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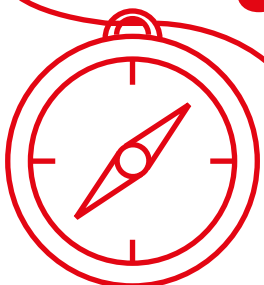
— REALIZZA IL CAMBIAMENTO —



Geographies of migrant housing and the right to the city

A qualitative analysis of the situation in Naples

“THIS MUST BE THE PLACE” PROJECT



Edited by:

Gabriele Rizzo

Reviewed:

Daniela Capalbo, Fabrizio Coresi, Francesco Ferri, Livia Zoli

Editing:

Alice Grecchi

Sign off:

Nina Belluomo

Graphics:

Tadzio Malvezzi

Photography:

Nicola Marfisi/AGF

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ActionAid is an independent international organisation operating in over 40 countries that, together with the poorest communities, fights poverty and injustice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	4
1 -THE NEED FOR HOUSING: AN OVERVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN ITALY.	5
1.1 - Geographies of migrant housing	5
2 - THE NEED FOR HOUSING IN NAPLES AND THE SPACES FOR MIGRANT HOUSING	10
2.1 - The prospects for inclusive housing	16
RECOMMENDATIONS	19
LIST OF INTERVIEWS WITH CONFIDENTIAL INFORMERS	20
BIBLIOGRAPHY	20

INTRODUCTION

Housing is a process of building individual and shared spaces. Into these spaces, people in the society and physical spaces, as well as concrete objects such as a house or an apartment, come into play just as much as feelings, imagery and social relations do (Cognetti, Maranghi 2017 p.13).

For migrants, building a home involves not only the physical space, but also the human and socio-cultural aspects as well as the natural surrounding environment; it is also a process of experience, gradual and reversible, that goes beyond traditional boundaries to come into contact with the receiving society by negotiating, over time, through successive “thresholds of domesticity” (Boccagni, Brighenti 2017), spaces of survival, autonomy, recognition and, sometimes, well-being.

With this analysis, ActionAid identifies the potential action that can be taken to construct forms of housing that are inclusive and capable of involving migrant communities, in particular those who, having entered the system as asylum seekers have since lost their right to housing - due to the expiry of the term or removal from the structure (whether voluntary or not) - and find themselves navigating the housing market in search of accommodation. By broadening the perspective from simply housing - as a space of intimacy and private life - to the wider concept of living, we tried to see the home as a centre of multiple interactions (between housing and, for example, working, between tight and looser social relationships, between private and public

spaces, between different social participants) and as an opportunity to access the spaces of urban life and of political participation, to forms of community belonging, beyond the legal scope of citizenship. We have therefore tried to identify and define the gap between what constitutes the desire of migrants for housing and their actual experience of housing, identifying the dynamics and social participants involved in structuring *migrant housing*. The basis of this research is the awareness of the impossibility of reducing the forms of how migrant people settle to models or typologies, which offer little or nothing to the complexity of social issues and which risk forcing the specifics of individual lives and courses into reductive categorisation (asylum seekers or internationally protected peoples or illegal or legal migrants, forced migrants, etc.), generalisation, orientalism or simply essentialism.

The same category of migrants, which will be used for convenience in this report, is particularly ambiguous and reproduces a rigid distinction of “us” and “them”. In the proposed reading this term should not be understood as an attribute or characteristic of a set of people, but as a product of economic, judicial and/or discursive dynamics that determine specific positioning within social situations, which, in turn, trigger choices and planning within these same situations. The definition of “migrant housing” hides an enormous complexity that requires in-depth and contextualised analysis that can adopt a transdisciplinary and intersectional perspective (Chancellors, Ostanel 2015).



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research was divided into two phases. The first phase, through quantitative data and reports, helped draw a general picture of the housing situation in Italy and specifically in Naples. Articles and scientific works on sociology, urban ethnography, social theory - as well as research into other projects looking into the subject of housing deprivation - provided operational concepts and analytical tools that were useful in framing the issue in a transdisciplinary perspective. In the second phase, in-depth interviews were carried out - with local institutional figures, university professors, trade unionists, activists for the right to housing, social workers and migrants - with the aim of identifying and outlining the most significant aspects of the

housing situation in Naples, the need for housing, how migrants settle in the Campania capital. Ten in-depth interviews were carried out, eight with confidential informers and two with migrants who had left the institutional housing path (to protect the anonymity of migrants fictitious names were used). In parallel to the research work, an open dialogue was maintained with beneficiaries of the project, “*This must be the place*”, a group composed of about 25 young people coming out of the city’s housing network (SPRAR and CAS facilities) and their university peers from the Federico II and L’Orientale¹ Universities.

BOX 1

WHAT INTEGRATION, ACCORDING TO ACTIONAID?

Italy’s society, today, is a multicultural one but we do not see the multiple processes of cohesion, exchange, and encounter between social components. What this report defines as *inclusion* and/or *integration* is an end point but also a process to achieve an intercultural society, a process of dialogue that is not just about migrants. It is that process which allows a fundamental passage: from being a *statistical body* to becoming a *collective political body*, an active part of Italian society and which implies a deep cultural passage in the direction of an inclusive citizenship and an intercultural society.

We are, therefore, addressing Europe as well as Italy with the intention of understanding the policies and approaches that increasingly tend to parallelism between the concepts of integration and security.

We do not have an unambiguous definition of integration, but we definitely know that “non-integration” - at every level, segregation and isolation - creates problems and strips responsibility, typical ingredients for an unstable and increasingly precarious society.

Integration, in this perspective, is something that concerns the migrant component of our society, but it also concerns the community as a whole and the chance for it to be truly inclusive, as well as the chance to free itself from a progressively precarious existence. Inclusion is, therefore, to be understood - to use Sassen’s words - with respect to *all forms of expulsion*, insecurity and marginalisation, considering that foreign people are the ones most exposed. Paying attention to cultural differences does not mean mystifying that which unites us; paying attention to potential culture shocks and cultural misunderstanding does not mean hiding the possible conflict to the social order - it means making the scenario complex.

¹ *This must be the place* is a project organised by ActionAid Italia in partnership with the Department of Social Sciences at the Federico II University, LESS Onlus, Project Ahead and in collaboration with the Traparentesi Onlus and Aste and Nodi Associations. The project’s objectives are: to encourage horizontal dialogue and the relationship between young people close to leaving housing (CAS/SPRAR) and young Italian university students, in a preparatory path towards joint action; to guarantee respect for the right to study and the right to housing for those applying for international protection and those under international protection.

1 - THE NEED FOR HOUSING: AN OVERVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN ITALY

Defining the need for housing is as difficult as defining what constitutes our “feeling at home”, what we consider desirable in our home experience, and, therefore, in its absence, what defines the individual perception and experience of a need.

As Palvarini (2006) rightly points out, individual experiences of housing need are the result of multiple elements that outline specific areas of risk: living in inadequate facilities or without efficient services; insecurity related to the enjoyment of a home; overcrowding; the inability to afford housing or the utilities connected to it; difficulties related to the surrounding neighbourhood.

From a general point of view, the problem in Italy does not seem to be a lack of housing but rather a progressive and evident investment in property that has ended up penalising the weaker segments of the population. Today’s need for housing particularly affects people in rented accommodation, in terms of housing conditions, or of overcrowding, or in reference to proportion of income taken up by rent and utilities. The liberalisation of the rental market since the late 1990s and the progressive tightening of public housing policies have affected this situation significantly: public investment in housing policies - and in particular in public housing - has been progressively and drastically reduced (compared to European standards) in terms of both economic and actual related social policies. This picture is made even more problematic by the effects of the 2008 financial crisis: migrants, young people and all those without any family savings behind them experienced increasing difficulties not only in terms of access to, but also in terms of *affordability* of, housing, i.e. housing costs exceeded income (Baldini, Poggio 2014).

1.1 - Geographies of migrant housing

Large urban centres - with their wealth of employment and entertainment opportunities - are particularly attractive to an increasing number of people and investors: the widening demand for housing and growing speculative interests inevitably drive prices and rents up (Pittini et al. 2017) which can lead, on the one hand, to moves to increase urban income and, on the other, to increasingly pronounced expulsion dynamics. In this scenario, migrants represent a particularly weak housing demand sector in Italy. Firstly, the evident position of economic disadvantage often places them in the lower tiers of income stratification: according to ISTAT (26 June 2018) the rate of relative poverty is higher in households with foreigners (23.9%) or only foreigners (34.5%) compared to households made up solely of Italians (10.5%). Secondly, the subordinate social, political and legal position, which is also determined by discrimination and institutional racism, ends up by classifying migrants as second-class citizens. Where, in the labour market, migrants seem destined to work a particularly hard and underpaid job - the so-called three Ds, “*dirty, dangerous and demeaning*” jobs - so it is in the housing market, where migrants are offered the most degraded, inadequate housing stock (sometimes at higher rents). In these terms, we can speak about a specific market, stimulated by the demand for immigrant housing and made up of particularly low quality stock, both in terms of available space and structural characteristics, and which often takes the form of putting a value on inadequate, shoddy properties that otherwise could not be placed on the market (see Nomisma, Censis 2017 p.7-8). The migrant housing route itself appears particularly tortuous and settling is often preceded by periods of informality and instability, such as forced cohabitation and shared living spaces.

Economic availability and income level, together with trends in the housing market, define the housing choices open to migrants and, therefore, the trend to settle in the most degraded housing sectors or in outlying areas where relatively lower rents can be found. In addition, the need to be mobile and, hence, the need to be close to public transportation services is essential. Work and housing are closely connected: without a stable or sufficiently well-paid job it becomes particularly difficult to access housing but, on the other hand, the lack of suitable accommodation or its distance from transportation services makes access to the labour market particularly difficult.

Care must be taken, however, when discussing migrant housing, of using terms and concepts that might be used to describe the traditional image of the ghetto. Numerous studies highlight that, in Italy, situations of real residential segregation are hard to find, despite the presence of nationally connoted enclaves - linked to migration and housing projects, to the dynamics of the housing market, and to processes that accentuate and concentrate housing poverty in the more marginal sectors of the population. However, the lack of any real ghetto does not rule out the existence of processes of ghettoisation and marginalisation. In fact, the dynamics of housing concentration (both spatially and in terms of specific sectors of housing stock), is associated with a public debate - but often also public policies and practices - strongly dominated by racial and security tensions, the effect of which is to fuel the rhetoric of fear and degradation². Specific mention must be made of asylum seekers, holders of residence permits for humanitarian reasons - before the very recent repeal of humanitarian protection (Italian Law 132/2018, see BOX2) - and people under international protection. The increase in arrivals in Italy since 2011 has overloaded a structurally inadequate and inefficient housing system in terms of services and resources. The European, and Italian, political management of immigration - through a certain discursive and artificial rhetoric of this permanent emergency - has, in recent years, been oriented towards radical disinvestment on the rethinking of the housing system, preferring security and emergency options that do nothing but fuel criminalisation processes and the rise of xenophobic feelings.

The latest legislative provisions, such as Italian Decree Law no. 113 of 4 October 2018 (the so-called "security and immigration" decree) recently converted into Italian law (no. 132 of 1 December 2018) also go in this direction. This tends to fuel the processes of marginalisation and criminalisation of migrant people, introduces further forms of institutional racism and - with the elimination of the residence permit for humanitarian reasons - risks contributing to putting thousands of people into an irregular position. Without going into the specifics of transformations in the governance of migration and the relative consequences on the lives of "new arrivals" into the migrant population in Italy, we will limit ourselves to reporting just some elements of the current context: the downward renegotiation of housing standards (see Openpolis, ActionAid 2018), the slowness of the bureaucratic process to assess asylum requests, the residual nature of courses or projects of real inclusion and, even in the case of good projects, the difficulty in achieving autonomy for the people leaving housing - for structural reasons, such as limited duration of stay.

In the light of the reconfiguration of the housing system, the exclusion of asylum seekers from ex-SPRAR housing, and the repeal of humanitarian protection, it is likely that there will be a considerable increase in the number of foreign nationals who, also due to the lack of adequate housing measures, will be exposed to social marginalisation and housing hardship.

The housing options for those who leave the housing system are, therefore, even more difficult, often aggravated by the lack of solid community networks in the area and the criminalising stigma that accompanies them in public discourse, particularly in recent years. There are still very few studies on the need for housing for applicants to and people under international protection, yet, it may be useful to refer to some work on the growth of informal housing situations. In addition to the ghettos of southern Italy, close to seasonal work areas, and shanty towns adjacent to some CARA³ facilities, informal housing situations and irregular employment practices have proliferated. Those who live there have left the system which provided institutional housing. They lack the paths to inclusion as well as the tools (not just economic) to navigate the housing market, and were excluded due to the discretionary nature to remove housing, or because they did not really have access to it (Médecins Sans Frontières 2018).

² While, on the one hand, the low quality housing stock, because it is more affordable, tends to attract and concentrate the demand for housing from the immigrant population, on the other hand, the perception of degradation and a sense of insecurity - artificially attributed to this same immigrant population - make the same areas even less desirable for the native population and can also affect property values (see Augustoni, Alietti, Cucca 2015: 130).

³ The CARA (*Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo*), Reception Centres for Asylum Seekers, are facilities used to identify and to initiate procedures to recognise the right to international protection, entrusted by the Italian Ministry of the Interior to managing bodies, established by Italian Presidential Decree 303/2004, which later became part of Italian Legislative Decree 25/2008, as per article 20, paragraph 2 (repealed by the current Italian Legislative Decree 142/2015). These are large centres located far from residential areas, dominated by a logic of security and semi-custodial conditions (exit is allowed during the day but return at night is mandatory), particularly low standards of housing (in some cases prefabricated in disused and converted structures) and chronic overcrowding, the almost total lack of activities or facilities and paths of inclusion, incredibly long waiting times (to complete the bureaucratic process to recognise - or otherwise - the right to international protection).

BOX2

RECEPTION CENTRES IN ITALY BEFORE AND AFTER ITALIAN LAW NO. 132/2018 OF 1 DECEMBER^a

It may be useful at this point to provide a brief overview of the reception system as it was prior to the recent action taken by the legislator. It is appropriate to describe how and in what terms the various reception facilities have been transformed by the reform.

Rescue, initial assistance and identification

affected by the hotspot approach, set up in 2015, on the basis of the commitments made by the Italian Government with the European Commission. Rescue operations, initial assistance, pre-identification and photographing are done in these places and information is provided on asylum procedures. Hotspots are basically created to “differentiate” asylum seekers from so-called economic migrants. In the light of Italian Law no. 132/2018, asylum seekers can now be held in these centres for up to thirty days in order to establish their identity and nationality. Procedures to assess the merits of asylum applications can now be applied directly at the border.

Primary Housing Governmental Centres

This is followed, for those who have applied for asylum and are not detained in a CPR, by a housing phase prior to the asylum application being examined. Housing is provided through governmental centres (CARAs) and extraordinary housing centres (CASs).

Secondary housing

Within the centres, once called SPRAR (*Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati* - Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees) and now SIPROIMI (*Sistema di Protezione per titolari di protezione internazionale e per minori stranieri non accompagnati* - Protection System for people under international protection and foreign minors) asylum seekers can no longer be accommodated. In addition to those under international protection, certain categories of foreigners may be accepted, due to specific needs. We refer to those who need urgent or essential medical treatment, victims of trafficking, domestic violence, serious labour exploitation, or those who cannot return to their country because of a disaster or those who have committed acts of particular civil value, as well as unaccompanied foreign minors. In the legislator's view, this reception method is not limited to providing purely welfare services, but is also aimed at promoting paths to inclusion, both social and in terms of employment.

So-called extraordinary housing

The extraordinary housing system, which should theoretically have had an ancillary and transitory function, has become, in recent years, by far the most important housing network. Over the years, different and partly contradictory instructions have been issued regarding how to structure these extraordinary housing centres (CASs). In fact, on the one hand, there was a tendency to adapt those services provided in the CASs to those of the SPRAR in order to encourage the progressive step within the ordinary protection system, while on the other hand, with the new tender specifications, a model based on large accommodation structures - as opposed to the SPRAR - was encouraged. It should be borne in mind, as already specified, that asylum seekers can now only be received in CAS and CARA facilities, and no longer in SIPROIMI (formerly SPRAR) centres.

Centres housing people for repatriation (CPR, formerly CIE)

In this case, it is not a question of housing but of detention facilities, where migrants are held pending their repatriation, pending a review of their asylum application in particular situations or, in the light of the recent reform, to verify their identity and citizenship.

^a The conversion into law, with amendments, of Decree-Law no. 113 of 4 October 2018, containing urgent provisions on international protection and immigration measures, public security, as well as measures for the operation of the Ministry of the Interior and the organisation and operation of the National Agency for the administration and allocation of assets seized and confiscated from organised crime. Delegation to the Government on the reorganisation of the roles and careers of Police and Armed Forces personnel. The measure came into effect on 4/12/2018.

These informal situations - sometimes driven by mere necessity, but sometimes also by reasons of political subjectivity and claims to rights - often become the target of the rhetoric of urban decorum and security interventions and criminalising speeches, if not actual forced evictions. Further internal boundaries - within the urban fabric - also make it impossible for those living under a local authority's discriminatory employment or other practices⁴. These practices take the form of an additional tool in creating the hierarchy for the foreign

population and a mechanism for controlling migration, dividing migrant citizens into "good" and "bad" (the homeless, squatters, people living in situations judged undignified, etc.), and extending the perimeter of marginality by effectively restricting access to many social rights - such as enrolment in the National Health Service or access to public housing - for which residence is a prerequisite (Bolzoni, Gargiulo, Manocchi 2015).



⁴ Numerous studies have, in fact, shown that registration is often subject to unlawful requests made by local authorities for documentation, for example in the case of certifying housing suitability or the right to housing (which, by law, are not required to obtain residency), with regard to refusing registration solely on the basis of the "receipt" for the renewal of the residence permit, or in the case of not recognising accommodation facilities as the habitual residence; a universe of unlawful practice exists - formal and informal - of municipal ordinances, circulars, not always easily traceable. These forms of discrimination are caused by multiple factors: the unpreparedness of municipal offices, the lack of communication between these offices and the Police Headquarters, the failure of bodies managing reception facilities to guarantee the right to residence, the structuring of real control and/or marginalisation practices aimed at people considered undesirable (see *Campagna LasciateCIEntrare* 2018).

BOX3

ACCESS TO SERVICES AND THE OBSTRUCTIONS TO EMPLOYMENT IN THE LIGHT OF ITALIAN LAW 132/2018: AN INCREASED RISK OF SOCIAL MARGINALISATION?

Among the various aspects introduced by Italian Law 132/2018, we will briefly focus on the changes in terms of *registration* and the new provisions regarding *occupying property*.

As far as the first aspect is concerned, the aforementioned legislation provides that a residence permit for an asylum application “does not constitute a right to registration”. In the light of the recent measure, therefore, holders of residence permits for asylum applications cannot obtain residence and, hence, cannot obtain an identity card. While it is true that the same regulatory provision states that “access to the services provided by this decree and to those provided in the country pursuant to the current regulations is ensured in the place of domicile”, many public administrations tend to require certification of residence for the purposes of providing services. If there is no doubt, for example, that holders of a residence permit for asylum applications are entitled to register with the National Health Service and Job Centres on equal terms and treatment with Italian citizens, it is, at the very least, likely that many public bodies will, in practice, limit or even prevent asylum seekers from having access to all those services for which the requirement of domicile^a is sufficient under current legislation.

It is easy to imagine that being unable to register with the National Health Service, with Job Centres and, more generally, the limited access to public services, may contribute to situations of potential marginalisation. Also with regard to the right to education, although the legislation in effect expressly provides that access to services provided in the country is guaranteed in the place of domicile, it is likely that, in practice, asylum seekers may, without being able to register, experience prejudice and difficulties in accessing educational and training services. It should also be borne in mind that, in practice, access to certain services provided by private bodies (e.g. banking services and opening a current account) is often hindered by the lack of an identity card as a result of being unable to register. Finally, it should be noted that the new legislation appears, in the views made by authoritative legal experts, vitiated by constitutional illegitimacy: it could be the subject of litigation aimed at protecting foreign asylum seekers and the repeal of the same.

The changes introduced by Italian Law 132/2018 in relation to article 633 of the Italian Penal Code - occupying land or buildings - exacerbate the previous regulations. The prison sentence for the “*arbitrary invasion of another party’s land or buildings, public or private, in order to occupy them or otherwise profit from them*” is raised from the current “up to two years” to “from one to three years”. Aggravating circumstances are also redefined: there is provision for the penalty of imprisonment from two to four years if the act is committed by more than five persons or by a clearly armed person. In aggravated cases it is possible to proceed *ex officio*. The aggravated case of the crime of *invading land or buildings* is now included among the crimes in relation to which wiretapping may be ordered.

The intervention of the legislator, therefore, resets the description of this crime, leading to an overall tightening of the consequences. This intervention, however, seems to be part of a wider strategy to criminalise the behaviour which comes with the living conditions, the social context, and even the political choices of Italian and foreign citizens. It is likely that foreign nationals - who constitute an absolutely relevant component in the processes of re-appropriation by occupying property and movements for the right to housing - may be doubly affected by the new legislation. It should be borne in mind that, from this perspective, attributing an offence to a person of foreign origin ends up, especially if this person has a precarious status and belongs to a lower-middle social class - determining forms of further stigmatisation and that criminal proceedings against foreign nationals considered marginalised are often *racially* motivated. These foreign citizens, in fact, have more chance of being convicted, due to their relative knowledge of the law and/or in relation to the behaviour by various parties involved in the proceedings to be less protective of them.

^a It is useful to briefly recall the difference between the concepts of *residence* and *domicile*. The residence is “the place where the person has their habitual home”. Every citizen has the obligation to establish his or her residence in the municipality where he or she lives. Registration is the act by which citizens request inclusion in the resident population register of a specific municipality. The domicile is, instead, the place where a person establishes “the principal place of his or her business or interests”. The domicile and the residence may not always coincide.

2 - THE NEED FOR HOUSING IN NAPLES AND THE SPACES FOR MIGRANT HOUSING

The situation in Naples shows a widespread housing need that, although it affects more specific territorial sectors, does not draw completely homogeneous areas. According to ISTAT's analyses and the division of areas into sectors characterised by specific socio-demographic traits, in Naples "there is a clear prevalence of working-class areas with young families renting accommodation, characterised by residents with a high rate of unemployment or employed in low-skilled sectors, with low levels of education, relatively young average age, in large and extended families" (ISTAT 2017: 234). The statistics provided by the Municipality of Naples confirm a general housing problem and the presence of significant differences within the metropolitan area, with the problem being concentrated in areas that, if not actual ghettos, can be considered as mainly affected by housing poverty (ISTAT 2018: 297-300). For example, the housing crowding index - higher than the Italian average and one of the worst in Italy - shows clear fluctuations between areas that, on average, also show a marked difference in social welfare indicators: less overcrowding and a better ratio between inhabitants and living space is recorded in neighbourhoods such as Posillipo, Chiaia, San Giuseppe and Vomero, while worse values are seen in the suburbs and some neighbourhoods in the historic centre such as Mercato and Pendino (see Municipality of Naples 2015, 2016). In addition, if we broaden our gaze we can see that in Campania the expenditure related to housing is lower than the Italian average but the low income level means that, on average, the proportion of income taken up by these items is higher.

«Because Naples is a place where there are many different types of situation. There is a situation of comfort, there is a strong situation of comfort against underuse. In some of the medium/high quality housing stock there are people who use more than one home, and not only in Naples. So, these phenomena can be found in

portions of the housing stock in the old city centre as well as in the municipal outlying areas. There is also the phenomenon of surplus, in the sense that, amongst temporary workers, some people are "sofa-surfing" and go from one bed to another each night because they do not have a real home. But even among the hyper-guaranteed there are people who move from one bed to another because they have a comfort that not only goes beyond the room to live in, but goes far beyond that»

(GIOVANNI LAINO,
professor of Technology and Urban Planning
at the Federico II University of Naples)

The coexistence, geographical, and qualitative nature, as well as the complexity and fragmentary nature of the housing situation in Naples cannot, therefore, be translated into a clear distinction between a "rich" and a "poor" city: the two extremes of the income scale show greater concentration, delineating wealthy areas and those less privileged areas; at the same time, enclaves of poverty can be identified within neighbourhoods populated by the upper-middle class, as well as particular situations of privileged insulae in private housing complexes within neighbourhoods traditionally identified as marginal (Pfirsch 2016). The old town centre seems to represent this coexistence between the urban proletariat and the urban sub-proletariat well, who often survive through informal jobs, and the elite of the valuable palazzi, between the precarious middle-class youth, without work but with family capital available, and the migrants in the most dilapidated examples of housing stock.

The demand for housing in Naples is large and significant and, in this, it follows some national trends such as the multiplication of family units and the parallel reduction in their number, or the significant contribution of the migrant population in a context characterised by

a negative demographic balance (if we look only at the native population). Supply does not seem to be able to match this demand, especially due to disinvestment in public housing and an inadequate market. The property assets on the market are in fact characterised by a significant share of quality housing which is not accessible to anyone (and often reserved for sale) and by an even greater share of poor quality housing; there seems to be a lack of mid-range properties that can meet demand (Rosa 2016 p. 260). Such a large demand for housing - which Rosa quantifies at 50-70,000 units - is counterbalanced by one of the highest land use rates in Italy (as shown by the 2018 ISPRA report on land use) and a relatively low percentage of unoccupied buildings. The gap between supply and demand is, perhaps, to be found in the composition of the property which - as evidenced by several witnesses interviewed - is often widespread, poorly divided, and difficult to identify, and which, therefore, probably leads to a part of the housing stock being under used. On the other hand, a significant portion of the population in the old town centre still lives in the so-called “bassi”, small, street-level houses not classified as housing units for residential purposes which, despite a relative variety in quality, all certainly constitute situations of great need.

To complete this general picture, data from the Ministry of the Interior on evictions show that: in the province of Naples in recent years the number of evictions has remained well over 3,000 per year, with a ratio of evictions per household among the worst in Italy (in 2017, one for every 313 family units). It should also be noted that the official numbers do not paint the real picture: in a city with widespread undocumented rents, informal, unregistered and unofficial evictions are multiplied, especially against vulnerable parties in the property market.

A housing need, in Naples, which has its roots, among other things, in the processes of expulsion and building speculation connected with the post-earthquake reconstruction. To this is added the public sector's

progressive withdrawal from social housing (in line with national trends) both in terms of maintenance and in terms of new allocations, and which has further exacerbated housing poverty in Naples:

«Then, on the other hand, we have this hunger, this need for a home that is so strong. If we look at the statistics on the applications that have been submitted to the housing service⁵ for the Municipality of Naples in the last 15 years, we find 20,000 applications awaiting service, and social housing is no longer being assigned»

(DOMENICO LOPRESTO,
Union of Tenants of Naples)

In this context, the short term rental market for tourism has, in recent years, represented an opportunity to generate urban income for both the small landlord and the timeshare owner, but also a potential worsening in the housing need for the more needy sections of the population.

«on the one hand, this composition - weak, all things considered, even if it is that composition which, over the years, has resisted political attempts to remove it from the old town centre - on the other, a stock, partly empty, that can be enhanced by this type of intervention, by this type of use, which is the use as a holiday home, tourist use, etc. [...]. This kind of very fast, very aggressive process

⁵ The IACP (*Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari* - Independent Institute for Affordable Housing), is a body that builds and manages housing reserved for the less well-off or for those who cannot afford to find housing at the market price. The IACP is composed of institutes operating at the provincial level.

creates consensus because, as always, when you have an economic monoculture, the social imagination of the possibility of having an income ends up defining itself within this possibility»

(ALFONSO DE Vito,
Neapolitan activist for
the movement for the right to housing)

In the panorama just described, the need of migrants takes on specific connotations, which add to the already widespread lack of housing. The municipality of Naples has a migrant population of 5.1%, below the Italian average (8.5%); however, in some municipalities in the province - San Giuseppe Vesuviano, Terzigno, Palma Campania - the percentage is above the national average, reaching peaks over 12%. Most of these are holders of residence permits for work purposes, although, despite the relatively small proportion of the total, there has been a significant increase in the number of people seeking or being covered by international or humanitarian protection - from 3% (of the total number of residence permits) in 2011 to 13.5% in 2017 (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, 2017). Naples, historically considered a transit city and not a settlement city, between 2010 and 2016 saw the size of its migrant population almost double, whose influx mainly involved the second, third and fourth municipalities (the districts in the old town centre and the areas near the central railway station), which, together, account for more than 60% of the total immigrant population in Naples (Statistics Service of the Municipality of Naples, resident population as at 31 December 2016).

Naples, like Campania, which has been an immigration destination for forty years, has, therefore, now become an area in which many migrant communities are settling: for the new components coming from Eastern Europe and Asia that have balanced that slice of foreign population who left the territory; for those who were already there and managed to stay; for the flows of the last few years composed - due to the substantial elimination of legal entry channels for business purposes since 2011 - mainly of asylum seekers (de Filippo, Strozza 2015). But there is also the case of those who, due to the crisis, have left northern Italy to return to a region where the cost of living is lower or where it is easier to find casual work in the labour market.

«In 2009, when the crisis hit, many people lost their jobs. Even those who spent a lot of money to bring their families [to Italy], now that there is a crisis, can no longer keep going. What do you do? Send the family back, agree to leave everything in the north and come

here to Naples to start from scratch»

(PIERRE PREIRA,
Chairperson of the Senegalese Association of Naples)

From many points of view the situation in Naples seems to follow a certain southern European model, characterised by a property market with a high informal element and low quality standards and, in parallel, migrants in the most degraded parts of the central housing stock and in the outlying parts of the metropolitan area (Malheiros 2002). The routes and settlement patterns of immigrant citizens in Naples are particularly varied, both in the choice of settlement area and in the ability to fashion (more or less) public spaces of commerce and meeting, aggregation and society, and to create a community (see Russo Krauss, Schmoll 2006). Although univocal models cannot be drawn, it must be said that settlement trends and areas can be traced to national origin, and, as they are, there are significant differences in levels of "inclusion". Inclusion, here, should be taken to mean one particular thing.

A high level of legal and socio-cultural inclusion does not necessarily correspond to an equal level of economic inclusion: one such example, often reported, is that of Chinese communities, better established in the economic fabric, but marginalised from a socio-cultural and legal point of view (Buonomo, De Filippo, Strozza 2014). With regard to settlement methods and areas, there are differences that tend to identify, for example, the areas between the central railway station and the industrial area as areas where the Chinese community has settled, the third municipality has a strong Sri Lankan presence, whereas the second municipality has a strong presence of people from both Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. This urban geography may be affected by factors such as the positioning in the labour market, which, for example, sees some nationalities traditionally employed in care work and personal care - this being the case for people from Ukraine, Sri Lanka and the Philippines - in upper-middle class residential areas. In this case, the need for housing may be related to the living situation in the employer's house, with indefinite working hours and more or less rigid forms of exploitation and/or control over the worker's private life (regarding these particular housing situations see Boccagni 2018). Another element that might also affect settlement area is the presence of a national community to which to refer, although the existence, within the same communities, of people who benefit from their fellow countrymen's need for housing cannot be completely excluded. The presence of social networks and communities that have long been rooted in the territory, however, remains a fundamental element in a social and political context that is increasingly distrustful - if not openly hostile, including with regard to the property market - since it makes the establishment of forms of mutualism and mutual support possible.

«They work a lot on what is called in sociology, “self-resolution”: they find paths on their own, they invent them on their own. They hardly ever go through agencies, hardly ever go through a [formalised] path. It works like this: I ask you, you ask your friend and he says, “come and sleep at my house, we’ll share the expenses while you look for another solution”. So there are these networks and these informal chains that allow access...[...] In fact, brokerage networks work a lot in this situation. The famous CAFs, for example, from this point of view. Or associations, groups, such as community associations - those that are more structured, more organised, better informed - that always have a small legal help desk, for access to housing»

(FABIO AMATO,
professor of Urban Geography and
International Migration
at the L’Orientale University of Naples)

In a context marked by lower economic availability (both in terms of income and savings), by greater difficulty accessing credit, and by mistrust of the housing market, informal networks and forms of community support are often the only solution available for migrant people arriving in the country. The dynamics of the property market have an effect that discourages the search for decent housing and forces a large part of the migrant population to redefine their actual desire for housing, forcing them to adapt to the degraded housing reserved for them, often at excessive prices given the poor quality standards (Alisei Coop et al. 2008): an example of this is the “bassi”, in which *filtering down*⁶ processes have been triggered that have seen the arrival of foreign family units.

On the other hand, although the average rent is higher, the central metropolitan area remains particularly attractive, both for business opportunities - even informal - and for the chance, at least initially, of being put in the outlying spaces of a property market (also with a high informal element) that allows multiple solutions, all

of which are, however, characterised by more or less serious marginality and housing poverty. These are, in any case, temporary solutions, which, in the medium to long term, may present significant problems: firstly, that the same informality may become a disadvantage in the case of informal eviction procedures - mentioned above - especially for socially and legally marginalised people; secondly, the need to register in order to renew the residence permit and to access many social rights may condemn those living in these situations to seek extra-legal solutions for a fee (Gurgo 2015).

The progression in the housing path is often marked by the search for more accessible housing in the municipalities of the province, with lower average rents which allow, for example, a certificate to be obtained for the purposes of family reunification.

«Generally the experience of migrants is this: you arrive and you “float” in a more or less precarious or temporary condition. You do what you can. I coexist, I cohabit with 5 or 6 other people in makeshift accommodation... when I manage to find a place for myself, if I choose to stay in Naples, I will go to the suburbs, that is out of the Municipality of Naples. And so, for example, Giugliano, S. Antimo, the Vesuvian areas, Palma Campania, are municipalities that have, especially in the central areas, in the old town centres, a fair concentration of migrants, where, obviously, the rent is cheaper. So, let’s say, you sacrifice proximity of the potential job opportunities in order to be able to stay in slightly better housing; or at least, even if the situation is just as bad, you definitely pay less. Because the geometric logic that distance from the centre lowers urban rents still works»

(FABIO AMATO,
professor of Urban Geography and
International Migration
at the L’Orientale University of Naples)

⁶ *Filtering down* is generally understood as a process whereby there is a progressive replacement of the resident population in a housing unit or a residential area subjected to degradation with a population belonging to a lower income group, thereby leading to further declines in the housing market.

In the case of applicants to or people under international or humanitarian protection, the housing need is aggravated by two other elements: a condition of “permanent temporariness” and, often, the lack of solid community networks in the country. As far as the first aspect is concerned, the condition of asylum seekers who are “transported” from one point to another in the institutional reception “chain” and often “housed” in particularly low quality structures, produces situations of great fragility and, not favouring the reconstruction or the construction of one’s own migration project, causes a return that is often devastating in terms of de-responsibility, self-representation, and self-perception. The lack of ways to build autonomy and accompanying housing often forces those waiting in the CASs to survive with informal, casual work, in the hope of being able to obtain the documents and then continue their existential path to other places. Even in the case of those who wish to - or must - stay, the mistrust of the housing market translates into economic difficulty in finding a decent housing situation, forcing many people to renegotiate their desire for housing by relying on the limited social networks available to them.

«I started looking for a house... sometimes I slept on the street, other times I went to my friends' house for 2-3 days...until I met a girl and started living with her. I lived for a bit on the street and a bit at my friends' house; they knew I was looking for a home and they also helped me look for a room. But at other times somebody else had to host some other immigrant, so then I was on my way: this was for 4-5 months...»

(LAMIN,
holder of residence permit
for humanitarian reasons, Gambian)

The market offers decent housing at unsustainable prices or housing which is affordable but poorly maintained, and those who offer rental accommodation are often unwilling to give it to migrants. The lack of access to the housing market, together with the obvious lack of accompanying routes out of reception centres, thus ends up forcing people into situations of extreme housing hardship, such as forced cohabitation or living on the street, as seen by the increase in the number of those who turn to municipal housing services or those destined to be homeless.

«I know that conditions of social hardship have worsened in the city of Naples with the management and indiscriminate increase in CASs and a contraction, a failure to increase SPRAR numbers - compared to those that are clearly already operational. This has led to an increase in social hardship, an increase in the homeless population - in terms of numbers - and an increase in spending and intervention by the services, which, in the meantime, have not managed to meet this type of need, resulting in certain areas really suffering»

(LAURA MARMORALE,
Councillor for Citizenship Rights
and Social Cohesion for the Municipality of Naples)

«I wanted to stay in central Naples, but I didn't find anything. In the houses I found here, they told me that since I was African they couldn't give me the house. I also saw a lot of houses on Facebook, but then when I went to talk to them and they saw that I was African, they lied, they said "no, it's already rented" [...] If you ask me, many people take advantage of the fact that you're African: if there's no contract, and if the police come, what can you tell them? Nothing! Because there's no contract, you have nothing... You can only tell the police that you don't live there...that's not right...»

(FAITH,
under international protection, Nigerian).

This dynamic is also confirmed by the comparison with LESS Onlus, which provides a service to accompany housing autonomy as part of the regional E.L.I.C.A.⁷: project: the difficulty accessing the property market is mainly due to difficulty finding a housing supply which is economically in line with the demand, the lack of synergy with the housing supply - and, therefore, the difficulty encountered by the operator to establish networks and relationships with agencies

⁷ Il progetto E.L.I.C.A. *Empowerment Lavoro Integrazione Comunita' e Autonomia*, realizzato da LESS Impresa Sociale Onlus, ASMENET, CLAOR (Centro Linguistico di Ateneo Università L'Orientale), Comune di Napoli, CONSVIP e Project Ahead, mira a facilitare la fuoriuscita dal circuito SPRAR mediante la costruzione di una rete regionale, l'orientamento dei titolari di protezione internazionale, la promozione di progetti individuali di autonomia, l'inserimento socio economico (http://www.lessimpresasociale.it/progetti_14_elica.html).

and with those who rent to support housing for people under international protection - and, even in the case of a first contact, in the mistrust of those who rent accommodation. Most of the economically accessible housing is, therefore, found in places in the province that are difficult to reach and that can help drive away people with fragile social networks they have built during their stay. On the other hand, the lack of synergy affects not only the private but also the public sector, as exemplified by the fragmented and uncoordinated interventions and policies aimed at supporting housing demand: a situation that would make it necessary, as highlighted by the local authority,

«a tool, first of all, to put everybody around a table, to deal with all the fragmentation that exists between the services and measures offered to citizens to try to reduce the housing crisis - for example falling into arrears through no fault, social services, social housing - and on the other hand, to hold other institutions, such as the IACP or the State Property Office, responsible as well»

(MONICA BUONANNO,
Councillor for Employment, Right to Housing
and Development for the Municipality of Naples)⁸

The desire of applicants to and people under international protection, given the condition of permanent temporariness that characterises migratory designs stuck in a lengthy bureaucratic procedure, focuses on two main elements: proximity to the workplace - actual or potential - and proximity to centres of community, trade, and mobility. The geographies of migrant housing desire and experience therefore respond to a map of the city in which centres, references, and internal boundaries do not always correspond to the official plan or

with the image that we ourselves make of it; an imaginary map determined by contextual social, symbolic-discursive, and economic dynamics, strategic negotiations, and existence plans (see Pezzoni 2015). With its opportunities for meeting people and the ability to rely on public transport, Piazza Garibaldi, for example, takes on a crucial centrality in the imaginary map of urban space, especially for those who live in a socially

and legally precarious situation and have limited support networks:

«the basic requirements for their ideal home are: proximity to their own community, where present, or, in any case, to their own network in the area, the centrality of housing in the city or, in any case, proximity to public transportation, because no one can go anywhere without a train or a bus. So the “hot” area is always Piazza Garibaldi, the point of reference. [...] for them, the city of Naples, the city centre, is Piazza Garibaldi, and then it develops around that. I proposed housing solutions in the Vesuvian area, and it was as though they were on the other side of the world. I proposed housing solutions in the outlying areas of Naples, San Giovanni, but also Fuorigrotta - which has its own centre. There too, I was met with many difficulties, “no, it’s too far away”. They are mainly looking for this anyway, they’re afraid of being isolated»

(CLAUDIA MARTINELLI,
social worker LESS Onlus,
E.L.I.C.A. project.)

However, the concentration of low quality facilities such as CASs in the area in and around Piazza Garibaldi, associated with the fragility of applicants to and people under international protection and the lack of effective ways to integration, has encouraged the aggravation of feelings of hostility, in an increasingly xenophobic and discriminatory general political climate. A situation potentially adversarial of which the local government itself appears to be aware.

«How do you escape from the underground economy? That’s what I ask myself. Especially when trying to avoid a situation in which coming out of the underground

⁸ “The announcement of the Blameless Arrears”, in particular, provides the opportunity, for those who have been evicted, to access a public fund of about one million euro, intended precisely for private tenants who, due to “serious need”, through loss of employment, illness or death of an income-generating member of the household, are unable to cover the rent for their home. As far as Social Housing is concerned, however, the Municipality of Naples [...] looks to private and public bodies and associations which, through a specific agreement with the Authority, have the opportunity to make a property owned by them temporarily available (housing or reception services) to people or families in poor housing conditions obtaining an income from it, until the funds available are exhausted (the total amount of the fund is 300,000 euro)” (source: Municipality of Naples).

economy involves a difficult social fight, a fight in which you only find yourself trying to manage repressive situations - which would be the last thing I would want to think about...»

(LAURA MARMORALE,
Councillor for Citizenship Rights and Social Cohesion
for the Municipality of Naples)

In this framework, security interventions can only aggravate the situation of people already made fragile by the reception/housing system, since they do not address the structural causes of housing, work and social marginalisation, but contribute, instead, to strengthening the image of the migrant as the culprit, of his housing need predicament, and, consequently, of urban degradation.

2.1 - The prospects for inclusive housing

Analysis and research can identify trends and structural elements, but only real people can speak about their lives and wishes. For this reason, forms of participatory planning and collective construction of housing and living, based on creating bonds of trust, as was seen in the meetings in the *This must be the place* project, of which this research is a part, can highlight a possible way to building inclusive housing and increasing the capacity of the country's reception and integration abilities. Horizontal comparison and direct participation - such as problematisation and collective analysis addressed in focus groups - are essential tools to bring out the specifics of the housing desire of those who live in a reception facility: the need to access a space that is one's own, a private space, your own space, but which is also a tool to participate in the community and to build a sense of belonging, a fundamental element for placement in the public space.

Looking at the experience of social spaces, the group's analysis highlighted the need for a (counter-) mapping of the area that can identify and re-use unused spaces by activating forms of regional enhancement aimed not at profit but at an inclusive right to the city. The local authority has emerged as a crucial party in defining policies to address housing deprivation and in the support for experimentation and design of inclusive urban spaces.

Moreover, the analysis defined the outlines of the housing need of migrant people: on the basis of these elements it is possible to identify some crucial areas on which to intervene and the actions to be pursued to promote inclusive forms of housing and living. First of all, the need has to be analysed in greater depth, especially in reference to applicants of and people under international protection and their relationship with housing, through forms of exchange and mutual knowledge within the areas that are opportunities to redefine the very nature of public housing spaces and to deconstruct stigmatising and criminalising arguments. Starting from the public figure, and according to criteria of social utility, new ways need to be identified of connecting and mediating between the demand and the supply of housing that can take the form, for example, of creating networks of owners willing to rent reasonably priced apartments; with appropriate forms of guarantee that safeguard ways to autonomy and that reassure owners against any fear of the tenant becoming insolvent; with public policies that strengthen the instruments of material support for parties with discontinuous or insufficient income; with mediation and comparison experiments to manage arrears⁹.

In the transformation of the topic of housing since the 1980s and 1990s, it is clear that the public authority's radical retraction from urban planning and from intervening on the housing issue, if not in the residual forms - and often completely insufficient - of support for demand in particularly marginalised sectors of housing demand¹⁰. The disinvestment of the public authority, both national and local, has coincided with the shift from forms of urban planning to occasional interventions - in the form of the project - and with an increasingly significant impact by private, speculative interests on urban areas (see Avallone, Torre 2016). The public

⁹ As in the case of the projects promoted by the DAR=CASA Cooperative Society: "Arrears, however, are a big problem for DAR and must be kept under tight control. To this end, by deciding on a strategy based on respect, mutual knowledge, and listening to our tenant members, we have created an ad hoc commission which, through periodic meetings, addresses the issue of economic difficulties and member problems by providing more observation points. The objective is to identify the most effective way to address the difficulty that each member might be in and to share it on the basis of mutual commitments. [...] Every month the "arrears commission" meets to check the payment situation, to analyse, in detail, the situation of the individual members in arrears, and to choose the most appropriate strategy moving forward. The first steps are the meeting and the discussion with the member in difficulty, in order to better understand their situation; this is followed by analysing the problems uncovered and then by a consulting activity aimed at identifying possible structures, organisations or subsidies that might be able to assist the member; then an agreement for the debt to be gradually repaid is evaluated together with the member" (<http://www.darcasa.org/cosa-facciamo/gestione-integrata/come-gestiamo-la-morosita/>).

¹⁰ Policies to support demand, however useful they may be, present a twofold problem: firstly, they do not address nor resolve the structural causes of housing deprivation but merely contain it; secondly, the requirements for obtaining them may prevent them from being used, especially when considering the sectors of the population without continuous or regular employment, or if the highly informal and casual situation of the property market in Naples is considered. It would, therefore, be necessary to address the housing issue from a structural and organic point of view, with housing policies that were able to shape, with the direct participation of citizens, inclusive city spaces, but that were also able to address the multidimensionality of the housing phenomenon in its connections with the labour market or social marginalisation phenomena.

BOX4

THIS MUST BE THE PLACE: “HOUSING” SUB-GROUP

Through a series of meetings that involved using the Reflection-Action^a, methodology tools, the participants in the “This Must Be the Place” project took a course of mutual knowledge and collective activation on the territory, based on a vision of shared desires and needs. Between the months of June and December 2018 the group was an active, driving force in creating a space for analysis and imagination, for trust and to build bonds of interdependence resulting from recognising themselves as belonging to the same community. The course was characterised by collective moments of sharing individual needs, problematisation, and learning about the role of local processes and local operators, through team-building practices that helped to establish a connection between participants and, consequently, the awareness of a common role, regardless of nationality of origin, as active parties central to the promotion of inclusive citizenship. The course ended by designing solutions in response to the group’s problems that emerged in relation to three issues considered priorities and instrumental to achieving full integration.

The group was then divided into three sub-groups:

1. Educational needs and the right to study.
2. Social relations and competence within the region.
3. The right to housing.

The definition of housing desire on an individual and then a collective level, according to a horizontal approach, beyond stereotyping, allowed the third sub-group to understand the multidimensionality of the housing issue, which cannot be simply reduced to the definition of a universally valid need for everyone, or a mere comparison with an abstract otherness. The sub-group considered housing as an ordinary dimension that manifests itself, for example, in the space in which to cultivate one’s intimacy and privacy, where “friends can be invited over for coffee” or a place to build your own independence. At the same time, this dimension also calls into question the opportunity to live within a city and to be recognised and accepted as a full member of an urban community. The analysis of the situation in the metropolitan area of Naples, the processes in play and the operators therein, has helped to identify the obstacles to realising a real right to the city for all and sundry, and to imagine ways to overcome the need for housing. From this it emerged that the horizontal mutual encounter and mediation between housing desires, the activation of individual resources, and the construction of micro-communities based on mutualism and coexistence, can encourage the construction of real experiences of sharing towards more inclusive forms of society shaped by a real participation from everyone. The sub-group therefore planned a course to analyse the desire and the housing need of young migrants and university students through: compiling cognitive questionnaires from a representative sample of young people; organising focus-groups targeting other peers and associations in the area; mapping the region marked by the survey in order to identify underused or disused spaces and to verify their ownership.

Secondly, focus-group participants launched: awareness-raising actions aimed at citizens and property owners in order to help deconstruct distrust and fears underlying discrimination to which, above all, foreign citizens are subject in the property market; institutional advocacy actions to recognise measures and tools that enhance a new model of housing in which the value of the relationship is a priority and in which good practices of mutual development and reuse of assets are examined. Finally, experimenting with an action of self-recovery, in a highly rigid context, but with building assets in conditions of dire degradation - such as in the case of Naples - represents for the sub-group a goal to aim for in the medium term.

^a Reflection-Action is a harmonised participatory methodology that involves, in a single process, the methods developed by the ActionAid federation of becoming aware of a given problem and of empowering people and communities.

authority must, therefore, guarantee the construction of social and shared spaces, the analysis and satisfaction of the needs of everyone, the construction of inclusive cities for every person living in the region. The question of housing, on the other hand, cannot be addressed without a parallel intervention on employment policies and the active construction of truly inclusive public spaces.

Finally, the evident inadequacy of existing housing projects and a real accompaniment to autonomy existing in the institutional reception system often emerges in the comparison with those who have experienced reception first hand. The creation and enhancement of this type of service, inside and outside the reception system, is, therefore, necessary in order to construct real autonomy, that can provide cognitive tools for those who settle in the region to better orient themselves in the housing market too.



RECOMMENDATIONS

At the local level ActionAid identifies some possible intervention projects:

- » Map the need for housing and social marginality as multidimensional phenomena, in order to develop non-vertical policies, able to confront the real need of those who live in the city, for the affirmation of a right to the city without distinction of social class or national origin. There is a need for a thorough knowledge of the housing needs and issues in Naples, in particular with regard to the migrant elements who have settled in and around the city in recent years (applicants to or people under international protection, people who have left the reception system), both in quantitative and qualitative terms. A knowledge of the phenomenon, combined with an analysis of the labour market and all the factors that drive housing need, can support forms of structured and organic planning over the medium to long term.
- » Perform a census of property assets (public and private) both disused and underused, and promote reuse and recovery for social purposes, also in synergy with private ownership.
- » Encourage alternative forms: firstly, temporary housing solutions for mobile people - young migrants and Italians - that facilitate entry and exit (also from the point of view of contractual forms and easing registration) for people whose life designs are characterised by being less stationary; secondly, forms of economically accessible cooperative housing and collective management in the sense of (micro-)community building.
- » Construct collective participation systems in defining the housing desire of citizens, foreign and otherwise, and the collective production of inclusive public spaces. Develop participation methods at the neighbourhood or municipality level, such as, for example, committees or permanent assemblies on the issue of housing, open to participation by, not only institutional parties, but also unions and grassroots bodies, independent observers and individual citizens, to discuss structural issues, potential solutions, and suggest proposals on the subject.
- » Provide for greater dissemination of information on the tools to support demand which, although not decisive, could alleviate housing poverty. Structuring accessible information channels - including telematic ones - that collect and systematise measures to support demand can facilitate the emergence of irregular housing situations and support those who find themselves in need as a result of issues regarding *affordability*.
- » Create specific tools to support housing integration for young people, migrants and people on low-income; forms of intermediation and guarantees for these types of tenants can overcome the uncertainty gap that makes owners reluctant to rent apartments to people considered “at risk” of potentially falling into arrears, without abandoning the protection of vulnerable people to the right to housing in the property market.
- » Make a radical commitment to abandoning security measures with reference to the experiences of settlement, migrant and so on. In this sense, housing transition can be facilitated - non-security and managed with the same people, in accordance with their designs and desires - for those who live in informal and irregular situations. Investments in training public offices, particularly with regard to registration, can facilitate access to registration (in all its forms, including, for example, residence for the homeless¹¹) for every person living in the region, preventing situations of administrative irregularities that could lead to further irregularities and trigger criminalisation mechanisms.
- » Facilitate the construction of networks with all operators in the property market and in housing policies, public and private, that can bring supply and demand together, within a vision that can guide - and not suffer from - the phenomena of urban transformation, based on criteria of social utility and not according to value dynamics or the production of wealth.

¹¹ This is a registration procedure that establishes, at the municipal level, a conventional domicile, in a fictitious street (as in the case of Via Alfredo Renzi in Naples), for the homeless.

List of interviews with confidential informers

Prof. Giovanni Laino, Professor of Urban Planning and Technique at the Federico II University

Domenico Lopresto, Union of Tenants of Naples

Pierre Preira, Chairperson of the Senegalese Association of Naples

Claudia Martinelli, social worker LESS Onlus, E.L.I.C.A. project.

Dott.ssa Monica Buonanno, Councillor for Employment, Right to Housing and Development for the Municipality of Naples

Dott.ssa Laura Marmorale, Councillor for Citizenship Rights and Social Cohesion for the Municipality of Naples

Prof. Fabio Amato, Professor of Urban Geography and International Migration at the L'Orientale University

Alfonso De Vito, Neapolitan activist for the movement for the right to housing

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act:onaid

—REALIZZA IL CAMBIAMENTO—

Via Alserio, 22
20159 - Milano
Tel. +39 02 742001
Fax +39 02 29537373

Via Ludovico di Savoia, 2B
00185 - Roma
Tel. +39 06 45200510
Fax 06 5780485

Codice Fiscale
09686720153



informazioni@ActionAid.org

www.ActionAid.it