

CONTEXT ANALYSIS – BOLOGNA, ITALY

Political, economic and social background of the country\local area and general current challenges

In Italy, the crisis has produced strong effects not only from an economic, but also from a social, cultural and political point of view. Since 2008, the already fragile economic situation of the country worsened, with some relevant consequences in terms of unemployment rate, especially for youngsters, reduction of family incomes and inflation of consumer goods prices (Di Quirico, 2010).¹ From a political point of view, Italy is characterised by a high level of instability, that, in these last years, led to the intervention of technical governments. The already unstable political situation, that usually concerns the rivalry between the center-left party and the right party (but also some extreme right parties such as Lega Nord) has become more complex since the emergence, in 2009, of the Five Stars Movement (“Movimento Cinque Stelle”), a populist party that takes an ambiguous position about migration and refugees protection. Some of the main political and social issues that characterize the actual public debate are: the instability of the political asset, the arrival of migrants and refugees, especially from the Mediterranean Sea, gender relations and the economic and financial crisis.

Bologna is the capital city of Emilia-Romagna region, and it is located in the north-east part of Italy. Bologna has 389.009 inhabitants (2017) and, in 2014, has become a Metropolitan City (1.009.828 inhabitants in 2017). As for the rest of the Italian areas, the Emilia-Romagna region has suffered from the consequences of the crisis. However, this region presents some positive data in comparison to other areas. For example, as far as youth unemployment rate is concerned, the Emilia-Romagna region presents a better situation (22%) than the Italian average (37,8%), and only between 2013 and 2014 the youth unemployment rate exceeded the 30%.² The data about Gross Domestic Product reveal a relative good position of the region in comparison to the average of the Italian territories: in 2015 the regional GDP was 119 million of euros, while in Italy the GDP was

¹ Di Quirico, R. (2010). Italy and the Global Economic Crisis, *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, 2, 2, 3-19.

² http://statistica.regione.emilia-romagna.it/factbook/fb/lavoro/td_g, last visit 15\01\2018.

96 million of euros.³ The political situation is also quite stable: the region and is led by PD – Partito Democratico (Democratic Party) and the same party won the elections in Bologna as well.

Migration and refugee situation and measures taken by the government, NGOs and other organizations

Basic facts on migration, asylum seekers and refugees

Until the second part of the Nineteenth century, Italy was a country of emigration, with millions of Italians migrating to the Americas and to other countries (mostly in Europe) for economic and political reasons, with 13 million leaving between 1880 and 1915 (Wihtol de Wenden, 2015)⁴. However, due to different causes (the crisis of the Soviet bloc, demographic and economic change, etc.), between the '80s and the '90s Italy has started to receive important flows of migrants from different countries all over the world (in a first period from Albania and other areas of the Balkans, lately from mostly Africa and Asia as well). In 2017, 5.047.028 regular migrants live in Italy (among them 2.642.899 women and 2.404.129 men). The most represented nationalities are: Romanians, Albanians, Moroccans, Chinese, Ukrainians, Philippines and Indians⁵, while regular non-EU citizens represent approximately 70% of all foreign residents. Data also show that the presence of foreigners has an inhomogeneous distribution in the Italian territory (57.8% north, 25.7% center, 16.5% south).⁶

In the last decade, hundreds of thousands of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants have put their lives at risk to reach Italian shores. By 2016 the number of asylum seekers who asked for protection in Italy was 123.600 people, many of them from Nigeria, Pakistan and Gambia, but also from the regions of North and Central Africa.⁷ As for regular migration (non-EU citizens), 3.714.137 people (48,5% women) are living in Italy (2016-2017), with a strong presence from Morocco, Albania, China, Ukraine and Philippines.⁸ As we will explain, “the number of migrants arriving on Italian shores has had a strong and direct impact on the nation’s policies and on its relationships with EU

³ <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database>, last visit 15\01\2018.

⁴ Wihtol de Wenden, C. (2015). *Il diritto di migrare*. Roma: Ediesse.

⁵ <http://stra-dati.istat.it/Index.aspx>, last visit 20\01\2018.

⁶ IDOS, *Dossier Statistico immigrazione 2017*. For further information see: <http://www.saluteinternazionale.info/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Scheda-dossier-2017-DEF1.pdf>, last visit 17\01\2018.

⁷ <http://openmigration.org/infografiche#italia>, last visit 15\01\2018.

⁸ <http://www.istat.it/it/files/2017/10/Info-ita.pdf>, last visit 15\01\2018.

institutions and other member states” (Musarò, Parmiggiani, 2017, p.4)⁹, to the point that Bojadžijev and Mezzadra (2015)¹⁰ suggest to reflect upon the “crisis of European migration policies” instead of the “refugee crisis”.

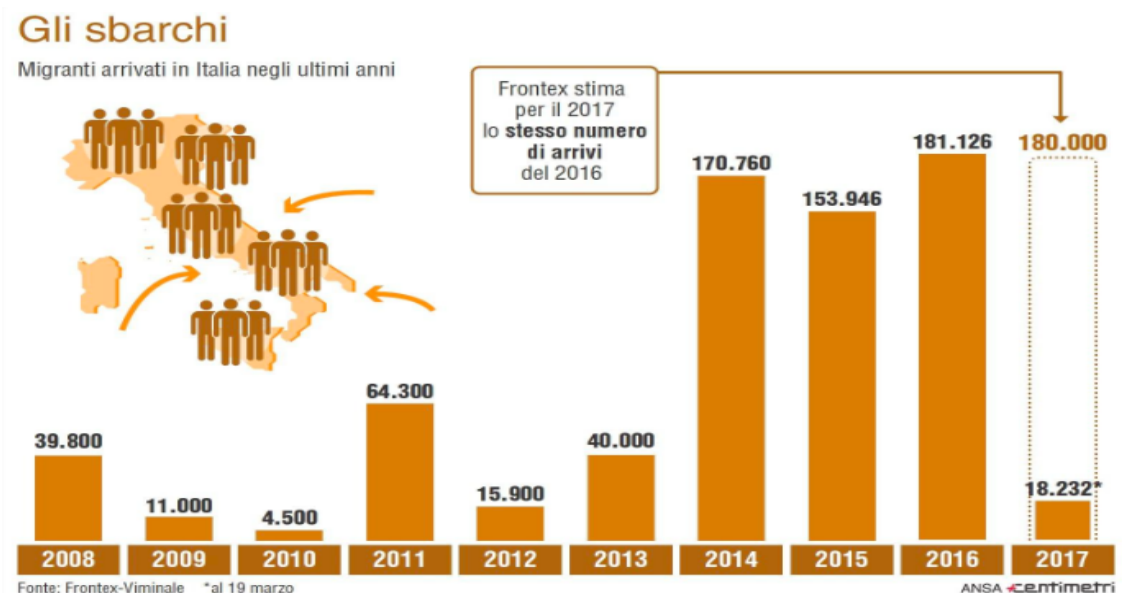


Figure 1: Migrants arrived in Italy through the Mediterranean Sea (years). Source: Frontex-Viminale.

The Emilia-Romagna region is the Italian region with the highest number of resident migrants (12,1%, while in Italy is 8,2%). The majority of regular migrants come from Romania, Morocco, Albania, Ukraine, Moldova and China and the percentage on the resident population is higher in small towns (about 20%).¹¹ The majority of migrants lives in Bologna (59.646 people), where they represent the 15,4% of the resident population. Regular migrants who live in Bologna come mostly

⁹ Musarò, P., Parmiggiani, P. (2017). Beyond black and white: the role of media in portraying and policing migration and asylum in Italy, *International Review of Sociology*.

¹⁰ Bojadžijev, M., Mezzadra, S. (2015). *Refugee crisis' or crisis of European migration policies?*, Focaalblog. Available from: <http://www.focaalblog.com/2015/11/12/manuela-bojadzijeve-and-sandro-mezzadra-refugee-crisis-or-crisis-of-european-migration-policies/>, last visit 18/01/2018.

¹¹ http://sociale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/immigrati-e-stranieri/temi/Commenti_con_analisi_dati_osservatorio/sintesi-statistica-sulla-presenza-di-cittadini-stranieri-dati-1-1-2016, last visit 15/01/2018.

Romania, Philippines, Bangladesh and Pakistan.¹² As the Figure below shows, migrants live most in the urban areas of Bolognina, San Donato, Santa Viola, Corticella e Lame.¹³ In these areas (e.g.: Bolognina, but also Croce del Biacco, etc.) there are some social conflicts linked to the presence of migrants and refugees.

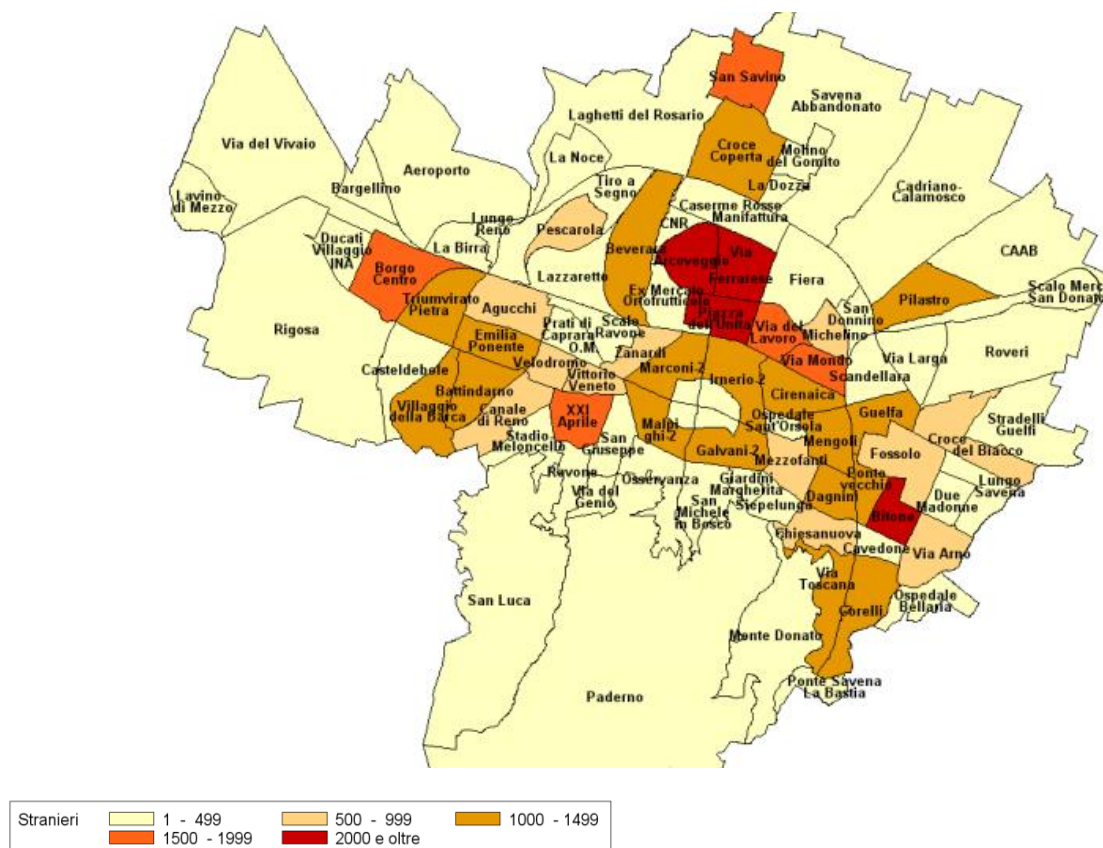


Figure 2: Migrants' areas of residence in Bologna (31 December 2016). Source: Municipality of Bologna.

In Bologna, the number of asylum seekers is high as well. In 2015, 6.493 people were hosted in public facilities in the Emilia-Romagna region (5.680 in CAS, 813 in SPRAR¹⁴), waiting to obtain a temporary permit.¹⁵ In 2016, 350 migrants and asylum seekers are hosted in SPRAR in Bologna,

¹² http://www.comune.bologna.it/iperbole/piancont/Stranieri/StudiStranieri/Stranieri_aBo/2017/Stranieri_2016_12.pdf , last visit 15\01\2018.

¹³ http://www.comune.bologna.it/iperbole/piancont/Stranieri/StudiStranieri/Stranieri_aBo/2017/Stranieri_2016_12.pdf, last visit 15\01\2018.

¹⁴ For further explanations, see section B.3).

¹⁵ <http://sociale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/immigrati-e-stranieri/temi/archivio-dati/archivio-pubblicazioni/volume%20ed%202016>, last visit 15\01\2018.

with an incidence on the national territory of 5,4% (6th region in Italy, preceded by Sicily, Lazio, Calabria, Puglia and Lombardy). In 2017, 1.593 people were, in general, hosted by the reception system of the city of Bologna (including HUB, CAS and SPRAR).

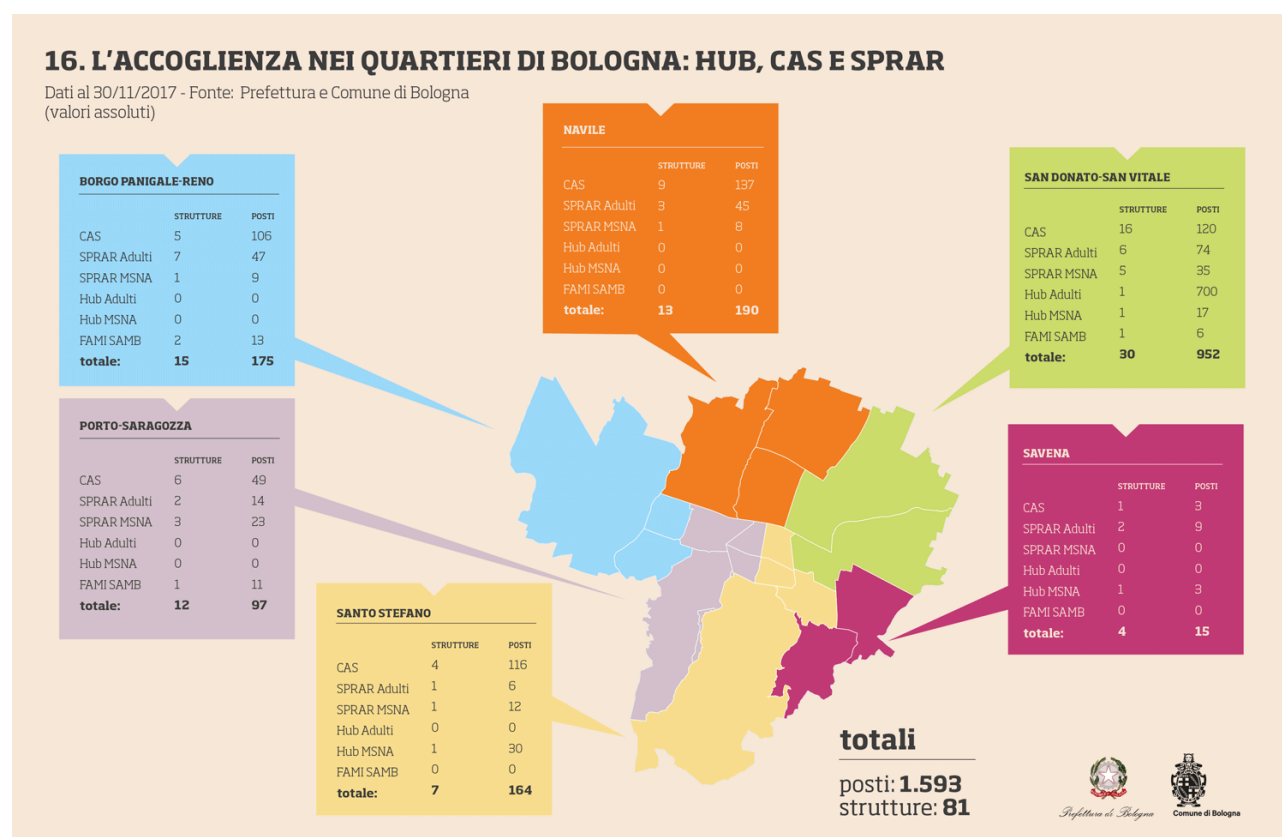


Figure 3: People hosted by the reception system in Bologna in 2017 (geographical distribution). Source: Bologna Cares.

18. SISTEMA DI ACCOGLIENZA: POSTI SU POPOLAZIONE

Dati al 30/11/2017 - Fonte: Comune e Prefettura di Bologna (valori assoluti)

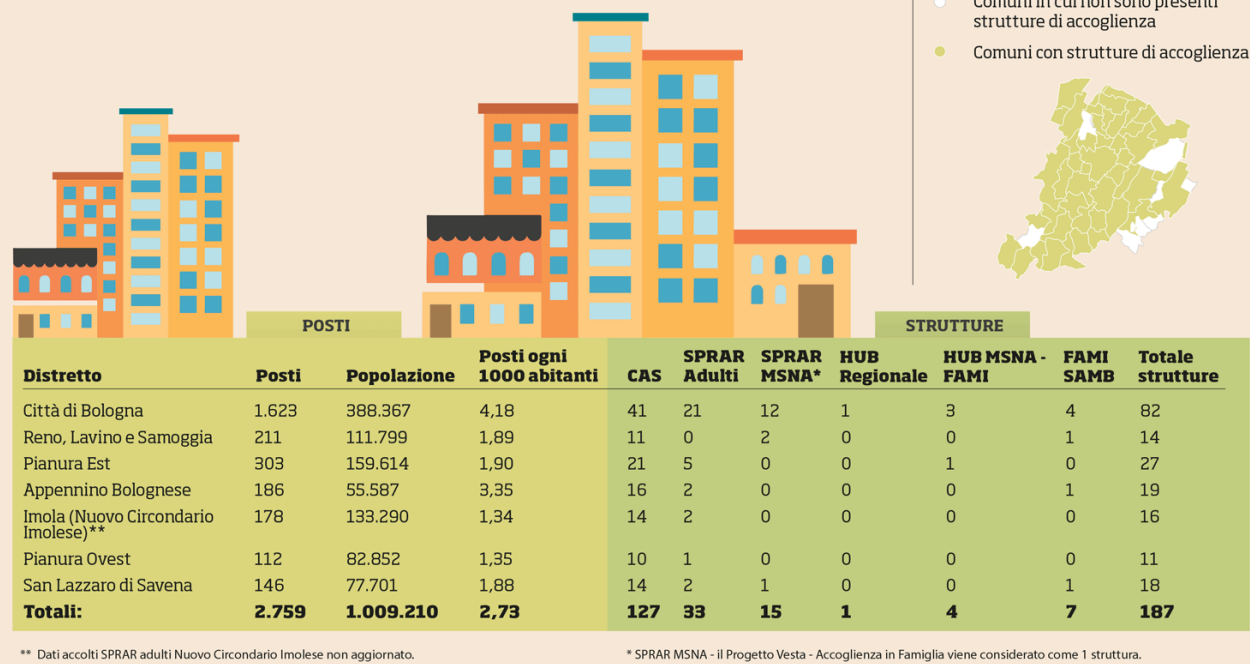


Figure 4: Reception system: percentage on resident population (2017). Source: Bologna Cares.

Policies and actions on the national and local level

In the 1980s, Italy found itself transformed from a country of emigrants — especially to the Americas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and to other European countries — to a growing receiver of immigrants. For this reason, until the '80s, Italy did not have any laws to explicitly address migration. The first of these laws (no. 943), passed in 1986, regulated immigrants' access to the labor market. Following the union-led protest in 1989 which forced immigration on the government's agenda, Law no. 39 (known as the Martelli Law) was passed in 1991 and recognized both the rights and obligations of immigrants. With these laws, Italy's first comprehensive immigration legislation was set in motion¹⁶. However, Law no. 39 failed to define a real procedure for legal entry. This slowly led to an increase in illegal immigration because both the Italian

¹⁶ <http://www.saisjournal.org/posts/italian-immigration-policies>, last visit 20/01/2018.

economy required a greater number of workers and Italian families a larger number of domestic helpers. The bulk of the legislation that currently regulates immigration and integration matters in Italy is the result of two laws. The Single Act no. 286 of July 25, 1998, which was essentially based on Law no. 40 of March 6, 1998, called the Turco-Napolitano Law¹⁷ and Law no. 189 of July 30, 2002, called the Bossi-Fini Law¹⁸. A recent important change in the Italian regulatory system is represented by the Minniti-Orlando Decree. As Esposito (2017)¹⁹ affirms, “the main aim of the reform is ‘to curtail illegal immigration’, mandates the expansion of the immigration detention estate to increase deportations. To this effect, detention facilities, called Accommodation Centres for Repatriations (Centri di Permanenza per i Rimpatri), will be established in every Italian region.” However, different criticisms against this law have been advanced, in particular in reference to the conditions of life in the centers and the access to asylum: “the new law establishes only two jurisdictional levels, instead of three, for appealing against an asylum decision, thus reducing asylum seekers’ guarantees and possibilities to be eligible for asylum” (Esposito, 2017).

As for asylum seekers, Italian legal system provides for a complex framework of assistance and reception. In fact, the country has ratified the most important international treaties providing for the protection of refugees and their families (Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 and the European Convention for the

¹⁷ This law was an attempt to regularise the position of non-EU immigrants and improve their integration. This law established intricate procedures for the deportation of illegal immigrants who, once arrested by the police, could eventually be deported only after their case was judged by a magistrate. After the magistrate issued an order of deportation, the illegal immigrant had two weeks to appeal against the decision. In many cases, immigrants reportedly often used this time to go underground. <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/new-legislation-regulates-immigration>, last visit 17/01/2018.

¹⁸ Bossi Fini law introduced serious sanctions and non-existent grants towards irregular migrant citizens who can be excluded as well. This law tightens the norms against the aiding and abetting of illegal immigrants. Immigrants found in international waters, formerly outside of the patrolling power of Italy, can be sent back to their country or to neighbouring countries. Strong criticism have been moved against this law (see, for example: <https://strugglesinitaly.wordpress.com/equality/en-immigration-policies-in-italy/#bossi-fini>, last visit 18/01/2018. Some of the most significant changes included: immigrant quotas, mandatory employer-immigrant contracts, stricter illegal immigration deportation practices, amnesty for illegal immigrants who have worked and lived in the country for over three months, and new provincial immigration offices to help manage immigrant worker and family reunification cases. The law also provided for the legalization of two types of irregular immigrants: those employed either as domestic workers and home-helpers or as dependent workers. These individuals could qualify for regularization, provided that they had not received a deportation order. <http://www.saisjournal.org/posts/italian-immigration-policies>, last visit 18/01/2018.

¹⁹ Esposito, F. (2017) A Critical Look at the Italian Immigration and Asylum Policy: Building ‘Walls of Laws’. Available at: <https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2017/07/critical-look>, last visit 20/01/2018.

Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950, UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951). However, Italy is among the few European countries to proclaim a right to asylum in their Constitution.²⁰ The Italian Constitution provides that “foreigner who, in his home country, is denied the actual exercise of the democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Italian constitution shall be entitled to the right of asylum under the conditions established by law”²¹.

Another important document that has relevant consequences on Italian reception system is the Dublin Regulation (III)²², which defines which State has the obligation to evaluate the asylum claims presented by people who arrive in Europe. The Dublin Regulation declares that the asylum request by a third country national is to be presented in the first European country the person arrives in and where he or she was identified by local authorities. This evidently leads to two kinds of consequences: that individual preferences – that is, where people arriving into Europe actually want to go to and where do they wish to live – are bound to not be properly taken into account and that coastal southern European countries are more exposed to migration flows and their management and reception.

Recently (December 2017), Italian public and political debate has been focused on the vote for the so-called “ius soli” bill, which would create an earlier path to citizenship for children of foreign parents born and schooled in Italy. However, because of the limited number of members of Parliament that decided to vote in favour of this change, Italy still has the “ius sanguinis” law, that affirms that citizenship is determined by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state and not by place of birth.

²⁰For any further information visit https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/italy.php#_ftn6, last visit 16\01\2018.

²¹ http://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/istituzione/costituzione_inglese.pdf, archived at <https://perma.cc/B6VQ-GVQ7>, last visit 16\01\2018.

²² <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:180:0031:0059:EN:PDF>, last visit 16\01\2018.

YEAR	ACTS
1995	Law 563/1995 “Urgent provisions for the further use of the police personnel for the control of the maritime borders in the Apulia region”, (G.U.R.I. n.303 of 30-12-1995) ⁷ .
1998	Law 40/1998 “Discipline on immigration and norms on Foreign Status” (also called Law Turco-Napolitano). (G.U.R.I. no. 59 of 12.03.1998 – Ordinary Supplement no. 40) ⁸
1998	Legislative Decree no. 286/1998 “Consolidated Act on provisions concerning the Immigration regulations and foreign national conditions norms”, <u>amended by</u> : Law no. 189/2002 “concerning amendments on immigration and asylum laws”.
2002	Law n.189/2002, “Modifications to immigration and asylum legislation”. (G.U.R.I. no.199 of 26.08.2002, <i>ordinary supplement</i>), through which the SPRAR system has been institutionalized. ¹⁰
2007	Legislative Decree no. 251/2007 “Implementation of Directive 2004/83/EC on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted” (G.U.R.I. no 3 of 04/01/2008) ¹¹ <u>amended by</u> : Legislative Decree no. 18/2014 “Implementation of Directive 2011/95/EU”.
2008	Legislative Decree no. 25/2008 “Implementation of Directive 2005/85/EC on minimum standards on procedures in Member States for granting and withdrawing refugee status” (G.U.R.I. no 40 of 16/02/2008) ¹² , amended by: Legislative Decree no. 159/2008 “Amendments and integration of the legislative Decree of 28 January 2008 [...]”, <u>amended by</u> : Legislative Decree no. 142/2015.
2009	Law 94/2009 “Norms on public security” (Security Package), (G.U.R.I. n.170 of 24-07-2009 - Ordinary Supplement n. 128) ¹³
2011	Legislative Decree no. 89/2011 “Urgent provisions for the full application of the Directive 2004/38/EC on the free movement of EU citizens and for the transposition of the Directive 2008/115/EC on returning illegally staying third-country nationals” (G.U.R.I. no. 55 of 06/07/2011) ¹⁴ Implemented by: Law 129/2011 (G.U.R.I. n. 164 of 16/07/2011).

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2011	Legislative Decree no. 150/2011 “Additional provisions to the Code of Civil Procedure concerning the reduction and simplification of cognition civil proceedings, under Article 54 of the law 18 June 2009, n. 69” (G.U.R.I. no.220 of 21/09/2011) ¹⁵ .
2014	Legislative Decree no. 24/2014 “Prevention and repression of trafficking in persons and protection of the victims, implementing Directive 2011/36/EU” (G.U.R.I. no 60 of 13/03/2014) ¹⁶ .
2014	Legislative Decree no. 119/2014 “[...] for assuring the functionality of the Ministry of Interior (Article 5 to 7)” (G.U.R.I. no 194 of 22/08/2014) ¹⁷ , implemented by Law no. 146/2014 (G.U.R.I. no 245 del 21/10/2014).
2014	Law no.161/2014 “Provisions for Italy’s compliance with the EU obligations – European Law 2013-bis” (G.U.R.I. no 261 of 10/11/2014) ¹⁸ .
2015	Legislative Decree 142/2015 “Implementation of Directive 2013/33/EU on standards for the reception of asylum applicants and the Directive 2013/32/EU on common procedures for the recognition and revocation of the status of international protection” (G.U.R.I. no 214 of 15/09/2015) ¹⁹ .
2016	Legislative Decree n. 113/2016, urgent financial measures for local authorities (G.U.R.I. no 146 of 24/06/2016) ²⁰ . <i>Implemented by:</i> Law no. 160/2016 (G.U.R.I. no 194 of 20/08/2016).
2016	Legislative Decree n. 193/2016 Urgent provisions for taxation matters and for financing non-postponable needs (converted into Law n. 225/2016), with particular reference to art. 12 “Urgent measures for the municipalities in the field of hospitality” (G.U.R.I. 249 of 24/10/2016) ²¹
2016	Decree 10 November 2016, n. 234 “Regulation for determining the age of unaccompanied minors victims of trafficking, in implementation of Article 4, paragraph 2, of Legislative Decree 4 March 2014, n. 24 (G.U.R.I. 298 of 22/12/2016) ²² .
2017	Legislative Decree no. 13/2017 “Urgent measures for accelerating the proceedings related to the international protection, as well as for fighting against illegal immigration” (G.U.R.I. no 40 of 17/02/2017) ²³ .
2017	Law 13 April 2017, no. 46 “Conversion into law, with modifications, of the Decree-Law of 17 February 2017, no. 13, laying down urgent provisions for the acceleration of international protection procedures, as well as for the fight against illegal immigration (also known as Law <i>Minniti-Orlando</i>). (G.U.R.I. Series n.90 of 18-04-2017) ²⁴ .

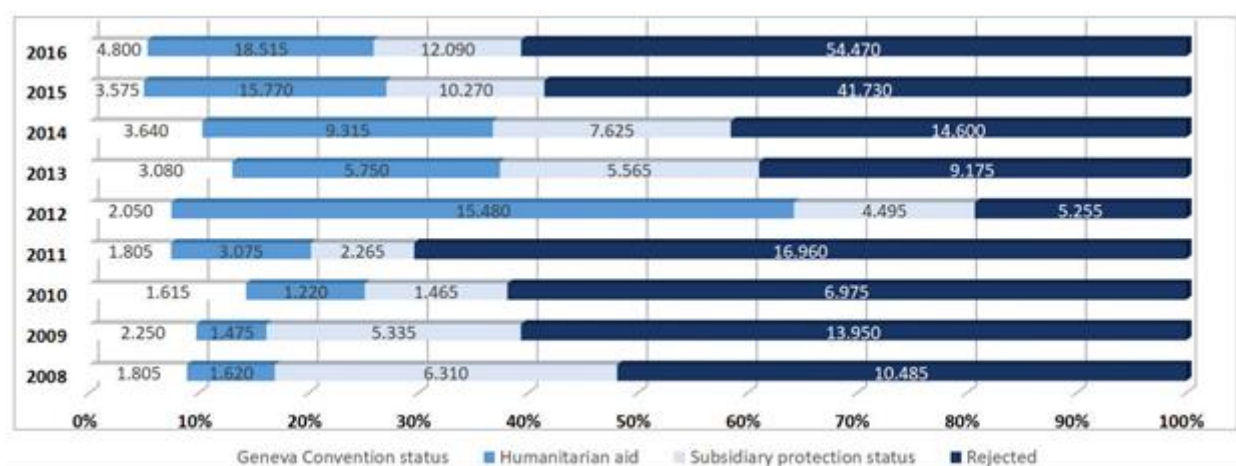
Figure 5: Main legislative acts regulating the asylum seekers and refugees sector in Italy

Main actors / stakeholders dealing with migration

Italian legislation has created several government agencies at the national and regional levels to provide assistance to asylum seekers, including the review of their applications, financial and material help, and the monitoring of their activities within the country. Legislation that accords with Italy’s international and European obligations has also established grounds for the rejection of asylum requests. Italian law provides for an abbreviated procedure for the review of asylum requests under certain conditions. Asylum seekers may be granted either refugee status or subsidiary international protection status. Relocation and repatriation procedures are also regulated in national legislation. Asylum-related administrative decisions are subject to judicial review. Once

granted protected status, refugees may avail themselves of all the education, work, health care, housing, and other benefits established by law for Italian citizens. Finally, protective measures are established for unaccompanied minors found in the country.

Persons eligible for “subsidiary protection” are foreign citizens who do not qualify to be recognized as refugees but with respect to whom there are reasonable grounds to consider that. A “claim for international protection” is one aimed at obtaining the status of refugee or the status of person eligible for subsidiary protection. A “requester of international protection” is a citizen of a third country or a stateless person who requests to be admitted to an internationally protected category. “Humanitarian protection,” in turn, is the protection granted to citizens of a third country who are found in objective and serious personal conditions that do not allow their removal from Italy and whose request for international protection is denied. Finally, “Unaccompanied minors” are those foreigners younger than eighteen years of age who are found, for whatever reasons, in the national territory, deprived of assistance or legal representation.²³



Source: Eurostat (migr_asydcfina), data extracted on 18.07.2017

Figure 6: Asylum applications in Italy – Distribution of First instance decisions by outcome (2008-2016). Source: Eurostat.

The Italian authorities competent to examine the asylum application and to take first instance decisions are the Territorial Commissions for the Recognition of International Protection (CTRPI) and Sub-commissions, which are administrative bodies specialised in the field of asylum, under the

²³ https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/italy.php#_ftn6, last visit 16/01/2018.

Ministry of Interior. On 23 August 2014, Decree-Law 119/2014 entered into force²⁴. It has established the possibility of enlarging the number of the Territorial Commissions from 10 to 20, as well as to create 30 additional sub-Commissions in the entire national territory, in order to boost and improve the management of the increasing number of applications for international protection. Between 2015 and 2016, Bologna was included among the new Territorial Commissions.

There are 5 possible outcomes to the regular procedure, the fifth outcome have been inserted by LD 142/2015. According to this legislative framework, the Territorial Commission may decide to:

- Grant refugee status and issue a 5-year renewable residence permit;
- Grant subsidiary protection and issue a 5-year renewable residence permit;
- Recommend to the Police to issue a 2-year residence permit on humanitarian grounds e.g. for health conditions;
- Reject the asylum application; or
- Reject the application as manifestly unfounded.

Concretely, the Italian reception system is articulated into different and correlated reception phases, properly regulated by the Italian Legislative Decree 142/2015:

The phase of first aid and assistance is based on operations that take place in the centres set up in the principal places of disembarkation. This phase is managed through targeted assistance centres called Centres of First Aid and Assistance (Centri di Primo Soccorso e Assistenza, CPSA), established by Law 563/1995²⁵ (known also as “Apulia Law”). With the adoption of the Italian roadmap, the HOTSPOT centres have been superimposed on CPSAs. Today, four HOTSPOT are functioning in Italy: Lampedusa (Sicily, former CPSA), Taranto (Apulia), Pozzallo (Sicily) and Trapani (Sicily, former CIE).

The first reception phase is implemented in existing collective centres or in centres established by specific Ministerial Decrees or, in case of unavailability of places, in “temporary” structures. This phase is managed by Local Prefectures that respond to the Minister of Internal Affairs. This phase is managed by CARA, CDA and CAS:

²⁴ <http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2014/08/22/14G00137/sg>, last visit 16\01\2018.

²⁵ <http://www.osservatoriomigranti.org/assets/files/DET-NORM-NAZ/Decreto%20Legge%20n.%204891995.pdf>, last visit 16\01\2018.

- Reception Centres for Asylum Applicants (Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo – CARA), established by the Legislative Decree no. 25/2008. There, asylum applicants stay with freedom to come and go during daytime, awaiting identification and access to the procedure of refugee status recognition.
- Reception Centres (Centri di Prima Accoglienza – CDA), established by the Law 563/1995. These are facilities in which the newly arrived migrants should be transferred regardless of the legal status to guarantee initial support and accommodation and issue measures either regularizing their position in Italy or providing for their deportation.
- Extraordinary Reception Centres (Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria, CAS). In the event of “close and large arrivals of asylum seekers” that cannot be accepted in the reception centers or in the SPRAR network, article 11 of the Dlgs. 142/2015 provides for the preparation of extraordinary measures of reception in “temporary structures” on the disposition of the Prefectures, after hearing the local authority in whose territory the facility is located and by regular public tendering procedure. In cases of extreme urgency, direct procedures are allowed.
- Finally, former CIE now CPR close the first reception phase system. Established in 1998 (art. 12 of Law 40/1998), the Centres of temporary permanence, after called Centres of Identification and Expulsion – CIE (Law 189/2002), and recently, in 2017, renamed Hosting Centres for Repatriation (Centri di Permanenza per i Rimpatri, CPR), by Law L 46/2017, are those structures in charge of repatriation tasks. At the beginning of 2017, in Italy four CPR are functioning, respectively in Brindisi (Apulia), Caltanissetta (Sicily), Roma (Lazio), Torino (Piemonte), for a total hosting capacity of 359 places. According to the recent Law L 46/2017, each Italian Region should have to establish a CPR inside its territory in the next months.

A second reception phase is managed through the System for the Protection of Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) Network. Established in 2002 by Law 189/2002, the SPRAR is a publicly funded network of local authorities and NGOs which host asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection. It is made up by small reception structures where assistance and integration services are provided. SPRAR accommodates those destitute asylum seekers that have already

formalized their applications. Therefore, asylum applicants already present in the territory may have access directly to the SPRAR centres. Firstly launched as an experimentation under the Italian National Asylum Plan, it became an institutionalized multilevel governance of the socio-economic integration of asylum seekers, a responsibility jointly shared between Local Authorities and no profit sector. Socio-economic inclusion projects are submitted by Local Authorities and financed, in case of approval, through the Italian National Fund addressed to the policies and services for asylum (Fondo nazionale per le politiche e i servizi dell'asilo - FNPSA). Each approved project works through the activation of basic material interventions (food and housing) and social inclusion services provisions, such as: linguistic-cultural mediation; labour guidance and access to local services; Italian language teaching and introducing school for minor; vocational training and retraining; housing and social integration; legal counseling; psycho-social-health protection.

In Bologna, the reception system mainly works on the basis of these three levels: the arrival at the regional HUB - which acts as a sorting center for migrants arriving from the centers of southern Italy according to the regional distribution quotas -, where migrants formalize their asylum request, make a first medical examination and identification, a first reception in CAS facilities (there are no Cara / Cda in the Bologna area) and the second reception in SPRAR.²⁶ Bologna was the first city in Italy to open a regional HUB as declared by the State-Regions Agreement of 2014: the Mattei Center, the former CIE of Bologna, was transformed in HUB in July 2014 after a long and fierce campaign carried out by a broad coalition of local actors (social centers, trade unions and associations of the third sector) with the support of some local politicians who have spent on the cause.²⁷ The structure has 334 seats. However, the current number of presences is far above its capacity, so that it was necessary to add prefabricated buildings and transfer a hundred people to hotels in the province. Since March 2015, a regional HUB with 80 seats for minor asylum seekers has also been operational in Bologna. From the HUB, adults are transferred to CAS. There are 95 CAS structures in the Metropolitan Area of Bologna (which includes, in addition to that of the city of Bologna, another 6 districts of the province that count together 721 places), for a total of 1503

²⁶ <http://www.bolognacares.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/lai-momo-accoglienza-web.pdf>, p. 3, last visit 17/01/2018.

²⁷ Data collected in Liberati, E., 2016, *Le sfide per l'inserimento socio-economico dei titolari di protezione internazionale. L'esperienza degli operatori dell'accoglienza nella città di Bologna*, master's thesis.

places in 2017.²⁸ The capacity of the structures varies from the smallest ones (apartments for 5-6 people), to the largest (the one located in Villa Aldini that counts alone 100 places). However, it should be noted that the CAS system has undergone a major expansion in the last two years, going from 98 places of February 2014 to 1260 in 2016 and 1503 in 2017²⁹. As for SPRARs, the reception system has 193 reception places in Bologna and 30 in Imola (a town located in the Metropolitan Area of Bologna), situated in 22 structures (with an average of 8.7 persons per residential unit). In 2016, 253 people were hosted in SPRARs, including 115 males and 77 females, most aged between 26 and 35, coming from Gambia, Syria and Somalia³⁰, while in 2017 the SPRAR system hosted 257 people. The organization in charge of the SPRAR system in Bologna is the Municipality of Bologna, and in particular ASP (Public Company of Services to the Person)³¹, a non-profit public organization, managed by the regional regulation system. Its creation, in 2015, results from three pre-existing structures: the Public Company of Poor People's Services, the Public Service Company Giovanni XXIII and the IriDes Public Service Company. It is essentially a municipal body, with a small provincial and private participation.

Given this complexity, a recent research about the reception system in Bologna (Liberati, Musarò, Parmiggiani, 2017)³² underlined the importance to develop an approach based on the “immigrant policy” rather than on the “immigration policy”, trying to support the active role of migrants and refugees in creating income opportunities and in re-building a new life and social relations in Italy.

²⁸ SPRAR, Comune di Bologna and Prefettura di Bologna (2016). *Il sistema di accoglienza richiedenti asilo e rifugiati, adulti e MSNA. Area Metropolitana di Bologna*. Retrieved from www.bolognacares.it, last visit 17/01/2018.

²⁹ <http://www.bolognacares.it/dati/>, ultima visita 16/01/2018.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ <http://www.aspbologna.it/>, last visit 15/01/2018.

³² Liberati, E., Musarò, P., Parmiggiani, P. (2017). Il Rimpatrio volontario assistito nel vissuto dei richiedenti asilo e degli operatori dell'accoglienza. *Africa e Mediterraneo*, 86.

7. SPRAR ADULTI METROPOLITANO: NAZIONALITÀ

Presenti al 30/11/2017 - Fonte: Comune di Bologna
(valori assoluti)



254

Totale dei beneficiari
presenti al 30/11/2017

32

Nazionalità

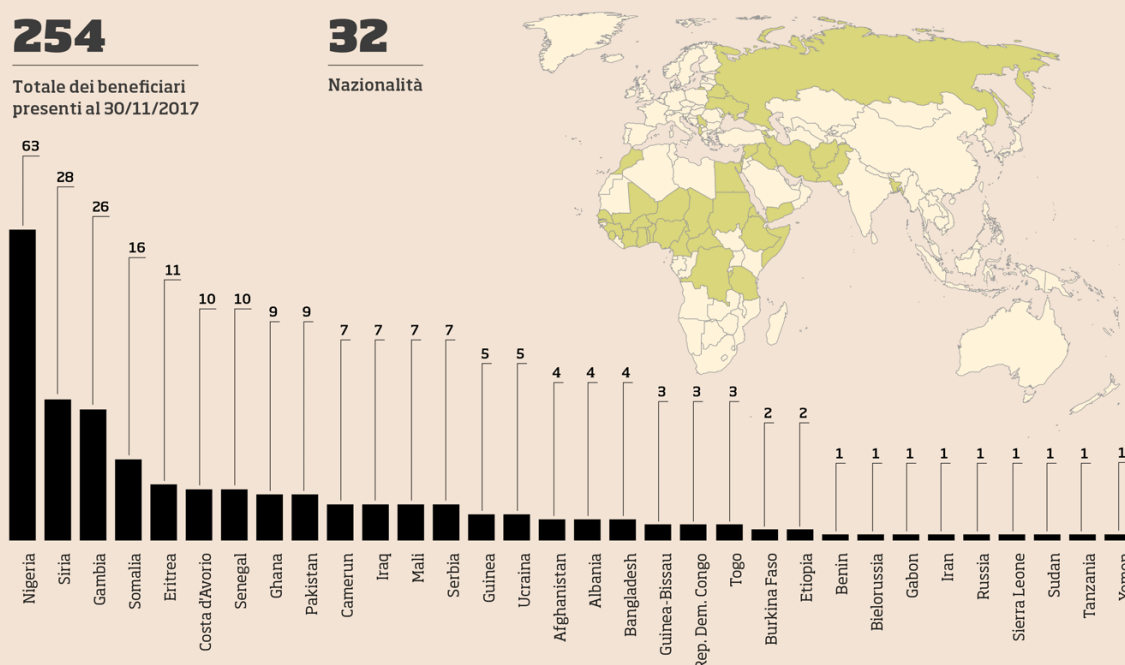


Figure 7: Nationality of migrants and asylum seekers hosted in SPRAR in Bologna (2017). Source: Bologna Cares.

Attitudes and behaviours towards migrants and refugees

In Italy, migration and asylum seeking are tendentially faced by national government from a narrow national perspective, often distorted by media representation. While immigrants are thus becoming an increasingly important part of Italian society in terms of numbers, and although several researches have started recognising the potential benefits of immigrants for the Italian economy and for the labour market (Solari 2016)³³, they are still neither wanted nor welcomed by society, as can be seen in the country's strict immigration and deportation laws (Ambrosini 2013).³⁴ Especially since the early 1990s, the 'migration crisis' has been high on the European agenda and a main cause of concern for European citizens, alarmed by the 'invasion' of 'potential terrorists' as well as preoccupied with the humanitarian duty of safeguarding the rights of people who are attempting to

³³ Solari, S. (2016). *How immigrants are saving the Italian economy and pensions*. Available from: <https://openmigration.org/en/op-ed/how-immigrants-are-saving-the-italian-economy-and-pensions>, last visit 19/01/2018.

³⁴ Ambrosini, M. (2013). *Irregular migration and Invisible Welfare*. New York: Palgrave.

cross borders. As Musarò (2017, p.13) affirms, politicians and the media began representing migrants crossing borders represent “a significant problem to be managed in terms of a wider social, cultural and political ‘crisis’”. The main political and media representations of migration have supported a distorted vision of the migrant or asylum seeker, who is often seen and described or as a victim or as an invader – or, in some cases, as functional to the national economic system. For this reason, in Italy, the humanitarian aspect in favour of migrants co-exists with the military logic of protection against migrants. As Albahari (2015)³⁵ argues: like the different light refractions of the same kaleidoscope, the national spectacle of policing and border control is also the cosmopolitan spectacle of rescue and salvation. In this context, the hyper visibility of the military-humanitarian spectacle of the border (Cuttitta, 2012)³⁶, usually leads to the obscuration of the political and economic stakes surrounding European borders.

On the other side, the high unemployment rate, the reduction of the welfare system and the growing individualisation that characterize modern societies (including Italy), has contributed to an attitude and a behaviour of disappointment and anger against migrants and strangers in general (Bauman, 2016)³⁷. This attitude sometimes turns into a process of nationalism linked especially – but not only – to marginalised social groups. As for the rest of most European countries, in Italy the extreme right political groups are gaining importance in the public debate and, in many occasions, express against Italian reception system, sometimes through direct or indirect acts of physical, psychological and symbolic violence against migrants and asylum seekers.

In Bologna, there are some cases of direct or indirect violence against migrants and NGOs, associations and individuals that work to help their situation. As showed in the map about the presence of migrants and refugees in specific urban and peripheral areas (section B.1), some territories are characterized by a higher presence of migrants. This concentration sometimes leads to some social problems such as conflicts with the local population, lack of services, intercultural and interreligious conflicts, violence, social exclusion, etc.

³⁵ Albahari, M. (2015). *Crimes of peace: mediterranean migrations at the world's deadliest border*. Philadelphia: PENN.

³⁶ Cuttitta, P. (2012). *Lo spettacolo del confine*. Milano-Udine: Mimesis.

³⁷ Bauman, Z. (2016). *Stranieri alle porte*. Roma: Laterza.

However, since Italy is one of the countries that receives the higher number of asylum seekers (see Dublin Regulation, section B.2), the national context is characterised by a wide number of associations, NGOs, informal groups, citizens, foundations, etc. that engage themselves in the management of migration, usually through some interesting and innovative projects (see section below) that try to foster social integration in the Italian society.

There are different organisations that intervene in the reception system in Bologna. Some of them, for example, intervene in the management of SPRARs: the Lai-Momo cooperatives, Mondo Donna, Camelot and those belonging to the Arcolaio consortium.³⁸ Lai-Momo social cooperative³⁹ takes care of the reception of asylum seekers rejected in Italy by other European countries in application of the Dublin III Regulation and, together with other associations, of the management of some extraordinary reception facilities located in the province of Bologna and the Mattei HUB. The Consortium Arcolaio⁴⁰ is formed by the union, in 2010, of three cooperatives of the social sector of Bologna and a non-profit organization: La Strada di Piazza Grande, La Piccola Carovana Coop. Sociale, Arc-en-Ciel Onlus and the Arca di Noè cooperative. Together with the "Mondo Donna Onlus" association⁴¹, they are the two managers of adult SPRAR structures in Bologna. Finally, the Camelot social cooperative⁴² plays a major role in the management of the HUB for minors in the Municipality of Bologna and, in general, in the reception system for unaccompanied foreign minors (MSNA).

Role of cultural organizations and Ngos in the context of migration

Cultural organizations, associations and – especially – NGOs play a pivotal role in the Italian reception system, both in term of first aid and assistance and, in a second phase, of social integration of migrants and asylum seekers. However, in 2016, NGOs were accused of cooperating with traffickers while working in the Mediterranean to save people's lives. After an intense public debate, no evidence was found about this accusation, but some NGOs were disturbed during their rescue activities.

³⁸ <http://www.bolognacares.it/sprar-bologna/>, last visit 14\01\2018.

³⁹ <http://www.laimomo.it/a/index.php/it/>, last visit 15\01\2018.

⁴⁰ <http://www.arcacoop.com/>, last visit 15\01\2018.

⁴¹ <http://www.mondodonna-onlus.it/>, last visit 15\01\2018.

⁴² <http://wp.coopcamelot.org/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

Besides this premise, NGOs play a fundamental role in local territories, as we showed in the previous section. In Bologna, for example, it exists a wide range of NGOs, associations and cooperatives which deal with the migration phenomenon (e.g.: Camelot, Arcolaio, Mondo Donna, Lai Momo, ARCI, Consorzio Indaco, etc.). Most of these subjects assist the management of migration flows in the local area and give help with basic needs, psychological assistance and supplies, in collaboration with local institutions – especially with ASP. However, some of them provide some interesting social and economic integration programmes and help migrants and refugees to find a hobby, temporary job and to relate with the host society.

As for cultural organizations, there are some interesting projects that try to foster social integration of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in the local society through music, art, theater and, in general, through cultural activities, such as Cantieri Meticci⁴³, Arte Migrante⁴⁴, NextGeneation Italy, Mercato Sonato⁴⁵, Altro Spazio⁴⁶, etc.

Good practices

Here a short list of interesting good practices in Bologna its area:

- **Cantieri Meticci** is a non-profit cultural organization formed by professional and non-professional actors, Italians and refugees. Since its early beginning, the company applies artistic knowledge to investigate the concept of migration. Cantieri Meticci regularly collaborates with theatres, public administrations, schools, and shelters for refugees and NGOs in Italy and other countries, combining art and social involvement with a focus on activities that encourage increased participation in cultural and social debate, such as cross-cultural workshops and training programs for teachers who work in multicultural contexts. Since February 2017, the MET becomes the new headquarters of the association, offering a versatile artistic center with a theatre, a rehearsal studio and a RistoryArte, where people can eat on interactive tables equipped with digital screens.

⁴³ <http://www.cantierimeticci.it/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁴⁴ <http://www.artemigrante.eu/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁴⁵ <http://www.mercatosonato.com/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁴⁶ <http://www.laltrospazio.com/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

- **Next Generation Italy** is a non-profit organization that works on migrants' social integration through tourism and digital media. One of its interesting project in Bologna is Migrantour⁴⁷, a form of responsible tourism at kilometre zero that envisages as its protagonists local people and newcomers, all from very different backgrounds. Through this project, migrants become local guides and create intercultural urban itineraries through a participative process.
- **The Bologna cares!**⁴⁸ campaign represents the communication section of the project SPRAR and is realized by Lai-momo. The campaign includes events, workshops, meetings, conferences, publications and moments of reflection and involves the citizens throughout the whole year, focusing in particular on the days around the World Refugee Day on June 20th. By promoting Bologna cares!, Bologna's local administration aspires to raise awareness among the citizens on the topic of asylum seekers' and refugees' reception and to communicate – as suggested by the name of the campaign – that Bologna takes-charge of what is needed in terms of reception, through activities set up by the institutions and the social third sector.
- **Arte Migrante** is an informal group of people that promotes inclusion through the arts. It involves students, migrants, unemployed, professionals, refugees, homeless and everyone who wants to share their time\experiences and, in some occasion, regional food. Arte Migrante organizes also a camping holiday during which workshops, conferences and other kinds of activities about the topic of migration are organised.⁴⁹
- **Altro Spazio** is an accessible bar which organizes some interesting cultural and social events. Among its projects, Aperitivi dal Mondo!⁵⁰, which once a week offers food from a specific region of the world in collaboration with some associations which help refugees, and SpaziMigranti, a project which involve artists and musicians from all over the world.
- **It.a.cà Festival**⁵¹: the Festival represents a good practice in which tourists and the local community give life to socially innovative practices that contribute to develop the territory

⁴⁷ <https://nextgenerationitaly.com/category/migrantour/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁴⁸ <http://www.bolognacares.it/eng-versione/>, last visit 17\01\2018.

⁴⁹ <http://www.artemigrante.eu/campeggiomigrante>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁵⁰ <http://www.laltrospazio.com/event/aperitivi-dal-mondo-cibo-indiano-gennaio-bologna-2018/>, last visit 16\01\2018.

⁵¹ <https://www.festivalitaca.net/it-a-ca-migrants-and-travelers-festival-of-responsible-tourism/>, last visit 17\01\2018.

in a sustainable way. Focusing on the issue of responsibility in tourism, the festival has evolved in eight years of programming, organizing more than 150 initiatives and events, intended as opportunities to encourage participants to reflect on the idea of tourism. Among these initiatives, the Festival dedicates a special area to the topic of migration, organizing public debates, workshops, lectures and good practices (e.g.: intercultural itineraries, laboratories, etc.) in Bologna.

- **Centro Interculturale Zonarelli**⁵²: The center supports the development of associations, especially the younger ones, and the development of programs and activities carried out in partnership with associations aimed at intercultural dialogue, social visibility and participation. The Center is a real reference point of the city for migrants and refugees, associations and citizens, with the aim of promoting intercultural dialogue and diversity. Thanks to the center, the Municipality of Bologna organizes meetings, aggregation, networking activities on the topic of migration and intercultural dialogue, giving associations material and organizational support.
- **Terra di Tutti Film Festival**⁵³: the festival brings in Bologna documentaries and social cinema from the southern hemisphere, with the aim of giving visibility to the situation in those countries, peoples and social struggles that are "invisible" in mainstream communication. The purpose is to provide a critical view on the South, without rhetoric, censorship or pietism, with a clear, responsive and never resigned eye to the realities around us. TTFF is promoted by NGOs operating in the field of international development cooperation, GVC (Civil Voluntary Group) and COSPE (Cooperation for the Development of Emerging Countries), which select documentaries and films on the struggle for equal rights, gender equality, defense of freedom, citizenship and environmental and ecological awareness.
- **Human Right Night**⁵⁴ is an organization based in Bologna that works to promote the culture of human rights and the protection of civil rights, cultural diversity and participation in contemporary plural society. The main result of the work of Human Rights Nights is the

⁵² <https://centrozonarelli.wordpress.com/>, last visit 17/08/2018.

⁵³ <http://www.terradituttifilmfestival.org/>, last visit 17/01/2018.

⁵⁴ <http://www.humanrightsnights.org/en/whoweare/>, last visit 18/01/2018.

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Bologna Festival which focuses on the protection of civil rights, through the implementation of cultural and artistic events, social communication campaigns, spaces for dialogue and encounter, actions of social intervention, lobbying and advocacy.

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