



against
THE WALL

Refugees' right to housing

Publication of Centro Astalli for assistance to immigrants.

Jesuit Refugee Service - Italy

Via degli Astalli, 14/a - 00186 Rome

Tel. 06 69700306

astalli@jrs.net

www.centroastalli.it

Created as part of the "Home sweet home. Measures to support housing autonomy for forced migrants residing in the city of Rome" (AR/2019/95)

Funded by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Eight per thousand funds directly managed by the State (2019) CUP - E89G23000850005

Curated by Francesca Cuomo

Editorial Board: Cristiana Bufacchi, Francesca Cuomo, Riccardo Giorgi, Rita Maria Esposito, Emanuela Limiti, Massimo Piermattei, Sara Tarantino.

Photo: Mirko D'Accurzio

Graphic design and layout: Altrimedia adv/Diótima

Press: 3F Photopress - Rome

© 2024 Centro Astalli for assistance to immigrants SBV

CONTENTS

P. CAMILLO RIPAMONTI

Président Centro Astalli

- GLOSSARY
- FOREWORD P. Camillo Ripamonti
- INTRODUCTION
 - THE "HOME SWEET HOME" PROJECT
 - Search for home: housing solutions service center
 - Accompanies
 - Support
 - Training: the toolbox
- AREA
 - THE RIGHT TO HOUSING IN ITALY: PROTECTIONS FOR REFUGEES
 - DWELLING
 - The reception of refugees and asylum seekers in Italy
 - A home far from home
 - THE HOUSING MARKET: complexity, limits and opportunities
 - Prejudice and racism: barriers to entry
 - Working conditions and economic capacity: necessary but not sufficient conditions
 - The value of social and territorial capital: the difficulty of intermediation between supply and demand
 - The public and social housing offer
- THE ROOM IN ROME: THE CONTEXT OF THE CAPITAL
- BIBLIOGRAPHY & SITOGRAPHY

“Sometimes, home is nowhere.

Sometimes you only know alienation and estrangement.

Then home is no longer a single place.

That's a lot of positions.

Home is that space that makes possible and fosters different and constantly changing perspectives, a space in which new ways of seeing reality, the frontiers of difference, are discovered.

Experiment and accept dispersion and fragmentation as phases of the construction of a new world order that fully reveals where we are and who we can become, and that does not force us to forget.”

(Bell Hooks, In Praise of the Margin, Tamu editions, 2020)

GLOSSARY

Accompaniment

Direct and personal approach to individual interaction, collaboration and relationship with refugees, based on the mutual recognition of equal dignity. Accompaniment is a pillar of the mission of the Jesuit Refugee Service - JRS.

Affordable housing

Residential housing that can be offered for rent or not, intended for a specific type of demand. It is a concept that does not have a precise regulatory reference, it is a pure market product that can be proposed in various variations. It responds to the need to put homes on the market at lower market prices and equipped with all the services needed today.

Residence

A stable, personal, reserved and intimate place, in which the person can freely express their physical and existential self in conditions of dignity and security. The use of the term 'dwelling' instead of 'house' or 'roof' evokes psychological and cultural meanings related to the experience of living and not only to the physical and tangible reality of the house as a roof.

Social housing

Social housing that provides housing solutions with good quality standards at regulated prices and more affordable than the private market for those whose housing needs cannot be met under market conditions. It is located halfway between the free market and social housing and is accessed according to allocation rules. It aims to give birth to communities and develop integration, given the close connections between housing, social cohesion and the growth of urban areas.

Housing first/Housing led

Intervention model in which homeless people with mental health problems and chronic social distress are placed in independent apartments. Its objective is to promote paths of well-being and social integration, within a political framework that combats serious social exclusion and that recognizes housing as a basic human right. The target audience is people in a condition of serious marginalization linked, in particular, to the housing condition (homelessness, insecure accommodation, inadequate accommodation according to the four macro categories of the Ethos classification, developed by FEANTSA - European Federation of Organizations Working with Homeless People).

Social inclusion

Process that ensures that the necessary possibilities and resources are given to those who are at risk of social exclusion to participate fully in economic, social, political and cultural life and to enjoy the standards of living considered normal in the society in which they live. This process assures people greater participation in the decision-making processes that influence their lives and entails a greater possibility of accessing their fundamental rights.

Integration

Bi-directional, dynamic process – linking forced migrants and the society that welcomes them – of social interaction to overcome the division between people with the aim of reducing economic and social marginalisation and supporting a more cohesive, inclusive and strong society.

Forced migrants

The Jesuit Refugee Service - JRS, of which the Centro Astalli is the Italian headquarters, uses this definition to describe people who are not necessarily recognized as refugees under the 1951 Geneva Convention, but still fall at least into the category of "de facto" refugees, formulated by the Catholic Church, which includes all "persons persecuted for reasons of race, religion, Nationality, membership of a particular social or political group " and " victims of armed conflict, incorrect economic policy or natural disasters".

International protection

General category of figures of the right of asylum, which art. 10 of the Constitution recognizes to the foreigner who in his country cannot exercise the democratic freedoms guaranteed by the Italian Constitution.

Refugees

According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, refugee status is granted to those who flee their country for fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or for political opinions.

Asylum seekers

Persons who have applied for international protection, the outcome of which has not yet been determined. If his application is accepted, the asylum seeker is recognized as a refugee and this gives him certain rights and duties, according to the legislation of the country that receives him.

PREFACE

F. CAMILLO RIPAMONTI

President Centro Astalli

LIVING AND COHABITING: CIVIL ACTIONS FOR THE CREATION OF COMMUNITIES

In recent years, many guides and *handbooks* have been written for migrants on the subject of housing: how to look for it; how to draw up a contract; how to make transfers; how to access bank financing. In summary, it was an aid on how to move through the jungle of the real estate market for those who are not too experienced and do not know the country well. That's why we didn't want to add another one. We thought, rather, with this small text to experience something different. We wanted to tell this crucial part **of the inclusion process through the stories of some** refugees who are looking **for a home**.

«*Inhabiting*, in Latin, is a frequentative of the verb *habēre*, 'to hold', '(tr)at to be held', 'to occupy', 'to possess', 'to have', and therefore means first of all 'to continue to have, and therefore 'to dwell' with a place, to the extent that one has a lasting custom with that place. "Living means creating a habit of space, knowing its specificity, the *genius loci*, making it a habit that is our way of moving in the world, of living, of assuming a lifestyle" (Emanuele Borsotti, "Signs of places: living space, inhabiting meaning", Vita e Pensiero 2023). **To live**, therefore, as a moment of the process with which refugees, uprooted from their countries of origin, return to take root by inhabiting a place.

We are also convinced **that housing** is a cross-cutting theme, not exclusive to migrants. For example, finding a rental in a big city has now become a titanic undertaking for many. The theme of short rentals designed for tourists has "drugged" the real estate market and is likely to leave homeless - and in part this is already happening - increasingly large segments of the population (workers, students, migrants). Yet there is a perspective of living, seen from the point of view of migrants, which also says something about the question of **living together as different**, because they come from different cultures and religions. Precisely because living tells our way of moving in the world, who is the protagonist of this movement coming from an "elsewhere" creates a novelty because it shows another way of living, a different dress with which to be in the world, in what we think is our world. So continuing to have a place, living in the cities alongside many other citizens, is not only a matter of skills in the search for housing, it is not only a matter of the real estate market, but it is also a cultural and sensitivity issue that is built day after day.

The stories we present within this dossier somehow demonstrate this and help pave the way for this **cultural change**. Building **relationships** that constitute a vital network, especially for the most vulnerable people; smashing the wall of **discrimination**, if not of true racism, is not a simple task that is slowly realizing through the daily life of **cohabiting** territories where poverty often coexists and risk conflict. Narrative processes that over the years have built an image of the foreigner as an enemy, always approaching the theme of security, have only fed a fear among already residents and new foreigners, preventing the building of a climate of mutual trust. It is therefore also necessary **to stitch together a social fabric**, as Pope Francis recalled

in his speech on the fiftieth anniversary of the conference on the "evils of Rome": "Secondly, to stitch together the tear. [...] It's true, something snatched! The great social fabric, because of inequalities, knows daily ruptures that hurt. [...] How can we accept that there are thousands of empty spaces and thousands of people sleeping on a sidewalk? [...] A city that witnesses these contradictions helplessly is a torn city, as is our entire planet. Therefore, it is necessary to mend this tear by committing ourselves to building alliances that put the human person, his dignity, at the centre. To do this, we must work together, harmonize differences, and share the gift and mission we have already received. And this also means growing in dialogue: dialogue with institutions and associations, dialogue with schools and the family, dialogue between generations, dialogue with everyone, even with those who think differently. To mend the tear, we need the patience of dialogue without prejudice, passionately discussing ideas, projects and proposals useful for renewing the fabric of the City". (Pope Francis, 'Mending the Tear, Beyond Inequalities', Rome 25 October 2024.).

Living and cohabiting are therefore civil actions of community creation, possible by building relationships and planning a future together.

INTRODUCTION

THE "HOME SWEET HOME" PROJECT MEASURES TO SUPPORT HOUSING AUTONOMY FOR FORCED MIGRANTS RESIDING IN THE CITY OF ROME"¹

The project, which took place from November 2023 to November 2024, had as its main objective the accompaniment of refugees and asylum seekers, who reside or gravitate in the territory of Rome Capital and province, so that they could improve their living conditions and relations with the other components of the local community, through a series of integrated measures.

The experience gained by the Centro Astalli for and with the holders of international protection in over forty years of activity in the territory of Rome has in fact highlighted how the transition from public reception to economic and housing independence, which concretely favors the autonomy of refugees, is in fact extremely complicated if not impossible without the provision and implementation Of an accompaniment of the individual person or family units that is structured, in different phases, starting from social, linguistic and work inclusion, through support for home search, up to concrete housing autonomy.

In 2013, the daily reading of the needs of migrants in the various services (which already highlighted a difficulty in accessing the real estate market for asylum seekers and holders of international protection) met the desire of the religious congregations of Rome to open up to refugees. Strongly urged by Pope Francis on the occasion of his visit to the Centro Astalli in September of that year, it was the opportunity to give life to a new and innovative semi-autonomy project called the "**Hospitality Communities**", through which it was wanted to try to support refugees in the delicate moment of passage and exit from reception paths and complete detachment from care circuits: a phase In which establishing relationships and resuming a dimension of daily life can prove to be decisive elements for the success of the integration path. The **co-housing of Centro Astalli** originated from this project in 2019 with the aim of promoting the dissemination of concrete experiences of coexistence between young Italians and refugees and the mutual exchange between different life paths. Initially, the project met two needs, only partially distinct: responding to the housing needs expressed, on the one hand, by forced migrants, through a path of shared autonomy with other refugees and, on the other, by off-site Italian university students, in a city like Rome, where finding accommodation is difficult and very expensive.

As also highlighted in Centro Astalli's 2024 Annual Report, although job stability remains an essential condition for moving from reception to independent living, in recent times, and in particular in the last two years, it has often proved insufficient. Housing autonomy for migrants and refugees is no longer a goal, but a critical issue that can hardly be overcome on the way to full inclusion, not only because of the rental fees that are too high for single-income groups or for individuals with low-skilled jobs, but also because of the increasingly explicit distrust of citizens towards

¹Funded by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Eight per thousand funds directly managed by the State (2019) CUP - E89G23000850005

foreigners. This is a consequence and testimony to the lengthening of reception times both in the SAI facilities managed by the Centro Astalli and in those of semi-autonomy.

In fact, the "Home sweet home" project stems from the perception of four critical issues: 1) the particularly difficult housing situation in Rome due to the high number of people in housing emergencies; 2) the growing distrust of Italian owners to rent a house to foreigners; 3) The unchanged level of the cost of rent, despite the economic difficulties and the problems of work, which has often become unsustainable, especially for the most economically exposed categories, including asylum seekers and refugees; 4) The regulatory complexity in housing matters and the need to master specific terminology, which add to the often partial linguistic skills of forced migrants, making relations with both intermediaries and property owners and condominiums complicated. Therefore, the need emerged to "practically" train the beneficiaries both about renting a house in Rome, and on how to manage it and live in relationship with the other tenants and, more generally, with the local community.

SEEKING FOR A HOUSE - CENTRE OF ASSISTANCE FOR HOUSING SOLUTIONS

The project reached 200 beneficiaries, who were able to benefit from a range of services.

A **dedicated home search desk** has been activated, open three days a week at the Astalli Centre with free access on Wednesdays and Thursdays or by appointment on other days. For each potential recipient, the existence of the necessary requirements to be included in the project and to start the house search support was evaluated by a **dedicated operator**. People went to the counter mainly through word of mouth or because they were reported by other entities of the Third Sector or by the territorial services. Subsequent appointments with each recipient were dedicated to housing orientation and searching for rooms and/or apartments on devices such as applications, portals and websites.

The contacts that have been established with agencies and owners have also proved useful in trying to remove widespread prejudices, linked to the level of knowledge of Italian, nationality of origin, time spent in Italy: all factors that contribute to making it particularly difficult to find and maintain accommodation independently.

The difficulty of the home search process in a complex territory such as that of the city of Rome has often put users in situations of defeat and rejection, undermining their confidence in the process of inclusion as a whole. In these moments, therefore, the counter represented an added value, since it constituted a safe place where users felt understood and supported.

Solutions have been sought that relate beneficiaries for co-housing or in any case for sharing housing, to partially resolve the criticality of the financial commitment necessary for an individual to activate a rental contract. In addition, a mapping was carried out to search for listings in line with the average economic availability of potential recipients and that offered a good connection with the public transport network, since most recipients are not self-contained or do not have a driver's license.

The **orientation action** was not easy because the beneficiaries often reported important information gaps on the requirements necessary to find a home independently, perhaps because they had weekly or monthly contracts. They were then put in contact with the other services of the organisation, in particular the Italian language school and the work desk, to strengthen **their employability**. Another problem highlighted was that related to documents, starting from the difficulty of presenting a **valid residence**.

I ACCOMPANY

In cases where the house search action has had a positive outcome through an appointment to view the room/apartment, the operator has accompanied the users in the visit, also introducing them to the referral agency and their owners. Often the operator has also been useful in helping the recipients in the decision-making process and in the formulation of a proposal. In fact, there were many recipients who needed to be supported at this stage, leaving of course to them the responsibility of every decision.

When the appointments ended with satisfaction, the operator-maintained contact with the owners/agencies, sending them the documents required to make a rental proposal and, when the latter was accepted, followed the *process* of signing the lease. Users were supported in all the bureaucratic aspects of the practice, starting from the reading of the contract, explaining to them what the main points were and what were the rules they were committing to respect by signing, and what their rights were. In addition, the registration phase of the contract with the Revenue Agency was followed and particular attention was paid to the payments of the first monthly payments and deposits. Finally, for users who have signed a lease, an initial phase of monitoring the progress of relations with the owner, neighbours and condominium administrators has been planned.

DO YOU SUPPORT?

Among the recipients who have entered into a new lease agreement, those in situations of greater economic fragility have been identified, to whom economic contributions have been paid for the payment of the first month rent so as to allow a smoother and more solid start of the lease. This possibility was of great support not only from an economic point of view, but also as support in itself: each recipient felt encouraged to start a new path of housing autonomy and to better plan the related expenses.

TRAINING: THE TOOLBOX

During the project, four *workshops were held*, each lasting 28 hours, to train the beneficiaries "to live in Rome". The *workshops* had different objectives and tools based on the topics addressed. In the two entitled "House" the beneficiaries were oriented to the different tools for the search of housing, to the operation of the **various types of leases** existing in Italy, to the attention to be had when signing a contract, to the rights, duties, customs and customs of **condominium life**. The two of "Home Economics" instead served to illustrate in detail the **management of a family budget**, explaining in particular what are the expenses that are often not considered and how

to organize a sustainable savings plan to address unforeseen needs related to renting.

AREA

Asylum seekers and holders of international protection are, by definition, unable to return to their homeland, to their country of origin, because doing so would put their lives at risk.

The lack of a place to establish their residence and the fact that they have applied for international protection give these people the right to be included in the assisted reception pathways.

The legislation provides that the accommodation is provided directly (or indirectly) by the Italian State, in what are the first and second reception phases, until the recognition of a form of international protection is obtained. If in this first phase the housing emergency is a priority for reasons of immediate and temporary subsistence to protect the person who has applied for protection, in the phase following the acquisition of legal status, the possibility of accessing housing becomes a matter of social integration.

The reception system is, in fact, a system of social, labour and housing inclusion, designed to provide assistance to asylum seekers, guaranteeing them a place to stay and live, pending the outcome of the asylum application, and to allow them to acquire the tools for autonomy, social, labour and housing inclusion, for when they leave the reception system.

In fact, welcoming refugees and asylum seekers does not only mean giving hospitality, it means offering them adequate time and space to rethink their lives, making linguistic, legal and training tools available to them to decode the new reality in which they find themselves catapulted, listening with the same attention to the requests for help expressed and those hidden, out of fear, shame, inability to give a name to what they have experienced.

THE RIGHT TO HOUSING IN ITALY: PROTECTIONS FOR REFUGEES

In dealing with refugee housing processes, the legal framework is fundamental to understand the context in which opportunities are realized but in which barriers are also manifested. While the issue of the right to housing can be addressed with a universalist approach, the legal category of refugee creates a profile of potential vulnerability that determines the need to take a specific approach.

The right to housing is widely recognized by international law as part of fundamental human rights.

According to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, refugees must enjoy the most favourable treatment possible in terms of access to housing and in any case no less favourable or disadvantageous than that granted, in the same circumstances, to foreigners.²

European Union law is in line with the provisions of the Geneva Convention on access to housing: Article 32 of EU Directive 95/2011 provides for a principle of equal treatment between beneficiaries of international protection and legally resident

² 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, art. 21.

third-country nationals and for Member States to strive to implement policies aimed at preventing discrimination against refugees.³

At the national level, access to housing assistance measures is one of the rights that our legal system recognizes for refugees on an equal basis with Italian citizens.⁴

But then why is it important and urgent to address the issue of refugees and housing?

THE RIGHT TO HOUSING AND THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN INTERNATIONAL SOURCES

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Art. 25 para. 1: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living sufficient to guarantee the health and well-being of himself and his family, with particular regard to food, clothing, housing, and the necessary medical care and social services [...]."

Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)

Art. 21 "In the matter of housing, the Contracting States grant, insofar as such a problem is governed by laws and ordinances or is subject to the control of public authorities, to refugees who regularly reside in their territory the most favourable treatment possible and in any case treatment no less favourable than that granted, in the same circumstances, to foreigners in general."

International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 97 concerning Migration for Employment (1952)

Art. 6 para. 1 (iii) "1. Each Member State for which this Convention is in force undertakes to apply, without discrimination as to nationality, race, religion or sex, to immigrants lawfully within the limits of its territory treatment that is no less favourable than that which it applies to its employees in relation to the following matters: a) insofar as these matters are regulated by legislation or depend on the Administrative authorities: [...] iii) housing."

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)

Art. 5(e)(iii) "On the basis of the fundamental obligations referred to in art. 2 of this Convention, the Contracting States undertake to prohibit and eliminate racial discrimination in all forms and to guarantee everyone the right to equality before the law without distinction of race, colour or national or ethnic origin, in full enjoyment, in particular, have the following rights: [...] The right to housing".

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take

³ 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 21.

⁴Article 29, paragraph 3-ter of Legislative Decree no. 251 of 19 November 2007, establishes that "Access to the benefits relating to housing provided for in Article 40, paragraph 6, of Legislative Decree no. 286 of 25 July 1998, is allowed to holders of refugee status and subsidiary protection, on equal terms with Italian citizens."

appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

International Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

Art. 27 para. 3 "States Parties shall take appropriate measures, in consideration of national conditions and consistent with their means, to assist parents and other persons having custody of the child to implement this right and shall offer, where appropriate, material assistance and support programmes, in particular with regard to food, clothing and accommodation."

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990)

Art. 43 para. 1(d) "Migrant workers benefit from equal treatment with nationals of the State of employment, with regard to: [...] access to housing, including social housing programmes, and protection against exploitation in terms of rent."

European Social Charter (revised)

Article 16 - Right of the family to legal and economic social protection

"To achieve the living conditions, essential for the full development of the family, the fundamental cell of society, the Parties undertake to promote the economic, legal and social protection of family life, in particular through social and family benefits, tax provisions and incentives for the construction of homes adapted to the needs of families, assistance to young married couples, or any Other appropriate measure."

Article 30 - Right to protection against poverty and social exclusion

"To ensure the effective exercise of the right to protection against poverty and social exclusion, the Parties undertake: a) to take measures within a comprehensive and coordinated approach to promote effective access in particular to work, housing, vocational training, teaching, culture, the medical social assistance of people who are or are at risk of being in situations of social exclusion or poverty and their families; b) to review these measures with a view to their adaptation, where appropriate."

Article 31 - Right to housing

To ensure the effective exercise of the right to housing, the Parties undertake to take measures aimed at: 1) promoting access to the housing of a sufficient level; 2) preventing and reducing the status of "homeless" with a view to gradually eliminating it; 3) making the cost of housing accessible to people who do not have sufficient resources."

Guiding Principles for Displaced Persons (1998)

Principle 18 (2) b) "All internally displaced persons has the right to enjoy an adequate standard of living. [...] The competent authorities, regardless of the circumstances, and without any discrimination, will provide and guarantee internally displaced persons safe access, at least two: [...] b) shelter and basic accommodation [...]."

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union

Article 34.3 "In order to combat social exclusion and poverty, the Union recognizes and respects the right to social assistance and housing assistance aimed at guaranteeing a dignified existence for all those who do not have sufficient resources, in the manner established by Union law and national laws and practices."

General Recommendation 30/2004 – The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination calls on Member States to "ensure equal enjoyment of the right to adequate housing for citizens and non-citizens, in particular by avoiding housing segregation and ensuring that housing agencies refrain from engaging in discriminatory practices".

EU Directive 95/2011, art. 32: 1. Member States shall ensure that beneficiaries of international protection have access to housing in a manner equivalent to that provided for other third-country nationals lawfully residing in their territories.

2. While authorising the practice of distributing beneficiaries of international protection within the national territory, Member States shall endeavour to implement policies aimed at preventing discrimination against beneficiaries of international protection and ensuring equal opportunities in terms of access to housing.

European Commission Action Plan for Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027

Actions in the main sectors - IV. Accommodation⁵

Access to adequate and affordable housing is a key factor in successful integration. Housing conditions have a strong impact on employment and education opportunities and on interactions between migrants and host communities. Inadequate housing conditions and segregation can exacerbate divisions, which undermine social cohesion. Rising housing prices, a shortage of affordable housing and social housing, and discrimination in the housing market make it difficult for migrants to find adequate, long-term housing solutions.

If responsibility for housing policies lies at national level, the Commission can play an important role in supporting Member States and local and regional authorities to address challenges and promote inclusive housing solutions.

In recent years, many innovative housing solutions have been developed in different EU countries, including thanks to EU funding. Approaches based on sharing, cohabitation and accompanying housing initiatives with the use of social and employment services have proved to be particularly promising models that favour inclusion and community building. As announced in the Communication 'A wave of renovations', the Commission will launch an initiative to promote affordable housing to support further implementation and replication of these successful initiatives.

The availability of autonomous accommodation for asylum seekers with a high probability of obtaining protection can accelerate the integration process, especially when linked to the timely provision of integrated support.

What do we want to achieve in this sector?

- Access of migrants and EU citizens from a migrant background to adequate and affordable housing, including social housing.
- Access by Member States and local and regional authorities to a wide range of tools and best practices to combat discrimination in the real estate market.
- Wide use across the EU of innovative housing solutions that foster inclusion and combat segregation.

What does the Commission intend to do to support these objectives?

- Collaborate with Member States to promote adequate and affordable housing, including non-segregated social housing, as well as to provide accompanying integration services

⁵Action Plan for Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 COM (2020) 758 final.

through EU funds, in particular under the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund Plus, the Asylum and Migration Fund and InvestEU.

- Promote mutual learning between Member States, cities, countries and regions on combating discrimination in the housing market and reducing residential segregation through the European Network on Integration, the Urban Academy for Integration and dedicated funding under the Asylum and Migration Fund.
- Promote autonomous housing models (rather than collective housing) for asylum seekers, especially families, and disseminate and expand successful innovative models of inclusive and affordable housing for beneficiaries of international protection.

In this area, Member States are encouraged to:

- Ensure an integrated approach and coordinate housing policies with policies on access to employment, education, health care and social services.
- Provide as soon as possible, adequate and autonomous housing solutions for refugees and asylum seekers who are likely to obtain international protection, allowing a smooth transition for asylum seekers to an independent life once they have obtained international protection.
- Make full use of EU funds, such as the European Regional Development Fund, the Asylum and Migration Fund and InvestEU, to promote adequate and affordable housing, including social housing, in accordance with the needs identified at national and regional levels, as well as the European Social Fund Plus to support access to housing.

DWELLING

Housing has been defined as a "weak pillar"^{6 7} of the *welfare* policies of many national systems, particularly in Mediterranean Europe. In fact, structured and continuous housing policies are scarce, and marginal compared to other social protection measures.

Italy is a classic example of this model because it is characterized by systemic problems such as: the high percentage of families living in housing owned, fiscally subsidized; the lack of supply of rental housing with sustainable rents; the abolition of rental support measures and the gradual divestment in the already insufficient public housing assets in the 1990s; the regionalization of public housing

⁶ The constitutional and legislative provisions relating to the right to housing in Italy appear weak compared to the situation in other countries and the international framework. The right to housing, that is, the right to have access to a suitable space to guarantee the harmonious development of people's psychophysical well-being, is not explicitly protected in Italy. The only regulatory reference is found in art. 47, com. 2, of the Constitution, which attributes to the Republic the task of promoting "the access of popular savings to home ownership". The right to housing has therefore not been recognized as a social right by constitutional norms but has been defined as such since the early 1980s on the basis of constitutional jurisprudence expressed in articles 2, 3 and 47 of the Constitution and anchored to the inalienable rights of the individual. However, the provisions of art. 47 can be understood as programmatic, since there is no minimum definition of the content of the right to housing. In this sense, the right to housing becomes linked to the resources actually available at a given historical moment and therefore risks being compressed and limited. On the other hand, in Italy there is a lack of homogeneity in practice between the national and regional levels, which contribute to the regulation of housing and the management of public residential construction through the Regional Housing Agencies (ex IACP). IACPs have three main roles in housing regulation: rent regulation, as amended by Law 431 of 1998 in the direction of gradual liberalisation; supply support through economic contributions to (subsidised) and assisted public housing; demand support through subsidies. The most recent law that has taken a new direction is the Ministerial Decree of 22 April 2008, which introduced the term "social housing" into Italian legislation and paved the way for the direct participation of the social private sector in the production of low-fee housing. The Housing Plan (D.P.C.M. of 16 July 2009), introduced a series of measures aimed at reviving the supply of social housing (public and private social), including the introduction of institutional real estate funds to support new production and housing support measures for categories in housing difficulties.

⁷Torgersen U., "Housing: The Wobbly Pillar under the Welfare State", Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research, 1987.

management and even more the process of corporatization.⁸ In addition, in recent decades and with an accelerated pace since the late 2000s, we have witnessed the difficulty of adapting the scarce existing measures to the socio-economic changes that have redefined the demand for housing and forms of hardship.

In this context, access to and the possibility of staying in a home becomes difficult for many. Since the start of the recession in 2008, housing challenges have extended to previously exempt groups. Rising unemployment, precarious employment contracts and low wages have made the link between home and work increasingly problematic. Any local organisations, which fall under the so-called *affordable housing* framework, are experimenting with new solutions, but as we will see these remain scarce and difficult to access resources for some economically and socially vulnerable social groups. These include people with low-income migrant *backgrounds*, who share difficulties in accessing housing with low- and/or no-income locals. This is particularly evident in the situation of asylum seekers and refugees leaving reception projects.

THE RECEPTION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN ITALY

Italian asylum legislation transposes and implements European directives at national level. Reception is divided into several phases, corresponding to different stages of obtaining legal status and different structures. The first phase of assistance and identification is followed by the so-called "first reception" phase in large regional and provincial centres called Extraordinary Reception Centres - CAS (established in 2015 with Decree 142/2015) to which asylum seekers have access. This is followed by the so-called "second reception" phase, designed in small and widespread structures in the municipal territories, now known as the Reception and Integration System Network - SAI (introduced in 2020 with Decree-Law 130/2020), for holders of international protection and particularly vulnerable asylum seekers (for example single-parent nuclei composed of single mothers with children or women who are victims of trafficking or in the case of particular and serious health cases). It is only in this second phase that the question of accompaniment to integration and autonomy arises, which although they are always present objectives at a theoretical level, are often limited to a very narrow field of action in the time and space of the second reception in the SAI. The short duration of the stay in the facilities often prevents the achievement of the objectives provided for by the legislation as a basis for future social and housing integration, such as learning Italian, training and job placement, in fact making it even more difficult to reconcile the reception times with those of identifying affordable housing solutions for the individual or family unit housed. Faced with this situation, once the reception times have ended and the consequent exit from the centres has been reached, different accommodation solutions are outlined, with different degrees of autonomy and difficulty of access.

Although international and national regulations guarantee the protections described above, from the same annual report of the Reception and Integration System - SAI⁹, it can be seen that there are many obstacles to the achievement of housing autonomy by the refugees housed in it.

⁸ Pavolini E., Deriu F., "The housing policies", Il Mulino, 2015. pp. 143-168.

⁹ Annual Report SAI Atlas 2022

The housing solutions most used by persons with international protection concern the rental of individual rooms in apartments with compatriots (43.7%) and cohabitation with Italians (19.6%). Another frequently adopted solution is the composition of apartment groups with several former beneficiaries (24.7%).

As evidence of the need to intervene with economic guarantees to follow up on leases, in particular, in 2022, the disbursements of housing contributions provided for by the SAI financial plans and payable at the time of leaving the reception, concerned 77.1% of people (up compared to 2021, when they had been 74.9%).

While the monitoring of listings, the provision of **housing contributions** and the facilitation of cohabitation are rather basic and widespread interventions within the SAI, since they are applicable in every local context, regardless of the peculiarities of the individual territories, specific agreements with **real estate agencies** have significantly increased over the years (22.7% in 2022, while in 2017 it was just 2.3%) and with local **owners' associations** (16.2% in 2022 compared to 0.8% in 2017), with the prospect of building *ad hoc* reference networks with those interlocutors who prove to be priorities for the social inclusion paths of individuals. In the same way, ***social housing experiences were increased***¹⁰ (13.6% in 2022; in 2017 1.2%), which in several cases had experimental value and saw the involvement of public and private actors. On the other hand, experiments in **self-construction or self-restructuring remain** residual (0.3%), particularly complex and articulated operations, which require specific skills, in the last two years not easily accessible due to the intense work in construction determined by the so-called "house bonuses".¹¹

A HOME FAR FROM HOME

The home as a place and as a set of relationships and emotions associated with it represents a central aspect of everyone's daily life. However, in the wake of traumas and transformations such as those caused by international migration, its function, its meaning and, above all, its accessibility, as a living and identity space, become less obvious. This concerns not only those who leave behind, in space and time, their previous home, also understood as a homeland, nation, land of origin, as for "voluntary" or "forced" migrants, but also those who perceive their home - their home, their neighbourhood and their community - as "changed" compared to the past and what it usually was, especially in the urban spaces invested by new migrations. The experiences of home, or the search for a home by both parties, are at the heart of the debates on the relationship between the sense of home, human mobility and migration.¹²

¹⁰ The phenomenon, which has become an engine of urban transformation, is widespread on a European scale, especially in the Netherlands and Great Britain, and in Italy (with 80% of the housing stock owned by those who live there) has experienced significant delays. It represents one of the tools with which to support the so-called grey band, composed of individuals and families with medium-low incomes, subjects undergoing eviction procedures, regularly resident immigrants, and a whole broad category of people who do not necessarily fall within the economic poverty canons provided for access to subsidized and public residential housing. Although important measures have been taken at the national level on housing policies (such as, for example, the Presidential Decree of 16 July 2009 that approved the National Housing Plan; the Plan for the relaunch of construction defined in the agreement between the State and the Regions signed on 31 March 2009, with which the latter undertake to approve laws aimed at addressing the crisis through the relaunch of construction activity; the bill presented in Parliament on the initiative of the National Council of Economy and Labour in August 2009; the establishment of Territorial Agencies for Social Housing), social housing development in Italy is still on the whole rather fragmented in terms of distribution throughout the territory, disjointed, of doubtful impact and characterized by difficult bureaucratic procedures.

¹¹Annual Report SAI Atlas 2022

¹²Boccagni P., "Making a home in migration. A key to interpreting the processes of integration and daily social reproduction in multi-ethnic contexts. Urban Traces. Rivista Italiana Transdisciplinare Di Studi Urbani", 2017.

For **refugees**, having a home is not only a use value, having a roof over their head, but it represents a concept full of cultural and symbolic meanings and values. It is a fundamental stage in their path of inclusion: from the application for asylum, for which a permanent address is requested, to the registry registration for the identity card, to the residence requirement to have access to services and supports, up to the request for family reunification.

However, in addition to the difficult conditions of access to housing linked to income, for refugees and asylum seekers there are other barriers, such as: lack of knowledge, that is, of what can be defined as **social capital**; some regulatory obstacles; lack of trust on the part of the owners and clear elements of **discrimination**.

Especially for groups of migrants, housing is a necessity and a means to access the **system of local services**, a basis for establishing social relations and participating in collective life, a place where values and expectations are defined and established, a place in which to re-propose and live their culture of origin.¹³

The **social and housing needs** of people who leave the reception projects clash with the institutional problems mentioned above and with the strict conditions of access to autonomous housing solutions, which are hardly compatible with the complexity and specificity of their profile. For refugees and asylum seekers, the moment of leaving the reception project, as well as the transition to adulthood for unaccompanied foreign minors or the change of legislation, represent a clear line of demarcation between a **condition of right to support**, which also includes housing solutions, and a **condition of autonomy** that is often only **formal**, because in most cases it does not correspond to a significant and real degree of independence. In other words, there is an important *gap* between the reception path and access to self-sufficient housing solutions, often very difficult to overcome.

In this framework, asylum seekers, refugees and displaced persons are recognised as one of the emerging profiles of the phenomenon of **homelessness** and, in general, of **people at risk of housing poverty**.

Refugees are one of the social profiles most exposed to the risk of **housing exclusion**, where forms of marginalization intersect with housing hardship and **barriers to access housing, creating situations of housing poverty** and increasing the risk of remaining in situations of extreme precariousness (living on the street or in informal housing), all this can become the beginning of a dangerous curve in a **path of marginalization, housing and social exclusion** that is associated with the lack of a home from which it is difficult to get out.

Many factors related to the status of migrants contribute to this disadvantage, but the **barriers imposed by the real estate market** and the system itself also play an important role.

In the public debate of recent years, the term destitution has ¹⁴ been introduced to describe the role of some public policies in determining the **processes of social and housing marginalization of migrants**. Destitution *refers to the lack of means to meet basic needs* such as housing, food, health and education, as a **result of state policies**

¹³ibid.

¹⁴Keßler S., Schöpf M., "Living in Limbo. Forced Migrants Destitution in Europe", JRS Europe, 2010.

that **deprive migrants of the enjoyment of basic rights** and formal care services or **severely limit their access**, while precluding any real possibility of improving their situation. This happens not only to those who are not admitted or expelled from the reception system or who are denied international protection, but also to those who are admitted and who are granted the right to remain in the territory.

THE HOUSING MARKET: COMPLEXITY, LIMITS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The Italian housing market has a series of characteristics, almost structural, that can create barriers to access, both for individuals and for the organizations that support them, in the search for an autonomous home when leaving the reception centres.

In fact, there are several factors that affect the success – or otherwise – of the housing autonomy of refugees.

First, it must be said that Italy is a country of homeowners, so-called small property owners, for whom individual accommodation represents an important source of income for family well-being. In this context, the fact that - according to ISTAT sources - almost one in three homes is not occupied or occupied by non-residents¹⁵, underlines the limits of a regulatory system that does not support the provision for the lease of existing assets.

Despite a growing demand in **the rental** market from the refugee population and foreign immigrants in general, the rental housing market is still residual. This limit can hardly be overcome by these categories, which often do not have the stability and economic capacity to be able to address **the real estate purchase market**.

Accessibility to the rental housing stock is limited, also given the introduction of **formal and informal access criteria**, often excluding refugee populations.

The most important condition is to have a regular employment contract that guarantees continuity and a certain level of income and ensures that the initial transaction costs (insurance, deposit) and housing costs are covered without delays in time. Having an employment contract for people with a migrant *background* is a necessary but often not sufficient condition to have access to housing.

One factor that makes it difficult for refugees to enter the private market is the market value of rented housing. Although they are becoming increasingly attractive to more people, in recent years there has been a certain upward trend in average prices, which has made the market increasingly inaccessible for low-income single-parent households, such as many of those leaving the SAI system, whose work situation is closely linked to the possibility of reconciling home and work, or for individuals who cannot count on sharing resources with cohabitants.

The Leasing Agencies, spread in metropolitan contexts to facilitate the disbursement of state resources in support of affection and culpable delinquency following the economic crises of 2008 and 2011, are becoming increasingly important to find

¹⁵ISTAT – Statistics Today, "Almost one in three homes is not occupied. More than half built in the second half of the last century", available at the link: https://www.istat.it/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Today-Abitazioni_01_08-2024.pdf

vacant properties to be put back on the market, providing guarantees and protection to both owners and tenants. It should be noted that the degree of regional integration of rental agencies is very heterogeneous. However, it seems that these agencies have difficulty finding accommodation for foreigners, even in the presence of adequate financial conditions.

At the same time, the dispersive nature of the housing supply makes the stock inaccessible due to the information limitations inherent in this market structure and in a rental model that often spreads through word of **mouth**.

These factors push refugees leaving reception facilities to opt for shared housing, **cohabitation** solutions that often result in overcrowding and inadequate conditions. Competition in the rental market forces refugees to move to unattractive accommodation due to the state of maintenance or the location of the facility.

Not infrequently, in fact, the most frequent response to the housing needs of migrants leaving the reception circuits today are **informal solutions**, sometimes based on solidarity, but more often on speculation, through the mobilization of primary or secondary networks. The way in which rental registration and cohabitation in shared accommodation is handled varies and can have a significant impact on the ability to apply for residency and thus access certain public services. In general, lease holders formally have a position of greater power over the other roommates with whom they share the apartment. In some cases, cohabitation is transparent and equal: all tenants share the costs and fill out the form for the residence. However, those who make beds available under a lease can also be perpetrators of serious acts of looting, taking advantage of the vulnerable position of people struggling to find accommodation and sometimes using rental proceeds in untraceable transactions. Those who stay in these "illegal" accommodations have no access to public services and are thus deprived of the possibility of regularizing their stay in the territory. In most cases, the quality of accommodation in these situations is poor due to overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, poor physical accessibility, lack of a contract and therefore protection. There are also intermediate forms of housing in which the tenant's presence is not specified in the lease, not for speculative purposes, but in order not to miss important opportunities for the tenant, such as family reunification.

For those who cannot even count on these possibilities, the risk of becoming homeless becomes real, leaving dormitories and makeshift shelters as the only option.

Housing vulnerability is not an irreversible or chronic state of housing insecurity and inadequacy, but rather a situation in which a person's capacity for self-determination - the ability to make choices based on their own projects and aspirations - is limited or threatened by the system of resources at their disposal, such as disposable income, the relational and social systems in which individuals and organizations are embedded (e.g. local networks), and institutional systems (e.g. access criteria to public housing based on specific housing requirements).

During the transition from institutional reception to housing autonomy, refugees are more likely to be exposed to certain risk factors that intervene at the beginning,

causing a disconnect between the actual possibilities and the needs, aspirations and expectations of the individual.

The stages that precede refugees' access to self-catering accommodation - preparation, research and negotiations with owners - are just as important as the subsequent stages, relating to maintenance and the characteristics of the home. In addition, the lens of housing vulnerability allows us to think of this phase as temporary, that is, as a situation in which people can enter and exit. In this sense, the personal situation of refugees is not defined passively, but interacts with the characteristics of the organisation and the context in which they live.

CONFIDENCE REGAINED

J. has been in Italy for eight years and came from Nigeria. She is a woman capable of autonomously juggling difficulties, even those derived from the age-old bureaucracy, and she is also a woman of acute intelligence, capable of understanding where deception lies, perhaps precisely because she has seen so many of them.

The road that led her to the Home Research Desk was rough, a forge of obstacles. She now lives with her partner in the Roman suburbs, after having managed to overcome all the difficulties and rejections, which in her journey have been many. Despite this, he has never stopped stubbornly working to achieve his dream.

J. was looking for a small house for her and her boyfriend. She was the only one working and this could be a limit. Often homeowners, if they are looking for a couple, require an indefinite contract from both. Only she had this kind of contract, as a cook's help. The boyfriend, on the other hand, worked as a porter, and was waiting for the renewal of the contract. She lived in one of Centro Astalli's semi-autonomy projects, he in a studio apartment outside Rome.

When he arrived at the home search desk, the first thing to deal with was the relationship of trust with the system. Through a real estate agency, in fact, the couple had found a studio apartment that seemed to match their needs for costs and location. They would sign a regular lease shortly, but at the last minute the landlord backed out and they were left homeless. J. was deeply disappointed, had put in a lot of effort, and had truly believed in this transfer.

In the new research done together, the starting point was therefore the reconstruction of a relationship of trust with the operator. Sometimes, even if you find ads, you can't make any appointments. But J. is a really enterprising woman and speaks an excellent Italian - a situation that has helped her a lot - and she has often found herself independently looking for ads for housing solutions that could be right for her.

Finally, after months of research and attempts, in which the answer was "I'm sorry but the owners do not accept foreigners", "I'm sorry but only Italians", J. and the counter operator went to see a small studio. The owner was very courteous and respectful of him, and although the price was great and he was in a very well-connected neighbourhood of Rome, the house was too small for two to live in. The fear of not being able to find the most suitable solution for J.'s needs was concrete, but the courageous and stubborn woman managed to get an appointment for a two-room apartment. The apartment was very nice, large, well maintained. A few days later J. had the draft of the contract, everything was in order and the house + was stopped. A few days J. had the keys to her new home where she moved in with her boyfriend. After so much effort and so much effort in this house all to themselves. J. finally smiles happily.

PREJUDICE AND RACISM: BARRIERS TO ENTRY

As with the broader category of foreigners, refugees also face the problem of a negative reputation in the eyes of the actors with whom they come into contact in the search for accommodation.

This negative reputation intersects with prejudices against refugees and even translates into discrimination in access to housing. The prejudices of intermediaries, owners, residents and neighbours, in fact, can constitute real and often insurmountable barriers to access that in fact result in the lack of the real possibility of exercising a right. Distrust, lack of trust, widespread stereotypes about foreigners and racism can neutralize and render activatable resources completely ineffective.

WORKING CONDITIONS AND ECONOMIC CAPACITY: NECESSARY BUT NOT SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS

Access to rental accommodation, whether on the market or on a subsidised basis in the public or private sector, is subject to the payment of a rental fee. It represents the initial expense incurred to have the right to enjoy the dwelling itself and is supplemented by some one-off contributions (or by a deposit, if provided for by the contract) and by regular contributions, such as the payment of utilities.

The financial prerequisite to meeting the costs of housing is largely, if not exclusively, determined by the person's employment status, among the factors with the greatest impact on the ability to access and maintain housing at the individual level.

The condition of economic precariousness in which refugees can (also) find themselves acts on a twofold level: limiting housing options and reducing access to some of them runs the risk of not guaranteeing a **minimum housing standard** and of suffering **discrimination in access to housing in the private market**.

Simply having the financial means to pay the monthly rent for an apartment or a room does not guarantee access to a range of options. To enter a contract, the landlord or a real estate agency on behalf of the landlord may require from the prospective tenant a series of guarantees on the payment of the rent, such as an employment contract with certain specifications (for example in public employment), past payrolls or a deposit for a variable number of months.

A HOME FOR EVERYONE

It is 2018 when S. is forced to leave her country, Turkish Kurdistan, along with her family, due to the intensification of the repression against her people by the Turkish government. Her husband, I., a local politician, has come under the eye of the police and the family fears for their safety: S. and I. therefore decide that it is better to separate for a while. I. travels to Georgia where he has some knowledge and activities to close while S., D. and B., the two children, at the time of 12 and 9 years, reach Europe through a long journey through the Balkan route.

Arrived in Italy in 2019, they are placed in a reception centre in Puglia and then go to Rome in 2021. Things are not going well here: the lack of the father is felt, and the children suffer a

lot, despite the fact that the mother is attentive to their needs. In spring 2022, S. was operated on her stomach and D., the eldest daughter, took care of both her convalescent mother and her younger brother before finally being placed in the SAI Matteo Ricci centre managed by the Centro Astalli.

The days pass between schools, training, health screenings and recreational activities for the children until, in the summer of 2023, after a long journey across the many European borders, with the most varied means of transport, I. finally manages to reach his family in Rome.

A first period of enthusiasm for having finally embraced him, is followed by the clash with reality: I. has no place to stay, the family centres in Rome are full and he is hosted here and there by compatriots. The need for a house to finally put the core back together becomes stringent. Unfortunately, the working condition of the nucleus is not stable: only S. works and has a short-term contract, so all tenants reject the offers submitted. The idea of a semi-autonomy that can accommodate the entire nucleus is emerging, but the competent services in the territory are saturated and no one is willing to welcome them in a short time. Despair assails the family and pushes them to make hasty decisions: on the advice of a friend, they move to the Foggiano with the illusion of a job and a home for everyone. However, the house does not respond to the agreed agreements and the work turns out to be pure exploitation both in terms of hours and wages. The desire to stay together and the joy of having regained unity for the first time push the family to continue believing in the false promises of employers who, punctually, are denied by the facts. Thus, after more than two months, the nucleus returns to Rome and finds itself in the same starting conditions: mom and boys in the SAI centre and dad as a guest of his countrymen. However, the negative experience makes the nucleus rely more on the services that surround it and in a short time they manage to find a new job in Rome, all three of them, including their daughter, who is now of age, can help the family. He then resumes the search for a house, but the results are not those hoped for due to the short-term work contracts that do not reassure possible tenants. Work integration and the consequent expansion of the friendly network, however, manage to break down the wall of mistrust and so, thanks to the new friendships at work, D. meets a tenant who takes their situation to heart and decides to trust the few economic guarantees of the nucleus by affixing the coveted signature on the contract.

Today, S., I., D. and B. finally live together as a real family.

THE VALUE OF SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL CAPITAL: THE DIFFICULTY OF INTERMEDIATION BETWEEN SUPPLY AND DEMAND

When it comes to housing and transition to autonomous housing conditions, the social resources mobilized or activatable by the subject and the network capital of the entities that host it become of central importance, because they are able to affect the search for housing opportunities, the probability of accessing them and the ability to maintain possession of them.

The first major obstacle for refugees in the initial search phase is precisely the activation of contacts. In particular, the lack of links with Italian citizens who live in the same area, or who are potential homeowners or who simply represent activatable contacts to access new other contacts.

An individual possesses social resources when he is linked to different degrees of strength and quality of relationships with other individuals in the network in which he is inserted. Consolidated social relationships become important in themselves, as they allow individuals to access the resources available to others or to mobilize themselves to take advantage of being part of that specific network. The same

applies to groups of individuals and, by extension, to organizations that have share capital based on relations with other organizations in the territory in which they operate.

In the case of refugees, the migration path and integration into the society of arrival involve the transformation of their **social networks**, with the need to establish new relationships. This happens within the local reception system where the organization is already present; the operators and other guests are themselves part of the social network and inserted into other networks, they can become new nodes of the social network of asylum seekers and refugees.

When refugees are active in finding accommodation through various channels, independently or with the support of organisations, the housing offers they encounter are already limited. From this point of view, it would be useful to increase the number of opportunities to meet with the offer, starting from the possibility of finding public or private social housing, looking for homes available on the private market (through real estate agencies, specialized websites and personal contacts), even if these are not always sufficient actions.

Success or failure in finding housing is mainly determined in the context of the relationship between the demand coming from refugees leaving the reception circuit and the housing supply of local accommodation owners.

There are a series of **access criteria** that can be defined as "**hidden**" that represent one of the main obstacles for people leaving the reception, capable of making direct demand support policies less effective (one-off contributions, coverage of monthly rent, etc.).

On the one hand there are the difficulties of meeting between the two parties, between the different needs of owners and possible tenants, on the other hand the **cultural and linguistic factors** that affect communication and that influence the possibility of agreements between the two parties. But beyond the difficulties of linguistic understanding and the relative fatigue in relationships, what matters above all is **the imagined relationship**, the owner's idea of the tenant, the possible management of the house, its correct maintenance and the rules of coexistence on the part of the tenant, determined by **different cultural parameters**.

It is therefore a question of reliability in the absence of guarantees, not of an economic nature, but rather concerning the mistrust of owners in the presence of prejudices and stereotypes.

Establishing relationships with the people of the place where you went to live and being able to activate new networks that expand your pool of social capital, above all allows foreigners to create a kind of "**reputation**" that can serve in the search for a home, also as a form of guarantee.

For refugees, the absence or reduced number of contacts part of the social network, or the presence of contacts only within the community of their country of origin, works against them when confronted with any prejudices.

A MILESTONE THAT IS A CONQUEST

M. is a refugee from Togo, who arrived in Italy when he was just a boy; a university student who was fighting for democracy in his country and who for this reason was illegally detained and tortured. When he arrived in our country, M. was taken into care and accompanied by

the services in charge as he was vulnerable due to a particularly serious psychiatric condition. Forced to long hospitalizations in adequate facilities, he obtained the recognition of 100% disability and the right to the contribution for accompaniment.

Vulnerability represents a broad category, which is used for fragile conditions due to different reasons; man is actually a "vulnerable" person from a psychological and psychiatric point of view, his is in fact an ascertained condition and not a future possibility, but at the same time M. is also vulnerable from a socioeconomic point of view since the pathology from which he is affected does not allow him to fully experience his autonomy because he cannot access the world of work.

For a long time, after hospitalization, he lived in a rental apartment sharing the apartment with other people, but his pathology generated discriminatory behaviour by the roommates who forced him to leave the apartment in an acute phase that would have required stability and care.

At the time he was placed at the door, it was fundamental for M. to have activated a multidisciplinary support network around him consisting of the Astalli Centre and the Mental Health Centre where he is still in charge. This gave rise to a synergistic work, characterized by comparison, which made it possible to identify the most suitable housing solution for him in a social housing project. M. in fact, being able to count on the disability pension and the support of a home educator, has signed a lease with a subsidized rent providing such guarantees that even now after two years he is able to make the payments of the rent, utilities and condominium respecting the deadlines.

The case of M. is indicative of how it is necessary to accompany and support people in difficulty through networking with which to strengthen the basic conditions so that what has been achieved can be maintained over time. It is sadly necessary to speak of "conquest" when describing the case of M.; in fact, nothing was taken for granted and only a certain amount of luck allowed the project to really come to fruition.

To date, the possibilities of inclusion in apartments that pertain to social housing are enormously lower than the needs and requests for support in terms of housing security. It is desirable that this method is increasingly considered and that the implementation of similar projects that have a positive impact on the entire social fabric is encouraged. In fact, there are still too many cases of single or single-parent families who, being able to rely on a single salary, cannot bear the burden of increasingly expensive and difficult to find rents.

THE PUBLIC AND SOCIAL HOUSING OFFER

The housing transition process often highlights the need for refugees to rely on temporary housing solutions. There is in fact the possibility that the autonomous living experience of a refugee person requires different moments, adaptations and maturing. For example, refugees leaving the reception path may express temporary needs related to specific work needs, perhaps to the existence of internship programs, or perhaps to the desire to re-establish family or friendships, or to other mobility needs. However, temporary rental housing, which has become a central feature of the rental market, is targeted at upper-middle income groups and is difficult to access for refugees going through SAI projects.

In the case of individuals with particular vulnerabilities, their inclusion in **temporary housing projects** (e.g. communities, family homes) that welcome individuals or families and provide adequate support to the specific situation can be envisaged. However, in the case of relatively autonomous people, such solutions risk re-proposing the limits of reception in terms of space, time, lack of real autonomy, and

do not overcome the barriers that refugees encounter in accessing more stable and regular accommodation.

WHEN DISTANCES BECOME INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES

"New house is fine, but now there's a stench that wasn't there before. When I came to see the house, it was ok, but now it smells of Mold. I must look for another home, also because I'm away from work here. On Sundays, when I finish late, there is no bus to return, and I am forced to take a room for a night in Rome." J. 's words come as a slap, after months of gruelling research. The time has not yet come to stop, but in a relentless movement, it seems that he will have to look elsewhere again. This house is too far away. It was even before signing the contract, of course, but before there was the urgency of having a roof over one's head. And then even a faraway house was fine. But in everyday life this house is too far away. J. was satisfied with a small studio apartment outside Rome: the owner was kind and helpful with her and the price was good.

One day, when he had already signed the contract, but had not yet met the owner for the delivery of the keys, he told the operator of the house counter that he had sold the PC. He had started sleeping in some Bed and Breakfasts because he no longer knew where to spend the night, but in order to do so he had to sell some of his things, lastly the computer. So, the day before entering the new house, she sends a voice message to the operator, where she says exhaustedly: "I'm in the emergency room, I didn't feel well, my blood pressure is very high, *too much stress*". She uses the words of her tongue to say how overwhelmed she is by events, how much everything is becoming too much for her, even her body tells her.

J., from the Democratic Republic of Congo, is 32 years old and has a troubled past, he has seen many, too many to be so young. He found a job in a large fast food chain, he has a permanent contract for a few months. She is an adult woman, she just wants to have a house where she can keep her things, where she can lie down at night, where she can stay safe, where she can take care of herself. And then there is his mother, who still lives in Congo, with whom he would like to reunite. In the distant house where she lives now, she confesses that she has no room for her mother, she would need an extra room as well as a house closer to work. This means a more central area and therefore a more expensive home; with its pay check it is a house that you probably cannot afford. Often people with a migratory past, like J. 's, work in the city centre, in restaurants, in hotels, working unthinkable and mostly underpaid hours. With that salary, they will hardly be able to afford an accommodation that allows them to move easily to work, especially when they work late at night, and the connections with public transport are smooth. J. is aware of what she can achieve and what is unfortunately excluded from her, but she also knows that she would like to live a dignified life and that she is entitled to it.

The rental housing sector in the Italian context, polarized between public and free market supply, highlights the lack of **an intermediate offer** dedicated to people who do not have the possibility of accessing the private market, for economic reasons or specific needs, and who at the same time cannot even have access to public residential construction due to the lack of requirements.

Public residential construction (E.R.P.), once called "social housing", although favourable in terms of economic accessibility, represents a scarce resource with difficult **access criteria** for refugees and asylum seekers. In fact, they do not always have the legal and bureaucratic prerequisites (outgoing personal and income

conditions) necessary to access public buildings and can rarely prove that they have been in the country for a long time.

The case of **social housing** is different, which includes public housing and an increasing number of housing put in place by the social private sector has less stringent general access conditions and offering savings conditions can be a flywheel to then allow entry into the free market. It is a temporary housing solution (of variable duration) and allows people to experiment with forms of self-management, offering participation in voluntary community activities and maintaining some support services (for example, the presence of a social educator, financial education courses, etc.). The management methods differ depending on the ownership of the property and the nature of the owner.

Accommodations are generally made available by social cooperatives, building cooperatives, real estate funds or savings management companies, at moderate prices compared to market rents and with rents appropriate to the possibilities and income characteristics of the people. Accommodations can be newly built or acquired through donations, recovery of assets confiscated from organized crime or renovations of assets E.R.P. In this case, there may be accommodations temporarily excluded from assignments¹⁶, because they fall within specific public-private partnerships or because "sub-threshold", that is, accommodations narrow for the dimensions provided for by post-construction regulatory interventions, but which maintain compliance requirements and can be granted in management to private individuals or *non-profit entities*.

Although **social housing projects** have achieved some diffusion in Italy, it is a sector that still lags far behind other European and international contexts, where this intermediate market has been able to expand because it has been possible to provide rentals at moderate prices that would allow economic sustainability to be achieved. The demand for low-fee housing unites different categories of people with needs (e.g. evicted families, young singles, couples and families who cannot access the free market, migrants, the elderly alone, etc.), thus remaining a **limited and in any case extremely selective possibility**, according to criteria different from public ones that, however, can prove equally exclusionary¹⁷.

This type of construction, although constituting a potential, albeit residual, resource for the routes out of the reception system, is unfortunately not very accessible for holders of international protection due to various impeding factors.

The first is linked to **supply limits**, which over a long period of time have led to long waiting lists for a place in almost all national housing stocks. The second element is closely linked to the first and concerns the **priority criteria** for access to housing (the ranking mechanism).

These criteria, defined on a regional basis, consist of several indicators of economic and social hardship (including income, the composition of the family unit, disability, etc.) that determine the order of access to public assets, favouring so-called multi-problematic social groups (to which most refugees in Italy do not belong, since they are mainly young and single men or women).

To these are added the processes of destitution of holders of international protection, those regulatory processes that introduce into policies, including

¹⁶ Bricocoli M., Peverini M., Tagliaferri A., "Cooperatives and public housing. The case of the Quattro Corti in Milan", 2021.

¹⁷ Bricocoli M., Cucca R., "Urban Studies, Social mix and housing policy: Local effects of a rhetorical misleading. The case of Milan", 2016.

housing, restrictions that result in a selective exclusion of foreigners from protection and social inclusion measures (including, for example, the criterion of minimum years of residence or the premium attributed to seniority of residence for the calculation of selection coefficients for entry into public housing, which favour long-term residents, penalising the refugee population).

The possibility of access to the social market for holders of international protection is also strongly hampered by other problems: access to information and transparency of the process. In particular, the shift from the use of unified rankings, typical of public residential construction, to differentiated access methods on a project-by-project basis has led to a process of subtraction from the public sphere of this new offer, which prefers interventions for those population groups that can guarantee economic solvency. It should also be considered that so-called *social housing* is based on the identification of specific targets or social categories that have little to do with the typical social profile of refugees (concerning elderly people living alone, large families, students, etc.) and that the legal status of people with international protection is rarely considered in the criteria for identifying vulnerable profiles. This lack of inclusion constitutes a barrier to entry into the various projects. This process of exclusion is also evident in projects that aim to stem the conditions of extreme housing exclusion such as those *housing first* in which refugees constitute only a residual part.

It is therefore possible to outline some of the key issues that intersect around these housing solutions and that characterise the gap between reception and an autonomous and ordinary dwelling. For forced migrants, the lack of a defined status (or its recent acquisition), the lack of economic capital and social networks, the fact of having a job but poor and precarious, the difficulty of reconciling home and work, contribute to creating profiles for which the various housing solutions considered are inaccessible.

HOME IS DIGNITY

A. is a woman originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo who found asylum in Italy a few years ago. Fleeing from her country, in the long migratory journey she loses her sister, remaining alone to face the difficulties, dangers and exploitation of traffickers. Arriving in Italy from the coasts of Libya, along the Mediterranean route that leads to Lampedusa, she began her path of insertion into the Italian context by requesting international protection. Not having the possibility of having a home of her own, she has been included in a second-level project that supports her for about a year. After the first months of hospitalisation, he began to manifest motor disorders and soon developed a paresis of the right part of his body. The path of diagnosis is quite long and is further complicated by the language barrier. A. in fact, she struggles to learn the Italian language even if she attends the courses and tries to strengthen herself despite her delicate health condition. Unfortunately, the diagnosis comes when A. is already out of the reception center. He cannot work and moves from one makeshift accommodation to another, risking disappearing from the institutional support circuits. He returns to Centro Astalli to renew his card to eat at the canteen and slowly begins to look out over the other services offered. In particular, it turns to the social support service to request financial support for the payment of health expenses: in fact, it needs specialist visits and instrumental examinations but cannot easily access the reservation system of the National Health System and above all cannot afford to face the costs. Thanks to the projects that guarantee economic contributions to refugees for this type of expense, the Centro Astalli becomes a more familiar place, where A. can find listening and make himself known. When she is finally diagnosed with a conversion disorder that leads to neurological

problems due to psychological factors, it begins to be clear that the woman needs structured and long-term support.

A. belongs to the wide audience of vulnerable refugees: she suffers from post-traumatic disorders due to the experiences to which she has been exposed. Thanks to psychological support, she starts working part-time again but cannot find a safe accommodation that allows her to achieve the stability that is important for anyone and necessary for a person with psychological and physical fragility. The search for a home becomes a challenge with no chance of success: the real estate market in Rome is currently not willing to consider a single woman with a part-time job as a possible tenant. The turning point comes when Centro Astalli, together with A., decides to explore the possibilities offered by social housing. Finally, she finds an interlocutor who makes her feel suitable and credible, who restores her dignity through the concreteness of a rental contract in her name. This, in a short time, allows her to rediscover that serenity long desired and to be able to dedicate herself to self-care, changing the pace to a path characterized until that moment by precariousness and uncertainty.

THE ROOM IN ROME: THE CONTEXT OF THE CAPITAL

“The many suburbs mingle with each other in a changing play of light and shadow, like in a video game. Physical and social barriers design a multifaceted urban space, which is not easy to interpret. Plato spoke of “two cities” that cohabit, that of the rich and that of the poor. It is a social distinction that is always present in all contemporary urban centres. The well distinguishable neighbourhoods of the rich in Rome can be found everywhere: in the centre, near the Aurelian walls in northern Rome, around the Eur or along the Via Cassia, or in exclusive extensive settlements hidden in the greenery of the countryside (from the Appia Antica to the Olgiate). The poor, on the other hand, are omnipresent, in a city that has historically made assistance and Christian charity a distinctive feature and that today barely faces the needs of thousands of people who survive on sidewalks and street corners, in migrant centres, Roma camps, overcrowded prisons, occupied housing and crumbling social housing. An army of invisibles that occupies a space as large as the entire city, a city of pain and abandonment that dissolves into the daily frenzy.

It is a complex city that emerges from this brief description, but which allows you to identify” a human one¹⁸ next to an urban mosaic.

As pointed out, the private rental market today represents the main basin of housing supply for the foreign population and specifically for holders of international protection who face leaving the reception system.

Different segments of the population (students, temporary workers, low-income families) who cannot (or do not want) to buy a home are competing for the marginal and residual offers of this market, influencing its accessibility.

In this context, the characteristics of **local markets** weigh heavily, in particular of large cities where the growth rate of private market costs is exacerbated also due to the increasingly massive tourism and *overtourism that are recorded, where the market of seasonal rentals but above all of the so-called “short rentals” erodes the housing one because it is more profitable and safer for the owners, because it protects against some risks (possible damages and delinquencies)*.¹⁹ ²⁰**Rome**, where the numbers of the **housing emergency** take on impressive dimensions, is an example. ²¹

¹⁸Lelo K, Monni S, Tomassi F., “Le siete Rome. The capital of inequalities told in 29 maps”, Saggine, 2021.

¹⁹Facchini A. “Mass tourism, short rentals, housing crisis: the Barcelona case and what happens in Italian cities”, Blue Suitcase, 3 July 2024, available at the link: <https://www.valigiablu.it/citta-turismo-affitti-brevi-crisi-casa/>

²⁰Ibid.

²¹ In May 2023, Roma Capitale approved the Strategic Plan for the Right to Housing 2023-2026 with the aim of strengthening the Administration's policies to guarantee the right to housing. Four lines of intervention are envisaged: The finding of housing to increase the supply of housing; the strengthening of programmes for the recovery of building heritage and self-recovery projects; the review of housing welfare measures; the establishment of the Observatory of housing conditions in Rome and the Social Agency for housing. <https://www.comune.roma.it/web/it/notizia.page?contentId=NWS1048779>

“WE’VE ALREADY RENTED”

S. 's passport says that she is 35 years old and that she was born in Somalia, but it does not say how much life she has lived or how many qualities she has. When he arrives at the home search desk, he has a kind but tired smile. She wears a beautiful ring, she had bought it in the UAE, when she lived there and worked as a secretary, when she earned enough to afford some things. Now his residence is in Via Modesta Valenti, virtual address for the fictitious residence of the Municipality of Rome, and he urgently needs to find a home, his path in semi-autonomy is ending.

S. speaks fluent Italian, helps herself with English when a few words elude her. "For me any room is fine, the important thing is that I'm close to the subway". S. in the morning works on an indefinite contract as an educational operator in a kindergarten that is on one of the metro lines of the Capital and in the evening attends a school to take the diploma that is along the other metro line. She has a high school diploma obtained in her country but is not currently recognized in Italy. So, he decided to start over again in this too.

He gives himself a lot of work but feels that he does not receive enough in return for his efforts. She is tired, she often tells us: "I work a lot, I also have exams at this time, I am stressed. I didn't think it was so hard to find a home in Rome".

For S. it would be important not only to find a room but also to be able to have the residence, but it is difficult for the owners to consent to the residence when renting only one room. However, his salary is not enough to afford an entire studio. For S., after months of searching, a certain accommodation has not yet arrived. They give her appointments to view the houses with difficulties, and even when with the help of the Casa Desk she manages to get an appointment, she is cancelled at the last minute: "We have already rented", they reply, without even having to notify beforehand. A response to which refugees have become "accustomed", taking it almost for granted, but which still hurts because it erodes dreams, desires, the desire for autonomy and liberation and precludes them from the possibility of a future.

The living environment in the city of Rome is made particularly difficult by the high number of **people in housing emergencies**; by the robust **eviction policy** initiated in recent months; by the persistence of the **economic crisis** and **the precariousness of work**. According to Acer data - Association of Building Builders of Rome and Province, in November 2018 there were over 57,000 families in a situation of housing hardship, 12,000 in occupied buildings, of which almost 2,000 are holders of international protection. ISTAT data for the year 2021²² speak of 15,000 families waiting for a people's house, 20,000 homeless, 10,000 families under eviction. At the same time, 162,000 homes are unoccupied or occupied exclusively by non-habitants²³.

According to Caritas of Rome, almost 30,000 families have requested a contribution from the Municipality to pay the rent; eviction measures in a few years have tripled, reaching 6,591 in 2022 (many for culpable delinquency), of which 2,784 were carried out by the public force; 16,600 families waiting for a popular accommodation, with an average wait of 10 years, while 1,000 families, in housing emergency, are housed

²²Facchini A. "Mass tourism, short rentals, housing crisis: the Barcelona case and what happens in Italian cities", Blue Suitcase, 3 July 2024, available at the link: <https://www.valigiablu.it/citta-turismo-affitti-brevi-crisi-casa/>

²³ISTAT, Housing Population Census, Accommodation, available at the link http://dati-censimentopopolazione.istat.it/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DICA_ALLOGGI

at the expense of the Municipality. There are 4,000 families in untitled occupied housing. And there are those without any housing: there were 23,420 homeless and homeless people registered by ISTAT as of December 31, 2021 in the 121 municipalities of the metropolitan area of Rome, most of them in the territory of the Capital.²⁴

Economic difficulties lead to the creation of **informal settlements** and **new occupations**, but, at the same time, it is precisely from these contexts that people are pushed away to end up in precarious situations or, and not infrequently, directly on the street.

As for refugees and asylum seekers, first of all it should be noted how the distrust of Italian owners to rent a house to them has increased – sometimes even preferring to leave it vacant – with demonstrations and positions taken with too often markedly racist tones. Many times, these approaches are also the result of a lack of knowledge of issues related to the right to asylum and the world of refugees.

Despite the economic difficulties and work problems, the level of rents has remained unchanged, becoming unsustainable especially for the **most economically exposed categories**, including asylum seekers and refugees. Renting and maintaining a house in Rome over time is closely linked to **working conditions**. Any change (for example, a reduction in payroll hours, an illness, the birth of a child) can lead to situations of extreme fragility and the inability to meet the expenses for accommodation. As a result, one of the main emergencies on housing issues in the experience of Centro Astalli is the possibility of supporting beneficiaries especially in the early stages where the necessary expenses, often not adequately budgeted (agency, deposit, furniture, transfer/connection to utilities) risk almost completely exhausting the meagre economic resources available to them, exposing them to an **economic fragility** such as to compromise the success of the entire housing autonomy project just started.

For forced migrants, the issue of housing is also closely linked to that of **residence**, which is essential not only to effectively recognise the enforceability of some basic rights, but also to renew residence documents^{25 26}.

For refugees and asylum seekers, with the continuous legislative changes, it is easy to remain victims of a **regulatory system** that, by triggering a new series of bureaucratic obstacles, has only fed a parallel **"black market" of residences** paid even at a high price.

²⁴ Caritas Rome, "Invisibility and rights of the registry residence for homeless people. Notebooks No. 3/2024" – Sguardi Necklace.

²⁵ The Rome Police Headquarters, as of autumn 2018, ceased to accept the fictitious residence established by Roma Capitale (Via Modesta Valenti, generally assigned to the homeless or those living in irregular occupations, but also victims of violence and asylum-seeking immigrants). Recently, the Capitoline Council, with Resolution no. 110 of 11 April 2024, approved the new registration procedures at the virtual address in via Modesta Valenti 2 and the revocation of the old resolution of March 2017.

²⁶ Actual, not fictitious, residence is important for people with a migratory background for the purposes of their legal integration in the host country. In fact, refugees are required 5 uninterrupted and continuous years of legal residence (art. 16 para. 2 Law 91/1992) and holders of subsidiary and humanitarian protection are required 10 (art. 9 Law 91/1992), to obtain citizenship. Having an uninterrupted and continuous personal residence means not incurring in the so-called "holes of residence". In the latter case, in fact, the ten-year period would start from scratch each time. Furthermore, according to case law, it is not possible to fill those holes with other proofs of residence in Italy other than personal residence, such as an employment or rental contract.

The concrete risk of legislative decisions, with consequent bureaucratic and administrative repercussions, taken without focusing on the person, is to condemn some, many, too many to live in a condition of limbo, where a way out becomes difficult even to glimpse.

THE COURAGE TO MOVE FORWARD

T. arrived in Italy about 15 years ago and found asylum after a long and dangerous journey during which she never lost sight of her dream: to seek a new homeland and build her life again. She is a resilient woman, able to face the pain of losing her roots with courage. In Italy, she has managed to treasure the suggestions and indications of those who have followed and supported her along her path.

T. has never hidden despite the loneliness, the fatigue, the fear of not making it. With great dignity he started again through work, language learning, building a new network of relationships.

After a few years at the reception centres, she was finally able to experience what it really means to be at home. She then met the man who would become her husband, and, with him, she gave birth to three children. The signing of a lease was the first formal and substantial act with which they began their family journey together. Through that contract in her own name, T. finally felt safe and truly free; enough with the rules and judgment of others, enough with continuous compromises that erode something as important to personal dignity as her own *privacy*.

For T., as for all people who experience forced migration, the path was surprisingly painful; a dull pain, not only for the reasons that generated it. The reasons for fleeing one's country of origin, one's home, one's relational life are always dramatically a source of pain. Refugees know this well. What they do not know is that hope in a future of rediscovered freedom, security and dignity must pass through the transfer of important pieces of one's privacy. T. says that it was useful to go through it but that the need to ask for hospitality has generated further pain, awakened old wounds, and weighed down the path.

After a few years T. and his family had the courage to lay the strongest possible foundation for their future through the purchase of a house. This is never a trivial step for anyone, but for a family with a history of forced migration behind them, it is an exception to be highlighted. For them, in fact, putting together the necessary funds did not represent the greatest obstacle; the difficulty was, as for all the crucial steps of their existence, having to still feel that unjustified sense of inadequacy. And finally, at the acceptance of the mortgage application, a non-ordinary gratitude, as if the granting of a loan were really an unexpected gift and not a right recognized based on compliance with the requirements of the regulations.

Perhaps one really has to wonder how T. was able to bear all the weight of subtle discrimination, veiled mistrust, deep-rooted prejudice and the signing of a property purchase contract. Each of us knows that home is the place where we can lower our defences, be ourselves and really feel, finally, in the safest refuge.

"In a world crossed by the concurrence of so many exiles, cohabiting means sharing spatial proximity in a temporal convergence where everyone's past can be articulated in the common present with a view to a common future".

Donatella Di Cesare, *Resident foreigners. A philosophy of migration*, Bollati Boringhieri, 2017

BIBLIOGRAPHY & SITOGRAPHY

- Allen J., Barlow J., Leal J., Maloutas T. and Padovani L., "Housing & Welfare in Southern Europe", Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Boccagni P., "Making a home in migration. A key to interpreting the processes of integration and daily social reproduction in multi-ethnic contexts. Urban Traces. Rivista Italiana Transdisciplinare Di Studi Urbani", 2017.
- Borsotti E., "Signs of places: Living space, living meaning", Vita e Pensiero, 2023.
- Bricocoli M., Peverini M., Tagliaferri A., "Cooperatives and public housing. Il caso delle Quattro Corti a Milano", 2021.
- Bricocoli M., Cucca R., "Urban Studies, Social mix and housing policy: Local effects of a rhetorical misleading. The case of Milan", 2016.
- Caritas Rome, "Invisibility and rights of the registry residence for homeless people. Notebooks No. 3/2024" – Sguardi Necklace.
- Clapham, D., Clark, W., Gibb, K., "The SAGE Handbook of Housing Studies," SAGE Publications, 2012 (pp.379-396, Leishman, C., Rowley, S.)
- Facchini A. "Mass tourism, short rentals, housing crisis: the Barcelona case and what happens in Italian cities", Blue Suitcase, 3 July 2024, available at the link: <https://www.valigiablu.it/citta-turismo-affitti-brevi-crisi-casa/>
- ISTAT, Housing Population Census, Accommodation, available at the link http://dati-censimentopopolazione.istat.it/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DICA_ALLOGGI
- ISTAT – Statistics Today, "Almost one in three homes is not occupied. More than half built in the second half of the last century", available at the link: https://www.istat.it/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Today-Abitazioni_01_08-2024.pdf
- Keßler S., Schöpf M., "Living in Limbo. Forced Migrants Destitution in Europe", JRS Europe, 2010.
- Lelo K., Monni S., Tomassi F., "Le siete Rome. The capital of inequalities told in 29 maps", Saggine, 2021.
- Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, "Guidelines for the fight against serious adult marginalization in Italy", 2015.
- (Pope Francis, 'Mending the Tear, Beyond Inequalities', Rome, 25 October 2024).
- Pavolini E., Deriu F., "The housing policies", Il Mulino, 2015. pp. 143-168.
- Action Plan for Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027 COM (2020) 758 final.
- Annual Report SAI Atlas 2022
- Torgersen U., "Housing: The Wobbly Pillar under the Welfare State", Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research, 1987.
- "A wave of renovations for Europe: greening buildings, creating jobs and improving lives" COM (2020) 662 final.