THE WAY FORWARD IS THE CIVIL SOCIETY Valeria Saggiomo*

SUMMARY: 1. Introduction. – 2. Italy's approach to Migrations between 2011-2018. – 3. Italian Civil Society in migration management. – 3.1. Lay activism for migrants. – 3.2. Religious-based activism for migrants. – 4. Conclusions.

1. Introduction

This article proposes a reflection on the question highlighted in the title of this volume: what is the way forward to ensure the protection of human rights in the Mediterranean today?

The article recalls the experience of civil society organizations in migration management and in the protection of human rights in Italy, in the last few years. Who are civil society organizations who mobilized for receiving and integrating migrants in Italy during the recent increase of migration flows? What are the reasons behind their mobilization?

This article reports the experience of lay and religious-based organizations, such as Refugee Welcome Italy, Sant'Egidio, Caritas, the Waldesian Church, who have been extremely active in Italy in the last three years in support to hosting and integration measures to assist refugees. In the conclusions, the article advances the idea that the reason for civil society activism is a stand against the effects of governmental incapacity to manage increased migration flows in Italy since 2015 and against the recent government-led immoral and ruthless anti-immigrants' policy. In this perspective, a possible way forward to ensure the protection of human rights in the Mediterranean is the strengthening of the civil society.

2. Italy's approach to Migrations between 2011-2018

After electoral results in March 2018, Italian political scenario changed radically with traditional left and right parties loosing votes in favour of the anti-establishment five-star movement. The coalition that

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followed, between five-star and the Lega Nord, shaped a Government deeply influenced by populist and far right ideas that are now reflected into the new laws proposed by the so-called "innovation Government".

Among innovations, in September 2018, the Five-Stars and Lega coalition promoted a new Security Decree that severely tightened rules for refugees and asylum seekers and shrank migrant rights' protection in Italy. In particular, the security decree, that became law at end of November 2018, removed humanitarian protection for migrants, introduced tougher rules for asylum applications and doubled the length of time migrants can be held in deportation centres, among other measures.

In order to understand the shift in migration policy in Italy, it is useful to recall the approach Italy used to manage the rise of migration flow from North Africa in 2011, when the violent effects of Arab Springs pushed thousands of people to cross the Mediterranean Sea and seek refuge in Europe, though Italy.

In a few months, between January and April 2011, some 10.000 people landed on Italian shores in search of a safe place to live. This exceptional arrival of people fleeing conflicts was managed by the Italian Government through the Civil Protection Department, a national body in charge of dealing with the protection of people during emergencies and natural catastrophes, disaster prevention and management. At the local level, the Civil Protection has branches in each Region and Municipality and refers to the mayors as first responsible authorities on the emergency location. In 2011, local branches of Civil Protection were mobilized to provide first-aid to migrants, organizing their lodgement and care according to the Law (decreto legge) known as North Africa Emergency Plan (PENA), launched on the 13th of April.

This Law contained precise measures to manage the sudden and unexpected arrival of large number of migrants from North Africa. Among these, the entitlement to humanitarian protection to all migrants, their distribution among all Italian Regions, and the involvement and the cooperation of a variety of national and local bodies to address the needs of the migrant population seeking refuge in Italy. About 25.000 migrants were assisted by the Italian authorities and got refuge in the reception centres.

On the other side, the magnitude of the migration flow of 2011 overstretched the Italian system and highlighted the need to invest in additional shelters, integration measures, capacity building of specialized personnel. In particular, the 2011 North Africa Emergency solicited Italian Government to empower the whole reception system, starting from the National Commission on the right of Asylum in charge of processing about 37.000 applications for humanitarian protection in 2011, about three times more compared to the previous year.

According to experts,¹ the North Africa Emergency Plan provided the opportunity to revise some critical aspects of the Italian reception system, such as the "regional burden sharing", promoting the coordination among Regions and the redistribution of migrants through a quota system proportioned to the number of the local population. The 2011 experience also prompted the Italian reception system to invest on socio-economic integration of migrants on the Italian territory, also through job-matching mechanisms,² an improved coordination among local authorities and the establishment of monitoring mechanisms for enhancing the quality of reception centres and services to migrants.³

As a matter of facts, various improvements in migration policy have been promoted since 2011 in Italy. Probably the most interesting is the agreement between the central government and regional authorities on the redistribution of migrants to the Italian Regions signed on 10th July 2014. The agreement intended to speeding the identification system and the procedure to apply for international protection, with a special attention to unaccompanied minors. In addition, the agreement envisaged the empowerment of the reception infrastructures, distinguishing between the first reception needs, focused on identification, medical screening and first aid, and second reception needs, centred on integration measures and access to the welfare system. With reference to this second step of the reception process, the so-called SPRAR, Asylum seekers and Refugees protection system, was identified as a good practice to build on and scale up.

The SPRAR system was a local reception model that worked through the involvement of local civil society organizations and municipal au-

¹ Nadan Petrovic is responsible of the SID Unit (Decentralized Intervention System) of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Petrovic, N., (2012) Proposte per l'evoluzione del sistema d'asilo alla luce dell'esperienza Nord Africa. *Africa e Mediterraneo*, 77.

² Such job-matching mechanisms were later developed and launched by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) through European funds. For further information see the digital platform http://www.fromskills2work.eu/

³ For an interesting insight of the effects of the 2011 Italian migration policy on migrants themselves, see the special issue of the review *Africa e Mediterraneo* "Rifugiati: l'Emergenza Nord Africa in Italia", n.77, 2012.

thorities in the management of small reception centres that, on a project base funded by the Ministry of Interior, were aimed to the integration of migrant in the socio-economic spheres of the municipality.

As the Ministry of Interior admitted in 2017,⁴ the SPRAR was a successful model, because it was articulated in many small reception centres that were manageable and extremely well connected to other local initiatives contributing to migrants' gradual integration into the society.⁵

In Naples, for instance, the SPRAR established links with the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" where migrants learn Italian and attend free language courses. Eventually the University offers grants to enrol refugees in higher degree and specialization courses. Similarly, local NGOs and civil society organizations participated to the SPRAR system reaching good results in terms of migrants' assistance and integration.

Unfortunately, good practices of reception and integration of migrants in Italy are endangered after the rise of the Lega Nord-Five star so called "innovation Government" since March 2018.

The coalition promoted a harsh restrictive shift in the management of migration flows to Italy, enacting new rules and guidelines to stop arrivals of migrants and refugees in Italy and to change the reception system in line with a no-welcome attitude.

In particular, the *decreto legge* n. 113 (4th October 2018) that became Law n.132 (4th December 2018), severely restricts the right of applying for humanitarian protection, one of the three protection forms together with the refugee status and subsidiary protection.

Humanitarian protection was previously granted to all people fleeing their countries for serious reasons such as severe political instability preventing human security in the origin country, the exposure to abuses or extreme violence, or also because they were victim of natural catastrophes or famine. Worth to note, however, humanitarian protection was granted on the base of the personal situation of a victim and his/her vulnerability with regard to the mentioned external threats. This means that

⁴ Italian Ministry of Interior, (2017) *Le iniziative di buona accoglienza e integrazione dei migranti in Italia. Available at: http://www.prefettura.it/FILES/AllegatiPag/1142/Rapporto_annuale_Buone_Pratiche_di_Accoglienza_Italia_31_maggio_2017.pdf* (09/03/2019).

⁵ Italian Ministry of Interior, (2010) *Buone Prassi dai Progetti Territoriali dello SPRAR*. Disponibile su https://www.sprar.it/pubblicazioni/buone-prassi-dai-progetti-territoriali-dello-sprar (09/03/2019).

coming from a war-torn country did not gave automatic access to humanitarian protection in Italy. Therefore, even before the Law 132, migrants fleeing conflicts needed to demonstrate their reduced ability to cope with a dangerous environment, as a personal characteristic of the victim who, because of their vulnerability, could be entitled to humanitarian protection. For those who could benefit humanitarian protection, a two-year residence permit in Italy was secured, as well as the access to work and to social services, including housing, schools and hospitals.

Differently, since January 2019, the new Law n. 132 replaces the humanitarian protection tool with one-year "special permits" to people in specific situations such as victims of natural disasters, or people in need of special medical assistance that is not available in their origin country.

The new law also extends from 90 to 180 days the maximum permanence in the so-called rejection centres that are those centres where migrants who are deemed unfit for entry or for international protection are detained, waiting for expulsion from Italy.

The most debated innovation introduced by the Law 132 is the significant downturn in the use of the SPRAR system that Italian previous experience on migration management had celebrated as a good practice to empower and scale up.

In fact, The SPRAR system that was considered effective in its focus on integration measures for migrants through the involvement of local civil society actors, is now reserved to those migrants who are already entitled to refugee status, excluding those who are in the process of eventually receiving admittance to international protection.

3. Italian Civil Society in migration management

The civil society I will describe in this paragraph seems to emerge as a reaction to two external inputs. The first is the need of strengthening national migration management systems after the 2015 increase of migrants to Europe due to the outbreak of the Syrian crises.

The second, more recent, reason may be the reaction to the authoritarian attitude of the recent Five-stars and Lega North Government and its stand for restricting migrants' rights on and access to the Italian territory.

As Della Porta and Diani said, civil society is becoming synonym of

associations,⁶ whose members are united by an ideology, a set of values and norms that push activists to either oppose politely or more openly reject official governmental position vis-à-vis migration management.

In the last few years, in fact, Italian civil society has been particularly active in the migration field, with projects addressing hosting and integration measures for new arrivals.⁷

Interestingly, often in network with other organizations in Europe, they constitute a valid complimentary sector to the feeble state-led response to the increased migration flow from 2015 to date.⁸

With the aim to shed light on the role that civil society in Italy plays in the so-called migration crises, I will draw few examples of both religious-based and lay civil society activism that openly take sides in solidarity with migrants in the current Italian context.

3.1. Lay activism for migrants

With regard to lay civil society activism, one example is the Italian platform of the European Network *Refugee Welcome International*. Refugee Welcome International is an association founded in Berlin in 2014 by three young post-graduate students who had personally experimented forms of private hosting of refugees abroad. Their positive personal experience pushed them to scale up that hosting modality in order to "establish a culture of open doors for refugees across the World". 9

The organization *Refugees Welcome International* provides refugees with the opportunity to live in flat-shares with locals, creating and managing a network of individual private hosts who are selected on the base of a number of criteria, including their genuine attitude towards migrants.

The organization assists hosts in their temporary hosting experience, it fundraises through crowdfunding for the necessary economic support and it encourages refugees to start integrating into the society, through language courses, connecting to the community or providing support in the search for internships or admission to university classes.

⁶ Donatella Della Porta, Mario Diani, Social Movements. In M. Edwards (ed), The Oxford Handbook of Civil Society, Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 71.

⁷ See Maurizio Ambrosini, "Fighting discrimination and exclusion: Civil society and immigration policies in Italy". *Migration Letters*, Vol. 10, Issue 3, 2013. pp. 313-323.

⁸ Donatella della Porta (eds), Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis'. Palgrave Studies in European Political Sociology, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

⁹ See https://www.refugees-welcome.net/#details (26/03/2019)

From Germany, the model expanded throughout Europe in 15 countries, including Italy, assisting about 1.450 migrants, regardless of their status.

The initiative builds on a sentiment of dissatisfaction of people with how refugees are treated in host countries¹⁰ and gives an alternative opportunity to engage directly in a practice that has the twofold advantage to represent a practical support for migrants, and a means of social activism for European citizens.

In Italy, young volunteers opened a branch of *Refugees Welcome International* in Milan in December 2015. Registered as an ONLUS, Refugee Welcome Italia has developed a network of private hosts in 12 Regions, prevalently in central and northern parts of Italy.¹¹

As shown in the social report 2015-2018, this network is composed of 18 local groups¹² and more than 200 activists who, at 2018, gave refuge to about 600 migrants in Italy.¹³

Differently from the German mother-organization, the Italian branch of Refugees Welcome hosts particular categories of migrants, namely those aged between 19-30 and, most importantly, those who obtained a form of international protection by Italian authorities and are unable to sustain themselves financially. These migrants are connected to private hosts through the online platform managed by the organization.

3.2. Religious-based activism for migrants

Similarly, the model proposed by religious-based associations in Italy adopts the same approach to mobilize private-hosts to complement state-led response to migration management.

Religious activism for migrants in Italy became more visible after the

¹⁰ This is deduced from the engagement call published on the organization website that says "Are you dissatisfied with how refugees are being treated in your country and are you interested in helping to ease the process of resettlement? Do you have a spare room in your flatshare available? Get involved and help us welcome refugees".

¹¹ With the exception of Sicily, Basilicata and Sardinian, all private hosts are in central and northern Italy.

¹² Groups are located in the cities of Milano, Como, Venezia, Padova, Alessandria, Torino, Aosta, Cuneo, Genova, Bologna, Firenze Pesaro, Siena, Macerata, Roma, Cagliari, Palermo, Catania.

¹³ Refugees Welcome Italy, Bilancio Sociale 2015-2018. Available online at: https://refugees-welcome.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Bilancio-Sociale.pdf (26/03/2019).

appeal launched by the Pope Francis the II on September 2015, when many religious based organizations in Italy mobilized themselves to address the needs of that multitude of migrants that Italian reception system was not prepared to receive.

In fact, out of 153.052 new arrivals in Italy in 2015, ¹⁴ only 95.000 were taken care by the State-led hosting system, namely the Ordinary Reception Centres (CARA), Extra-ordinary Reception Centres (CAS) and the National System for the Protection of Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR). For the rest, the Pope solicited the Catholic Church and its followers to avail their infrastructures, including churches and private houses.

The religious-based Christian organization *Caritas* responded to the appeal of the Pope, as it was already active in this field with a project promoting private sponsorship for refugee hosting.

The initiative "Rifugiato a casa mia" was launched by Caritas Italiana already in 2012. The project aimed at providing migrants with integration paths in "protected" environments; it also had ambitions for sensitizing and mobilizing the Christian community in Italy on solidarity towards migrants and needy people.

At 2015, the project had built a network of 170 private families, 150 parishes and 30 religious centres, able to host 1.000 migrants. ¹⁵ The cost of the project was entirely covered by the Episcopal Conference of Italy (CEI) and supported by the Christian Association of Italian Labourers (ACLI) with an integration kit for private hosts.

In an interview, the director of *Caritas Italiana* highlighted that far from being an alternative reception system, the project complements the efforts of State-led initiatives, epically on the aspect of integration that is, according to Caritas, particularly weak.¹⁶

More explicitly against a State policy, is the recent establishment by Caritas of the "Solidarity Found for the Excluded" Migrants in early 2019. As the director of Caritas Ambrosiana Luciano Gualzetti ex-

¹⁴ IOM, Mediterranean Update. Migration Flows in Europe. Arrivals and Fatalities 2015. Available at https://www.iom.int/news/iom-counts-3771-migrant-fatalities-mediterranean-2015 (27/03/2019).

¹⁵ For further information on the project led by Caritas Italiana "Rifugiato a casa mia" and on other initiatives of private sponsorship in Italy, see the 2018 Report by Fondazione Migrantes, *Il diritto d'asilo. Accogliere, proteggere, promuovere, integrare.* Sections available at: http://viedifuga.org/diritto-di-asilo-report-2018-migrantes/(05/04/2019)

¹⁶ See for reference http://www.caritasitaliana.it/pls/caritasitaliana/v3_s2ew preview.mostra pagina?id pagina= 6146 (27/03/2019).

plained,¹⁷ the initiative was necessary to counter the effects of the so-called Decreto Salvini (Law 132/18) that excluded migrants entitled to humanitarian protection and those with special protection permits from the SPRAR system. According to the new law, migrants who were previously under the protection of Italian institutions, do not benefit from hosting services and integration measures anymore. This restriction of social benefits for migrants includes the attendance of school for migrant children, housing and health facilities for pregnant women. Consequently, to comply with the new Law, the Ministry of Interior, through local Prefect's offices, ordered all associations managing SPRAR centres to expel migrants from the centres, even in the absence of alternative arrangements. Vulnerable people, such as children and pregnant women suddenly lost their homes or abandoned school.

As Gualzetti declared, Caritas Ambrosiana decided to oppose this Law and disobey the orders he had received, acting according to "our conscience" and in line with the religious belief of assisting the poor and the destitute. In order to ensure funds for the initiatives in opposition to the effects of the Law 132/18, Caritas established the "Solidarity Fund for Excluded" to the benefit of 200 migrants in the Milan area who would otherwise become homeless.¹⁸

Another important religious-based initiative that deserves attention, also for its international dimension is the Humanitarian Corridor Project promoted by the Community of Sant'Egidio, the Federation of Evangelical Churches in Italy (FCEI) and the Waldesian Table.¹⁹

The project is rooted in the ethical reaction by religious-based organizations (Catholics and Protestants) to the massive increase in the number of deaths in the Mediterranean, following the closure of Mare Nostrum rescue project in 2015.²⁰

¹⁷ See the interview for reference at https://www.caritasambrosiana.it/area-per-la-stampa/approfondimenti-area-per-la-stampa/fondo-di-solidarieta-per-gli-esclusi-dallaccoglienza (27/03/2019).

¹⁸ Lorenzo Maria Alvaro, "Accoglienza, Salvini taglia i fondi? A Milano li mette la Caritas". In *Vita*, 11 Marzo 2019. Available at http://www.vita.it/it/article/2019/03/11/accoglienza-salvini-taglia-i-fondi-a-milano-li-mette-la-caritas/150916/ (27/03/19).

¹⁹ I would like to thank Sara di Iorio, activist in migration integration for Sant'Egidio and promising student of my course in International Cooperation at Università "L'Orientale" di Napoli, for her insight on the Humanitarian Corridor Project, offered in her unpublished graduate degree thesis "Il caso dei corridoi umanitari nel contesto italiano delle politiche di accoglienza e integrazione" discussed in April 2019.

²⁰ The operation Mare Nostrum was a naval and air rescue operation launched by the Ital-

The general scope of the project is to contribute to decrease the number of deaths at sea in the Mediterranean and offer institutions an alternative model to fight smuggling and human trafficking. How? The idea seems to derive from the practice of humanitarianism in conflict zones, where aid is brought to victims through the opening of humanitarian corridors, i.e. temporary demilitarized zones intended to allow the safe transit of humanitarian aid in, or civilians out of a crisis region. In this case, humanitarian corridors bring vulnerable migrants directly to Italy through safe "humanitarian" flights from the refugee camps in Lebanon, Turkey and Ethiopia.

This is possible thanks to an interpretation of article 25 of the European Union Regulation n.810/2009 on cross-border movements of people.²¹ Article 25, in fact, foresees the possibility for the State to issue special visa with limited territorial validity for reasons of national interest, on humanitarian grounds or because of international obligations, notwithstanding Schengen Regulation. In this sense, issuing visa is an effective tool to allow vulnerable migrants a safe journey to Europe, instead of a dangerous one on a makeshift boat. Upon arrival to a safe place, migrants may apply for asylum or any other protection measure.

Particularly noteworthy, the visa is not sufficient to ensure entry in the destination country, as migrants need to demonstrate their capacity to sustain themselves economically. Here is where the role of the civil society comes in. The project *Humanitarian Corridors*, in fact, builds on a network of private supporters in Italy who avail themselves to host migrants, provide for their needs and assist them in integrating into the Italian society.

On 15 December 2015, religious associations promoting the project concluded an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation²² and the Ministry of the Interior²³ to bring to Italy one thousand migrants from Lebanon, Ethiopia and Morocco in two years.

How does this model work? Migrants are identified by the proponent organizations in refugee camps in Lebanon and in Ethiopia based on specific criteria, their credentials screened by the Embassies in those countries, their special needs verified at the local level.

ian government in October 2013, in response to the migratory ship wreckages off Lampedusa. In its one year lifetime, the operation Mare Nostrum saved the life of about 150,000 migrants who were life-threatening at sea. The operation ended on 31 October 2014.

²¹ https://www.esteri.it/mae/normative/normativa_consolare/visti/codice_visti.pdf

²² Direzione Generale per gli Italiani all'Estero e le Politiche Migratori.

²³ Dipartimento per le Libertà Civili e l'Immigrazione.

Once the identification procedure is completed, thanks to an agreement with international airline companies, migrant families are offered flight tickets to Rome and accompanied by the organizations' staff in Italy, where a welcome committee hosts them and allocate them to private hosts, families and volunteers belonging to the organizations' network.

The cost of migrants' assistance during their stay in Italy is covered by the churches involved and by private hosts. Apart from hospitality, refugees benefit from integration measures, such as language courses and school enrolment for kids, and job coaching. The objective of the organization is to let these families integrate into the Italian society and be independent from the hosts within one year or two.

As Sant'Egidio reports on its website, the arrival of the first group of beneficiaries in Rome in 2016 was rapidly followed by others and the target number of one thousand migrants saved through the *Humanitarian Corridors* was reached already in October 2017.²⁴

After only one month, in November 2017, an intense diplomacy by the proponent religious organizations led to the signature of the second agreement with Italian authorities, allowing additional one thousand migrants to be rescued and brought to Italy safely in 2018 and 2019.²⁵ At 2018, this model was implemented in more than 80 municipalities, all over the Italian territory.

This intense diplomacy between the promoters and the Government ensured the feasibility of the project under the aspect of provision of visa and legal access to the Italian territory.

Also, the success of the *Humanitarian Corridors*' project is due to a solid social fabric made by charities and individuals that volunteer to fulfil the vision of a more just and inclusive society, in line with their religious leaders' teaching and, in this current situation, in opposition with Governmental efforts to stop migration.

Interestingly, the whole initiative literally stands on two lines that in the Italian context are diverging on migration policy: The State and the civil society. Nonetheless, probably thanks to an excellent use of diplomacy by its promoters, the project was expanded and continues today to represent an alternative model to migration management in Italy.

https://www.santegidio.org/pageID/30284/langID/it/itemID/23000/Benvenuti-siamoamille-il-video-dell-arrivo-dei -nuovi-corridoiumanitari.html

http://www.nev.it/nev/2017/11/07/corridoi-umanitari-firmato-oggi-protocollo-dintesa/.

4. Conclusions

Based on the examples of lay and religious civil society activism reported in this article, it is reasonable to point at civil society in answering the question posed by this volume on the way forward to ensure the protection of human rights in the Mediterranean today.

As noted by some, ²⁶ private sponsorship in Italy has a twofold effect: it is a way to fill the gap of the state-led reception system that is not sufficiently oriented towards integration measures; it also emphasise the positive contribution of Italian civil society that demonstrate solidarity and empathy towards refugees and a positive attitude towards multicultural communities.

Newspapers and media reported on cases that awaked people's conscience, soliciting to taking a position in favour or against such unprecedented violations of human rights by Italian authorities. Examples of these cases are the ban from the Italian ports of the Italian Coastal guard ship *Diciotti*, the deliberate destruction of the Riace Municipality virtuous reception and integration model, the forced eviction disposed by the Prefettura of Crotone of a pregnant women and her six months' child from the CARA reception centre in Sicily on 1st December 2018.

As a consequence, civil society actors and private individuals have been called to take a position with regard to the effects of these measures and to the recent policy to limit access by migrants and asylum seekers to the Italian territory, in violation of the principle of *non-refoulement* of 1951 Refugee Convention.

The sharp restriction of the entitlement of social services such as education, health and shelters by migrants, including vulnerable categories such as pregnant women and minors, did probably represent a powerful push factor triggering the activism of individuals and associations who stand against such measures.

Called upon the need to take a stand, associations, individuals and local institutions reacted vividly, shaping a solidarity map to ensure the respect of basic human rights in Italy. This article reported on some of the hubs of this solidarity map, with the profound conviction that the emergence and the strengthening of civil society activism is the way forward to resist unhuman governmental behaviours that, the story teaches, are anyway transitional and limited in time.

²⁶ Chiara Marchetti, 2018, Refugee Reception in Families. Testing Intercultural Communities. In Fondazione Migrantes, Il diritto d'asilo. Accogliere, proteggere, promuovere, integrare. Pp. 179-216.

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