Edited by Maurizio Bergamaschi

The multidimensional housing deprivation

Local dynamics of inequality, policies and challenges for the future

FrancoAngeli

Sociologia del territorio
Collana diretta da Marco Castrignanò

Comitato scientifico: Giandomenico Amendola,
Maurizio Bergamaschi, Paola Bonora, Ada Cavazzani,
Pier Luigi Cervellati, Alberto Gasparini, Nancy Holman,
Richard Ingersoll, Jean François Laé, Ezio Marra,
Antonietta Mazzette, Alfredo Mela, Fiammetta Mignella Calvosa,
Harvey L. Molotch, Giovanni Pieretti, Fortunata Piselli,
Asterio Savelli, Mario L. Small, Antonio Tosi, Francesca Zajczyk

La collana *Sociologia del territorio* (già collana *Sociologia
urbana e rurale*, fondata da Paolo Guidicini nel 1976),
attraverso la pubblicazione di studi e ricerche, si propone
come luogo di confronto fra studiosi, operatori ed esperti
interessati al rapporto che l'uomo intrattiene con il territorio.

La collana si articola in tre sezioni:

1) Città e territorio

2) Ambiente, migrazioni e sviluppo rurale

3) Turismo e loisir

Le trasformazioni del mondo urbano e di quello rurale, le nuove
forme dello sviluppo, i fenomeni di impoverimento ed esclusione
sociale, i problemi del governo urbano, i movimenti migratori
su scala locale e globale, le tematiche ambientali, il turismo
e il tempo libero sono solo alcuni degli ambiti di ricerca che
la collana intende promuovere attraverso la pubblicazione di
monografie e volumi collettanei.

La collana *Sociologia del territorio* si propone di contribuire
alla riflessione intorno alle forme contemporanee del territorio
su scala locale, nazionale e internazionale.

Sulla base della loro rilevanza all'interno del dibattito scientifico
ed accademico, tutte le proposte di pubblicazione vengono
sottoposte alla procedura del referaggio (*peer review*), fondata
su una valutazione che viene espressa sempre e per ogni lavoro
da parte di due referee anonimi, selezionati fra docenti
universitari e/o esperti dell'argomento.

**Edited by
Maurizio Bergamaschi**

The multidimensional housing deprivation

Local dynamics
of inequality, policies
and challenges for the future

FrancoAngeli

Maurizio Bergamaschi (edited by), *The multidimensional housing deprivation.*
Local dynamics of inequality, policies and challenges
for the future, Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2022
Isbn: 9788835142782 (eBook)

La versione digitale del volume è pubblicata in Open Access sul sito www.francoangeli.it.

Index

7

Introduction. The multidimensional housing deprivation. Local dynamics of inequality, policies, and challenges for the future

by *Maurizio Bergamaschi*[1]

Horizon2020 project MICADO (*Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards*, Grant Agreement No 822717) aims to facilitate the exchange between migrants, public authorities and engaged civic society and ease migrants' access to regular social systems (housing, education, health care, and labor) and counselling services through attractive digital services. Thus, it will lower the socio-economic effort and expenditure in migrant integration, both for host economies and individuals. MICADO is an interdisciplinary international project that involves research institutions, public authority agencies and SMEs from Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Austria, whose purpose is to co-develop a MICADO- "one-fits-all"-solution (generic solution) that can be adapted by the local actors to their respective local challenges and manage migration issues with a local solution.

The generic solution has been piloted in the MICADO-partner cities Hamburg, Bologna, Madrid, and Antwerp, and was eventually be modified by the local communities. The outcome of the project will empower public authorities and local communities that attend migrants and refugees from their moment of arrival in the EU with more efficient and more effective digital services. It will also support migrants and refugees by enabling essential communication, orientation, and navigation within their new life environments. In the end, the MICADO solution shall be offered on an open-source platform and be transferable to communities in other European cities.

Within the framework of the H2020 MICADO (Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards) project, the working group of the Department of Sociology and Business Law of the University of Bologna has initiated a reflection on housing, which represents one of the areas, although not the

---

[1] Maurizio Bergamaschi, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna.

only one, in which migrants experience a greater condition of vulnerability compared to the native population that hinders their full integration into their new living context. A survey conducted in the early 2000s, on a sample of migrant families distribute all over the Country, showed that the main obstacle encountered in daily life upon their arrival in Italy and participation in social life, even before work, was that of finding housing adequate to their needs. The mistrust and resistance of landlords, the sustainability of housing costs, both rented and owned housing, fragile primary and secondary support networks, excessive rents rate compared to the actual income capacity of many households, housing eligibility required in case of renewal of the residence permit in Italy and/or family reunification constitute a set of barriers that hinder access to housing adequate to needs and constrain the migrant's migration project and life trajectory. A situation that persists although on several occasions' Italian jurisprudence - and especially the Constitutional Court - recognized the existence of "housing rights" as early as 1980s: "Undoubtedly, housing constitutes, due to its fundamental importance in the life of the individual, a primary good that must be adequately and concretely protected by law" (Constitutional Court, Sentence No. 252 of July 15, 1983).

The housing request from migrants thus fits into the broader context of housing-related problems still unresolved in our Country. Foreigners generate an additional demand in an already critical context and share most of the difficulties encountered by vulnerable groups of the native population, but with a set of additional obstacles induced by the institutional system, linked to the precarious legal status, and to the market instability. At the same time, housing for migrants is the pre-requisite for obtaining those rights that in the absence of a home are denied.

More than a Century has passed since housing scarcity, which primarily affected workers migrating from the countryside and rural areas to urban areas, was considered the social issue *par excellence*. Increasing the availability of housing and securing homeownership seemed the appropriate responses, but nowadays, even in a Country Italy where homeownership is the prevailing tenure, the number of available housings has outpaced the number of households.

This phenomenon allowed an improvement in housing standard, but the housing issue is far from being resolved and it is constantly affected by dynamics, trends, and structural changes of various kinds. As D. Madden and P. Marcuse (*In Defense of Housing. The politics of crisis*, Verso Books, 2016) remind us, the housing issue is rooted in the structures of society, not a temporary and conjunctural malfunction of the housing market.

It is now agreed that the housing issue has largely different peculiarities than in the past and involves a wide heterogeneity of populations and social groups. If in the past the housing problem affected almost exclusively those who moved to more industrialized centers mainly for work reasons, today it involves a large segment of the population and is in fact the result of a multiplicity of phenomena. the current demand for housing is affected by public policy dynamics but also sociodemographic, economic, and cultural ones. The metamorphoses of the population in terms of life expectancy and aging, the increasing plurality of family patterns, contemporary migration flows, and the issue of (imm)mobility, especially during the pandemic, have profoundly altered housing styles and the request for accommodation.

In addition, growing impoverishment, attested by the increase in poverty and in general by the outcomes of a global economic and financial crisis, accompanied by major and profound reformations in the labor market and in welfare regimes, has impacted with disruptive repercussions on housing. Evidence of this trend is the serious and worrying upswing in requests and actual enforcement of evictions: there are about 70 thousand pending evictions as of 2019 (difference between execution requests and those executed by force), 32 thousand in 2020 and another estimated 40/50 thousand in 2021. Total 130/150 thousand executable evictions in 2022. Particularly in low-income families, housing absorbs an important share of family income, sacrifice other necessities to meet their housing needs. All this happens within the framework of a neoliberal turn in policies (housing, but not only) that affected lots of Countries and within the financialization of housing market that privileges housing as a real estate asset (and its exchange value) over its use value and material basis for the ontological security of all people. A turning point that is reflected in Italy in the so-called social housing policies that are, albeit with some criticality, more attentive to the sociality needs of individuals, the indoor environment and functionality of housing, the livability of shared spaces, the impacts on the neighborhood, as well as environmental sustainability. After one hundred years past the publication of F. Engels' *The Housing Question* (1872), the rent still drives economic growth, affecting land use patterns by expanding the building fabric.

The housing question is thus transversal today and embraces areas that are only seemingly distant from each other:
  - urban development and land consumption, sprawl, gentrification, touristification but also the impact that urban redevelopment and regeneration programs have on the territory and their populations;
  - poverty and social hardship, which refer primarily to access and the right to housing, but also to forms of public intervention, informal

housing and so-called affordability, or economic inaccessibility to housing;
– inequalities and discrimination in access to the "house as a good", as well as the spatial distribution of populations, concentration and segregation, mechanisms of marginalization and processes of peripheralization of the most vulnerable segments of the population;
– the role of the public actor, particularly with reference to its gradual withdrawal from the housing policy sector and the use of housing welfare as a last resource.

In light of these premises, the aim of the volume, organized into three thematic parts (*Local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation*, edited by Maria Grazia Montesano and Luca Daconto; *From housing deprivation to housing policies. Distinctive elements in the territory*, by Manuela Maggio and Alice Lomonaco; *Housing rights, migrant integration, and the role of ICT solutions*, by Teresa Carlone and Carolina Mudan Marelli), is to bring together scholars from different disciplinary fields who investigated the phenomenon from different points of view. Here presented, contributions that analyze the topic of housing and housing needs both from a theoretical standpoint, capable of reactivating a reflection on the distinctive features of the new housing issue, and from an empirical perspective, reporting results of completed or ongoing research, that provide elements of evaluation and methodological insights on the topic.

Local models and processes
of ethnic residential segregation

by *Maria Grazia Montesano, Luca Daconto*[1]

The study of the dynamics of foreign population settlement is crucial to understanding contemporary urban transformations. The international academic debate has widely highlighted the differences between the North American and European models regarding the distribution (and concentration) of migrants in cities. In fact, the levels of segregation in American metropolises have always been higher than in European ones, where, also due to the presence of a different welfare state, the structural conditions for the development of real ghettos are not present.

However, the absence of macro-concentrations at the urban level should not lead to considerations that mythologise European cities as inclusive and free of phenomena of marginalisation, exclusion and social isolation of migrant populations. Moreover, the 2008 crisis, neo-liberal policies and the consequent downsizing of welfare have increased housing inequalities - amplified by the pandemic - which have translated into new and different forms of socio-spatial segregation.

In this framework, the following section of the book collects contributions which, in the diversity of the topics dealt with and the methodological approaches, confirm the specificity of segregation phenomena in European cities, in particular in the South.

In the first contribution, *Hospitality and segregation in Turin. An ethnographic perspective on migration, reception policies and urban conflicts*, Erasmo Sossich analyses the case of a squat, and its eviction, in Turin, where more than one hundred asylum seekers and refugees, almost all of African origins, lived. The author defines this squat as an exceptional case of ethnic

---

[1] Maria Grazia Montesano, Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna; Luca Daconto, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Milan Bicocca.

spatial segregation in the context of Southern Europe, acted out in the name of urban regeneration, social mix, desegregation and social inclusion.

In the second contribution, *The localization models of secondary reception structures for refugees and asylum seekers in Italy. First results from the MIGRATE project*, Luca Bottini, Simone Caiello, Luca Daconto and Sara Giunti analyse the location patterns of Italian reception centres for refugees and asylum seekers (CAS). The results show how, following the Italian Dispersal Policy, the temporary reception centres are distributed in heterogeneous contexts from a socio-economic and demographic, morphological and accessibility point of view. This has an impact on the possibility of asylum seekers' and refugees' local inclusion.

In the third contribution, *The issue of housing and migrants. The role of women in social movements for housing rights, from stereotypes to social activism*, Francesca Colella, Giovanna Gianturco and Mariella Nocenzi analyse the role of migrant women as participants, within their ethnic communities, in social movements for housing rights, focusing on Rome as a case study. They show that, even in a housing emergency condition, empowerment, voice, and subjectification processes emerge through migrant women agency and their participation in social movements for housing rights.

In the fourth contribution, *The residential dynamics of foreign populations at the metropolitan scale. The cases of Bologna and Milan (2001-2011)*, Luca Daconto and Maria Grazia Montesano compare the medium-period (2011-2020) location dynamics of foreign residents in the Functional Urban Areas (FUA) of Bologna and Milan. The results confirm the lack of macro-segregation and the increased peripheralization of foreigners at the metropolitan scale in the two South-European metropolitan contexts.

The contributions in this section also focus on exceptional or emergency situations or conditions - e.g. the exception of the squat ex-Moi; the extraordinary reception centres for asylum seekers during the European refugee crisis; the housing emergency of migrant women - of which emerges the heuristic potential for the understanding of the segregation and contemporary urban transformations. In this regard, the chapters confirm the contribution of different methodological approaches (e.g. ethnography, qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, spatial analysis) in achieving a better understanding of the local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation in contemporary cities.

Hospitality and segregation in Turin.
An ethnographic perspective on migration, reception policies and urban conflicts

by *Erasmo Sossich*[1]

Introduction

This contribution analyzes the case of Ex-Moi, a squat located in the southern periphery of Turin. Occupied in 2013 and evicted in 2019, it consisted of four buildings inhabited by more than a thousand refugees, almost exclusively of African origin. Showing the intertwining of failed reception policies and urban regeneration projects, the article analyzes the Ex-Moi as an exceptional case of spatial and ethnic segregation in the context of Southern Europe, where, despite a marked economic marginality of the immigrant population, the processes of marginalization have not usually led to strong spatial segregation but to other processes, such as peripheralization, micro-segregation or socio-tenurial differentiation. In order to be able to understand the exceptional nature of the Ex-Moi case, the first part of the text is dedicated to the definition of a general framework of the housing dynamics of the foreign population in Turin. Urban policies aimed at governing this population are then addressed, and therefore the way in which reception policies participate in this definition of urban space. We then move on to the case of Ex-Moi, to the process that led to the occupation and the ways in which its *sgombero dolce*, "gentle eviction", was managed. Finally, the article ends with a critical analysis of the policies producing the urban "normality" and the policies that have been used to deal with the "exceptions".

---

[1] Erasmo Sossich, University of Milan.

1. Methodology

The present contribution is based on qualitative methodology and makes use of different methods of inquiry, as ethnography, in-depth and semi-structured interviews, and finally documentary analysis, taking into account social networks contents, press releases, newspaper articles, official project and reports.

The access to the field was possible due to the previous involvement of the researcher in various moments of mobilization since 2017, but also in cultural, informative and recreational events hosted in Ex-Moi, and to the researcher's personal and political relations with some of the protagonists of these events, and in particular with a key informant. Concerns stemming from the auto-ethnographical and research-action character of the present work have also influenced both the field research and the subsequent reflections (Collettivo RicercAzione, 2013). Furthermore, it should be noted that the present work is part of a wider ongoing doctoral research project, focusing on urban change and immigration in Southern European cities.

2. Patterns of settlement

There are contexts in which racial spatial segregation has been and remains the norm (Malheiros, 2002; Wacquant, 2016; Arbaci, 2018). What would the four Ex-Moi's buildings be in the middle of a North American ghetto, where it is possible to cross entire neighborhoods whose borders follow the color line? But the Ex-Moi wasn't in Chicago. It was in Lingotto, a post-industrial neighborhood of Turin, a city where students, immigrant workers and families, often born from the meeting of people who arrived in the city during a long series of migratory waves, live together (Barbagli, Pisati, 2012; Badino, 2018).

International immigration in southern Europe has become a relevant phenomenon only since the late 1970s, established itself in the 1990s, during the so-called "migratory turnaround" (King, Fielding, Black, 1997), and reached its peak only in the 2000s, when arrivals in southern European cities exceeded arrivals in northern European cities. Unlike England, Belgium or other Northern European countries, characterized by a strong dynamic of spatial segregation in the inner areas of the cities and by parallel processes of suburbanization of the middle-upper classes, the cities of Southern Europe have not seen the affirmation of strongly ethnically segregated areas (Maloutas, Fujita, 2012; Allen *et al*., 2004).

Following Arbaci reflection (2018), these *patterns* should be understood as a systematic process, created between four fundamental factors: *welfare regime, housing system, urban planning* and *land system*. Housing is thus the main differentiation mechanism: its various components structure the nature of the models found and, above all, are the main engine of the growing division between native and foreign groups.

The consequence of these processes is that even in a city like Turin, where international migration consolidated very early and reached a particularly intense pace during the 2000s, where it is estimated that 15% of the population is of foreign origin (Città di Torino, 2018), even in areas where the greatest concentration of foreigners is present, it does not exceed 35% (Circoscrizione7, 2011). Even in the so-called "immigration districts", the particular visibility of these minorities is rather due to the concentration of economic activities managed by foreigners, evident in the market area of Porta Palazzo or along Corso Giulio Cesare, rather than to the segregation of the resident population (Cingolani, 2018).

The marginalized condition of the population of foreign origin must therefore be traced back to social and economic causes, class originated rather than spatially, and in particular to the increasingly important role played by race in defining the differential criteria through which subjects enter in relationship with their workforce (Mezzadra, 2004, 2017; Mellino, 2011, 2012).

Even in the absence of spatial segregation, the immigrant population often lives in a condition of socio-economic marginality which manifests itself, among other things, in a housing condition marked by a higher probability of living on rent, and by a much higher probability of living in conditions of housing deprivation (Arbaci, 2018). In this case, in which it is instead appropriate to speak of *socio-tenurial differentiation* and *housing segregation*, it is clear that spatial proximity does not imply social proximity, undermining the assumption of a direct relationship between spatial segregation and marginalization, at the basis of social mix policies (Briata, 2014; Daconto, 2014; Arbaci, 2018).

3. Governance, immigration and urban regeneration

The transition from the *one company town* to a city of culture, from the *factory city* to the post-Fordist city, was accompanied by a long series of projects animated by a common vocation (Allasino *et al*., 2000; Governa, Saccomanni, 2002; Semi, 2005, 2015, 2019; Santangelo, Vanolo, 2010; Briata, 2014). We therefore speak of integrated projects from a strategic

perspective, carried out over twenty years thanks to an exceptional political stability, guaranteed by the continuity of center-left city governments between 1993 and 2016 (Governa, Saccomanni, 2002; Briata, 2014).

The approach to the immigration issue carried out by these policies is exemplified by the *Urban Pilot Project* for Porta Palazzo, known as *The Gate. Living not Leaving*[2] and active between 1998 and 2002, in which the administration was able to develop an area-based strategy. In the intentions, the project would be inspired as much as possible by participatory mechanisms, focusing on a broad vision of the theme of inclusion and activating local involvement strategies addressed to the population as a whole, considering the common problems of immigrants and "natives". The project should have supported and reorganized the local commercial fabric, redevelop the physical spaces of the market, promote safety nets and intercultural activities, reorganize the presence of the police and at the same time support youth aggregation centers, and activate requalification plans of the degraded real estate assets, involving the owners in order to protect the resident population at the end of the renovations (Briata, 2014). Although the results on this intervention is debated, the writer lived these spaces only many years later, during the administration of Chiara Appendino (2016-2021), crossing roads perennially manned by police vans and subject to rapid *gentrification* processes, accompanied by the forced expulsion of the most marginal strata of both the resident population and local traders, culminating in the eviction of the "Suq", or in the expulsion of a large part of the traders from the historic Balon market (Migliaccio, 2017, 2018; Magariello, 2019; Semi, 2019; Sossich, 2020; Ferlito, Migliaccio, 2021).

Nevertheless, after the "security" based policies parenthesis of 2019, the approach to regeneration and urban development of the Movimento 5 Stelle[3] appears to give continuity to the previous agenda, with the promotion of local development interventions and the centrality given to the *AxTO - Azioni per le Periferie* (Actions for the Turin suburbs) project[4]. In this sense, the case of *Tonite* project[5] is particularly paradigmatic, a *zoning* intervention dedicated to "urban security", defined as an "urban inclusion" project that aims to "improve livability and the perception of safety (Ferlito, Migliaccio 2021).

---

[2] Comune di Torino. *Progetto The Gate Porta Palazzo*. Available at www.comune.torino.it/portapalazzo/eng/comitato.htm.

[3] The Movimento 5 Stelle is the Italian populist political party which won municipal election in Rome and Turin in 2016.

[4] Città di Torino. *AxTO azioni per le periferie torinesi*. Available at www.comune.torino.it/arredourbano/bm~doc/relazione-generale-axto.pdf.

[5] Tonite. *Project*. Available at https://tonite.eu/en/project/.

18

Shifting the focus by few hundreds of meters, this intervention is only apparently limited in ambitions, throwing a bridgehead beyond the banks of the Dora, and moving the boundary between the regenerated city and the suburbs beyond its natural border.

4. The Ex-Moi, the other exceptions, and their "resolution"

4.1 First regeneration

The four buildings of what will become known as "the largest occupation in Europe" were built for the 2006 Winter Olympic Games in the area of the dismissed Wholesale Fruit and Vegetable Market, namely "Mercato Ortofrutticolo all'Ingrosso" (MOI), in the perspective of the relaunch of the entire Lingotto, a district characterized by a strong industrial vocation in the southern suburbs and already subject of important re-functionalization projects.

The residential part of the former Ex-Moi Olympic Village develops along Via Giordano Bruno, and consists of 39 buildings arranged in a checkerboard pattern. At the end of the event they were partly used as social housing, partly as offices and guesthouses for university students, redesigning a city projected towards a post-Fordist development model, capable of welcoming new professionals and different kinds of city users (Rossi, Vanolo, 2015). However, part of the buildings remains unexpectedly empty, waiting to be assigned to future uses, creating a curious case of post-postindustrial urban void.

4.2 First and Second reception

In 2011, fleeing the civil war, tens of thousands of immigrant workers left Libya, crossing the Mediterranean. Many of them, after having landed in Lampedusa in the "First Reception" facilities, are quickly transferred to the "Second Reception" structures present on the whole national territory. Faced with a much greater inflow than expected, the Berlusconi government launches an extraordinary reception plan, opening special funding channels in order to subsidize thousands of projects.

It is during this period that the number of applications for residence permits for asylum-related reasons exceeds that for work reasons. In fact, from 2007 to 2015, applications for residence permits for international protection increased from 3.7% to 28.2% of the total, and the permits issued for a form of international protection and for asylum applications were respectively. 3.77% and 35.55% in 2016 (Ministero dell'Interno, 2016). The era of tourist visas, overstayers and recurrent *sanatorie* (amnesties), which had acted for

twenty years as the main policy of regularization of migratory flows, suddenly ends (Sciortino, 2000, 2006).

The opportunity for the reorganization of the reception system is therefore seized in the crisis triggered by the humanitarian emergency, and of this emergency bears the traits: in February 2013 the North Africa Emergency was in fact declared over, causing the immediate expulsion of thousands of refugees from reception facilities. Consequently, in Turin, hundreds of refugees suddenly deprived of a home and looking for a quick solution decide to occupy. In the space of a couple of weeks, after discussing the action with a part of the local anti-racist movements, supported by Gabrio and Askatasuna Social Centers, the choice falls on the abandoned buildings of the Ex-Moi (Romeo, 2017). This situation is clearly described by the words of Nico, activist of the Solidarity Committee active in the Moi.

> In February 2013 the Italian government suddenly declared the North Africa emergency closed. The structures, after using all the possible disciplinary sanctions to get rid of them, having kept them ignorant of the language, of Italian, made them sign some papers. They said it was for the confirmation of the place... but people could not read, and so they signed... then the police came and said "You signed this paper: get out of here!" Others gave them 500 euros, made them sign this sheet and told them it was the sheet for the exit... They were all people with residence permits in hand... There were no irregulars! (Nico)

The four buildings will house about 1200 people for 6 years, in a situation of complete self-management and complete abandonment. A self-management that does not resemble at all the assembly practice of the grassroot social movements, and that soon leads the Centri Sociali to partially disengage, in some cases disregarding the practices and perspectives acted by the occupants themselves[6].

In the following months, the Turin reception system was radically reorganized. Whether it is a response implemented after what happened at the Lingotto or an adaptation to the mayor shift in migration governance which is taking place all around Europe (Kreichauf, 2018), the investment in the reception system of the Prefecture of Turin went from 1 million euros in 2012 and 2013, to 13 in 2014, 26 in 2015, 47 in 2016. As of 31 December 2017, the people received in the temporary centers in the province of Turin were 4520, distributed in 409 centers, to which must be added the approximately 880 refugees and asylum seekers housed within the Sprar circuit (OpenPolis, 2019).

---

[6] I address the history of the Ex-Moi from the point of view of its protagonists in another forthcoming text: *Viaggio nell'aparthied torinese*, in «Epidemia».

The State has therefore delegated to the local Prefectures, and through them to the third sector, a far-reaching social intervention. The preferred model was that of *accoglienza diffusa*, or "widespread reception", in order to avoid concentrations, possibly problematic, of asylum seekers and refugees, and promoting a model based on hundreds of small projects.

Like it or not, this model has appeared over the years to be capable of producing the expected results, accompanying migrants to adopt strategies aligned with previous migratory waves and avoiding creating further housing concentrations of asylum seekers and refugees on the territory. In the absence of data on the housing conditions of those who have just left the reception circuits, it is certainly difficult to draw a complete picture (Sprar/Siproimi, 2018). From my experience, of militancy and research, I can limit myself to say that the vast majority of international protection holders I met live in rented apartments scattered around the city, often peripheral and overcrowded, confirming the tendency to socio-tenurial differentiation, to peripheralization and micro-segregation of this segment of the urban population. To complete the picture, we must remember the frequent tendency to move to other cities or to rural areas, if not to leave the country (Peano, 2021).

4.3 Third Reception, or second regeneration

Despite the consolidation of the reception system, the occupied Ex-Moi was born, and none of the inhabitants seemed willing to leave it. The inhabitants quickly gave life to a parallel economy, structuring forms of self-management similar to those that characterize the informal settlements of farm laborers throughout Europe (Caruso, 2015; Staid, 2017; Stopani, Pampuro, 2018; Peano, 2021). For some of the inhabitants the movement between the Moi and other informal settlements is a constant, and it is normal, following the rhythm of seasonal work, to spend the autumn in Calabria, the winter in Moi and the summer in Guantanamò, in Saluzzo[7].

In the meantime, the occupation immediately jumped to the front pages of the local newspapers, as both renowned newspapers as La Stampa and La Repubblica and local tabloids give prominence to the news concerning the squat (Pogliano, Ponzo, 2019), but the elections are too close and the municipal administration of Fassino, already committed to the eviction of the

---

[7] Saluzzo, a town close to Turin, hosted the informal settlement of Guantanamò for almost ten years. For years, hundreds of farm laborers lived in its self-built shacks, attracted by the demand for agricultural work that made the Monviso district rich. The history of this settlement, and the use of *accoglienza diffusa,* "widespread reception" in this context would deserve a separate study. For more on this topic, see Peano (2021).

Platz[8], one of the largest Roma camps in Europe, prefers to wait. It will be the new Movimento 5 Stelle mayor Chiara Appendino who will seek "dialogue" with the inhabitants of Moi, building a large table including the Municipality of Turin, the Region, the Prefecture, the Diocesi and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with the declared aim of quickly reaching of a shared solution. During the meetings the inhabitants of Moi insist on two fundamental points. First, that the projects are not to be assigned to the same associations that had managed the reception projects, whose abrupt interruption had led them, overnight, to be homeless. Second, that the solution would not be a 6-month or a 1-year projects.

The plan for the "liberation" of the four buildings is elaborated by the Compagnia San Paolo, and is called "MOI Project - Migrants an Opportunity for Inclusion". It is presented as «a project that addresses the housing and work emergency of the inhabitants of the buildings of the former Moi, to support their progressive autonomy and allow the restitution of the buildings for *urban and social requalification*». The Memorandum of Understanding therefore proposes to «identify and activate solutions that will ensure the safety of citizens and *requalify* the former Moi area from an *urban and social point of view*» (Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo). The project, proposing «temporary housing projects managed by the same well-known associations» (Nico), is received with disdain, resignation and anger (Comitato Solidarietà, 2017). Branded as a *sgombero dolce*, a "gentle eviction", the project is supported by a successful campaign, led by the major Chiara Appendino, aimed at shadowing the repressive aspect of the operation and highlighting its character of inclusiveness, along the lines of what was experimented during the eviction of the Platz between 2013 and 2015.

The operation will proceed gradually, over almost two years, and will begin in November 2017. In March 2018, four inhabitants of the Moi were arrested, accused of resistance to a public official, aggravated «for having prevented the continuation of the relocation activities of migrants through the use of violence», and suffer a whole year pre-trial detention. It will be necessary to wait until July 30, when many inhabitants will be busy with seasonal agricultural work, for the eviction of the last buildings (Magariello, 2019b).

806 of the inhabitants of Moi are taken to various reception facilities, of which over fifty in the Red Cross camp in Settimo, often spending more than a year there, in the company of other asylum seekers. They will

---

[8] Located in the far north of the Turin suburbs, the Roma Platz Camp in Lungo Stura Lazio, was one of the largest in Europe, with an estimated population of between 1800 and 2500 people. It was evicted and razed to the ground between 2013 and 2015, during a project called "The possible city", whose declared purpose was the promotion of initiatives aimed at the integration of the people living in the camp.

gradually be included in various projects aimed at promoting "housing autonomy", divided into small apartment groups, in projects which will end in different periods throughout 2020. The timing of the project thus avoids putting hundreds of people on the street at once, thus avoiding the risk of recreating the conditions that had led to the occupation of the buildings. Nonetheless, the project ends in most cases by putting the hosts at the door without any alternative.

> The other day I passed in Corso Emilia... there I know many people. We said goodbye. Best wishes we said. And who knows... only they know where they sleep now. Sometimes we meet at "Oumar's house" in his tent under the bridge of Corso Regina... now he's a day laborer... they told me he went to Spain. Again, often, I thought about that project… in all of Italy, there has never been a mafia project like that.
> In the Red Cross field of Settimo, towards the end there were only three people left from the Ex Moi. Those who managed the project sent them to a house by themselves, where they paid their rent for three months and then they had to get by. The others were put in many houses, but by now they have thrown them all out. Many, many have gone to France. When I see someone… from that project… for weeks and months they haven't found work… nothing… those who have been lucky have found work in warehouses or as builders… but I have never yet seen one of them with a contract. All of them cry. (Idrissa)

Since 2017, the narrative proposed by the institutions and the media about the "gentle eviction" adopts diametrically opposed tones, underlining the inclusive nature of the MOI project (Migliaccio, 2019). To have access to the partial results of the project it will be necessary to wait until September 17, 2021, when a new Memorandum was presented in the presence of the various promoters and the Head of the Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Ministry of the Interior. The document, signed in June, extends the duration of the inclusion and "third reception" programs and presents the project as a successful model, to be adopted in other crisis contexts. It also reports that, of the estimated 1200-1400 inhabitants, about 800 people were included in the various projects and housed in various reception facilities, and that of these, after 2 years, about 300 people were accompanied to work autonomy and about 170 to housing autonomy. Finally, of about 100 people in precarious or irregular legal conditions, about 25% were "accompanied" to regularization. However, they do not provide further information on the conditions of those who have not managed to achieve work or housing autonomy, or legal regularity. It is also underlined that these results have been achieved thanks to the cooperation between the institutions and over 30 third sector actors. The narration about the regeneration of the "freed" spaces is even more enthusiastic.

Turin, 3 July 2020. Today the sale of the 7 buildings of the MOI, the former Olympic Village of Borgo Filadelfia, from the Fondo Città di Torino, (…), to the Fondo Abitare Sostenibile Piemonte (FASP), (…) After the definitive liberation from a long occupation, which ended last summer as a result of an innovative process of mobility, accompaniment and inclusion of the inhabitants of the buildings, towards housing and working autonomy paths (…) the district of the former Olympic Village will be completely renovated and will become a complex of social residences, with over 400 beds dedicated to temporary housing at special rates for students, young workers, city users. (…) The urban and social redevelopment of the buildings in Via Giordano Bruno overcomes the Covid-19 emergency and targets a new objective of modern and accessible housing, rich in personal services, for Turin - a university city with a strong cultural vocation that continues to live a phase of great planning, thanks to various initiatives. (CdP, Città di Torino, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo, Investire, Ream Sgr, Camplus)

Conclusions

The case of Ex-Moi shows how the spatial order of the city is anything but spontaneous. If it is true that the absence of widespread spatial segregation of the foreign population is to be ascribed to structural dynamics, both the regeneration projects and the local migration governance, enacted through the reception system, explicitly aim at avoiding forms of spatial concentration. Considering the position of many of these reception facilities, the fate of those expelled from the areas undergoing gentrification, and in general the housing conditions of a large slice of the foreign population, one cannot but think that segregation, in Italy, has only another form. Those who have tried to give a name to these processes spoke of micro-segregation, housing segregation, socio-tenurial differentiation, words that have the advantage of capturing a precise aspect of the phenomena concerned, but which in their character of technical lexicon risk to be unable to influence the public debate. Following the analysis of the Ex-Moi case, I therefore argue that it is correct and necessary to speak of segregation, and that it is indeed fundamental to re-appropriate this word, rather expanding its semantic field. Because with all the nuances of the case, we are still talking about segregation. Even when it is acted out in the name of the social mix, in the name of desegregation and social inclusion, as in the case of the Moi, or in the case in which the transformation of the city is mystified by narratives focused on the notions of security, decorum and urban decay, such as in the case of the Platz and the Balon market (Bukowski, 2019). Whether it is regeneration or security, or a mix of both, these

rhetorics build the legitimacy of urban interventions through which people are dispersed, pushed to expatriate, scattered around neighborhoods where their deprivation and marginality shall remain an individual problem, never social, and never political.

Bibliographic references

Allasino E., Bobbio L., Neri S. (2000), *Crisi urbane: che cosa succede dopo? Le politiche per la gestione della conflittualità legata ai problemi dell'immigrazione,* Working paper n. 135, Ires Piemonte, Torino.

Allen J., Barlow J., Leal J., Maloutas T., Padovani L. (2004), *Housing and Welfare in Southern Europe,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Arbaci S. (2018), *Paradoxes of segregation: housing systems, welfare regimes and ethnic residential change in southern European cities,* John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.

Badino A. (2018), "Mondo operaio e diseguaglianze. Le eredità delle migrazioni interne", in Capello C., Semi G. (a cura di), *Torino, un profilo etnografico*, Meltemi, Milano.

Barbagli M., Pisati M. (2012), *Dentro e fuori le mura. Città e gruppi sociali dal 1400 a oggi,* il Mulino, Bologna.

Briata P. (2014), *Spazio urbano e immigrazione in Italia. Esperienze di pianificazione in una prospettiva europea*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

Bukowski W. (2019), *La buona educazione degli oppressi. Piccola storia del decoro*, Edizioni Alegre, Roma.

Capello C., Semi G. (a cura di) (2018), *Torino, un profilo etnografico*, Meltemi, Milano.

Caruso F. (2015), *La politica dei subalterni. Organizzazione e lotte del bracciantato migrante nel Sud Europa*, DeriveApprodi, Roma.

CdP, Città di Torino, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo, Investire, Ream Sgr, Camplus (2020), *A Torino nuova vita per le palazzine del MOI. L'ex Villaggio Olimpico attraverso un intervento di social housing sarà volano di rigenerazione urbana a Borgo Filadelfia,* comunicato stampa congiunto, available at www.comune.torino.it/ucstampa/2020/article_515.shtml.

Cingolani P. (2018), "È tutto etnico quello che conta? Conflitto per le risorse e narrazioni della diversità a Barriera di Milano", in Capello C., Semi G. (a cura di), *Torino, un profilo etnografico*, Meltemi, Milano.

Circoscrizione 7 (2011), *Schede ex Quartiere 7.*

Città di Torino (2018), "Gli stranieri in Provincia di Torino nel 2017", in Ferrero A. (a cura di), *Osservatorio interistituzionale sugli stranieri in provincia di Torino. Rapporto 2017*, Servizio Politiche Sociali e di Parità, Torino.

Collettivo RicercAzione (2013), *Ricerca per la composizione, oltre il precariato e l'isolamento*, available at https://collettivoricercazione.noblogs.org/post/2013/11/27/ricerca-perla-composizione-oltre-il-precariato-e-lisolamento.

Comitato Solidarietà Rifugiati e Migranti delle occupazioni Ex-Moi e La Salette (2017), *La Sintesi proposta progettuale del "Progetto MOI Migranti un'Opportunità d'Inclusione": un'analisi critica del Comitato di solidarietà rifugiati e migranti,* available at https://exmoi.wordpress.com/2017/12/24/le-critiche-al-progetto-moi/.

Comune di Torino, Città Metropolitana di Torino, Regione Piemonte, Prefettura di Torino, Diocesi di Torino, Compagnia di San Paolo (2021), *Protocollo di intesa tra Comune di Torino, Città Metropolitana di Torino, Regione Piemonte, Prefettura di Torino, diocesi di Torino, Compagnia di San Paolo, avente ad oggetto "Oltre il Moi": dalle esperienze nella città di Torino ad un modello di azione interistituzionale per l'accompagnamento all'autonomia e per la prevenzione di situazioni di disagio, finalizzate ad una maggiore coesione sociale*, Prefettura di Torino, available at www.prefettura.it/FILES/docs/1233/Protocollo%20di%20Intesa%20OLTRE%20IL%20MOI.pdf.

Daconto L. (2014), *Vivere in quartieri svantaggiati: solamente degli effetti negativi? Il ruolo della dimensione spaziale nelle aree urbane sensibili francesi,* «Sociologia urbana e rurale», 103, pp. 99-114.

Ferlito A., Migliaccio F. (2021), *Come le politiche securitarie modellano la città di Torino*, «Napoli Monitor».

Governa F., Saccomani S. (a cura di) (2002), *Periferie tra riqualificazione e sviluppo locale,* Alinea Editrice, Firenze.

King F., Fielding A., Black R. (1997), "The international turnaround in southern Europe", in King R., Black R. (eds.), *Southern Europe and the New Immigrants,* Sussex Academic Press, Brighton.

Kreichauf R. (2018), *From forced migration to forced arrival: the campization of refugee accommodation in European cities,* «Comparative Migration Studies», 6, 10, pp. 1-22.

Magariello I. (2019), *Balon, dieci giorni di assedio. Un bollettino della repressione in Borgo Dora*, «Napoli Monitor».

Malheiros J.M. (2002), *Ethni-cities: residential patterns in the Northern European and Mediterranean metropolises - implications for policy design,* «International Journal of Population Geography», 8, 2, pp. 107-134.

Maloutas T., Fujita K. (2012), *Residential Segregation in Comparative Perspective: Making Sense of Contextual Diversity*, Ashgate, Farnham.

Mezzadra S. (2004), *I confini della libertà. Per un'analisi politica delle migrazioni contemporanee,* DeriveApprodi, Roma.

Mezzadra S. (2017), *Poteri Comunisti. Intervento a C17 - La conferenza di Roma sul Comunismo*, «Euronomade».

Migliaccio F. (2017), *Lungo la Dora a Torino, come muore l'urbanistica pubblica,* «Napoli Monitor».

Migliaccio F. (2018), *La città contro il suq. Governo dei marginali e interessi della riqualificazione a Torino*, «Napoli Monitor».

Migliaccio F. (2019), *Come legittimare uno sgombero. Radio Tre, Internazionale, La Repubblica raccontano l'Ex Moi a Torino*, «Napoli Monitor».

Ministero dell'Interno, Dipartimento per le libertà civili e l'immigrazione, Gruppo di studio sul sistema di accoglienza (2016), *Rapporto sull'accoglienza di migranti e rifugiati in Italia. Aspetti, procedure, problemi,* Rodorigo, Roma.

Openpolis (2019), *Centers of Italy*, available at www.openpolis.it/esercizi/i-centri-di-accoglienza-in-italia-la-spesa-ei-contratti-pubblici/.

Peano I (2021), *Within and Against Racial Segregation: Notes from Italy's Encampment Archipelago*, «Lateral», 10.2.

Pogliano A., Ponzo I. (2019), *Asilo e crisi urbane: dinamiche di narrative-making tra media e policy network locali,* «Mondi Migranti», 1, pp. 119-141.

Romeo A. (a cura di) (2017), *Abbandoni. Assembramenti umani e spazi urbani: rifugiati e negligenti politiche di accoglienza,* Edizioni SEB27, Torino.

Rossi U., Vanolo A. (2015), *Urban Neoliberalism*, «International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences», 24, pp. 846-853.

Santangelo M., Vanolo A. (2010), *Di capitale importanza. Immagini e trasformazioni urbane di Torino,* Carocci, Roma.

Sciortino G. (2000), *L'ambizione della frontiera. Le politiche di controllo migratorio in Europa*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.

Sciortino G. (2006), *Vent'anni di immigrazioni irregolari,* «il Mulino», 6, pp. 1033-1043.

Semi G. (2004), *Il quartiere che (si) distingue. Un caso di "gentrification" a Torino,* «Studi Culturali», 1, pp. 83-107.

Semi G. (2015), *Gentrification. Tutte le città come Disneyland?*, il Mulino, Bologna.

Semi G. (2019), *Cosa succede a Torino?*, «Il lavoro culturale», available at www.lavoroculturale.org/cosa-succede-a-torino/giovanni-semi/2019/.

Sossich E. (2020), *Abitare le resistenze. Il caso del quartiere Aurora a Torino tra immigrazione, lotta per la casa e gentrification*, «Antropologia Pubblica», 6, 2, pp. 117-140.

Sossich E. (publishing), *Viaggio nell'apartheid torinese*, «Epidemia».

SPRAR/SIPROIMI (2018), *Annual Report. SIPROIMI Atlas 2018*, available at www.unhcr.org/it/wp-content/uploads/sites/97/2021/04/guida-la-casa-dei-rifugiati-ITA.pdf.

Staid A. (2017), *Abitare illegale. Etnografia del vivere ai margini in Occidente*, Milieu, Milano.

Stopani A., Pampuro M. (2018), *Despite citizenship. Autonomie migranti e diritto alla città. L'occupazione dell'Ex Moi a Torino*, «REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana», 26, pp. 55-74.

Wacquant L. (2016), *I reietti della città. Ghetto, periferia, stato*, ETS, Pisa.

SOCIOLOGIA**DEL**TERRITORIO

OPEN ACCESS

Within the framework of the activities of the H2020 MICADO (Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards) project, this volume brings together a set of contributions on contemporary housing, which represents one of the areas, although not the only one, in which migrants experience a condition of major vulnerability compared to the native population and that hinders their full integration in their new living context and full social participation. Migrants' request for housing is part of the broader context of housing-related problems still unresolved in our country: although they share most of the difficulties encountered by the most vulnerable segments of the native population, at the same time they face a set of additional disadvantages induced by the institutional system, linked to their precarious legal status, and by the market.

This contribution, organized in three thematic sessions (*Local models and processes of ethnic residential segregation; From housing deprivation to housing policies. Distinctive elements in the territory; Housing rights, migrant integration, and the role of ICT solutions*), analyzes housing needs both from a theoretical point of view, to prompt insights into the distinctive features of the new housing issue, but also by reporting the findings of empirical research that can provide elements of evaluation and methodological indications on the topic.

Maurizio Bergamaschi, head of the UNIBO team of the H2020 MICADO project "Migrant Integration Cockpits and Dashboards" teaches Sociology of Territorial Social Services and Sociology of Migration at the Department of Sociology and Business Law, University of Bologna. His studies and research activities mainly concern the issues of vulnerability, urban poverty, and severe marginalization.

FrancoAngeli
La passione per le conoscenze