Spatial (in)justice in pandemic times: bottom-up mobilizations in dialogue

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Marginal urban areas already subject to unequal distribution of welfare facilities and socioeconomic opportunities were badly hit by the Covid-19 pandemic. Taking from a spatial justice perspective, this paper looks at Milan and Rio de Janeiro, two very different and yet similar cities concerning their disadvantaged communities, focusing on the impacts of the virus, the consequent bottom-up mobilizations and collective actions in poor neighborhoods. It finally draws on possible lessons to learn from their examples.
Keywords: mobilizations; pandemic; spatial justice

(In)giustizia spaziale e pandemia: mobilitazioni dal basso in dialogo
Le aree urbane marginali, già soggette a una distribuzione ineguale di infrastrutture di welfare e opportunità socioeconomiche, sono state duramente colpite dalla diffusione del Covid-19.
A partire da una prospettiva di giustizia spaziale, l'articolo guarda a Milano e Rio de Janeiro, due città molto diverse eppure simili per quanto riguarda alcuni aspetti della marginalità urbana, concentrandosi sugli impatti della pandemia e le risposte delle mobilitazioni dal basso delle azioni collettive nei quartieri più poveri. In conclusione, si tracciano alcuni apprendimenti da questi casi.
Parole chiave: mobilitazioni; pandemia; giustizia spaziale

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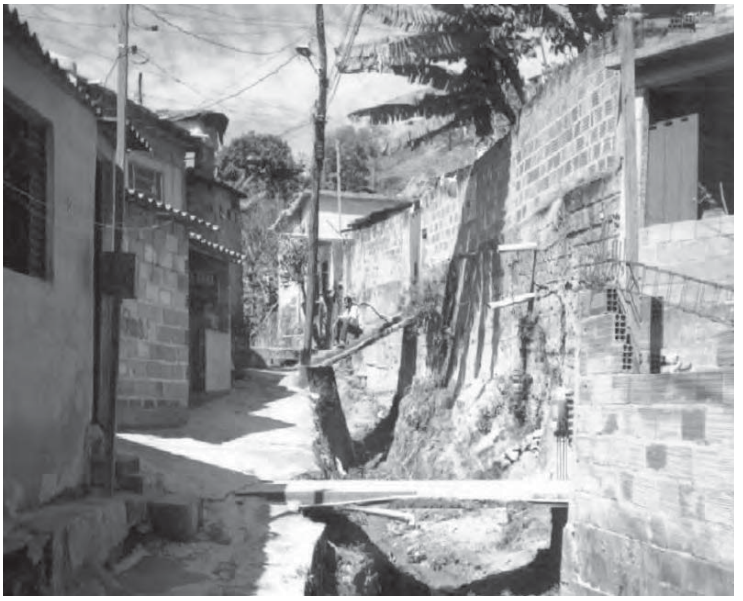
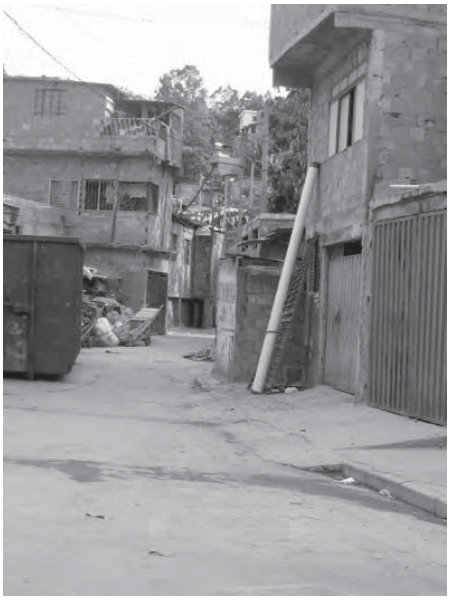
The growing competition for scarce resources under capitalist regimes has led the world in general and cities in particular to a number of neoliberal practices, such as accumulation by dispossession, city entrepreneurship and disenfranchisement of urban inhabitants, as argued by David Harvey, Ananya Roy and Marc Purcell, among others. Moreover, the ideology of the market and the rhetoric of security have transformed the city into a powerful machine for suspending the rights of individuals and groups, especially the most fragile and poor (Secchi, 2013). The ideology of ownership and private interest, indeed, has been efficiently supported by urban policies that have made separations concretely visible at different territories, legitimizing the reproduction of differences and inequalities.
This paper aims at exploring how spatial inequalities have impacted two very different (and yet similar in regard to their disenfranchised) cities during the pandemic, how favela and periphery groups have responded to problems and what we, as planners, can learn from their experiences. It particularly looks at the relationship between urban policies and bottom-up practices to address the pandemic crisis in urban contexts. The dialogue between Rio de Janeiro and Milan highlights initiatives of solidarity and mutual help that have innovatively addressed the issue of spatial justice, claiming for a 'territorially sensitive' approach to managing the sanitary crisis as a learning path to rebalance social inequalities in these cities.

Spatial Justice, distribution and participation

In regards to Rawls (1971) argument that fair justice can be a choice made by free, rational people interested in a position of equality and blind to sociocultural differences, Iris Marion Young (1990) echoes Lefèbvre (1968) and emphasizes the importance of 'otherness' recognition as a foundation for social justice, referring to various forms of oppression in the generation of social injustice: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence, with impacts to be found in most urban peripheries of the western society, such as Milan and Rio. Soja (2010) builds his concept of spatial justice through the association between justice and equitable distribution of social goods in space, in order to offer equal conditions for all individuals. As he highlights, the spatial perspective on social justice considers the spatial effects of policies as an indicator of their social performances, and the spatiality of the city as the materialization of power relationships embedded in space; they may affect the





1. Brazilian favelas' environmental and social conditions. Source: Lucia Capanema-Alvares.
2. Typical structure of Brazilian favelas. Source: Lucia Capanema-Alvares.

quality of social interactions, the use of space, and the perception of inclusiveness in places, all of which were somewhat upset by the pandemic, potentially allowing for the establishment of new interactions. In Lefèbvre (2006: 85), «unequal urbanization exists because there is unequal access to decision-making centers».
Nancy Fraser (2001) articulates Lefèbvre's, Young's and Soja's positions and argues that in order to achieve social justice, it is necessary to combine the policies of diverse identities recognition with redistribution by securing a more equal distribution of resources and assets owned by the social group, together with community parity of participation: there must be a distribution of material resources that guarantees the participants' independence, and institutionalized standards of cultural value that express equal respect for all participants and guarantee equal opportunities to achieve social consideration. In other words, solidarity in the distribution of goods and overcoming sociocultural stigmas should counter and survive the pandemic, as we shall discuss. Recognition and visibility are basic requirements to rethink projects and processes of urban transformation as opportunities to enable knowledge, competencies and practices of local communities and groups, legitimizing the visions of those who are less able to raise their voice. As she reminds us, «some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated and which disparage their distinctive characteristics or the distinctive characteristics assigned to them» (Fraser, 1998: 12). Thus, and agreeing with Soja, top-down approaches to policy-making may produce marginalization of local knowledge and disempowerment of local actors in marginal areas, dialectically reinforcing unequal urbanization. On the contrary, bottom-up initiatives represent a potential to design more just policies.
A number of authors (e.g., Arbaci, 2019; Caldeira, 2001; Davis, 2006; Perlman, 1976) have shown that marginal urban areas are worldwide subjected to unequal distribution of welfare facilities and social and economic opportunities preventing inhabitants from a full and autonomous access to the city, and from political recognitions of their needs, competences and aspirations.
Rio and Milan are no exception.

Milan peripheries, Rio de Janeiro favelas. Converging (though latent) processes

Favelas in Brazil date back to the nineteenth century when the *Newborn-free* and the *Land property* laws were enacted;[1] together they caused a great migration of Blacks to cities and towns where urban structures were not in place to absorb them: together with impoverished migrants, they could not afford to own dwelling units within the regular system. Thus, at the basis of ancient Brazilian urban inequalities, we can find global and regional forced migration; in other words, unjust mobilities (Sheller, 2018). The result was a disorderly occupation of land in less than adequate but central environments (Maiolino, 2008) or in the unequipped peripheries.
Milan, such as a lot of European cities, reveals instead a very different geography through its gradients of peripherality (Cognetti, Gambino, Lareno Faccini, 2020), which origins are

3. The public housing neighborhood of Giuffè-Villani in Milan. Source: Alice Ranzini.

mostly related to the development of the industrial city, the raising of the urban working class and the development of the welfare state. Its peripheries are currently fairly heterogeneous territories (Baldwin Hess, Tammaru, Van Ham, 2018).

Between the favelas of Rio and the public housing districts of European cities such as Milan there are many differences concerning formal/informal and institutional genesis; spatial and infrastructural conditions; opportunities in the fields of income, mobility and everyday life.

Some aspects, however, reveal converging but still latent processes between the two contexts: 1) some European peripheries are increasingly being conformed both as shelters and confinement for marginal existences, due to their economic and juridical status with respect to the national and local regulations (Holston, 2008); 2) informal dwelling regimes have been widespread in the European periphery, through many different arrangements of the informality concept (Chiodelli *et al.*, 2021); 3) the rising of deprivation and vulnerability in some areas has opened up the field of the humanitarian intervention in the Global North (with the resettlement of international NGO's programs in different European countries). All these aspects suggest the existence of similarities – a sort of 'favelization' – conforming a wider process of 'planetary urbanization'– i.e., the extension of infrastructures and the harsh logic of late capitalism over the entire surface of the planet (Brenner, 2018).

In addition, although poverty and deprivation in the two contexts refer to very different dynamics and standards, measures, and understandings, some elements of discomfort and deprivation seem to be recursive, particularly:

– the concentration of poverty and of health and economic vulnerabilities contrasting with the institutions' difficulties in addressing social problems and the lack of infrastructure and facilities;

– a diffuse regime of informality in both housing, labor and community services systems that allow interest groups to 'privatize' entire neighborhoods through informal and illegal practices, weakening the public sphere;

– the stigmatization of inhabitants and the negative public narrative produced by both media and policies addressing local issues;

– the subaltern role of marginal areas as 'socially necessary markets,' where the poor are somehow able to settle their families and start their socio-spatial struggles towards the minimum quality of life within the labor market.

And the Pandemic came: two tales of the same story

Despite all the differences, the pandemic has highlighted once again the similarities between Rio and Milan: the impact of the pandemic on the inhabitants of the most deprived areas in the two cities has been similar, as well as the role of grass-root solidarity movements equally relevant to support people in need in such a difficult time.

According to Morin (2020: 29), «isolation served as a magnifying glass for social inequalities». In other words, the pandemic has exacerbated dynamics which already existed, impacting above all the weakest populations. Over the last year, it has become evident that Covid-19 is «the virus of inequality» (Berkhout *et al.*, 2021) which has highlighted the systemic and structural nature

of inequalities at the economic, spatial, ethnic and gender levels and revealed a complex and feedbacking process.

In territorial terms, it has accentuated and reproduced differences and distances (Cellamare, 2020): the areas in which the concentration of fragile populations is highest, lonely elderly people, low-income households and large families, non-regular foreigners, precarious workers, have suffered more intensely from the social and economic effects of the spread of Covid-19 (Balducci, 2020).

Although comparative studies are not available yet, different sources in the two contexts reported similar conditions. The Favelas Observatory (FO) reported the highest mortality rates in Rio where the Covid-19 Protection Index[2] is lower, and the presence of black people and women-led households is highest (Fundação Heinrich Böll, 2020). According to a statistical study by Sacco Hospital of Milan, conducted between February and May 2020, not only individual characteristics such as age, gender and pre-existing pathologies reveal risk factors, but also social fragilities and economic deprivation represent high risk factors.[3]

Facing the hazard of contracting the virus and needing urgent health care, domestic environments quality has acquired fundamental importance, given the possibility of isolating and distancing oneself (Gatti, 2021) to reduce the risk of contagion. Coupled with personal health risks resulting from malnutrition and poor diets, the presence of elderly population, and urban problems such as forced use of public transportation and difficulty accessing information and healthy tests, they all exacerbate existing disadvantages. The inability to leave the house has forced many into cohabitation without the possibility of having a minimum living space, leading to situations of high tension. In Milan, the female population, especially those of foreign origin already living in partial isolation, has seen heightened the difficulties of daily life concerning the management of spaces and relationships. In Rio, the number of domestic violence complaints have almost doubled during the pandemic, reaching more than 20,000 requests for police restraining orders against men.[4] In a series of reports, the FO indicated that women in favelas endure an unusual hardship, for they 1) are more in charge of the house unit and of the house chores; 2) are overburden with closed schools and children at home full time; 3) are more subject to unemployment (18%) compared to men (13%); and 4) earn a lot less than men.[5]

In face of already precarious job conditions, often linked to informal sources of income, hazardous activities and contractual irregularities, this period has meant the loss of minimum revenues to make ends meet and shortage of food, clothing and medicine. A survey undertaken by the Data Favela Institute[6] during the pandemic indicated that in Brazilian favelas 96% of residents do not have health insurance, 48% live with someone in health risk, and 72% need to leave their houses to work and earn a living on a daily basis. 80% of families survive with less than half of their income before the pandemic. Finally, 76% of favela residents declared to have gone at least one day with no resources to buy food during the pandemic.

Distance learning, conducted in Milan for elementary and middle schools, has dealt with the lack of adequate infrastructures (internet connection and devices for distance learning), the household low familiarity with IT tools and the inadequacy of domestic spaces. Despite the effort and commitment of educational institutions, children and teenagers' engagement has depended on family support conditioned by their economic, cultural and social capital; in deprived territories, youth distancing from school, sports and training activities has shut them out of basic opportunities for social inclusion. Many schools have reported a prolonged absence of pupils, indicating an evident hardship and a 'disconnection' to these fundamental local institutions in already difficult contexts. In the absence of social and educational safeguards, parents struggle to manage the internal organization of the family, especially in the case of single-parent households. In particular, the female population suffer the difficulties linked to daily life, the management of spaces and relationships.

Another great absence relates to the closure of all territorial services that often constitute part of the quality of daily life in these contexts. Milan has witnessed the suspension of several projects aimed at offering spaces for young, elderly and foreigners' socialization and at promoting full social inclusion in the suburbs. Examples are the prolonged closure of neighborhood community centers for the most vulnerable and of language schools for foreigners, and the restrictions to local services such as canteens, public toilets and showers. Many of these services have moved remotely, eliminating 'face-to-face' relations and increasing the risks of isolation, fostering linguistic and cultural distances. In Rio, where students have meals at public schools from kindergarten to middle school, the closure of such facilities has caused severe hardships on the poorest, leading its government to adopt alternatives for food distribution.[7]

Bottom-up mobilization and public policies

Despite their differences, Milanese urban peripheries and Rio favelas were both badly stricken by the pandemic; its economic and social side effects have had the most severe impacts upon their inhabitants. In both cases, the claim for individual responsibilities in protecting themselves from the virus together with the isolation imposed on citizens hampered a general and collective understanding of social and spatial inequalities in metropolitan areas, revealing once more the inner fractures of urban societies and the failure of their development models.

Nevertheless, solidarity and mutual help actions spread the most in these territories, exceeding both fears and restrictions to alleviate the dramatic effects of the pandemic and the absence of specific policies to address poverty, corroborating Stavrides (2020): «it is in the context of the pandemic crisis that collective survival efforts, cooperation potentialities (deeply embedded in the everydayness of those who work) and aspirations for a just society converge».

Bottom-up initiatives in the two cities presented some common elements that revealed themselves crucial in supporting vulnerable populations.

Firstly, the capacity of grassroots organizations to adapt generic support measures and policies to their contexts' specificities. As Della Porta (2020) notices, local organizations and grassroots groups «make use of alternative specialist knowledge but they also add […] the practical knowledge arising from the direct experiences of citizens». During the pandemic these actors supported the territorialization of public and private programs reaching effectively local communities and groups.

4. Spatial inequalities in Milan: the public housing buildings of San Siro located a short distance from luxury City Life skyscrapers. Source: Alice Ranzini.

In the city of Milan, the privatization process of the regional health system led to a lack of community-based units, rendering epidemic monitoring harder (Arlotti, Marzulli, 2021), especially in the most impoverished areas. This is why several initiatives provided free access to Covid swabs: in the public housing neighborhood of San Siro, a very dense area composed of approximately 50% non-native Italians, the local associations' network supported a public effort to screen the population for Covid and Hepatitis. Tens of volunteers, from high school students to professional social workers, distributed flyers in multiple languages, explained the initiative to inhabitants and helped engaging more than 1500 people in submitting health tests. This initiative was officially registered in the public health system, helping citizens to have access to public health care.

Similarly, in December 2020 the FO mapped 113 solidarity actions related to food supply, 88 related to personal hygiene and cleaning products, and 66 to communication/networking favelas among others; more than 80% of these initiatives grew out of grassroots communities (Fundação Heinrich Böll, 2020). According to Álvaro Maciel, a Babilônia community leader, «the state is useless to favelas»,[8] referring to both the achievements based on the sense of solidarity among the inhabitants and the difficulties of public institutions in addressing local communities needs efficiently. Echoing Stavrides (2020), «remnants of the welfare state may still provide some of its leftovers, but it is their 'safety net' that helps the most».

Regarding the activation of new forms of local knowledge, peripheries have also addressed the current emergency from an individual perspective, adopting «multifaceted and person-in-environment approaches» (Cross, Gonzalez Benson, 2021: 116). Aware of the overlapping multiple impacts of the pandemic, bottom-up initiatives have provided a more comprehensive and adequate response, working 'one human a time' (Lee, 2020). By doing so, they've tried to overcome the conditionality of public welfare measures (Watts, Fitzpatrick, 2018) and its fragmentation into separate domains, developing wider networks of community solidarity.[9]

In Giambellino-Lorenteggio, a very deprived public housing district of Milan, a local association collected over 100.000 €[10] to donate food and basic goods to local families, and running a case management system designed by volunteers in order to register all the information about the recipient families and their needs. The system referenced them to other action groups providing different services such as health care, legal advice, educational support etc.

In Rio, a group of twenty favela associations created a unified panel on Covid numbers, which collected case reports from an independent network of grassroots leaders to subsidize various institutions in designing public policies.[11] André Gomes, a

5. Community action at Babilônia, Rio de Janeiro. Source: Álvaro Maciel.
6. The community campaign for Covid screening in San Siro neighborhood, Milan.
Source: Francesca Cognetti.

researcher and teacher in Maré, reported that his school, while not performing its usual role due to the pandemic, has organized the donation of food packages up to 200 students and their families, experiencing a new link with the territory.[12]

Finally, these initiatives have shown a diffuse responsibility towards the care of the most fragile segments of society, recognizing the differences in facing the global crisis as well as in accessing aid provided from national and local governments, due to their irregular and/or fragile status of citizenship/urban dwelling.

In Milan, grassroots movements organized informal groups composed mainly by students and young workers – 'Brigate di solidarietà' – collecting food to be donated mainly to those living in informal dwellings or very isolated ones, filling the gaps in the institutional aid system.[13] Helping those who did not meet the requirements to access public aid – i.e., formal residence in the city and/or regular labor contracts – these groups addressed «what more formal organizations and institutions have been structurally unable, or politically unwilling to do» (Black, Chattopadhyay, Chisholm 2020:197). Referring to Rio, Prof. Jorge Barbosa, FO former director, affirmed that «these territories have always experienced recurrent collective practices», including house and infrastructure building, «which consists of a long experience of forging ties from within the hardships they endure. This is what has enabled them to gather so much help during this tragic period».[14]

Learning from marginal territories

The spontaneous initiatives' ability to respond more quickly and more effectively to crisis than formal institutions, however, carries an inherent fragility (Lanzara, 1983): collective efforts may prove themselves ineffective in the long run because they are not able to change the structural conditions inflicted on some territories and populations. It would be necessary to analyze their practices aimed at more redistributive and just policies for marginal territories in order to overcome such weakness. Considering Milan and Rio mobilization cases seem to suggest a couple of issues in this direction.

A 'territorially sensitive' approach

In both cases, grassroots solidarity networks have demonstrated a great capacity for improvisation and emergency management, mainly through direct action and rapid decision-making processes. These practices were based on solutions tailored to the specific needs and fragilities of inhabitants enhancing both local actors' knowledge and the former mutual trust relationships that facilitated communication, a known path of mutual learning and sharing of resources and information among volunteers (Ripamonti, 2018). At the same time, the face-to-face interaction between volunteers and beneficiaries has been the basis to understand the specific needs of every single person or family, experiencing very flexible, circumstantial and adaptive intervention tools and strategies to better fit most situations. Moreover, the integration of different support measures and tools developed very comprehensive and effective strategies to contrast poverty.

Hence, grassroots solidarity networks evidenced the importance of structuring urban and social policies in marginal areas with a 'territorially sensitive' perspective to overcome structural inequalities that make the most fragile 'invisible' to local institutions (Grassi, 2021), renovating the modalities through which social support has been provided (Cross, Gonzalez Benson, 2021). A «place and context-dependent» approach (Fincher, 2003: 55) deeply focused on local conditions encouraging social interaction and contact while reducing entrenched differences derived from both locational disadvantage and social or cultural marginalization.

The need for responses that seek to move beyond the limits of institutional policy has risen. Such responses may entail supporting or partnering with organizations and communities that operate in a more horizontal and participatory way, at a smaller scale, at the informal level, at the grassroots, enhancing the role of groups and collectives to whom immigrants, refugees and otherwise outcasts often turn to and seek help (Cross, Gonzalez Benson, 2021)

An opportunity to activate new narratives on marginal areas

The sense of urgency in facing a common threat has boosted the mobilization of spontaneous networks of intergenerational and interclass solidarity to different degrees, pointing to a possible mending of the internal fractures found in hyperlocal communities.

In a period of forced isolation, bottom-up solidarity and collaborative processes have averted, at least in part, the tendencies towards retreating into the private domain by exposing people to an implicit claim for social and spatial justice. Grassroots mobilizations have given new visibility to urban peripheries as fragile, but many times full of potential, territories. A different understanding of urban marginal peripheries as vital, competent and interesting places where intense relationships and practices of neighborhood solidarity take place took place, leading to a different narrative that seeks to identify urban peripheries and favelas as resources.

Mobilizations have also promoted cross-peripherical and horizontal networks, giving birth to umbrella associations at the local, regional and national levels that share and somehow multiply scarce resource, what may become the basis for a unified resistance to state sanctioned dispossession, as well as a vehicle for local groups and communities to cohere around more than local interests and establish global political demands such as a more even distribution of public resources, the recognition of the disenfranchised, participation in decision-making fora, and a city of rights for all.

Conclusions

Rio and Milan have become dialectically excluding cities: on the one hand, the pandemic affects more those who live in vulnerable areas; on the other hand, the failure to meet daily inhabitants' needs causes a subservient interaction in the work relations and they continue to expose themselves daily to the virus. If both problems, pandemic and poverty, represent and bring to the surface great wounds in these cities, they can also indicate potential ways to overcome them and should be considered an inherent part of the city's resumption for the citizens' hands in an affirmative way, without exclusions, for the public and collective interest.

«There is a lot to learn from the potentiality of life in favelas and peripheries, mainly from the solidarity-driven affection that stops people from dying hungry and allows Covid-19 testing», says Prof. Barbosa (see note 12). In Stavrides (2020: n/p) «when engagement in common scopes connects to survival urgencies and mobilizes shared skills of cooperation, collective empowerment develops rapidly», pointing to another potentiality corroborated by Prof. Barbosa: «a new agenda of rights is now set for and among them; much broader, stronger and incisive».

There is also a greater social sensitivity towards inequality, spatial segregation and the lack of exits that hit the most impoverished, expressed in the number of support groups created, their capillarity and the amount of resources gathered and transferred. As Morin (2020: 44) asks: «Will the countless solidarity practices of these months of exception be preserved [...] not only in relation to medical personnel, but also to the least favored?». These feelings and networks should be sustained and consolidated by public policies, subsidizing co-managed initiatives in favelas and peripheries, expanding partnerships with the third sector and the collective movements built during the pandemic.

In Soja (2010: 156), these «struggles for space and the right to the city [are] potentially a powerful source of shared identity, determination and effectiveness to change the world for the better. This may be the most important political lesson that can be learned from the development of a spatial theory of justice». Capanema-Alvares and Barbosa (2018: 200), however, remind us that «identifying the agreements, pacts and norms established in the experiences of these residents in their territory of existence takes overcoming the stereotypes and stigmas that mark [their] realm».

This article is the result of a collaborative analytical effort which entailed discussing the cases with regard to the proposed theme and elaborating together each and every contribution. However, final credits are as follows: first and sixth sections, L. Capanema-Alvares; second and third sections, F. Cognetti; fourth and fifth sections, A. Ranzini.

Notes

1. The 'Newborn-free' law determined that all pregnant slaves would give birth to free babies and the 'Land property' law determined that all real estate had to be bought and sold in the market, putting an end to the empire's practice of land donation.
2. The CPI19 based on variables such as quality of streets and housing units, sewage and garbage collection, and house-owners' race, gender and income. See: AÇÃO Covid-19, 2020, *O Índice de Proteção Covid-19 (IPC19)*. São Paulo: Ação Covid-19. In: https://acaocovid19.org/assets/articles/2506_Artigo_IPC19.pdf (access: 2021.04.11).
3. Research reported by: Santucci G., 2021, «Epidemia e disuguaglianze. Più vulnerabili i disagiati». *Corriere della Sera*, 8th March.
4. See: Mariana M., 2021, «Atendimentos a mulheres vítimas de violência doméstica quase dobraram durante a pandemia, no RJ». Globo *Comunicação e Participações*, 23rd February. https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2021/02/23/atendimentos-a-mulheres-vitimas-de-violencia-domestica-quase-dobraram-durante-a-pandemia-no-rj.ghtml (access: 2021.04.21).
5. According to Fundaçã IBGE (2016), in Rio they earn only 37,5% of the average white man.
6. Instituto Data Favela, CUFA, Instituto Locomotiva, 2020. Pandemia na Favela. https://0ca2d2b9-e33b-402b-b217-591d514593c7.filesusr.com/ugd/eaab21_9837d312494442ceae8c11a751e2a06a.pdf.
7. In https://prefeitura.rio/educacao/prefeitura-comeca-a-distribuir-cartoes-alimentacao-para-todos-os-alunos-da-rede-de-ensino-municipal (access: 2021.04.11).
8. Interview to the authors on April, 13th, 2021.
9. During the first lockdown, Mappin San Siro research group (Politecnico di Milano) collected a series of interviews with local volunteers about their solidarity actions in the neighborhood. See: www.mappingsansiro.polimi.it/osservatorio2020.
10. See: www.laboratoriodiquartieregiambellinolorenteggio.org.
11. Painel Unificador Covid-19 nas Favelas do Rio de Janeiro. See: http://experience.arcgis.com/experience/8b055bf091b742bca021221e8ca73cd7/.

12. Interview to the authors on April, 5h, 2021.
13. These informal groups cooperated with the NGO Emergency, that offered them training for volunteers and logistic support, and became part of public platform 'Milano Aiuta' (www.comune.milano.it/web/milanoaiuta).
14. Interview to the authors on April, 11th, 2021.

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