

**L'interconnessione tra migrazione e homelessness.
Alla ricerca di soluzioni inclusive nel contesto locale***
**The interrelation between migration and homelessness.
Searching for inclusive solutions in the local context****

Marta Salinaro***, Marta Ilardo****

Abstract

Starting from qualitative research conducted in Italy in the framework of the European Project H2020 Merging- *Housing for immigrants and community integration in Europe and beyond: strategies, policies, dwellings and governance* focused on the migrant's integration through housing, the paper investigates the link between migration and homelessness. Results from the initial research phase will be presented, focusing on the study conducted in the Municipality of Bologna. This study identified the Housing First Project as a potentially innovative model to meet the needs of the population with multiple vulnerabilities. The research also has highlighted how the interrelationship between different needs and the condition of vulnerability of the marginalized population require to reconsider the concept of social inclusion, urging collaborative synergy between institutions and civil society to address social challenges effectively.

Key words: Housing, migration, homelessness, social inclusion.

First submission: 05/09/2023, accepted: 31/10/2023

Available online: 29/12/2023

* Authors' Contributions: The two authors both were involved in the conception and design, acquisition, analysis and interpretation of data. Although the manuscript is a result of a collaboration among the two authors, the contribution of each author can be qualified as follows: Marta Salinaro wrote section 1 and 3; Marta Ilardo wrote section 2 and 4. This article reflects only the author's views and the Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.

** Funding: The study was conducted as part of MERGING Housing for immigrants and community integration in Europe and beyond: strategies, policies, dwellings and governance H2020 Project. The project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101004535. See the web-site of the European research: <https://www.merginghousing-project.eu/>.

*** Researcher in General and Social Pedagogy at the Department of Educational Sciences "Giovanni Maria Bertin" of the University of Bologna. E-mail: marta.salinaro2@unibo.it.

**** Researcher in General and Social Pedagogy at the Department of Educational Sciences "Giovanni Maria Bertin" of the University of Bologna. E-mail: marta.ilardo@unibo.it.

Doi: 10.3280/ess2-2023oa16430

1. Introduction

Affordable housing emerges as a pivotal issue within the European Union (European Commission, 2018). The Annual overview of housing exclusion and homelessness in Europe (FEANTSA, 2022a) shows how the lack of adequate and decent housing for the homeless increasingly crosses with the needs of other groups with intersectional vulnerabilities, such as migrants. The “refugee crisis” of 2015 strongly highlighted the housing challenge faced by asylum seekers and refugees across numerous European urban centers (Baptista et al., 2016; Paidakaki, 2021), and Italy is by no means an exemption. According to the Caritas-Migrantes 2021 report, in Italy refugees and holders of international protection, like most foreign citizens, are among the social groups most exposed to poverty, not only economic but also educational, relational and health related. Furthermore, among assisted immigrants, there is a high percentage of families.

Instances of homelessness among migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, along with their living conditions in Europe, remain inadequately documented, as highlighted by FEANTSA (2022b). In Italy, based on the latest Istat data from 2015 on homelessness, around 60% of those affected were foreign nationals. Furthermore, in 2020, many services that help people noticed a big increase of 20% or more in the number of foreigners they supported (FEANTSA, 2022b).

While the right to shelter is acknowledged as a fundamental entitlement within European and International Human Rights Law (i.e. European Pillar of Social Rights; Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union), to date it remains one of the most complex issues to be addressed by governments for a large proportion of the population.

In recent years, Covid-19 has amplified pre-existing problems and more and more people have been pushed into poverty, significantly increasing the pressure on social services. This has led to a condition of “cultivated invisibility” for migrants (Stewart & Sanders, 2022), especially the homelessness, increasingly exposed to the risk of marginalization and consequently to situations of illegality and hostile environments.

In addition, reception systems for asylum seekers and refugees have not improved in recent years, despite ongoing humanitarian tragedies in many parts of the world. Studies by Pleace (2010; 2016) and Giansanti et al. (2022) show that homelessness and other forms of deprivation among asylum-seeking is currently on the increase across Europe, as migrants’ access to social rights, including housing, has been limited through repressive migration policies, powered by the welfare nationalism among European states.

Refugees exiting the reception system do so from a very fragile position (Dotsey & Lumley-Sapanski, 2021). The 67.4% of the reception projects encounter difficulties in housing integration due to the precarious employment of the beneficiaries. Additionally, the 55.5% of the beneficiaries denounce mistrust from real estate agencies and property owners (Servizio Centrale, 2018) leading to concrete manifestations of discrimination (Lomonaco, 2020).

Hermans et al. (2020) also emphasize the increasing recognition that migration constitutes a novel structural contributor to homelessness, juxtaposed with conventional determinants like the housing market and the social welfare system.

Moreover, after the 2008 crisis, a regressive landscape emerged that progressively segregated migrants into interstitial and peripheral spaces in a vicious circle between informal work and dysfunctional housing conditions (Lukes et al., 2019; Dotsey & Lumley-Sapanski, 2021; Storato et al., 2021). In this framework, the institutions and territorial services show difficulty in acting with synergistic actions to address these issues, risking adopting partial solutions on requests that are increasingly in dialogue with each other.

2. The Merging Project and Housing First as Italian case study

The Merging Project, started in January 2021 and still ongoing, is an interdisciplinary study of migrant integration through participatory housing initiatives. The specific target chosen by the project are refugees and holders of international protection. The consortium is formed by 10 partners from 6 countries: the University of Lyon III – Jean Moulin (France) as project coordinator, the University of Rennes I – EHESP (France) a public institution with a dual mission of training and research in public health and social action, Quatorze, an association of architects, Lyon Ingénierie Project (France), an academic project management company, the University of Valencia (Spain), the University of Bologna (Italy), the Universities of Gothenburg and Malmö (Sweden) all involved in migration research and social inclusion, COTA (Belgium) as Consultant in public policies and the Social Business Earth (Switzerland), a social enterprise studying refugees' integration. The multidisciplinary team aims to reach a multiple and differentiating research objectives: the reconstruction of an in-depth policies and literature analysis, the development of an operational integration model, an innovative pilot implementation from a management stand view, scalable and replicable. Multidimensionality and interdisciplinarity are the core of the European Merging Project It aims to examine the current policies and initiatives on housing and integration at European and local level and to make a comparison

of different case studies chosen to identify good practices. The specific role of the Italian research team, which combines expertise in the fields of education studies and economic sciences, was to analyze regional and local competitions to conduct a qualitative analysis through local case studies on innovative housing projects intentionally pursuing integration goals. The characteristics of these experiences, as well as their strengths and shortcomings in terms of refugees' integration through housing, provided all the partners with a useful set of learning tools on which to ground the perspective development of three pilot participatory initiatives now in progress in France (Lyon), Spain (Valencia) and Sweden (Gothenburg). The goal of this phase of the project is to measure the long-term effects of the pilots carried out and the factors that favor or block the integration paths of migrants. However, the assessment of these experience is still in the monitoring and development phase, so this will be not the place to disseminate and analyse it.

In this contribution, we instead aim to point out some result from qualitative analysis just mentioned with a particular focus on the Italian case study.

The motivations behind this study stem from the scarcity of research exploring the connection between housing access and integration within local communities. The aim is to comprehend how housing solutions, also at local level, influence the integration of displaced migrants. It is crucial to emphasize that, within the scope of the Merging Project, the concept of housing assumes a broader social significance. It is a physical and symbolic place through which people have the opportunity to redefine and reshape their daily life through bonding with others; that is, through mechanisms of reciprocity, mutual aid and collaboration, the essential engine of any process of integration. As Papadopoulos claims, for the forced migrant, the forced loss of home involves the deprivation of a basic experience for the human being, on which important feelings of security are based (2002: 41). For these reasons, there is a need to consider the home as a starting point in the integration process of migrants.

The research questions that guided the project were the following: what factors contribute to the process of social and subjective integration of migrants who participate in housing initiatives? What are the good practices that make the housing project a possible replicable model in other situations?

The research carried out for the Merging Project has allowed partner countries to identify case studies among projects that are recognized as potentially innovative for responding to the housing needs of international protection holders and refugees, who represent the target group of the project, once they have left the reception circuit.

In the Italian context and specifically in the Emilia-Romagna area, the Italian team conducted a qualitative research in 2021 by interviewing representatives of services, institutions and project coordinators, refugees and

community members. Once the integration and local housing projects had been mapped using the snowballing recruitment technique and the relevant literature and policies had been reviewed, we came to the selection of our case study, the Housing First project in the city of Bologna.

We collected 22 online or in-person interviews with institutional and non-institutional stakeholders related to Housing First network (N = 7), other local stakeholders who collaborate with Housing First in Bologna (N = 4) the employees working for the project (N = 4), some community members who revolve around the apartments rented by the project (N = 2), as well as the few beneficiaries who agreed to participate in our study (N = 5). We selected the Bologna municipality's Housing First project (mainly designed for the homeless) because we found it as a potentially replicable model to face with homelessness in a multidimensional perspective.

Housing First (HF) is a project that began in New York in 1990 with the objective of providing an efficient housing solution to homeless. It was first implemented in Italy in 2014. There are 54 organizations that have been involved in Italy with 34 projects.

The implementation of the Housing First project in Bologna has some interesting features: it is presented as a project that arises from a bottom-up initiative and then develops with a co-design perspective. Specifically, in this city, an innovative experimentation from below had already been launched in 2012, the "Tutti a casa" project realized by the Piazza Grande social cooperative which for more than twenty years has been actively supporting the fight against poverty and marginalization, namely by promoting ways of social and work reintegration of homeless and disadvantaged people. Subsequently, given the positive results of the project, in 2015, the Municipality of Bologna decided to finance a Housing First trial. "Tutti a casa" evolved into a Housing First program based on co-projecting principles and owned by the municipality of Bologna.

Furthermore, the innovative Housing First model implemented in Bologna is characterized by a location of the apartments provided to users in easily accessible areas of the city, mostly in the city center.

During the data collection we immediately observed how the Italian context presents some barriers to access to housing for forced migrants. Recent data from an Italian organization that deals with assisting homeless people tell us that half of its users are foreigners, of which 10% are refugees (Caritas, 2021). Specifically, once refugees exit the reception system – a temporary arrangement they live for several years while awaiting refugee status or some form of protection – they frequently encounter circumstances characterized by housing and employment instability. Furthermore, a notable aspect is that many of these refugees express experiencing a lack of trust from real estate agencies

and property owners. This prevalent atmosphere of distrust often results in episodes of racial discrimination and further aggravates the obstacles they already face in finding stable housing solutions.

The Housing First project has several strengths that address the needs of different vulnerable populations. Among the main strengths that make Housing First a replicable and scalable model, we highlight the vision – and the proposal – to see housing as a starting point rather than a point of arrival. Unlike other projects, it gives people time to work on their own process of integration and autonomy. It also ensures that this journey is not undertaken in isolation but supported and co-designed by a team of social workers and educators together with clients.

However, an evident criticality comes to light: the Housing First program is not specifically aimed at the target of the Merging Project, but we have come to the choice of this project among the different mapped projects guided by our research questions, especially by looking at the practices and to possible models that can be replicated in other situations.

Besides, in the case of Housing First in Bologna, 19 users from an overall number of 73 are refugees or beneficiaries of international protection and living in Housing First apartments.

Furthermore, in interviews with the coordinators and operators of Housing First, as well as with the representatives of institutions and other services, the need emerges to create joint networking tables between several stakeholders to address shared issues and to respond to the emerging need to build a common debate on the problems, which goes beyond a definition of the specific features of the services provided (housing, health, work, etc.).

3. Strengths and challenges of Housing First: some voices of the interviewees

In the initial analysis phase, we adapted Gioia's qualitative methodology (2012). We used open coding to identify primary codes from the collected interviews. This approach was informant-centered, prioritizing the terms, codes, and categories provided by our informants to inspire the coding process. This resulted in over two hundred first-order codes being assigned to twenty-two interviews.

The second analysis phase aimed to find connections between first-order codes, which were then grouped into second-order themes. Unlike the first phase, this stage was researcher-centered. We had previously outlined eight dimensions for our qualitative analysis grid: Project Composition, Management, Services, Networks, Participatory Approach, Beneficiaries,

Social Integration, and Assessment. These dimensions became our second-order themes. Utilizing NVivo software, we identified recurring first-order codes for each second-order theme, focusing on elements that emerged from these codes and their connections between the second-order themes. This approach allowed us to illustrate the link between data and emerging concepts, a crucial step in developing grounded theory through inductive research (Gioia et al., 2012).

In this section, we highlight some of the key points that arose from our interview analysis, that delve deeper into the discussion topics of this paper.

3.1. Housing as a starting point of integration process and autonomy

The Housing First project places an immediate emphasis on enabling individuals to live in their own homes as integral members of a community. The Housing First initiative in Bologna further prioritizes enhancing the overall health, well-being, and social support for its tenants. It is very different from services for homeless which try to make sure that the person is “ready” to enter the home before providing them with one. Through Housing First, people living on the streets, or at risk of losing their homes, are given the opportunity by the social services to enter an apartment “without going through the dormitory” and to be supported by a team of specialized operators. In this way, the home becomes the starting point (and not the end point) of the process of social inclusion and reintegration, because it provides the opportunity to take care of personal well-being and improve one's autonomy, while also facilitating access to the labor market. On this point one of the stakeholders interviewed states:

“The house comes first. I can’t think of anything more important than being able to interact with others and go home. Even for me, without thinking about those who sleep on the street. Once I have friends and a home, everything else works out.” [OSTA5]¹

3.2. Long-term solution

Among the projects identified by the data collection, all of a temporary nature (Dotsey & Lumley-Sapanski, 2021), there is evidence of the non-temporariness of Housing First. The beneficiary can live in the house

¹ How to read the respondents’ categories:

- OSTA: Stakeholders (Project Coordinators, Sector Managers at local and regional level, Referents of Reception Centres and Integration Services; Referents of public company for Welfare services).
- MGR: Migrants (Refugees, Asylum seekers).
- SOCW: Social Workers.

indefinitely. Sometimes it happens that beneficiaries look for alternative solutions (e.g. by referring to the calls for public housing), especially motivated by the ambition to get out of the logic of cohabitation as confirmed by a HF social worker.

“Housing First for people is forever if they want to stay. This is already a step [...] you don't have a deadline here: this is your home, if you want to stay. Obviously, over time, people sometimes realize that this is not the situation they would like to be in forever and therefore they aim for public housing as an alternative, for the moment there are no others. There is the private market, but we are always in the same discourse as before.” [SOCW2]

However, in these cases, the problems and critical issues related to discrimination and barriers to entering the private market make this additional step towards autonomy more complex.

3.3. Housing as a safe space and for avoiding potentially risky contexts and not reinforcing prejudices

The emphasis on temporality (home for as long as you want) and the geolocation of the apartments in different areas of the city pursue the same goal: to provide a safe space. People involved in Housing First feel more secure knowing they have a safe place to sleep and this has a positive influence on how they feel about their abilities, independence and foresight in their lives. As stated by one of the beneficiaries interviewed:

“I always try to avoid problems with the police, I only go out with friends I trust. Work, home, then go out with P. or J. and then with a friend with whom I sing, and that's it. Just home ... work, home. Because I'm looking forward, I wish I had something more, so I can't afford to have some problems with the state. Above all, I am trying to improve myself to find a safe life.” [MGR3]

3.4. Reconsider the proposal for a wider target

Housing first is officially recognized as a program dedicated to severely marginalized people. The participants of the Bologna project have experienced the chronicity of the homeless condition and have been living on the streets or frequenting the dormitories of the city for at least two years. Also, they may be drug addicts, diagnosed with psychiatric illnesses, or with a dual diagnosis. In this sense, the chronicity of a marginal condition becomes a prerequisite for accessing Housing First in Bologna. As stated by a Housing First social educator:

“With respect to this type of user [i.e. refugees who have just exited the reception system], Housing First cannot always answer because, in reality, usually the person who is reported is a person who has a street history” [OSTA8].

As shown by Lancione et al. (2017) some Housing First implementation have not only focused on chronic homelessness with severe mental health problems but has extended the target to accommodate single adults and families with economic problems, migrants, asylum seekers and, more generally, “victims of the crisis”. The decision to broaden the target reflects a number of structural factors in the socio-economic system that have increased the impoverishment of different categories of people and families live hardships on the housing front. Furthermore, as highlighted by our study, Italy has welcomed an increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers in recent years, despite the lack of consolidated and well-structured integration systems. This highlights the need to reconsider and expand the target on the basis of the changes taking place in recent years also in the Bologna Housing First project.

3.5. A personalised taking charge - education paths and participatory experiences for inclusion and reintegration

The Housing First approach promotes and facilitates reintegration and social inclusion through educational paths aimed at autonomy. Since managing the delicate balance between the dependence and autonomy of the individuals benefiting from the service is not always easy, the Housing First project has adopted a specific educational approach, manifested in the support provided by a team of educators. Through data coding, we have categorized this approach in terms of “a personalized taking charge”, characterized by constant assessment of the needs of individuals and the evolution of participants’ personal autonomy within the project (Cortese & Zenarolla, 2016; Zenarolla & Molinari, 2018). The Housing First team refers to the concept of “educational intensity” to explain why their ultimate goal is to lead people to a zero level of educational intensity, which is the point where, as one social worker states,

“The person no longer needs the operator and is self-sufficient [...] whether they [people target group] find an apartment independently with our support, or enter public housing; there are several exit paths.” [SOCW1]

Secondly, it has emerged that adopting an intensive case management approach alongside participants also serves as a bridge to connect with local services. In this regard, an interesting case concerns the target group of women

involved, who are supported in accessing healthcare services. An operator from the services reports this experience:

“As part of the project results, we plan to accompany at least 30 women through housing integration programs, which are associated with actions to familiarize them with social and healthcare services on the territory, especially those dedicated to women.” [OSTA2]

The link with the community and the participation of Housing First residents is further encouraged by a collaborative multiservice network that, in dialogue with Housing First, defines the needs of the individuals more precisely and enhances the possibility of social integration. This aspect highlights the significant mediating role of Housing First between individuals and the community-society. On one hand, the project provides a professional team capable of facilitating a survey and “personalization” of the human and material needs of the most vulnerable people. On the other hand, Housing First ensures support and a mediation role for all individuals who, by entering Housing First, initiate a life project and begin a complex, layered integration process, which must contend (as seen in the previous dimensions) with a hostile and discriminatory socio-cultural context. From this perspective, the role of Housing First has a strong educational and social foundation, as it aims to strengthen the bond of individuals with the community, reinforcing the solidarity pact and participatory engagement with citizenship. However, the collected data reveal many weaknesses and criticalities in the attempt to create a social network around the vulnerable individuals under care. Some of these weaknesses are attributed to the difficulty of keeping social inclusion initiatives alive, while others are linked to the desire of some participants to proceed independently in building their personal social network.

“There are situations where people build a social network in which they don't want us to enter because they seek recognition independently of the apartment. There have been times, on the other hand, when we have become a bridge between that community, so, for example, going to the cinema in the square in the evening, watching a movie, or simply going for a walk, reading a book, or attending a book presentation based on the desires of the individuals.” [OSTA1]

3.6. Discrimination making the housing market inaccessible

Once refugees and holders of international protection leave the reception system the most serious challenge they must confront is access to housing on the free rental market. This is due first to the shortage of houses rented at an affordable price and second to the discrimination by the owners who do not feel

granted in renting their houses to foreigners. Other difficulties are related to legal provisions that consider migrants as temporary members of the society combined with the serious lack of a clear national system regulating social housing policies. The combination of these factors generates a widespread sense of marginalization and precariousness that does not facilitate the possibility for migrants to find satisfactory or long-term housing solutions. Experts (Mariani & Rossi, 2011; Fravega, 2018; Colombo, 2019) underline that this risk of marginalization starts from asylum seekers' very first arrival in Italy, as they cannot count on a clear system of information, coordination, and support to orientate in the new context. In this case, personal knowledge and forms of inter-ethnic mutual support become obliged paths towards housing. These aspects were amply confirmed by our interviewees:

“I went to see many houses, they tell me: I'll call you and then nobody calls me back. Then, some tell me: no, the house is not free, then you still see the ads on the internet [...] for me it was really a mess to find the house...” [MGR3]

“Nationality is one of the factors that landlords or agencies tell us that the house is no longer available.” [OSTA2]

The beneficiaries and the Housing First operators interviewed highlight the hostility and discrimination perceived when looking for a house, especially by landlords and indirectly by agencies that, as soon as they realise perspective tenants are foreigners, do not let them visit the apartments. This happens even if the beneficiary has a regular status and he/she can guarantee the payment of rent, as well the continuity of the payment thanks to a work contract. Furthermore, this instance highlights a problem concerning essentially all immigrants exiting the reception system and searching for housing autonomy.

3.7. Multi-Stakeholder networking and greater coordination in multilevel governance

Recent scholarships have shown that social processes and services to the person provided by the sole public administrations are usually organized around functions (e.g., work, housing, health etc.) rather than problems (e.g., social exclusion) (Desmarchelier, Djellal, Gallouj, 2019). As a result, the integration process “organized around functions” is usually weak and limits the institutional capacity of intervening to provide effective responses to cross-cutting social issues such as refugees' needs and their social inclusion into European societies. The stakeholders interviewed show a desire to activate intervention methods oriented to the problem (inclusion) and not only to the

function (housing). As expressed by a representative of The Public Company for Services to Persons in the municipality of Bologna, the activation of transversal synergies between various public and private services has begun with the aim of building a shared intervention model. The need to contaminate oneself between services is also expressed in terms of avoiding working in a self-referential and parallel way on highly interconnected issues and needs.

Moreover, a lack of coordination is highlighted and the need for greater networking is expressed, which already exists but which presents gaps and fragility. From the analysis of the case study and our interviews, we have observed that the services of the local context have already started to activate cross-cutting synergies not only in housing matters but also with regard to the development of methods of intervention for social integration. Other interviews also highlight the need to strengthen the connection between needs analysis and integrated responses and the need to find a meeting point and comparison between a multitude of existing housing projects and ideas in the Bologna area.

This evidence is emblematic of the necessity to not only redefine but also expand the concept of social inclusion. It calls for a broader and more comprehensive dialogue that transcends the delineation of specific service attributes such as housing, health, and employment. As Italy grapples with these challenges, it becomes increasingly evident that reimagining social inclusion as a collective, multi-dimensional effort is essential to address the complex interplay of factors affecting marginalized populations effectively.

4. Vision of the future in the Municipality of Bologna. The Metropolitan Observatory on the Housing System 2023

The data collected in 2021 provides some potential challenges and areas of intervention that the Municipality of Bologna is trying to implement in order to structure better coordination among services. First, as we have already mentioned, has been emphasized the importance of promoting cross-cutting synergies with housing services to develop shared methods of intervention. Secondly, the need to cooperate taking into consideration a plurality of vulnerabilities emerged. This point raises considerations and reflection on the methods of providing services and on the diversity of the target audience, envisioning a project of global inclusion that considers the specificities of individuals within common planning. Following the data collection in 2021, we find that with the investment from the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR), some actions have just moved in the direction just described. In fact, the Housing First model has been considered the most interesting and useful housing model to fund. Many resources have been allocated for this purpose.

However, the recent report from Caritas Italia, (an important Italian Catholic NGO) highlights a significant criticality as the recovery and resilience plan proposes temporary accommodation projects, which risks undermining the innovative approach of Housing First. Thus, while there has been recognition by the Italian context of the potential of this model, there is the risk of reducing its most innovative and significant aspects, once again leaving the migrant population on the margins. Likewise, at the local level, we see how the intentions identified in 2021 to establish shared and synergistic tables for the management and coordination of services dealing with social vulnerability have materialized through the definition of the Bologna Housing Plan. The aim of this plan is to implement a new territorial governance for social housing through a bottom-up strategy involving the community. The ultimate goal of this plan is to collect 5 government proposals for the development of a national housing policy that recognizes the urgency of this issue and the need to address homelessness in a multidimensional way. The implementation of this ongoing plan also aims to support the work of isolated services by guiding them towards integrated actions. Moreover, this plan aims to encourage dialogue with currently stringent and discriminatory national policies. In parallel with this initiative, the Municipality of Bologna has set up a metropolitan observatory to monitor the evolution of the housing system. The observatory collects data and analyses on these main issues, with a particular and interesting focus on migration flows.

- Access and permanence in public housing.
- System of contributions and public incentives for rental support in the free market and regulated rent.
- Non-hotel tourist accommodation.
- Housing conditions of out-of-town university students.
- Demographic phenomena impacting the local housing system, with particular attention to migration flows.
- Gender gap, population aging dynamics, and economic-social vulnerabilities.
- Discrimination in access to housing and housing needs of new workers.

The framework just mentioned, represents the establishment of a platform in which different expertise and roles interact. This experience holds considerable relevance in light of the data collected by our study, as it exemplifies the formalization of an identified intention. Furthermore, it underscores the fundamental role of citizenship in the construction of an inclusive and solidarity-based society, aligning with what is articulated in the literature as participatory theories of democracy (Della Porta, 2011). Regarding our target group (refugees and holders of international protection), and especially for the irregular cases, who are the most marginalized, there is much

work to be done. While recognizing the urgency of working together to avoid wasting resources and to create a cohesive work, we see that national migration policies are not moving in the same direction, creating a disconnect between local actions and national policies. Therefore, there is still a need to deepen the action and reflection on the link between homelessness and migrants, in particular as regards people without a recognized status, who remain the most vulnerable group to be included in housing solutions and the most at risk of being homeless.

References

- Baptista I., Benjaminsen L., Busch-Geertsema V., et al. (2016). *Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Homelessness: The Humanitarian Crisis and the Homelessness Sector in Europe*. Research Report. Brussels: FEANTSA.
- Caritas italiana (2021). *Oltre l'ostacolo. Rapporto 2021 su povertà ed esclusione sociale in Italia*. http://s2ew.caritasitaliana.it/materiali/Rapporto_Caritas_2021/Rapporto_Caritas_poverta_2021_oltre_ostacolo.pdf.
- Caritas Italiana, Migrantes (2021). *XXX Rapporto Immigrazione, 2021*. <https://www.caritas.it/caritasitaliana/allegati/9645/Sintesi%20Rapporto%20Immigrazione.pdf>.
- Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012/C 326/02). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal_content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT&from=EN.
- Colombo F. (2019). The housing autonomy of asylum seekers and holders of international protection in Italy. *Argomenti. Journal of economics, culture and social research*, 13: 1-28.
- Cortese C., Zenarolla A. (2016). Housing First: una sfida per il contrasto alla grave marginalità e l'accesso alla casa anche in Italia. *Autonomie locali e servizi sociali*, 1: 179-193. <https://www.rivisteweb.it/doi/10.1447/83854>.
- Della Porta D. (2011). *Democrazie*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Desmarchelier B., Djellal F., Gallouj F. (2019). Innovation in public services in the light of public administration paradigms and service innovation perspectives. *European Review of Service Economics and Management/Revue européenne d'économie et management des services*, 2(8): 91-120.
- Dotsey S., Lumley-Sapanski A. (2021). Temporality, refugees, and housing: the effects of temporary assistance on refugee housing outcomes in Italy. *Cities*, 111, 103100. DOI: 10.1016/j.cities.2020.103100.
- European Commission (2018). *Housing Partnership Final Action Plan*. <https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/housing/housing-partnership-final-action-plan>.
- FEANTSA (2022a). Seventh Overview of Housing Exclusion in Europe 2022, Brussels: FEANTSA. https://www.feantsa.org/public/user/Resources/reports/2022/Rapport_Europe_GB_2022_V3_Planches_Corrected.pdf
- FEANTSA (2022b). European migration and asylum policies and their impact on homelessness. An analysis of the 'New pact on migration and asylum', Brussels:

FEANTSA. https://www.feantsa.org/public/user/Resources/reports/2022/Analysis_A_New_Pact_on_Migration_and_Asylum.pdf.

- Fravega E. (2018). L'abitare migrante. Aspetti teorici e prospettive di ricerca. *Mondi migranti*, 1: 199-223. DOI: 10.3280/MM2018-001010.
- Giansanti E., Lindberg A., & Joormann M. (2022). The status of homelessness: Access to housing for asylum-seeking migrants as an instrument of migration control in Italy and Sweden. *Critical Social Policy*, 42(4): 586-606. DOI: 10.1177/02610183221078437.
- Gioia D. A., Corley K. G., Hamilton A. L. (2012). Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(1): 15-31. DOI: 10.1177/1094428112452.
- ISTAT (2015). Le persone senza dimora. <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/175984>.
- ISTAT (2021). Cittadini non comunitari – Anni 2020-2021. https://www.istat.it/it/files/2021/10/Cittadini-non-comunitari_2020_2021.pdf.
- Lancione M., Stefanizzi A., Gaboardi M. (2018). Passive adaptation or active engagement? The challenges of Housing First internationally and in the Italian case. *Housing Studies*, 33(1): 40-57. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2017.1344200.
- Lomonaco A. (2020). *Discriminazione e diseguaglianza nell'accesso alla casa della popolazione straniera di Bologna*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, PhD in Sociology and Social Research, University of Bologna.
- Lukes S., de Noronha N., Finney N. (2019). Slippery discrimination: a review of the drivers of migrant and minority housing disadvantage. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(17): 3188-3206.
- Mariani L., Rossi A. (2012). La casa come fattore di integrazione. *Osservatorio romano sulle migrazioni*, IX Rapporto, 193-200.
- Paidakaki A. (2021). Social Innovation in the Times of a European Twofold Refugee-Housing Crisis. Evidence from the Homelessness Sector. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 15(1): 13-34.
- Papadopoulos R. (2002). *Therapeutic Care for Refugees: No Place Like Home*. London: Karnac.
- Pleace N. (2010). Immigration and Homelessness. In: O'Sullivan E., Busch-Geertsema V., Quilgars D. and Pleace N. (Eds.). *Homelessness Research in Europe*. Bruxelles: FEANTSA.
- Pleace N. (2016). Researching Homelessness in Europe: Theoretical Perspectives. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 10(3): 19-44.
- Sahlin I. (2020). Moving Targets: On Reducing Public Responsibilities through Re-categorising Homeless People and Refugees. *European Journal of Homelessness*, 14(1): 27-54.
- Salinaro M., Ilardo M. (2022). Housing as a starting point for migrants' integration: opportunities and obstacles in Emilia-Romagna region. *Educazione interculturale*, 20(1): 107-121.
- Servizio Centrale (2018). Manuale Operativo per l'attivazione e la gestione di servizi di accoglienza integrata in favore di richiedenti e titolari di protezione internazionale e umanitaria. <https://www.retesai.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/SPRAR-Manuale-Operativo-2018-08.pdf>.

- Stewart S., Sanders C. (2023). Cultivated invisibility and migrants' experiences of homelessness during the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Sociological Review*, 71(1): 126-147. DOI: 10.1177/00380261221100359.
- Storato G., Sanò G., Della Puppa F. (2021). Fare casa nella città interstiziale, tra dinamiche attrattive e forze espulsive. Condizioni abitative e strategie della vita quotidiana di richiedenti asilo e rifugiati senza dimora a Trento. *Sociologia urbana e rurale*, 124: 138-155. DOI: 10.3280/SUR2021-124008.
- Zenarolla A., Molinari P. (a cura di) (2018). *Prima la casa: la sperimentazione Housing First in Italia*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.