were confirmed by the experiences of the migrants involved in the workshops and the authorities interviewed. To some extent then, this confirmation allowed the researchers to explore, together with those involved, some aspects related to the potential of the use of technological tools to mitigate the main obstacles in the housing search. Even thou the digitalization of communications in the market seems to be one of the main steps to improve efforts in looking and obtaining a house, the interviewee pointed out how there are multiple challenges that impede a definitive solution to guarantee a decent, stable, and affordable housing. Among the important and numerous inputs given during the in-depth interview it's possible to cluster four principal themes which were themselves analyzed with a look at the limitations and opportunities they present in the context of interventions aimed at improving housing policies.

6. What are the limits and opportunities in using an ICT solution?

This paragraph attempt to define the boundaries within which ICT solutions can effectively represent a significant facilitation and help in the search for housing, in guaranteeing equal access to the private and public real estate market and in acting as a support for the PA and the local authorities that manage these services. As a first topic, from the research emerged that there is a partial presence of data on real estate listings and housing availability. Probably linked to the multiplicity of actors and structures involved, but also the complex procedures which it is necessary to pass in order to obtain housing, migrants are very often confronted with a fragmented landscape of missing data, partial information, and endless ads that are no longer valid or lapsed.

> Services not integrated enough with each other and strong sectorization; poor knowledge of migrant regulations and judgments. (int #2, CSO)

We've been trying to put together databases for years, but until institutions stop being self-referential and want to pool everything. (int.#3, social service)

You look for ads online and don't understand if they are still valid, you call, and no one answers. There are ads from months before and you don't understand half the things. In order to get a residence permit, the house has to have specific requirements, and these are not always clear until you go to see the house. If you can. (wks #3, long staying migrants)

In fact, there is a partial presence of data on real estate listings and housing availability, and the need to constantly update makes them fragmented and inconsistent, increasing the complexity to build a reliable and up-to-date database at the city level. In this scenario, being unfamiliar with language and digital tools then becomes an additional factor in excluding migrants from a competitive and compulsive process such as looking for a home in the private market. It is no better in the public housing sector, which suffers from the same difficulty in producing up-to-date, accessible, and easy-to-understand data. The need to rely on mediating institutions can navigate migrants within the complex world of housing, in fact, represent yet another hindrance in the process of acquiring housing and existential independence and autonomy, as well as integration with the area of residence. On the other hand, this criticality could be an additional opportunity for nudging the migrant's integration service system and PA to integrate other database and to invest in digital infrastructures. As discussed in a MICADO collateral research on integration of digital infrastructures (Carlone, Maggio, Marelli, 2022) the updating and interoperability of databases and information centres on city services represents a major challenge in the field of integration processes of the migrant population with the territories in which they decide to settle. Identify this technological step as a possible facilitation also for home search and to traverse more nimbly in the housing market could accelerate the digitization process already underway in some institutional areas and promote real technological innovation in this field.

We have started to build a project of a Platform on Housing, condensing all the information for all those who have problems with housing, a citizens platform for all, not only for migrants or only for people in vulnerable situations. (int. #3, social service)

On the case-announcement issue, it might be interesting to have a space where annunciations are exchanged. For example, an elderly lady contacted services because she previously hosted a refugee's family and now in agreement with social she gets rent and reimbursements for hosting young migrants. You could

make matches between lonely elderly people who have homes with migrants who have serious housing problems. (int. #4 social service)

Second topic, that clearly became evident from the workshops with families and migrants who have been living in Bologna for more than ten years is the dynamics of racial discrimination that many (if not most) migrants face while searching for housing in the private market. Not infrequently, in the Bolognese context, Migrants find themselves excluded from market logics that become increasingly competitive and inaccessible to their needs. As one might expect, the reasons for this hostile and closed attitude are never overt and leave little, if any, room to explore the causes of exclusion or rejection.

> Income, contract is the first…But that's not enough. The problem is racism, and they don't want foreigners in their home. Only a****** give it to you, if you want an apartment like all Italians, it's impossible. I have all the square meters requirements for a family reunification, but they want the consent of the owner of the house to bring a family member ... but it is illegal. The police ask for the owner's document and his consent. (wks #4, long staying migrants)

> You get answered, during calls, "no immigrants" or other excuses where they prefer rent to students. (int. #3 Social service)

The issue clearly rests on cultural and social issues that can hardly be reduced to a single cause and therefore cannot be solved by a single measure. In the face of this awareness, therefore we are confronted with an issue that technologies can remedy in a limited way if not entering a very delicate field that rather requires tight methods of control and verification of information (e.g., reporting "racist" posts on the housing lists). The issue poses quite a few critical issues, first and foremost the methods of control and moderation of content present online, the reporting of "owners who discriminate", or the constant monitoring and updating of databases or lists based on these reports. Thus, a question arises related to who is in charge of monitoring these reports: the community? An institution? Civil society organizations? The question remains outstanding and unresolved.

In addition to the fact that - since these are socially unaccepted behaviors, albeit spread across all neighborhoods of the city - very often these discriminations take place in an untraceable way: refusal to answer the phone, refusal to show the house with more or less plausible excuses etc. Ads for overtly exclusionary housing availabilities e.g. "no renting to foreigners" are very fragmented and very often do not travel the airwaves so the possibility of online intervention is parceled out.

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> In Bologna, the most serious problem I don't think is jobs, or schooling where there are not many problems, but housing is a cross-cutting problem, it affects everyone, but for foreigners in addition there is that they are poorer and struggle more with the private market but there is also a specific discrimination that affects them as foreigners. (int #1, PA)

However, taking widespread awareness of racial discrimination in housing access, if properly mapped and discussed/shared with integration support services and administration, can help raise awareness and promote higher level of control in institutional lists and datasets. This monitoring can also be supported by ICT devices-apps and review platforms - but it requires great coordination skills and ability to and ability to operate in synergy-including through the possibility of data exchange and shared updating of databases. The complexity of the housing demand for migrants is also articulated by starting from the concept that the housing transition phase is a much more complex process than simply "looking for housing".

> The first difficulty is finding a home in a city like Bologna with a student pressure. There are national laws that limit the basic possibilities of migrants and housing, and all camps are affected. If you don't have a house, you don't renew your residence permit, which is the only thing that allows you to stay in Italy. In recent months it has become even more difficult. For those who are here recently there is a problem of language, understanding the system and finding home. (wks #4, long staying migrants)

> For us a decent house must be large, bright, with multiple rooms, you cannot stay with your children in the room all the time as here, they must also have a space for them. (wks #2, family in transition)

The statements of local authorities - who are faced with the phenomenon of housing transition, supporting families or individuals on the path to autonomy- speak of a multiplicity of issues and criteria that must exist for the process to take place in a lasting way. Obtaining a housing solution that is stable, decent, and can meet in the needs of those who live in it require levels of autonomy in terms of work, language, access to services and facilities.

> The housing transition is a more complex accompaniment than finding a home. Let's make a total evaluation of autonomy, let's try to understand why they were in a situation of homelessness, because then there is not a single cause, there are many. They've been evicted. Usually, they are the loss of work and networks of relationships and you act them to rebuild a number of things. (int. #4 social service)

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> In this day and age, just any job is not enough to get housing; you must have a stable job, an Italian guarantor, you must not have too many children (int. #3 social service)

For this reason, the third topic addressed and discussed with the people interviewed is oriented on the use of technology as a tool that can ease the communication with local authorities, and civil society organization and help keeping track of all the task to be carried out to obtain a house. Clearly, the ICT solution is collateral to a process of accompaniment that involves services in the search for housing, thus slowing down the process of autonomy and independence in housing but also educational, social, and cultural.

The role of services and local authorities in facilitating and supporting the articulated and complex process of obtaining a home is also crucial when the housing option turns to public housing. As a fourth topic discussed in the interviews and workshop, we focused on the availability of public housing and how the presence of ICT can have an added value. What emerged from the interviews is that very often this option is privileged by migrant families in the belief that it may be a more practical and accessible solution, but this is not always the case. Indeed, in Bologna, we are witnessing major transformations in the access of public housing and criteria to be eligible for a public house (Bergamaschi, Maggio, 2019; Comune di Bologna, 2021).

> Many people are attracted to public housing, then you gain a lot of points with housing transition. […] Public housing is one resource among many, you keep all possibilities open. The family will have to be guided in making the most suitable housing choice. (int #3, social service)

In addition, the access procedures-while highly digitized - turn out to be a tangled process that migrants face individually. The risk of getting lost in these steps is quite high, necessitating support from services that, as anticipated, does little to help migrants to achieve autonomy.

> Today there is ACER[5] but it does not work... for several years we have managed the collection of public housing applications, if in the years of the crisis in Bologna (6000/7000 evictions, 15/20 thousand people on the street) to right the system was also thanks to the activities of the associations. The home office of the

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[5] Acer is a public economic entity with legal personality and organizational, patrimonial, and accounting autonomy, and its activities are governed by regional law and the Civil Code. Its activities include: the management of real estate assets, including public housing (erp) housing, and the maintenance, rehabilitation, and qualification of properties, including the verification of compliance with contractual rules and regulations for the use of housing and common parts. More information at: www.acerbologna.it/.

municipality has closed the doors and were sent to the unions. Sometimes that turned into abusive occupations that have solved the problem. (int #1 PA)

Although there is great awareness that enriching and multiplying ICT tools does not automatically contribute to increased accessibility, the support of technology can be directed toward the acquisition and enhancement of digital capabilities for migrants. Some of the suggestion gain through the involvement of local authorities and migrants refer to the creation of guided online tutorial or activation of communication tools with dedicated service or offices to support the migrants to complete the procedures. In the design of the digital solutions, strong consideration was given to the issue of the digital divide, understood as the ability of migrants to physically access digital devices and the Internet line, and digital literacy, meaning the skill set needed to navigate and search for useful information to obtain housing. Clearly when we talk about digital support those are fundamental variable in the impact of new technologies in the housing market and their contribution in facilitating vulnerable populations. Regarding this aspect, many of the solicitations gathered during the interlocution with the research stakeholders later became part of the digital solution produced within the MICADO project, which includes a dedicated section for supporting the required procedures (divided step by step) to apply to the social housing graduations.

Conclusions

The research findings shared in this article are the product of an analytical activity that, starting from the MICADO project, moved toward a specific reflection on the issue of housing and the potential of ICT tools in supporting the migrant population to interact with this area of the integration process. The conclusions that can be drawn relate to two levels. One more inherent to the role of digital and the availability of data so as to map existing housing availability and to make market dynamics (housing offer and request) understandable and accessible to the migrant population, which, as discussed earlier, suffers greater dynamics of exclusion and faces many obstacles that contribute to making them vulnerable and in need of support from the local authority or social services. In this scenario, the need to ensure equitable and understandable access to data and ensure up-to-date and comprehensive databases becomes a strategic issue. However, considering the multiplicity of actors involved (private landlords, public housing authorities, local authorities, social services) this goal seems very ambitious to achieve and it is

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necessary to work in a synergistic perspective. In this regard, and this is where the reflection comes to another level (more macro and strategic) during the research work it became clear how digital solutions could be part of the wider solution, but they need to be integrated with policies and with the implementation of structural and political initiatives to address both private and public housing issue. The responsibility of local authorities and agencies involved in the integration of migrants cannot therefore be considered concluded with the enhancement or updating of ICTs for housing search, but they must know how to combine the potential of these tools with political choices capable of intervening in critical situations where these digital aids do not arrive or are insufficient. Only in this way will be possible to address the long-standing housing problem in a concrete and effective way, with the goal of ensuring decent, affordable, and stable housing for those who still remain structurally excluded from current market logics.

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La passione per le conoscenze

Within the framework of the activities of the H2020 MICADO (Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards) project, this volume brings together a set of contributions on contemporary housing, which represents one of the areas, although not the only one, in which migrants experience a condition of major vulnerability compared to the native population and that hinders their full integration in their new living context and full social participation. Migrants' request for housing is part of the broader context of housing-related problems still unresolved in our country: although they share most of the difficulties encountered by the most vulnerable segments of the native population, at the same time they face a set of additional disadvantages induced by the institutional system, linked to their precarious legal status, and by the market.

This contribution, organized in three thematic sessions (*Local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation; From housing deprivation to housing policies. Distinctive elements in the territory; Housing rights, migrant integration, and the role of ICT solutions*), analyzes housing needs both from a theoretical point of view, to prompt insights into the distinctive features of the new housing issue, but also by reporting the findings of empirical research that can provide elements of evaluation and methodological indications on the topic.

Maurizio Bergamaschi, head of the UNIBO team of the H2020 MICADO project "Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards" teaches Sociology of Territorial Social Services and Sociology of Migration at the Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna. His studies and research activities mainly concern the issues of vulnerability, urban poverty, and severe marginalization.

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