



THE GOVERNANCE AND LOCAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND EUROPE'S REFUGEES

WORK PACKAGE 2: ITALY, CALABRIA

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The current 'migration crisis' presents openings and well as challenges. The aim of GLIMER is to generate research that will help European cities and regions facilitate the long term inclusion of displaced people in a way that remakes local spaces.

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1. APPROACHES TO ASYLUM AND INTEGRATION IN ITALY

1.1 FROM CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC OF 1948 TO 1990

The right to asylum in Italy is enshrined in article 10.4 of the Constitution, granting protection to “the foreigner who is denied in his country the effective exercise of the democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution”. Over the years, different laws regulating the asylum issue have been put in place, notably the so-called “Martelli Law” of 1990.¹ Until the beginning of the 1980s, Italy was considered by the international community almost exclusively as a transit route for refugees to other countries (Petrović, 2011: 35). Between 1980 and 1989, 11,831 asylum applications from non-European countries were made in Italy (Hein, 2010). We must remember that the Martelli Law only regulated some fundamental aspects of care given to displaced migrants. This act recognized a contribution of first assistance provided by the Prefectures² to all asylum seekers “without means of subsistence or hospitality in Italy”. The continuous waves of forced migration in the 1990s, especially from the Balkans, destabilized the asylum system envisioned by the Martelli Law.

1 One of the principal aims of this law was the regularization of immigrant workers, who were exploited as irregular workers. This law did not create an organic framework for the future, but rather an economic view of immigration, which remains a constant of Italian immigration legislation.

2. In Italy a Prefecture (Prefettura) is the representative of the Government in each province and is linked to the Ministry of the Interior.

1.2 FROM EMERGENCIES OF 1990 TO 2002

The Martelli Law did not deal adequately with the subject of asylum in Italy and did not address the lack of a real reception system for forced/displaced migrants. To deal with the emergencies of the 1990s, the Italian government used numerous decrees to deal with the problems arising from the mass arrival of migrants.

The major emergencies of the 1990s were:

- From 1990 to 1991, Albanian and Somali crises
- From 1991 to 1997, the exodus from the former Yugoslavia and the second Albanian crisis
- From 1998 to 2000, Kosovo emergency

In 2001, starting from the experience of decentralized and networked reception activities, carried out between 1999 and 2000 by associations and NGOs, the Ministry of the Interior – Department of Immigration and Civil Liberties, the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) signed an agreement for the establishment of the “National Asylum Programme” (PNA).

The Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) was created by Law no. 189/2002 and is made up of the network of local institutions that implement reception projects for forced migrants by accessing, within the available resources, the National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services, managed by the Ministry of the Interior (and provided under the Government finance law).

1.3 NORTH AFRICA EMERGENCY OF 2011 (ENA) AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ACCOMMODATION ASYLUM SYSTEM

In the period between 2002 and 2011, the increase in the SPRAR system was constant, even if contained in the numbers (1365 places in 2003, 4388 in 2008, 3979 in 2012). Alongside the SPRAR system, other government reception facilities have been set up, spread throughout the country. These are the reception centres for asylum seekers (CARA) established by Presidential Decree 303/2004 (later, regulated by Legislative Decree - LD 25/2008) to allow for the identification of the migrants and to provide accommodation during the procedure for the recognition of international protection. 2011 represents a crucial year in the history of Italian hospitality for migrants. As a result of the political upheaval in North Africa (Arab Spring), by means of the Prime Ministerial Decree of the 12 February 2011, Italy declared a State of Emergency aimed at responding to the extraordinary flows of migrants arriving by sea from Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen and Bahrain.

The Italian government reacted to such events by taking the important decision to grant humanitarian protection visas to all the citizens (around 11,000) who arrived in Italy between January and April 5th 2011. On April 6th 2011, the government passed the “Humanitarian emergency of citizens coming from North Africa” Decree – also known as the “North Africa Emergency plan” (ENA) – which appointed the National Civil Protection as the responsible mediator for the management of the reception of asylum seekers and migrants coming from North Africa.³ This agency was charged with the implementation of an extraordinary reception plan with the purpose of distributing migrants all over Italy, according to the lodging capacity of each region. In 2012 in these governmental centres there were 20,000 persons. On 17 September 2013, the Ministry of the Interior issued a decree that foresaw an increase in the accommodation capacity of the SPRAR system to reach up to 16,000 places in the period 2014-2016.

In order to promote accession to the SPRAR system by a larger number of local authorities, LD 142/2015 introduced the possibility of derogating from the limit established by law, under which State funding cannot exceed the quota of 80% of the total cost of each project. On 10 August 2016, the Ministry of the Interior issued a decree to facilitate the accession of municipalities to this funding making it possible at any time without deadlines.

On 11 October 2016, the Government issued a Decree to promote the expansion of the SPRAR system. The Ministry aims to encourage municipalities to host asylum seekers in their territory, inviting Prefectures not to open new extraordinary centres (e.g. CAS) or to gradually close the existing ones in those territories where the municipality already participates in SPRAR (the so called ‘safeguard clause’). In the last five years, funding for the SPRAR reception capacity has grown exponentially: from 3,979 places financed between 2012 and 2013 and then to 20,965 financed for 2014-2016, in addition to places planned for 2016-2017 (in 2016, 34,039 beneficiaries and 26,012 places).

Nevertheless, the growth of the SPRAR system is not sufficient to meet accommodation needs, and SPRAR places cover only 17.7% of the effective reception demand. In October 2016, the Ministry issued a Decree concerning a plan to improve the accommodation system in order to obtain a gradual and sustainable distribution of asylum seekers and refugees across the country (the regions of Calabria, Lazio, Sicily and Apulia amount to more than 55% of available places). This plan envisages

3.. Since 1982, the Civil Protection Department (Dipartimento della Protezione Civile) has had a guiding role, in agreement with regional and local governments, in projects and activities for the prevention, forecast and monitoring of risks, exceptional events and natural disasters.

the phasing out of the CAS [Centres of extraordinary reception], with a view to the consolidation of a uniform reception system obtained through an expansion of the SPRAR system. The so-called “Minniti-Orlando Decree” (LD 193/2016 and later L.225/2016) provided financial incentives for municipalities involved in the reception system, allocating 500 euros to each municipality for each asylum seeker hosted in its territory, not distinguishing between accommodation in SPRAR and CAS or governmental centres. However, such prospects will not easily convince municipalities to participate in SPRAR and, until SPRAR projects are sufficient in number, it will not be possible to close existing or refuse to open new temporary accommodations centres.

1.4 THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ITALIAN ACCOMMODATION ASYLUM SYSTEM

The previous summary about the Italian context, shows there is not an organic legal framework for dealing with reception and integration governance, since the relevant provisions have been issued following the EU directives and are mainly collected in three decrees (LD 140/2005; LD 251/2007⁴; LD 142/2015⁵) in coordination with the main law concerning migration and the legal status of migrants (LD 286/98, “Consolidated Act on provisions concerning immigration regulations and the conditions of foreign nationals”).

In Italy, there is no uniform reception system. The LD 142/2015 amended Procedure Decree n. 25/2008 and repealed the previous Reception Decree 140/2005, without substantially modifying the previous reception system.

LD 142/2015 articulates the reception system in three phases:

1. First aid and assistance: operations that continue to take place in the centres set up in the principal places of disembarkation (Calabria, Sicily and Apulia) that is CPSA⁶, CARA⁷, CDA, Hotspots.⁸
2. First reception phase: to be implemented in existing collective centres or in centres to be established by specific Ministerial Decrees (so called regional or interregional HUB). In case of unavailability of places, refugees or asylum seekers are to be hosted in temporary structures (CAS).
3. Second reception phase: carried out within the structure of the SPRAR system.

In case of temporary unavailability of places in the first and second reception centres, LD 142/2015 provides for the use of emergency centres (CAS) identified and activated by the Prefectures, in cooperation with the Interior Ministry. The CAS activation is reserved for emergency cases of substantial arrivals but applies in practice to all situations in which the places in ordinary centres are not sufficient to meet the reception demand. The CAS are specifically designed not only for the first accommodation phase but also to provide second-phase reception for the time “strictly necessary” until the transfer of asylum seekers to a SPRAR structure.

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4. LD. no. 251/2007 “Implementation of Directive 2004/83/EC on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons and refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted”.

5. LD. no. 142/2015 “Implementation of Directive 2013/33/EU on standards for the reception of asylum applicants 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”.

6. The CPSA (First aid and Reception Centres) created in 2006 for the purpose of first aid and identification before asylum seekers are transferred to other centres. They are reception services for temporary stays.

7. The CARA (Centres for accommodation of asylum seekers) are collective governmental centres. These structures provide for a first point of contact for undocumented migrants and asylum seekers. People are allowed to stay accordingly with the identification procedure or the decision of the international procedure. The purpose of CARA centres is to offer hospitality to asylum seekers when justified by needs of identification, medical tests to ascertain vulnerability, to take into account for a later and more focused placement.

8. The Hotspots approach is part of the European Commission’s European Agenda on Migration. It is generally described as providing “operational solutions for emergency situations”, through a single place to swiftly process asylum applications, enforce return decisions and prosecute smuggling operations through a platform of cooperating among the EASO, Frontex, Europol and Eurojust.

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The law does not specify any time limit for the stay of asylum seekers in these centres. It only states that applicants have to stay in these centres for the time necessary to carry out the necessary procedures (related to their identification) or for the time strictly necessary to be transferred to SPRAR structures. The facilities designed to accommodate asylum seekers in this phase are collective reception centres, until now characterised by large structures, isolation from urban centres and poor or otherwise difficult contacts with the outside world. In general, governmental centres (CARA, CPSA, CDA) are very often overcrowded. Accordingly, the quality of the accommodation service offered is not equivalent to the SPRAR centres or other reception facilities of smaller size.

1.5 THE SPRAR SYSTEM

As stated previously, the second reception phase is provided under the SPRAR system which was established in 2002 by Law no. 189/2002. SPRAR is a publicly funded network of local authorities and NGOs which accommodate asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection. It is the first national system for the reception of asylum seekers and refugees and was rolled out across Italy with the engagement of national and local institutions, according to a sharing of liability between the Ministry of the Interior and local authorities. Through this law of 2002, the Ministry of the Interior established the coordinating organization of the system – the Central Service (Servizio Centrale) which provides information, advice, monitoring and support to local bodies – and is managed by ANCI. The SPRAR system is comprised of local bodies that are granted access, within the threshold of available resources, to the National Fund for Asylum policies and services, in order to carry out projects for integrated reception. At a local level, municipalities, with the priceless support of actors in the third sector (associations and NGOs), ensure “integrated reception” activities that go far beyond the mere supply of accommodation and meals, including many different activities aimed at leading towards socio-economic inclusion.

The primary objective of the SPRAR, as we can read on the website, is: “to provide support for each individual in the reception system, through the implementation of an individual programme designed to enable that person to regain a sense of independence, and thus facilitate the effective involvement of life in Italy, in terms of employment and housing integration, access to local services, social interaction and scholastic integration for minors”.⁹ The main features of the SPRAR protection system are:

- The public nature of the resources made available and the authorities politically responsible for reception services, namely the Ministry of the Interior and Local authority institutions, according to the logic of multilevel governance;
- The synergy available locally with so-called “managing bodies”, actors in the third sector (voluntary sector organisations – associations, NGOs, cooperatives) that make a valuable contribution to the performance of the various activities;
- The voluntary nature of the commitment undertaken by local authorities in participating in the network of reception projects;
- The decentralisation of the “integrated reception” activities, throughout Italy (especially in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, Lazio);
- The promotion and development of stable, solid and interactive local networks, involving all actors and selected stakeholders to ensure the success of the reception, protection and inclusion measures for forced migrants.
- The reinforcement (or implementation) of local services, designed to benefit the entire community, both indigenous residents and migrants.

9. ANCI & Others, Report on international protection in Italy 2015, available on <http://www.sprar.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Rapp-Prot-Int-2015-Synthesis-EN.pdf>

Local institutions, in collaboration with the third sector, implement local reception projects, bringing together SPRAR's guidelines¹⁰ with the specificities of the different territories. Depending on the purpose, capacity and expertise of local stakeholders and taking into account the available resources, welfare tools and the social policy strategies adopted over the years, local institutions choose the type of reception services to be provided and the beneficiaries of their activities. Projects may be focused on individual adults and nuclear families (considered as ordinary categories), or on a range of specific categories such as single-parent families, single pregnant women, unaccompanied minors, victims of torture, individuals needing continuous care, those with psychiatric problems and people with physical and mental disabilities.¹¹

Any local project within the Protection System, under the provisions of integrated reception measures, and in addition to accommodation and meals, provides for social assistance activities to gain a better knowledge of the territory and access to local services (i.e. social and health assistance).

In addition, activities are organised to facilitate the learning of Italian, including adult education, access to schools for minors subject to compulsory education, further legal guidance activities on the procedures for the recognition of international protection, the duties and rights of the beneficiaries according to their legal status, cultural-linguistic mediation, orientation and access to local services in the area, professional requalification, orientation and facilitation to work integration, as well as orientation and integration into the housing market.

Generally, the SPRAR projects are small to medium sized projects. The coordinative body checks regularly to see if the projects comply with the minimum criteria as laid down in the SPRAR guidelines. The structures available to host asylum seekers and refugees, according to data for 2016, mainly consist of flats (83.3% of the total number of facilities), small reception centres (10.3%), and community homes (6.6%) which are mainly given to unaccompanied minors. Each SPRAR structure is run by different entities (NGOs, third sector bodies, Caritas) and as a consequence the quality of services differ from one project to another, even though the minimum standard should be guaranteed in all centres throughout Italy.

10. The manual providing the guidelines for intervention under the integrated reception scheme for immigrants. More information available at <http://www.SPRAR.it/tag/manuale-operativo>

11. In 2016, there were 508 projects for ordinary categories, 99 projects for unaccompanied minors and 45 projects for persons with psychiatric problems.

1.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FIRST RECEPTION CENTRES AND THE SPRAR SYSTEM

In the first reception centres and in the CAS, reception conditions only have to satisfy a basic level. In the SPRAR projects, on the other hand, they have to develop so called “integrated accommodation”, centred on individual paths towards integration and aimed at providing the person hosted with all the tools necessary to regain individual autonomy. LD 142/2016 states that in the first reception centres and in the CAS the following must be respected: private life, gender and age specific concerns, physical and mental health, the family unit and the safety of vulnerable persons. Measures to prevent any form of discrimination, violence and to ensure the safety and security of applicants must be adopted. SPRAR projects go further by providing interpretation and linguistic-cultural mediation services, legal counselling, Italian language classes and access to schools for minors, health assistance, and socio-psychological support for vulnerable persons etc. Law no. 142/90 also states that asylum seekers are free to leave the reception centres during the daytime but have a duty to re-enter during the night time. Such curfews are not provided by law for the SPRAR structures and are applied by the bodies managing the project. Reception conditions vary considerably among different accommodation centres and also between the same type of centres. While the services provided are the same, the quality can differ depending on the management bodies running the centres.

LD 142/2015 stipulates that the governmental first reception centres are managed by public local entities, consortia of municipalities and other public or private bodies specialised in the assistance of asylum seekers through public tender. Moreover, the Ministry of Interior adopts a decree on the call for tender for the supply of services for the functioning of the first reception centres and of temporary accommodation structures (CAS), which is more than required of Centres for Identification and Expulsion (CIE now known as CPR) and the Centres of First Aid and Reception (CPSA) in order to ensure uniform reception levels throughout Italy. The perennial ‘migration emergency’ has necessitated a certain amount of improvisation by local actors and allowed the entry into the accommodation network of bodies that lack the necessary skills in dealing with displaced persons and are often only interested in making a profit. One only needs to read the reports published throughout 2016, by NGOs such as MEDU, NAGA, LUNARIA and LasciateCIEntrare together with LIBERA and CITTALIA. These reports show the enormous problems and deficiencies of many CAS including: unsuitable reception structures, lack of hygiene or safety conditions for both guests and workers; lack of training for those working there and staff shortages. The lack of places in the second phase reception centres casts doubt on the functioning of the entire integration mechanism, which is intended to follow the different phases. The CAS system has expanded to the point of being absorbed into the ordinary system, if not entailing a total reorganisation of the reception system.

2. CALABRIA, IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM

Calabria is a region in the South of Italy with an immigration history that was dominated by outward migration that started in the latter part of 1800s. The so-called “migratory chains” (Reyneri 1979) oriented the fluxes towards the USA, Brazil, Argentina and Canada. In the reconstruction, post-war years and during the industrial era (1950s-60s) people emigrated from Calabria to northern European countries. These fluxes from southern Europe were the results of agreements between the origin and destination countries aimed at organizing the exchange of labour power for resources, which were to sustain industrial development in Italy. These same years were characterized by an intense internal migration from the southern to the northern Italian regions. The villages in the interior of Calabria were deeply transformed by the exodus of peasants and artisans who left their hometowns to be employed in Northern Italy, inside the “industrial triangle”, encompassing the cities of Turin, Milan and Genoa, which then represented the core zone of the country's development. There is abundant literature on the phenomenon of the rural exodus in Italy, strongly pushed by flawed policies of land distribution (with the agrarian reform) and welfare policies of income distribution (Perna 1994). The effects of this emigration were environmental decline and high levels of depopulation. This meant an internal shift of people in Calabria towards coastal areas and urban centres (both within and outside the region) that characterised the post-industrial years (the 1980s and 90s) leading to severe depopulation. The growth of foreign manpower taps into the margins of a broken local welfare system, in line with a model which is reproduced at a national level. Calabrian citizens face a condition of territorial inequality with regard to civic rights on the side of access to resources and to public services compared to some regions of Northern Italy (Fantozzi, 2012). In a welfare state based on the role of the family, which provides indirect support to incomes, migration becomes one pillar of the welfare state in Calabria. In particular, following a triple discrimination path related to ethnic group, social class and gender, since the 2000s there has been a wave of migration of women from Eastern Europe to Italian cities, small towns and villages, who move there to work with the elderly and disabled people, due to a lack of home care services (Andall, 2004). The theory of labour market segmentation is helpful to understand the phenomenon of migrant labour in Calabria. The arrival of migrants from Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 1990s in the agricultural plains of Calabria has created a subtle competition mechanism between them and those migrants from the Maghreb who had established themselves earlier there (De Bonis, 2005). These processes are amplified by increasingly stricter immigration laws such as the Law 94 of 2009, which criminalized irregular immigration.

Migrants coming from Romania, which joined the EU in 2007, had the right to move freely and were supposed to enjoy a stronger citizen status, but they have instead become newly exploited manpower subject to retaliation by their employers and caporali - bosses who with such migrants could avoid the risks related to hiring foreign (and therefore illegal) non -EU migrants (Colloca and Corrado, 2013).

Since the year 2000, there is a growing presence of irregular migrants in Calabria, from a variety of destinations, with a rising number of asylum seekers and individuals who fall under other forms of humanitarian protection (MSF, 2005). This is characterized by seasonal labour in the Calabrian agricultural sector. Medici Senza Frontiere (MSF, 2015) has documented, in the agricultural plains of Southern Italy, the unacceptable living conditions of many asylum seekers or migrants entitled to international protection, who are often not admitted to the reception centers due to lack of space. This includes people in transit toward other European countries and refugees that were not able to

to complete their social inclusion programmes. Asylum seekers represent the weakest component of the migrant population as they are exposed to a “bureaucratic labelling stereotyping” (Zetter, 1991), a process of institutional discrimination fostered by administrative procedures, political marketing strategies and media messages of fear. In such a political-institutional context, the refugee becomes a burden for the local welfare state. The case of Crotone, the town that hosts the “S. Anna” Reception Centre for asylum seekers, the biggest of its kind in Europe until 2001, clearly shows the social segregation between refugees and local residents. The charitable approach to the reception of asylum seekers only marginally focuses on mutual aid, legal assistance and training for work services (MSF 2006). Thus, refugees often find themselves in a condition of social and juridical subalternity which continues in their life out of the reception centre (Agier, 2002).

2.1 INTEGRATION, GOVERNANCE AND NETWORKS IN THE SMALL TOWNS OF CALABRIA

The number of refugees and regular immigrants in Calabria has jumped since the last census in 2011, where regular immigrants totalled 66,925, to reach 91,354 in 2015, with an increase of 35.5% (equivalent to 4.6% of the regional population). The migrant presence in the region, in tune with the national trend, has grown especially in the small towns, as an effect of the functioning of transnational migrations from the Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria) and Sub-Saharan Africa (mainly Senegal). Furthermore, the presence of women, accounting for slightly more than 50% of the migrant population (IDOS, 2017), constitutes what has been described as the “invisible” welfare of the region (Ambrosini, 2013). The different experiences of reception for refugees that are promoted to address local processes of exodus and depopulation contribute to the geographical distribution of the migrant population.

Among the Italian regions, Calabria is the first within the national integrated reception system in terms of the numbers of municipalities involved (104 of the 775 Italian municipalities that are members of the SPRAR). Calabria is also the second among the Southern Italian regions concerning the total number of migrants hosted, both for men and women (3,507) after Sicily and Lazio. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the number of migrants hosted within the SPRAR system is higher in the South than in the North and Centre of Italy (see figure 1). Calabria, is also the second region in Italy, after Sicily, in terms of the percentage of unaccompanied foreign minors out of the total number of refugees hosted [392 out of 3110] (SPRAR 2017).

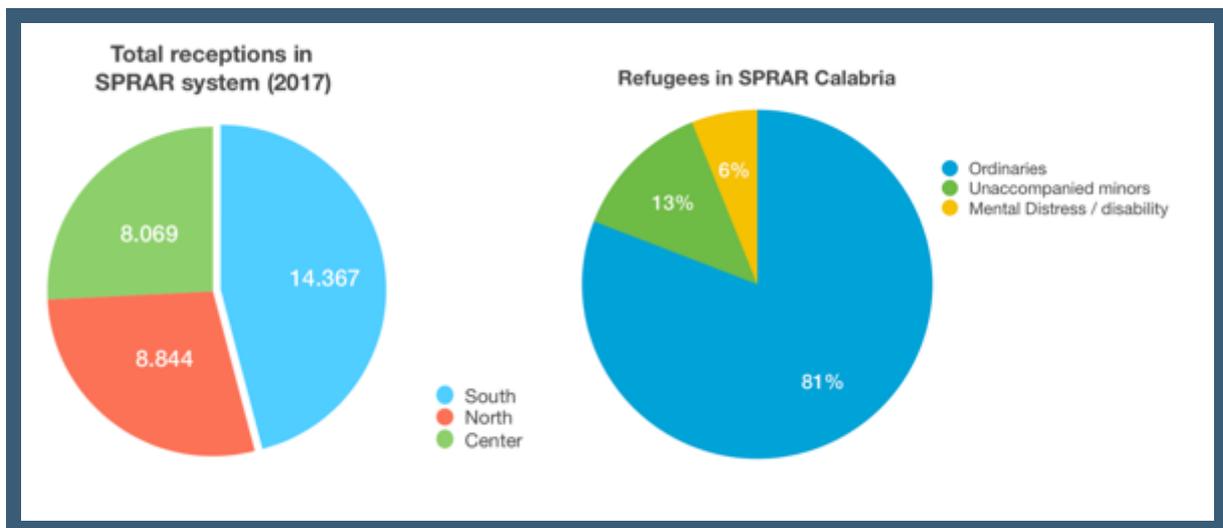


Figure 1: Numbers in SPRAR system nationwide (Source: Report SPRAR-CITTALIA 2017)

Figure 2: Refugees in SPRAR in Calabria (Source: Report SPRAR-CITTALIA 2017)

In the Locride area, a rural zone inland from the Ionian coast, the reception of refugees has become an important resource for local development. In those municipalities, the migrant population is above 15%, such as in the small town of Riace, where migrants account for 16.8% of the total population (ISTAT data, 2015). In spite of the stabilization processes that have been undergoing in the last decade regarding migration, when reflecting on the integration of refugees in Calabria it is essential to consider the element of transience. The reasons for this can be found in the processes of “differential inclusion” (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2016) which affect the migrants who are not able to complete the

schemes of socio-economic integration in the short-midterm. The data found in the SPRAR report (SPRAR, 2017) show that in 2016 a total of 12,171 individuals have ended their time within the SPRAR reception system, of whom: 41.3% have completed their individual project of inclusion (socio-economic integration) and 29.5% have left the reception system before the end of their individual project. The beneficiaries of SPRAR projects in Calabria are negatively affected by the context, a region much weaker than others in the planning of paths of autonomy for immigrants who end their time within the projects, owing to an inadequate welfare system and job scarcity in the local labour market. Even the high standards reached by the current reception system are not enough. The local institutions (both the regional administration and the municipalities that host the refugees) and the social workers operating in the projects know that they have to deal with a wider strategy of local development, where the reception of immigrants can factor in as an added asset.

Looking at new forms of governance and network building among social actors, municipalities, provinces and the regional administration have gained more relevance in the planning of schemes for the integration of the beneficiaries - and the possibility for them to regain their autonomy. Such a process is visible in the actions and practices of reception born from the experiences of re-population of the territories. These have led to very innovative action plans and norms in comparison with the national context. The Regional law n.18/2009 includes the reception of immigrants into the measures of sustainable development in rural areas with a high rate of depopulation. Until now, this Regional law has not yet been fully implemented and the perception of the presence of refugees as an asset for the territories is deemed of secondary importance compared to the responsibility for welfare held by the municipalities, albeit within the existing support from the national protection system.

The key principles set in the Regional Law n.18/2009 have also been mentioned in the spending plans formulated in the POR (Operative Regional Plan) for Calabria FESR 2007/2013. This introduces a specific action aimed to attract new inhabitants into the marginal zones, including migrants, contained in the PISR (Integrated Plan of Rural Development) named as "Reversing depopulation in the internal areas". Still in the POR 2007/2013, issued by the Regional administration, there is a definition of the figure of the intercultural mediator, highlighting his/her importance in dealing with the migration phenomenon, in relation to the "critical issues concerning the reception, job placement, social inclusion and the opportunities of access to local welfare" for migrants and refugees. The POR Calabria for the 2014-2020 period also contains an ad hoc thematic objective (OT9) named "Social inclusion and action against poverty", which calls for project proposals and actions for the social inclusion of migrants and their families". Furthermore, the Memorandum of Understanding signed by 190 Calabrian municipalities in 2017 to become members of the national system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR), in order to adhere to the ANCI Plan for implementing the integrated reception scheme in Calabria, has seen the regional administration facilitating the setting up of a partnership among municipalities.

3. INTEGRATION IN CALABRIA

3.1 INITIATIVES OF URBAN REGENERATION

In Italy's migratory policies, municipalities play the role of welfare institutions in charge of the social inclusion of migrants, with the specific task of planning measures and actions under the guidelines set by the regions (Caponio, 2004). The funding destined to the municipalities which join the SPRAR system is aimed at both planning "social scale" economies (services for refugees within a wider welfare context) and reinforcing services that benefit all citizens, both locals and migrants. Among the actions recommended by the SPRAR manual, a central role is given to Memorandums of Understanding among local institutions and agents, such as Local Health Agencies, schools, Work Inspectorates and local economic actors with the twin goals of building a space of social cohesion around the refugee and optimizing the use of local welfare resources. These processes of bottom up participation can be explained by a series of studies that focus on the concept of the "act of citizenship": those practices that facilitate the access and enjoyment of rights, through the negotiation of citizenship boundaries (Mezzadra, 2007; Albert et al. 2001; Walters, 2004; Ambrosini 2014). Such an approach, in Ambrosini's view, seems particularly poignant in relation to the governance model of migration in Italy where elements like recognition, legitimacy, access to rights and social benefits for migrants and refugees have been locally formulated first of all within the economic and social sphere, and only later formalized by state institutions (Ambrosini 2014; 2011).

Following this theoretical approach, we argue that the experiment of integrated reception schemes for immigrants in Calabria has contributed to shape so-called "bottom-up welfare" (Elia 2013) which results in actions of urban regeneration in different strategical sectors where citizenship rights for both new and old residents are at stake. For instance, in the municipalities of Riace, Badolato, Caulonia and Stignano, on the Ionian coast in the south of the region, the funding coming from the network Rete dei Comuni Solidali (The Network of Supportive Municipalities)¹³ has enabled the implementation of initiatives for the renovation and maintenance of the historic, environmental and artistic heritage of these areas, with the aims of sustaining the reception of refugees and promoting responsible tourism to create more job opportunities for all residents. In Lamezia Terme, a medium-large town in Calabria, through the "Security" funds of PON Calabria 2007-2013 destined for the implementation of the "Convergence" objective, an urban park was recovered and converted into a space for socialization and a hub for social projects for refugees and locals.

In what Giddens (1998) defines as "safe public space" (alleys, squares and parks) alternative forms of recognition of diaspora communities materialize. For instance, the SPRAR projects in Lamezia Terme, whose beneficiaries are young refugees and unaccompanied minors, run their activities in buildings confiscated from the mafia. In the municipalities of Riace and Caulonia cultural events such as the inauguration of a square, didactic and educational activities, and saints' festivals, help integrate the refugee families into the ordinary life of the localities, and contribute to undermine the control of the mafia over the area.

What these experiences have in common is a model of cooperation between municipalities and non-profit organizations with a solid experience in the social sector that facilitates job-placement. The Agora Kroton cooperative of Crotona, the Comunità Progetto Sud organization in Lamezia Terme, the Kasbah

13. More information available at <http://www.comunisolidali.org/>

association in Cosenza, La Casa di Abou centre for unaccompanied minors in Acri and the Città Futura cooperative in Riace, for instance, have all been able to establish job placement projects in the sectors of organic and responsible agriculture and of fair trade. An essential element common to such experiences is the attention paid to tutoring activities and to the empowerment of beneficiaries in the job placements, in order to enhance their abilities, skills and safeguard the right to work for refugees in a context where informal labour is dominant. The women refugees have often become co-producers of services by being hired as trainers, intercultural mediators and peer-tutors for the newcomers.

These aspects are particularly evident on the side of social scale-economies which have led to a series of socio-educational services for children and the youth. We can find examples in the small towns of Riace, Caulonia and Acquaformosa (a small arbëreshë village at the border of Pollino National park), where the funds from the SPRAR system are being used to support scholastic and extra-scholastic activities; sport and recreational activities, destined for both refugee and local children.

Although these practices reveal the existence of new forms of governance in the inclusion of refugees, they also demonstrate critical elements that could compromise the process of integration of refugees into the territory:

- the fragility of a regional network for integrated reception in relation to job training and work chains;
- a precarious system of social inclusion and job placement from the perspective of short-term integration;
- the weakness of local development strategies linked to welcoming refugees;
- the loss of expertise, local knowledge and connections in the migration crisis.

3.2 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPING LINGUISTIC COMPETENCES

Access for minors who are not Italian citizens is guaranteed in primary schools under the same conditions as Italian nationals, regardless of any time limit (Law no. 296/2006 and Ministerial Decree of 22/08/2007). Specifically, foreigners currently in the country, insofar as they are subject to obligatory education (Article 45 of the Decree of the President of the Republic No. 394 of 31 August 1999) are evaluated in the same form and manner envisaged for Italian citizens. Pupils with non-Italian citizenship refer to all those, even if they were born in Italy, who come from parents who do not hold citizenship. For the purposes of integration and inclusion, we can logically distinguish between: children who live in an environment where Italian is not the main language; pupils from other countries, without family protection (so-called unaccompanied minors); those that come from mixed couples; foreign and itinerant minorities, such as the Roma and Sinti ethnic groups, as well as children coming from international adoptions.¹⁴ In any case, with regard to the measures and procedures to be adopted, article 38 of the Consolidated Law on Immigration [Testo Unico Immigrazione] states that foreign minors present in Italy are subject to compulsory schooling and all the provisions in force concerning the right to education, access to educational services, participation in the life of the school community, which is independent from their legal situation within the territory of the State.¹⁵ The latter provision also applies in relation to the status of family members (Miazzi, Perin, 2009: 198).¹⁶ Therefore, the education of foreigners in Italy is not related to holding a residence permit or even to citizenship, as expressly provided by the Decree of the President of the Republic of 31 August 1999, no. 394. In particular, we can read in this legislative act that school enrolment can take place at any time of the year and that it is up to the Faculty Board to formulate proposals for the allocation of foreign pupils in classes, avoiding the establishment of sections where their presence is predominant. It is still the responsibility of the “College of teachers” to determine the necessary adaptations of the teaching programmes in relation to the levels of competence of the individual pupils.

Furthermore, to support the teachers' action, the Ministry of Education (MIUR) is entrusted with the task of laying down provisions for the implementation of national and local training and refresher courses on the issues of intercultural education. Further support actions for teaching staff involved in schools with a strong immigration presence are defined by Ministerial Circular no. 155 of October 26, 2001, implementing Articles 5 and 29 of the “National School Contract”. This includes additional funds to pay for teaching activities assigned to schools with a percentage of foreign and nomadic pupils exceeding 10% of the school's intake. The mechanism for allocating funds to schools can be reviewed and modified following this criterion.

Article 6 of the Consolidated Immigration Act details the general obligation to exhibit any type of document that can confirm the regular presence in the State at the offices of the public administration, for the purpose of issuing licenses, authorisations, registrations and other measures of interest to the foreigner, which explicitly excludes all documents related to inclusion and enrolment in compulsory education institutions (Cherchi, 2012). It is therefore the responsibility of the State (for the general criteria) and to the Regions and local entities in the forms of implementation (Article 3.5 of the Consolidated Act on Immigration), to take charge of the activation of all the complex mechanism of

14. Ministry of Education, Linee guida per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri [“Guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign students”], Rome, 19 February 2014, pp. 4-6. Available at http://www.istruzione.it/allegati/2014/linee_guida_integrazione_alunni_stranieri.pdf

15. Legislative Decree No. 76 of 15 April 2005.

16. This is particularly important precisely in relation to the condition of the family member who, in an irregular residence situation, could put at risk the education of the minor he or she is in charge of.

measures that favour the insertion of the migrants, to keep school policies and educational support policies joined together within a single content (Violini, 2007: 18). However, even though current current legislation seems to pay particular attention to multi-cultural education as a form of integration (Luciano, Demartini, Ricucci, 2009: 113), the central attempt to identify an Italian model of integration clashes with a situation which is still very dynamic, not just in terms of migration flows, but also in terms of education policies, characterised by a phase of great transformation and the rationalisation of resources (Santero, 2001: 9).

According to the Ministry of Education, during the 2007/08 school year, the Ministry's registration system introduced for the first time the distinction between “foreign pupils born in Italy” and “foreign immigrant pupils” (who had spent one year in the Italian school system). In Italian schools, foreign students increased by +20.9% (from 673,592 to 814,187 units) between 2009/10 and 2014/15, compared to a decrease of -2.7% among Italians (from 8,283.493 to 8.058.397 units) and a decrease of -0.9% in the overall school population (from 8.957.085 to 8.872.584 pupils). Conversely, compared to the territorial distribution of registered students of immigrant origin, we note that the highest numbers of students are registered in Emilia-Romagna. However, in terms of the incidence of students with non-Italian citizenship within the total of registered students, the greatest numbers are to be found in Lombardy and Umbria, followed by Tuscany and Veneto.

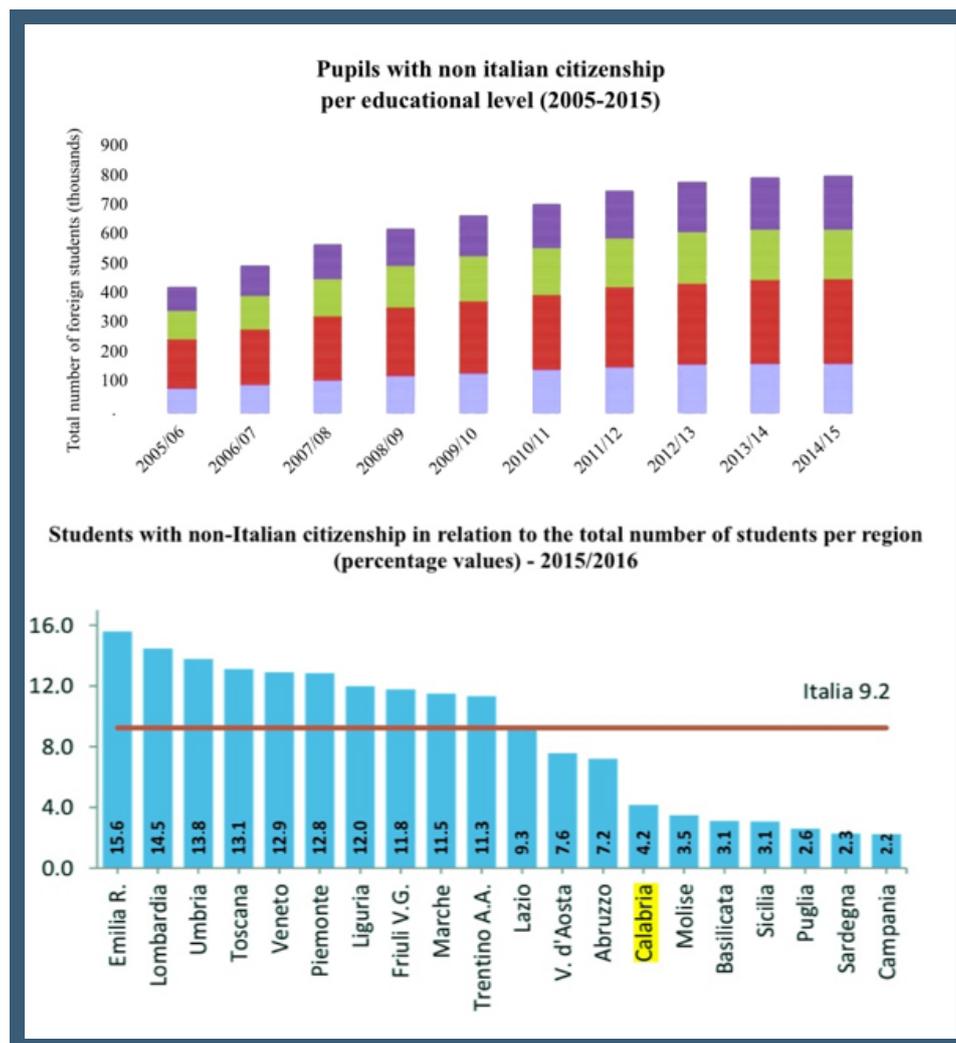


Figure 3-4: Source- MIUR Statistical data

31% at the national level. However, the highest percentages of pre-schools with a foreign majority are recorded in some regions of the South: Calabria 85.7% and Sicily 63.6% (MIUR, 2017). From the beginning, Italy opted for full integration of immigrant pupils in the school system and for intercultural education as a transversal dimension that is common to all subjects and teachers. Integration begins with acquiring the ability to understand and communicate in Italian. As already mentioned, one of the main changes that have taken place in the last ten years is the increase in the participation of foreign students in upper secondary education. Linguistic difficulties are one of the key reasons for school failure: this strongly contributes to academic failure that, in Italy, reached 63% in 2014/15 and this phenomenon encourages early school leaving (Mochi, 2017). For this reason, ministerial guidelines emphasise the importance of this linguistic issue.

From the age of 16, foreign minors who have not yet completed their compulsory education, can be admitted to attending in Permanent Territorial Centres (CTP) [Centri Territoriali Permanenti] offering Italian courses, but also cultural activities, education and training for adults and elements of civic education and citizens' rights and duties. These training points allow users to support and develop integrated paths between school education, vocational training and evening courses at technical schools, where they can obtain degrees and language skills. Starting from the 2014/2015 school year, the Provincial Centres of Adult Education [Centri Provinciali di Istruzione per Adulti] (CPIA) have been added to the CTPs. The purpose of the CPIAs is social cohesion and the creation of development opportunities through collaboration with the Regions, the employment centres or other work agencies, accredited for vocational training.¹⁷

In Italy, about 70% of foreign students (according to the MIUR Statistical Office) choose technical and vocational education and training courses. Many sociologists have labelled this choice as "training segregation" or "school segregation", a phenomenon that is in focus but needs to be further explored. The guidelines also recommend that networks of schools, local authorities, regional education offices, training institutions and other stakeholders promote training initiatives for teachers and heads of schools. These plans should focus on acquiring organisational skills and on providing teaching methodology tools useful for overcoming the weak points of foreign pupils and for developing intercultural education.

In 2014, the MIUR established the National Observatory for the integration of foreign students and for Intercultural matters, with the aim of identifying solutions for an effective adaptation of school integration policies to the real needs of an increasingly multicultural society in constant transformation. The Observatory, which carries out consultation and monitoring tasks, promotes and suggests policies for the integration of foreign pupils, monitoring their implementation. It is chaired by the Minister and it includes representatives from research institutes, associations and bodies that play an important role in integrating foreign pupils and intercultural students, as well as experts from the academic, cultural and social worlds and heads of schools. In September 2014, the Observatory drafted the document "Diversi da chi? Recommendations for the integration of foreign pupils and for interculture", which provided recommendations and operational proposals derived from best practices in schools for a more effective organisation of reception and integration of pupils with non-Italian citizenship. The recommendations follow the Guidelines in emphasising the importance of learning Italian as an L2 language for the so-called "second generations" and recommend the establishment of permanent language workshops in schools taught by teachers specialised in teaching the Italian language who are able to coordinate the work of linguistic simplification of the contents of the different school subjects. This implies a systematic commitment to teacher training, but not only for teachers of Italian language, insofar as the responsibility for learning the language of instruction cannot be delegated exclusively to them.

17. In Italy, it was decided to maintain the same system of learning Italian as a language of communication, both for children and adults. People who cannot be enrolled in school programs are obliged to attend courses in CPIA, especially if they are included in the SPRAR system

3.3 INTEGRATION INTO THE LABOUR MARKET AND SKILLS TRAINING

Italy appears as one of the most permissive countries in terms of access to the labour market for asylum seekers: the possibility of work is allowed after 60 days from the submission of the application (previously it was 6 months). However, participation in the labour market could entail loss of entitlement to reception facilities (LD 142/2015) in case of sufficient economic means. Even if refugees start working, their simple residence permit cannot be converted into a work residence permit.

In addition, LD 142/2015 states that asylum applicants living in the SPRAR centres may attend vocational training when envisaged in programs adopted by the public local entities. The SPRAR has implemented standardized integration programs. Asylum seekers or beneficiaries of international protection accommodated in the SPRAR system are generally supported in their integration process, by means of individualised projects which include vocational training and internships. SPRAR is the only integrated system that provides this kind of service to the beneficiaries. Vocational training or other integration programs can be provided also by the means of National public funds (8xmille) or the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).¹⁸ In this case, the Ministry of Interior can finance specific projects run by NGOs at the national level concerning integration and social inclusion. The projects financed under AMIF are, however, very limited in terms of the period of activity and the number of beneficiaries. Municipalities can also finance vocational training courses, internships and specific employment bursaries [borse lavoro].

This fund is available both to Italians and foreigners, including asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection. The possibility to attend vocational training courses or internships is considerably limited in the case of those asylum seekers accommodated in governmental centres. Even though the law makes a generic reference to the right to access to employment without indicating any limitations, and in theory being entitled to enlist into Provincial Offices for Labour, in practice, asylum seekers face difficulties in obtaining a residence permit which allows them to work due to the delay in the registration of their asylum claims, on the basis of which the permit of stay will be consequently issued. These constraints to access the labour market can be related to the acceptance rate, in order to verify whether the level of permissiveness at the time of reception of the asylum application is associated with greater openness in the regulations governing access to the labour market. In this sense, Italy maintains a high level with regard to acceptance and for intermediate number of days to allow entry into the labour market.

18. The Otto per mille represents a part of tax contributions that can be designated to a religious organisation or to the Italian state which uses this money for social assistance schemes.

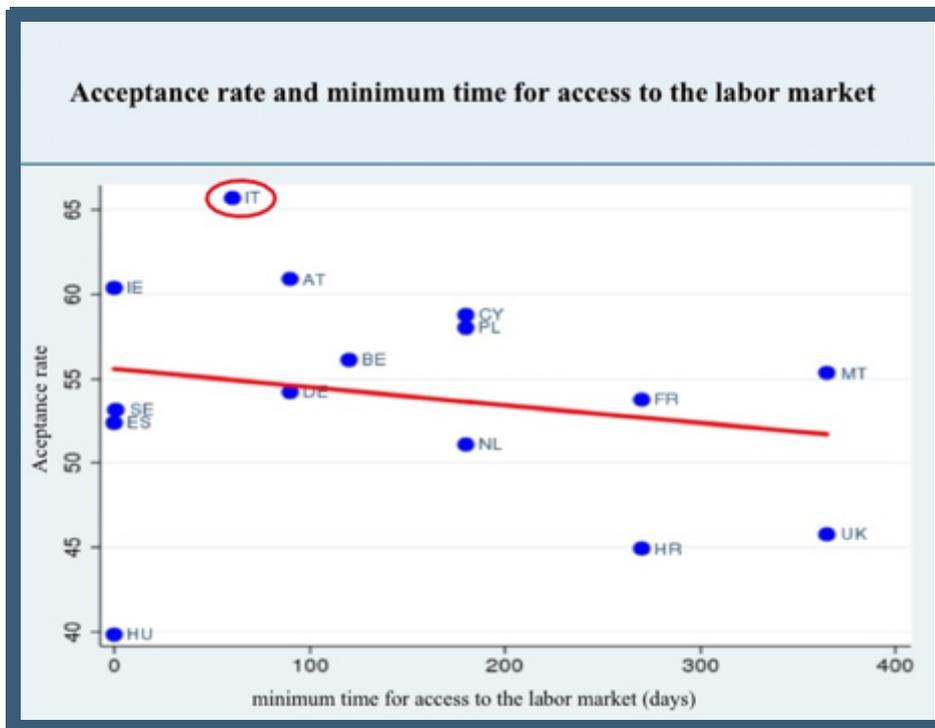


Figure 5: Source - Banca d'Italia - Calculations based on Eurostat data and report Aida

Refugee and asylum seeker integration into the Italian labour market, relative to native residents and immigrants who arrived for economic reasons, is measured by the ISTAT workforce survey (2009-2015). Regarding the percentage of foreigners active in the labor market, The share of males including refugees and asylum seekers is around 55%, compared to 46% for other immigrants and 48% for native residents. Moreover, compared to economic migrants, foreigners who entered through humanitarian protection are less educated and have a significantly higher mean age.

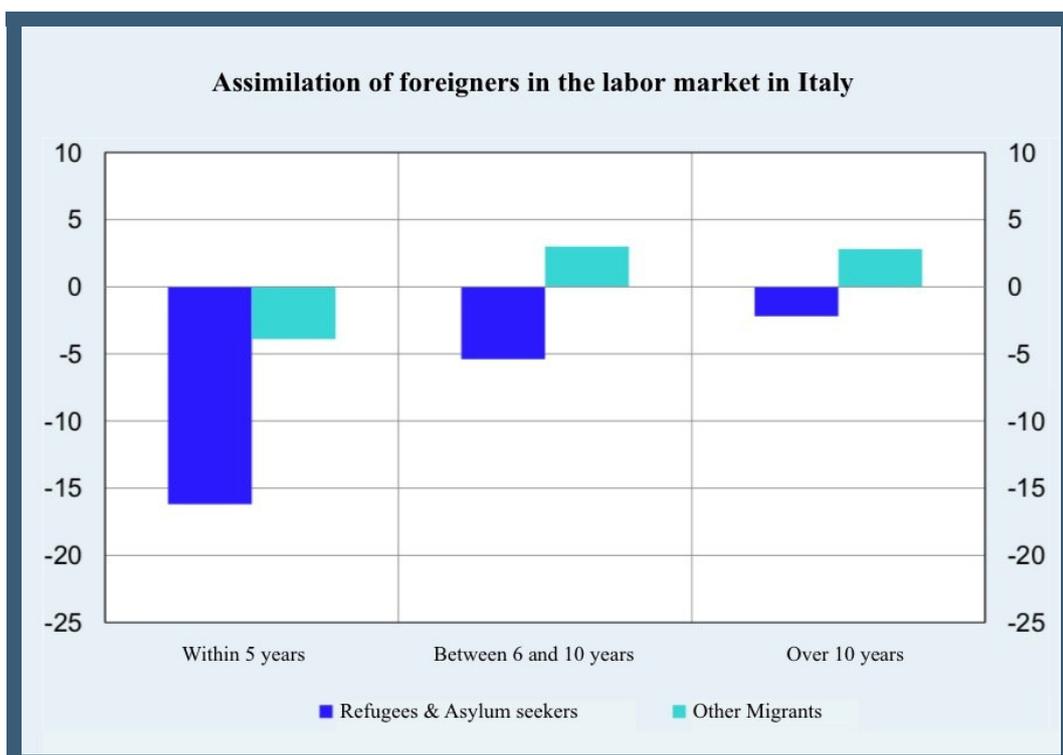


Figure 6: Source - Labour Force Survey, ISTAT. - Estimates made for the years 2009-15.

The refugee/native employment gap is inversely related to length of stay in the country, which confirms, after ten years from entry into Italy, that there is an approximate 2 percentage point penalty. For other immigrants, in the same period of time, the gap with respect to Italian residents is reduced and reversed, favouring the probability of employment of foreigners by about 3 percentage points.

With regard to public policies, 17 regional integrated plans were drawn up during 2015 which envisage the definition of preparatory actions for organizing, structuring and testing the system of integrated national services aimed at the immigrant population, with a view to facilitating access to services and enhancing public-private networks. During 2016, due to delays in the activation of project activities, many Regions sent an extension request, which was granted to all 17 signing Regions, postponing the deadline for the conclusion of the preliminary actions as of 30 June 2017 (Ministerial Note no. 35/002585 of 30/06/2016). The monitoring of the Integrated Plans was completed in December 2016, and the mid-term monitoring report was prepared. This activity made it possible to gather precise information on progress made, especially starting from the differences between the planned and actual actions and the critical elements that emerged in the monitored period, especially regarding the governance and resource planning (AMIF,¹⁹ other regional and national funds²⁰). Following the unanimous request of the Regions for an extension for the closure of the preliminary activities of the Integrated Regional Intervention Plans, in February 2017 the Ministry granted a deferment of the terms to 30 June 2018.

Compared to the general foreign population, from 2009 to 2016 the number of foreign workers progressively increased in Italy (from 1.8 million to 2.4 million) in line with the overall foreign presence (which increased from 3.4 to 5 million). The incidence on the total number of employees progressively increased, from 7.9% to 10.5%, with a consistently higher incidence than the demographic one, thanks to a greater presence of migrants with working age. With the exception of other European Union countries, Italy recorded an employment rate of immigrants (i.e. relative to persons aged between 15 and 64 years) higher than that of autochthonous people (59.5% against 57.0%). This is mainly due to the strong presence of the inactive Italian population, especially in the South and among women, but also to the greater propensity of the immigrant family members (e.g. those who arrived through family reunification) to enter the labour market, often to the detriment of educational and vocational courses.²¹

Calabria was the first Italian region to adopt a law that promotes the reception and integration of refugees in the country, combining it with the socio-economic development of the area. Other relevant legislative measures included the Regional Council Decision no. 93/2006 (on sensitive data) and Regional Council Decision no. 55/2012 (on language teaching) while other partially relevant documents include articles 10 and 12 of Law no. 32 of 1996 (residential construction) and article 3 of Law No. 23 of 2003 (social welfare services). With regard to the Integrated Plan of Interventions, the Region funded 5 preliminary actions and an indicative budget of 106,117 euros.

According to ISTAT data (annual average since 2013), in Calabria, the employment rate of the non-European foreign population (15-64 years of age) is 43.5%; a value of about 4 percentage points higher than the regional total (39%). The unemployment rate (15 years and over) of non-European foreigners is

19. Programma Nazionale Italiano Fondo Asilo Immigrazione ed Integrazione [Italian National Program for Asylum Immigration and Integration] 2014 -2020; Note No. 8875 of 9 October 2014

20. As part of the collaboration between the Ministry of Labour and the Regions, the following projects have been planned: Paths, INSIDE, Youth 2G, Migrants integration portal and other projects that can be consulted on <http://www.lavoro.gov.it/temi-e-priorita/immigrazione/focus-on/politiche-di-integrazione-sociale/Documents/Attivita-conclude.pdf>

21. Leone Moressa Foundation, Annual Report on the Economy of Immigration. Edition 2017, 171-177.

significantly lower than that of the overall regional rate (10.7% compared to 22.2%), lower also compared to EU foreigners (18.9%). Among the employed population, 56% have low educational qualifications: only primary school education (21.7%) and first level secondary school (41.2%); while, among employed EU citizens, second level of secondary school prevails (55.4%). There is a significant number of non-EU employed persons who do not have any qualifications (8.8%).

In general, the reality of immigrant labour reflects the historical fragility of the Calabrian economy, characterised by a high level of “tertiarisation of the productive system”, by low labour productivity and by high fragmentation and parcelling of the entrepreneurial background (Pugliese, 2013). In reality, there is a sort of adaptability of foreigners to the characteristics of the local labour market which conditions and directs immigrant work towards specific occupational niches (especially in the case of the tertiary sector and the agricultural sector), due to the other productive sectors being able to drive the economy. Unfortunately, these are two sectors at high risk of labour exploitation, favoured by situations of vulnerability, with an associated downward slipping of the classification and qualification levels.

3.4 GENDER DYNAMICS OF RECEPTION AND INTEGRATION

Applying theories and investigating the dynamics of gender, with respect to the migratory phenomenon, requires a lot of effort: we cannot simply refer to a migratory experience, but rather to a complex journey that changes gender relations (Tognetti Bordogna, 2014). The status and the attention offered by the reception system and the subsequent integration to the achievement of international protection is different according to the individual.

According to estimates by CITTALIA Foundation, in 2016, a total of 123,600 applications for international protection were presented: an increase of +47% compared to 83,970 in 2015. In the vast majority of cases, the applicants originate from the African continent (in over 7 cases out of 10) and are male (85%), although there has been a noticeable increase in applications submitted by women (rising from 11.5% in 2015 to 15% in 2016). Following the trend of the last few years, the most represented nation is Nigeria, both in adults and in unaccompanied foreign minors.

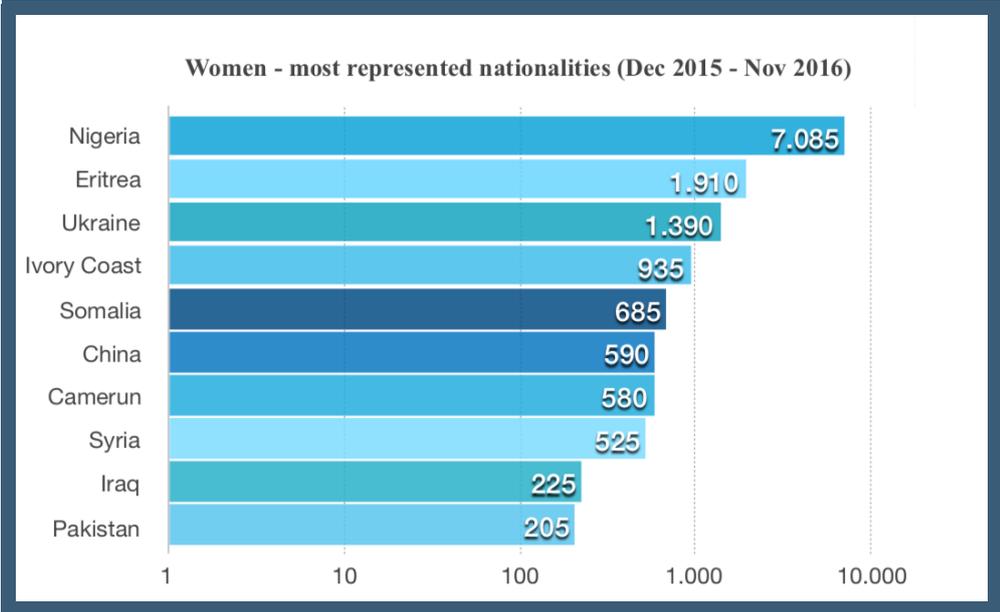


Figure 7: Source - UNHCR Statistical elaboration - 2016

Women's migration is a phenomenon that is in part different from that of their male counterparts, both in terms of the reasons that motivate leaving (often linked to violence at home or forced marriages) and in terms of autonomy in decision-making, and also for the risks to which women are exposed: from trafficking for prostitution to violence during the journey. Data from international organisations report a surge in trafficking victims.

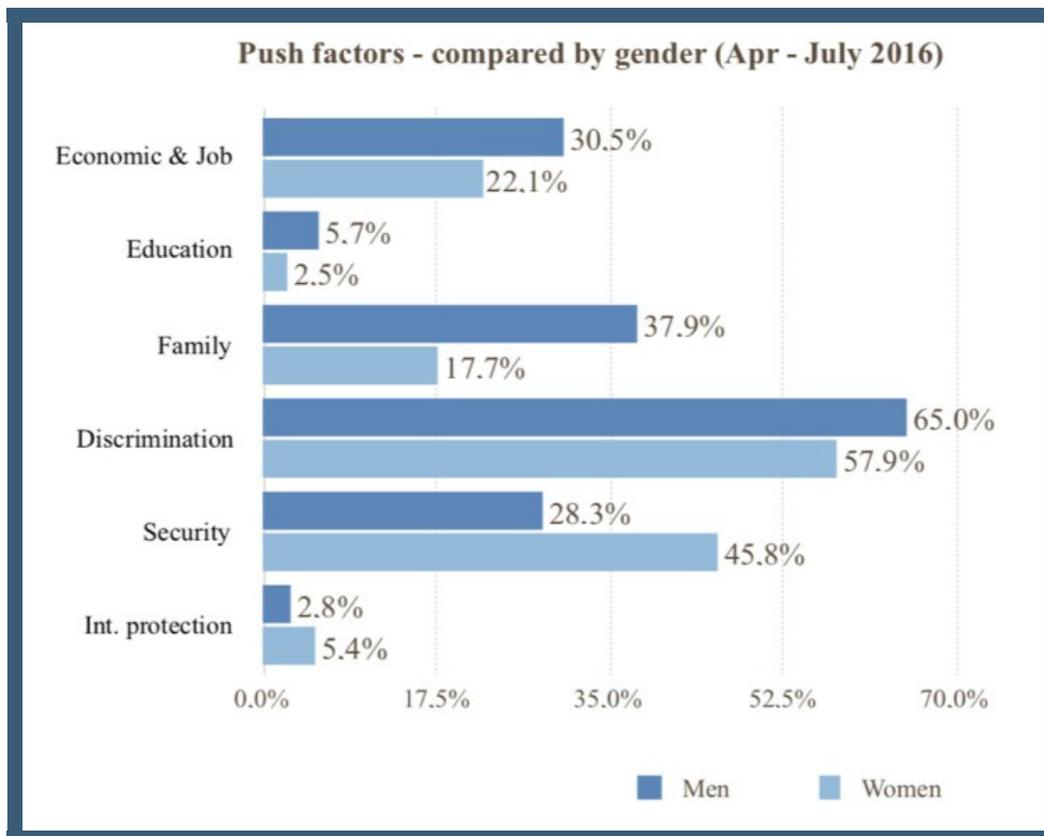


Figure 8: Source - IOM - Study on migrants' profiles, drivers of migration and migratory trends

Italy has an efficient system to protect trafficking victims, both in terms of current legislation, as well as that of the interventions implemented by public and private social organisations that provide protection and assistance programmes aimed at foreign people who have been the victims of slavery, trafficking or other serious forms of exploitation (Olivito, 2015). The "anti-trafficking system" has come to life, launching the first assistance programmes in favour of foreign people who are victims of serious exploitation, even before the international provisions recalled above. Article 18 of Legislative Decree 286/1998 contains provisions that have been considered progressive and have constituted a model for other European systems. Even today, it is an important tool for the protection of foreign persons who are victims of trafficking or serious exploitation. The rule of the Consolidated Law, in combination with the provisions of art. 27 of the implementing regulation, adopted with Presidential Decree 394/99, provides for the issuance of a special residence permit in favour of foreign persons who have been victims of violence or serious exploitation and who are exposed to a real danger for their safety because of the statements made in criminal proceedings or because of the decision to escape a situation of exploitation.

According to the GRETA report,²² the Regional Commissions, responsible for examining asylum applications and recognizing international protection, have received instructions on how to identify victims of trafficking among applicants for international protection: the interviews must be conducted in a gender-sensitive method, with the interviewer and the interpreter of the same sex as the applicant, and the so-called trafficking indicators must be used, also collaborating with NGOs, or the IOM, as part of the interview process. This procedure, however, takes place with such haste, that the victims of trafficking are often not even aware of their condition; they may give 'wrong answers', indicating an economic motive for their migration which results in their eventual expulsion. For the SPRAR, applications for

22. Report on Italy under Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure for evaluating the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, <https://rm.coe.int/16806edf35>

for international protection relating to gender include acts of trafficking in human beings, sexual violence, domestic and family violence, forced family planning, female genital mutilation and discrimination by social background. In the first months of 2017, women obtained 24% of all applications for asylum protection, 7% of subsidiary protections, 29% of humanitarian protections of proceedings with positive results (Chamber of Deputies, 2017: 44).

The foreign population residing in Calabria as of 31 December 2016 amounted to 102,824 people, or 5.2% of the total population. Women represent 50.1% of foreign residents, in particular there is a significant female presence in the province of Cosenza (53.3%) and Vibo Valentia (52.8%). The case of refugees within the SPRAR network is more complicated to measure, since national reception projects register gender only for the purposes of residence permits or international protection. In any case, the data for 2016 is still valid, so that in Calabria there are 4.3 migrants received for every 1,000 citizens (ANCI, 2017). The in-depth study of gender dynamics can be important, with respect to the Calabrian context, to understand the role that women play in the process of urban regeneration and restocking of small reception areas. In some well-known examples (e.g. Riace), thanks to the presence of women, it was possible to activate a series of services within the community and rediscover professional skills no longer present in the existing population. Indeed, the inclusion of women can take place in the SPRAR second reception projects, through dedicated lines of intervention, such as:

- recovery of work experience
- language skill enhancements
- dedicated social welfare assistance
- specific treatment for vulnerable cases

However, the inclusion of migrant women in recent years has also affected regional institutions and NGOs in the area that proposed initiatives to empower women immigrants, acquire knowledge and develop the skills necessary to conduct a dignified life, in the areas of advice on legal problems, job opportunities, training inclusion, labour market guidance.²³ In the Calabrian context, some projects of social integration have also been promoted, specifically dedicated to the female population²⁴ or inter-regional plans, with the aim of improving the employment levels of immigrant women and stimulating the establishment of a dedicated local welfare system.²⁵

23. "Women's Help Desk" project http://www.serviziformazione.it/bandi/Progetto_Donna.pdf

24. AMBI Project, <http://www.esperienzeconilsud.it/progetto-ambi-accoglienza-mamme-e-bambini-immigrati/>

25. F.I.D.U.C.I.A. Project, <http://www.esperienzeconilsud.it/fiducia-famiglie-immigrate-donne-unite-nei-centri-per-linclusione-lavorativa-anolf/>

4. Appendix A: Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANCI - National Association of Italian Municipalities [Associazione Nazionale dei Comuni Italiani]
CARA - Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers [Centro di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo]
CAS - Extraordinary Reception Centres [Centro di Accoglienza Straordinaria]
CDA - Reception Centre [Centro di accoglienza]
CIE - Centre for Identification and Expulsion [Centro di identificazione e espulsione]
CPIA - Provincial Centres for Adult Education [Centri Provinciali per l'Istruzione degli Adulti]
CPR - Permanence for Repatriation Centre [Centro di permanenza per il rimpatrio]
CPSA - Centre of first aid and reception [Centro di primo soccorso e accoglienza]
CTP - Permanent Territorial Centres [Centri Territoriali Permanenti]
ISTAT - National Institute of Statistics [Istituto nazionale di statistica]
MIUR - Ministry of Education, University and Research [Ministero dell'Istruzione, Università e Ricerca]
PISR - Integrated Strategic Regional Project [Progetto Integrato Strategico Regionale]
POR - Regional Operational Plan [Piano Operativo Regionale]
SPRAR – Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees [Sistema di Protezione Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati]

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