Asylum seekers and refugees in Italy: informal settlements and social marginalization

OUT OF SIGHT
INTRODUCTION

When giving birth becomes an emergency

Medical Sans Frontières (MSF) decided to work with forced migrants in Italy, as well as in other European countries, at the end of the 90s, when we realized that the same people we were treating and assisting thousands of miles away were also in Europe, often living in unstable and deprived conditions. Since 1999, MSF has provided medical assistance to thousands of migrants who have arrived on the Italian coasts and who live in Italy, with the aim of providing access to treatment to vulnerable populations as stated by Italian law. During this time, we have been present in Lampedusa and Sicily, started clinics for undocumented foreigners inside the local NHS medical structures in various regions; assisted seasonal agricultural workers; denounced living conditions inside the identification and expulsion centres; offered medical authorities our experience in the diagnosis and treatment of forgotten diseases.

Over 15 years later, reception conditions in Italy are still in a critical state and as such MSF continues to work across the country to provide medical and psychological assistance to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

What follows is the first mapping at national level of informal settlements inhabited mainly by refugees who have never entered the institutional reception system, or have left it before their social inclusion process was completed. This research details the marginalization that is experienced by asylum seekers who have just arrived in Italy and are completely left to fend for themselves, due to the limitations of a reception system which is plagued by a chronic lack of shelters and emergency management processes.

Inside the informal settlements living conditions are unacceptable. These settlements include occupied buildings, shacks and tent camps, in open-air sites, cities and the countryside, across the whole Italy. In half the sites there is no water or electricity, even when there are women and children. Access to medical treatment is limited or non-existent with one third of the 100,000 migrants currently hosted in governmental centres and who will arrive in the coming months could end up in conditions of marginalization, of which informal settlements are just one example.

In the next few months, MSF will continue to monitor asylum seekers and refugees’ informal settlements through the activation of a permanent observatory which will denounced undignified living conditions and the lack of, or limited access, to medical services. Apart from potential direct interventions in the most serious situations, the organization will continue to push national and local authorities to assume their specific responsibilities and seek interaction with associations working in the region.
A RECEPTION THAT EXCLUDES

In the last few years the national reception system for asylum seekers has not managed to keep up with the increase in international protection requests submitted in our country, through its ordinary first reception structures and second reception ones (SPRAR network). The lack of places has become even more critical due to the lengthening of the period of stay in the reception structures and the consequent slower turnover of migrants accommodated, caused by at least two factors. On the one hand, the waiting time for the hearing with the territorial Commissions for the recognition of international protection is 9 months on average, although the increase in the number of Commissions has contributed to a significant acceleration of procedures and decisions. On the other hand, the running times of the jurisdictional appeals in case of rejection of international protection can take up to 18 months.

Already in 2011, the structural shortfalls of the reception system had made the recourse to extra places necessary, through the activation of the programme “North Africa Emergency” and the subsequent creation of over 26,000 extra places. From 2014 onwards, Extraordinary Reception Centres (CAS) managed by the Prefectures, have been opened: at the end of 2015 the places in these temporary reception structures amounted to almost 80,000, over three times the number of ordinary places.

1. Landed, asylum requests and reception places, 2010-2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Asylum Requests</th>
<th>Ordinary Places (SPRAR)</th>
<th>Extraordinary Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>4,406</td>
<td>13,121</td>
<td>3,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>13,267</td>
<td>37,350</td>
<td>3,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>17,352</td>
<td>26,500</td>
<td>3,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>26,500</td>
<td>32,620</td>
<td>10,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>64,886</td>
<td>35,562</td>
<td>153,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>83,370</td>
<td>76,683</td>
<td>19,715</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. statements by the undersecretary to the interior Ministry, Domenico Manzione, during the hearings to the Commission of enquiry on the migrants reception system, October 2015. The D. Lgs. n. 142/2015 recognizes asylum seekers’ right to reception at least until the first tier of the jurisdictional appeal against the refusal of international protection is completed. In 2014 three quarters of appeals resulted in the recognition of some form of international or humanitarian protection.

2. The DPCM of 12th February 2011 declared “the state of emergency on the national territory, due to the exceptional influx of citizens coming from North African countries”, giving Civil Protection its management through the ordinance n. 3933 of the President of the Council of Ministries. From 1st January 2013 all the actions have been transferred back to the ordinary management of the Interior Ministry (OPCM n. 33 of 28th December 2012).

3. The programmatic document of the Interior Ministry “Italian Roadmap” of September 2015 foresees an increase in ordinary places for first reception to the amount of 15,550 by the end of 2016 and secondary reception (SPRAR) to the amount of 32,000 in the first months of 2016 and at least 40,000 in 2017.

4. The places in governmental first reception centres are about 7,400 by 31st December 2015 (Source: Interior Ministry).
Despite the massive recourse to extraordinary places, in the last two years the paralysis of the reception system has been avoided thanks solely to the significant amount of migrants who, having arrived in Italy, voluntarily left the governmental first reception centres to avoid identification procedures and the Dublin regulations, which require migrants to apply for protection and to stay in the EU member state of arrival: in 2014 alone over 80,000 potential asylum seekers coming from Syria, Eritrea and Somalia only7. This process has not stopped in 2015—less than 90,000 asylum requests vis-à-vis 150,000 migrants arrived only by sea — forcing the European Commission to initiate an infraction procedure against Italy for the lack of migrant identification and registration8.

The lack of reception places is one of the main reasons for the delayed entrance into the system by asylum seekers who arrive in Italy mainly by land through the so-called “western Balkan route”: although the law states that reception measures must start immediately after the expression of the will to request protection, migrants are forced to wait for weeks, if not months, before they manage to formalize their asylum request at the police station and have access to the reception system.

Another serious critical issue needs to be added to the problem of the delayed or even failed access to the reception system by asylum seekers: those who have obtained international or humanitarian protection who are forced to leave the reception places without having completed a social inclusion – first of all housing and work inclusion. The current normative framework does not provide for a period of stay in the reception system relying on the “refugee” status acquired, which is the same for asylum seekers and refugees, and in the absence of clear and homogeneous guidelines for the entire national territory. The shortcomings and lack of integration policies for migrants leaving the extraordinary reception centres demonstrated all its negative effects when the “North Africa Emergency” programme closed and, between 2012 and 2013, over 18,000 people, mainly beneficiaries of a permit to leave the reception places without any form of protection, were forced to leave the reception places without any form of protection.

The reception system has been redefined through the Legislative Decree n. 142/2015, which came into force on 30th September 2015. The lead role is played by a Coordinating Table in the Interior Ministry. The Table is in charge of identifying the criteria for the regional distribution of reception places, in accordance with the Unified Conference of Government, Regions and Local Authorities. Through the programmatic document “Italian roadmap” (September 2015), some CPSA have been transformed into the so-called “hotspots” where, in the absence of any regulation, newly arrived migrants are subdivided into asylum seekers who can benefit from the reception system, and economic migrants who are met with an injunction to leave Italy within seven days. 3. Unless otherwise specified, in this report the term “refugee” is referred to holders of any form of international and humanitarian protection and not only those who obtain the refugee status in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1951.

4. National plan for integration is included in the D.Lgs. n. 18/2014. The Coordinating Table is made up of representatives from the Interior Ministry, the Ministry for Labour and Social Policies, the Regions, the Union of Italian Provinces (UPI) and ANCI, and is integrated by a representative from UNHCR, and one from the National Commission for the Right to Asylum. The programming of the relevant EU social funds, in particular the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF) are among its duties. At the moment, no economic resources have been allocated neither to the implementation of the Integration Plan, nor to the functioning of the Table.

5. In October 2012 the Government invited the territorial Commissions to re-examine the rejections previously decided in relation to asylum seekers who had arrived in 2011 and 2012 and to provide them with a one-year permit for humanitarian reasons. These are the “out of sight people” at the centre of our investigation, whose common fate is social marginalization and unacceptable living conditions.

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OUT OF SIGHT

13. 32.8% of beneficiaries have abandoned the reception system of their own accord, 30.1% due to expiration of terms, 4.9% have been moved out, 0.3% have chosen voluntary repatriation (Source: ANCI, Caritas Italiana, Cittalia, Fondazione Migrantes, SPRAR, UNHCR, Report on International Protection in Italy, 2015).

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Table 1. Asylum seekers and refugees: reception, municipal residence registration and health assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reception</th>
<th>Issue/Renewal of permit to stay vs municipal residence registration</th>
<th>Municipal residence registration and variations</th>
<th>Health assistance: registration with the National Health Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asylum seeker</td>
<td>Starts immediately after the intention for protection is expressed (D.Lgs. n. 142/2015). The application must be written within three working days from the request for asylum, extending to 10 working days when there is a high volume of requests due to consistent and frequent arrivals.</td>
<td>Municipal residence registration and/or housing availability (property contract, lease, loan for use, declaration of hospitality) systematically requested by the police stations even if not by the law.</td>
<td>Same conditions as Italian citizens (art. 6, co. 7, D.Lgs. n. 286/1998, “TU immigrazione”), with the only additional condition of regularity of stay. Assignment of fictional municipal residence registration like homeless people for the inhabitants of illegal occupations, albeit different from the occupied sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee status holder</td>
<td>Not provided by the law; the SPRAR provides for at least six-month reception after the asylum procedure is completed.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same treatment as Italian citizens (art. 34 “TU immigrazione” and art. 27 D. Lgs. n. 334/2000). Registration to the NHS at the health local authorities of the place of municipal residence registration; lacking this, the place of domicile indicated in the permit to stay (art. 42, comma 2, DPR n. 334/2000).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidiary protection holder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permit for humanitarian reasons holder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undocumented migrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Urgent, necessary and continuous treatments guaranteed, through the attribution of the so-called “STP code” (art. 35 Testo Unico Immigrazione).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A RECESSION THAT EXCLUDES

- not only migrants have been summarily denied access to the asylum procedure, purely on the basis of their nationality, but also access to the reception system, with the subsequent increase in the number of people living in informal settlements and other contexts of social marginalization.
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The target population of this research is made up of seekers and holders of international and humanitarian protection, who are not included in the institutional reception system and live in informal settlements on the national territory. We use the term informal settlement to define those housing solutions with a prevalence of people indicated above and characterized by forms of self-management and by lack of rent payment. The settlements with a prevalence of foreigners exclusively linked to seasonal agricultural work have been excluded from the research.

The investigation has shown the existence of two different types of settlement. On the one hand, open-air sites where migrants, who have just arrived in Italy, wait to access the asylum procedure and the related reception system according to the law; on the other hand unused buildings, containers, sheds, inhabited mainly by refugees who have lived in Italy for several years, who have never entered the reception system, or have left it without completing an effective social inclusion.

In general, the target population is characterized by: a) not being present in any list; b) not being present in its total numbers; c) having an elusive nature, mainly due to lack of housing titles; d) being highly mobile, both in terms of time and space. Despite such limitations, we tried to carry out a research which is as adherent as possible to statistical sampling criteria.\(^4\)

Asylum seekers in open-air sites

Once they arrive in Italy through the north-eastern border after crossing the so-called “western Balkan route”, migrants, coming mainly from Afghanistan and Pakistan, try to gain access to the asylum procedure at the police stations in the cities closest to the border, such as Trieste, Gorizia and Udine, Trento and Bolzano, and to a lesser degree, Turin. In the hope of accessing the procedure and the reception measures dictated by law in a shorter time, with a higher chance of being granted asylum, a significant number of migrants prefer to reach those cities that are closer to the governmental first reception centres and the sites of the territorial Commissions, such as Foggia and Crotone. They often cross paths with the flux of migrants who have just arrived by sea and who are escaping those very centres to avoid identification and continue their journey towards Northern Europe. Either staying close to the borders, or moving closer to the first reception centres, migrants are repeatedly turned down by the police stations at every attempt to formalize their asylum requests, and are forced to stay put for weeks, sometimes months, in spontaneous settlements. All these settlements share similar traits. With the only partial exception of Trieste, where asylum seekers used to camp inside old disused and unstable silos near the railway station, the settlements are all open-air places: parks and town squares, railway underpasses and tracks, wooded areas.

When MSF visited Trieste, asylum seekers camping inside the silos were allowed access to sanitary services in the nearby station, while in Crotone the station’s public toilets had been closed to prevent their use by migrants. In all other cases, access to toilets and showers was provided in structures for homeless people, at walking distances of between five and thirty minutes from the shelters. In Gorizia, people camping by the shores of the Isonzo river, in an area called the “jungle”, were using the bushes for their basic needs and the water from the river to wash themselves, cook and drink. In at least three settlements - Trieste, Crotone and one square in Catania – waste collection in the area where the asylum seekers were staying was not carried out or was irregular.

Refugees’ permanent settlements

Settlements with a majority of refugees are present on the whole of the national territory, in metropolitan, urban and rural areas. In big cities, these settlements have been created through the occupation of unused buildings and are self-managed by refugees themselves with a reduced contribution, usually limited to the first phase of the occupation, by groups of activists fighting for housing rights. The ways the settlements are managed vary from totally spontaneous ones to more structured and co-participated organizations, that include regular assemblies of the occupants (as in the case of Turin/Ex Moi, Bar/Ex Set, Rome/via Tiburtina), in some settlements there are management committees nominated by the settlers (via Cavaglieri, via Collatina ad via Curtatone in Rome). Many settlements date back to the period immediately following the closure of the programme “North Africa Emergency”\(^5\). The case of the “Residenza degli Ulivi” in Faletarna (CZ) is emblematic. There, refugees have occupied the buildings managed within the ENA framework soon after the closure of the programme, at the beginning of 2013. All the settlements raise worries for the general living conditions which have clear repercussions on the health of the inhabitants, in particular Turin / Ex Moi, Padua, Bar/ Ex Set, Foggia/Ex Daunialat, Borgo Mezzanone, San Severo. Overcrowding is common in all the settlements. In Castel Voltorno, Bar/Interhotel, Foggia/Ex Daunialat and in the farmsteads of Foggia province and Calabria region, the sites lack any connection to the water systems for drinking water. In the rural sites of Foggia province, local authorities stock water in ‘in loco’ small tanks. Particularly shocking is the lack of water availability in Bari (in the city centre itself, near the train station) and in Foggia. The site of Padua, in front of the central area of the Fair, has just two toilets and the only bucket “shower” has been built from wooden planks in the garden of the two occupied buildings. There is no electricity – in addition to all the rural sites – in Padua, Bar/Interhotel, Foggia/Ex Daunialat and Castel Voltorno. In Bari and Padua, generators are used for a few hours a day. At least three sites in the Foggia province (Ex Daunialat, Borgo Mezzanone and San Severo), present very critical conditions in relation to the absent or partial waste collection and its disposal.

\(^{14}\) For more information on the modality of this census and the definition of the characteristics of the settlements investigated, see the methodological note in the appendix.

\(^{15}\) Among the provinces with the highest prevalence of Emergency North Africa migrants (second wave), Naples (1,159 migrants received), Turin (4,106), Rome (751), Foggia (383), Caserta (340) and Bari (335).

\(^{8}\) INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

\(^{9}\) OUT OF SIGHT

\(^{12}\) METROPOLITAN AREAS/BIG CITIES

\(^{13}\) RURAL AREAS

\(^{21}\) EX ENA RECEPTION CENTRES

\(^{22}\) FIRST RECEPTION CENTRES AREAS

\(^{23}\) SITE
PONTE MAMMOLO, BAOBAB AND CASA BIANCA: EVICTION AS THE ONLY SOLUTION

In addition to extremely difficult living conditions, the settlements’ population is forced to live in a constant state of uncertainty due to the instability of their accommodation. While the research was carried out, local authorities have evicted at least three settlements which were part of the investigation focus. The very modality of the evictions, and the lack of alternative housing solutions, show a lack of awareness, at an institutional level, of the degree of vulnerability experienced by this population and the reasons that determine its social marginalization.

The first eviction was in the PONTE MAMMOLLO spontaneous settlement, in via della Messi d’Oro in Rome. The shacks grew spontaneously 13 years ago on land owned by the National Institute for Health. They were housing over 100 people, the majority of them Eritrean, who held international protection, and some families of Ukrainian and South American origin. In the last few years, the Eritreans transiting towards Northern Europe had joined the resident population, bringing the number of settlers to peaks of 400 people. The eviction was carried out on 11th May 2015; many settlers were not even allowed to recover their personal belongings and documents. The Municipality of Rome justified the operation with the need to identify a more dignified housing solution for the migrants. However, no reallocation plan was devised: almost 200 people converged to the Baobab Centre, the rest ended up in a parking area near Tiburtina railway station.

The BAOBAB CENTRE, in via Copa, experienced the same fate a few months later. It was funded as a cultural centre, but in the course of the years its status changed, moving from self-management to various forms of institutional recognition. After the demolition of the Ponte Mammolo shacks, the Baobab has assisted over 35,000 people, mainly Eritrean, Ethiopian and Sudanese people, thanks also to a strong participation from civil society. From July to October, an MSF team carried out psychological support activities in the site. The eviction took place on 24th November 2015, following a sentence by the Lazio Regional Administrative Tribunal (TAR) which decreed the restitution of the structure to its owners and an ordinance by the police commissioner on security for the Jubilee. On that occasion, MSF publicly expressed its concern over the lack of dignified alternatives for the people living in the site.

In Turin, CASA BIANCA in via Ravello, was occupied in 2008 – together with the nearby ex clinic “San Paolo” which was evicted a year later – by some fifty refugees, mainly of Eritrean origin. After the TAR sentence of 26th May 2015 which decreed the restitution of the property to its owners, the forced eviction was carried out on 6th November with the intervention of armoured vehicles. The eviction had not been agreed with the building’s inhabitants.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The population who was interviewed in the informal settlements was subdivided between those who arrived in Italy in the last three months and those who have been here longer. In the first group there are asylum seekers waiting to get access to the reception system and migrants who arrived in Italy and escaped from the governmental first reception centres before the start of the identification procedures as they were transiting towards other European countries. In the second group there are holders of forms of international and humanitarian protection whose presence in the informal settlements is the clearest signal of the failure of their social inclusion in our country.

Asylum seekers: reception denied

Of the population sample that has arrived in Italy in the last three months, 91.5% is made up of men coming almost entirely from Afghanistan and Pakistan, waiting to access the asylum procedure and be admitted to the governmental reception structures; the remaining 8.5% is made up of men and women of Somali nationality, who had left the first reception centres avoiding the identification procedures (interviewed in Bari and Padua). The average age is 31 years and a half.

In at least four cities (Crotone, Catania, Udine and Bari) unaccompanied minors were found. The situation in Crotone’s railway station is particularly worrying. Here MSF has identified, during one visit, a 17-year old minor of Pakistani nationality, who had been waiting for two weeks to access the asylum procedure (despite asking the local police station almost daily), and six Eritrean children between eight and fourteen years of age, who had fled a reception centre and were waiting to move to the North.

The average staying period in informal settlements has been found to be almost a month and a half, with peaks of three months in the gardens of Porta Palatina in Turin. The police stations, in the majority of the visited places, before proceeding to the verbalization of the asylum requests, ask migrants to show a medical certificate that confirms general health conditions and excludes the presence of infectious diseases. According to the testimonies gathered by MSF, some migrants were even asked to go back to the border point (for example Tarvisio, for those who had arrived in Udine) to get consulted and given the medical certificate. The medical consultation is paradoxically one of the reasons for the delay in accessing the asylum procedure and the reception provided by law for asylum seekers. None of the migrants who left the governmental first reception centres before identification had been subjected to medical check-ups.

4. Distribution of asylum seekers in informal settlements by reported health conditions and access to treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Conditions</th>
<th>Access to Health Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Health Problems</td>
<td>86.5% Access to Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>66% Access to Formal Health Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98% NOT registered with the National Health Service

16. The presence of the unaccompanied minors has been signaled to the organization Save the Children.
THE INHABITANTS OF THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

With the exception of asylum seekers holding an STP code in Turin/Porta Palatina, none of those interviewed have been found registered with the National Health Service: neither those already holding a permit to stay or a receipt for asylum request, nor those who were still lacking them. In case of need of medical care after the initial triage, the only option was to go to the emergency department of the nearest hospital or to basic health services run by voluntary organizations: the lack of registration with the National Health Service means the impossibility to access to specialist consultations and drugs, as migrants do not have the economic resources to buy them at full price in pharmacies.

Refugees at the margins

14.8% of those who have stayed in Italy for over three months are women. The average age is 34 and a half, but only half of them is older than 33 and only 25% is older than 40. In four settlements (Rome/via Curtatone, Rome/via Tiburtina, Borgo Mezzanone, San Severo) people older than 60 were interviewed. The most representative nationalities are Eritrean (38.8%), Ghanaian (10.6%), Nigerian (6.6%) and Somali (6.7%). Almost 90% of the settlers live alone, without partners or close relatives, a circumstance that represents both a symptom and factor of exclusion and social marginalization.

The average staying period in the settlements was found to be almost a year and a half. Longest periods were registered in the settlements in Naples (61 months), Borgo Mezzanone, Rome/ via Tiburtina and Palermo.

The population of the settlements has been living in Italy for an average of six years. The distribution by period of arrival shows that a significant part has arrived in Italy in the last three years (after the closure of the programme “North Africa Emergency”). This is a clear indication of the actual risk that, in the absence of efficient measures of social inclusion, a significant part of the current 100,000 migrants benefiting from reception, in ordinary or extraordinary structures, could be forced to join the population of the informal settlements at the closure of the reception period.

Two out of three asylum seekers stated that they were waiting for the appeal verdict against the rejection of international protection by the territorial Commissions. At least one third of undocumented migrants have, in recent past, been in possession of a permit to stay for humanitarian reasons. 70% of those who had reached another European country reported that they have been sent back to Italy in accordance with the Dublin Regulations. Currently, Italy has no national reception plan for those who have been rejected according to those Regulations.

The presence of those who have not benefited from any form of reception (24.3%) is significant, as well as those who have only benefited from first reception (61.6%). In other words, almost two thirds of the population being researched has not benefited from any measure of social inclusion. Some interviewees – all living in informal settlements in the Foggia province – have reported that they were still registered in an institutional first or secondary reception centre, either ordinary or extraordinary, and that they were living in informal settlements in order to look for work, going back regularly to the institutional centres to benefit from the supporting economic measures (2-50 euros a day per person as pocket money).

73% of the population in informal settlements has no current working occupation.

Over a third of the people who are employed hold a precarious job (less than five working days in the week preceding the interview with MSF): the majority of cases consists of unqualified work in an informal setting. A significant percentage of those who declared they had an occupation were working inside the same informal settlements (catering, food trade, tailoring, car, motorcycle and bicycle fixing, barbers etc.).

OUT OF SIGHT

In nearly all of the informal settlements we have registered a lack of structured interventions by institutional actors, starting with the local authorities: in the case of building occupations, these are “tolerated” in the absence of alternative housing solutions, but at the same time, tens, sometimes hundreds of people, are denied a full citizenship status (i.e. through barriers to the municipal residence registration), forcing them into a condition of growing marginalization. The presence of organizations that, by mandate, should safeguard the protection of asylum seekers and holders of international and humanitarian protection has rarely been observed during the visits by MSF or mentioned by the interviewees. The absence or scant interest towards the conditions in informal settlements has generated a widespread sense of distrust among the inhabitants, of discrimination and hostility towards the authorities and the protection organizations. This attitude, especially among those who have been in Italy for longer, has accentuated forms of self-exclusion and self-ghettoization, which have become part of the problem.

Of those migrants holding a permit to stay, only one in three has regular access to a general practitioner, and therefore to potential specialist consultations and treatment.

Tolerated, ignored

In 19. Italian Red Cross in Gorizia; Sarmig - Servizi Missionari Giovanni e Anna Maria di Gesù in Udine; Interest in Crotone.

18. The figure is influenced by the sample of settlements where the interviews were carried out.

19. A doctor properly assigned, who works in the same province of the informal site, and who checked the interviewee at least once.

References

17. Italian Red Cross in Gorizia; Sarmig - Servizi Missionari Giovanni e Anna Maria di Gesù in Udine; Interest in Crotone.

5. Distribution of refugees in informal settlements by period of arrival in Italy

6. Distribution of refugees in informal settlements by juridical status

7. Distribution of refugees in informal settlements by number of governmental centres (ordinary and extraordinary) where they had been staying for over 30 days

8. Distribution of refugees in informal settlements by the last governmental centre (ordinary or extraordinary) they were accommodated

9. Distribution of refugees in informal settlements by reported health conditions and access to treatment

50.6% At least one reported health problem in the last month

49.4% No reported health problems in the last month

31.0% Access to formal medical assistance

11.0% No access to treatment
BARRIERS TO ACCESS TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

Although according to Italian legislation asylum seekers and refugees are entitled to the registration with the National Health Service and to medical assistance in the same way as Italian citizens, the access to this right is seriously limited by the conditions of social marginalization that this population experiences in our country, in particular inside informal settlements. The renewal of the permit to stay, especially for humanitarian reasons, is made difficult by the police stations, which request municipal residence registration or domicile, even though no legal norm dictates it. According to police, domicile must be demonstrated through a renting contract, or at least a letter of hospitality by the owner or the tenant of the property. Lacking one and the other, and if the police refuses a letter of fictitious domicile by supporting organisations, migrants can only resort to “buy” a fake renting contract or another domicile document, or renew their permit in less restrictive police stations, sometimes in provinces or regions other than the actual living area: in this way access to general practitioners and pediatrician in the areas where refugees actually live is prevented as registration to National Health Service depends on the domicile listed in the permit to stay.

Geographical mobility
Another factor that impacts on the asylum seekers and refugees’ access to the National Health Service is their constant mobility on the national territory due to their unstable social conditions. A significant part is involved, in a more or less stable manner, in the circuit of seasonal agricultural work, which pushes migrants to different Italian regions for different parts of the year, with the consequence of them being away from the place listed in their municipal residence registration and/or in the permit to stay for long periods of time. Once again, this circumstance leads to the impossibility of accessing local public health services: the only option to obtain treatment is to rely on non governmental organizations, which provide health assistance to foreign migrants through dedicated services, that are detached from and parallel to the National Health Service.

Medical fees
Asylum seekers are granted the right to be exempt from the contribution to health expenditures only for the period when they are not allowed to carry out working activities. This, according to the recent D. Lgs. n. 142/2015, corresponds to the first two months from the presentation of the asylum request. Once this period is over, according to what most Regions do, asylum seekers lose the right to the exemption, regardless of whether they have obtained a job and possess adequate means of sustenance.

Illegal occupations and lack of assignment of municipal residence registration

The majority of the population in spontaneous settlements lives in private or public occupied buildings. Article 5 of the 23rd May 2014 Law n. 80, states that “anybody who illegally occupies a property without any title cannot ask for municipal residence registration nor to be connected to public services in relation to that property”. The lack of electricity and water in some of the occupied informal settlements finds justification in this norm, as well as the lack of formal municipal residence assignment, which makes it impossible for adults and minors to register with the National Health Service, even in cases of high vulnerability. Subsequently, a bulletin of the Interior Ministry specified that although municipal residence registration cannot be assigned at the occupied building, it must be granted at a fictitious domicile in the same municipality, the same procedure applied for the homeless. The lack of municipal residence registration at the actual living place however remains a barrier to access to local medical services for a population with few economic resources and mobility difficulties.

Municipal residence registration or domicile when renewing the permit to stay

The renewal of the permit to stay, especially for humanitarian reasons, is made difficult by the police stations, which request municipal residence registration or domicile, even though no legal norm dictates it. According to police, domicile must be demonstrated through a renting contract, or at least a letter of hospitality by the owner or the tenant of the property. Lacking one and the other, and if the police refuses a letter of fictitious domicile by supporting organisations, migrants can only resort to “buy” a fake renting contract or another domicile document, or renew their permit in less restrictive police stations, sometimes in provinces or regions other than the actual living area: in this way access to general practitioners and pediatrician in the areas where refugees actually live is prevented as registration to National Health Service depends on the domicile listed in the permit to stay.

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24. Inside the Ex Moi there is a school of Italian delirium. It is very difficult to do widespread level of depression orientation services. The period of stay in the park varied from a few days to a maximum of three months. Only a limited number of asylum seekers had managed to access to the Semrig hostel, open during the night only, for a maximum of 30 days, before going back to sleeping rough, taking shelter in camping tents provided by volunteers. In addition to the Porta Palatina park, MSF has visited four informal settlements (Ex Moi, via Madonna delle Salette, via Bologna and Corso Chieri), with a total population of about 1,400 people, mainly holders of international and humanitarian protection. For the site of via Madonna delle Salette, which was occupied in January 2014, a negotiation is underway between the La Salette missionaries, owners of the building, and the occupants, who have created an association, with the mediation of the Diocese of Turin; the aim of the agreement is the restructurings of the building, to be carried out with the involvement of the refugees themselves, and the regularization of the occupation. The highest number of people was found in the Ex Moi buildings, in via Giordano Bruno, where, according to the latest official census, about 1,200 people live. These buildings were built to host the athletes for the 2006 Winter Olympics, and their conversion to residential housing has never been carried out. Between spring and summer 2013, four of the seven buildings were occupied by migrants, who had mainly left the centres that had been used for the programme “North Africa Emergency”. In December 2013, the Municipality of Turin granted the Ex Moi inhabitants the possibility of accessing a virtual municipal residency at the address “Via della Casa comune 3”. In 2015 the judiciary confiscation of the buildings was decreed by the Tribunal of Turin. With the exception of the activities managed by the “Migrant and Refugee Committee”25, made up of the occupants and a group of activists for the protection of housing, no structured intervention by institutional bodies and actors mandatory involved in the asylum seekers and refugees’ protection has been registered.

### OUT OF SIGHT

#### TRIESTE AND GORIZIA

The lack of places in the governmental reception system forces migrants who arrive in Trieste and Gorizia through the “western Balkan route” to wait weeks, sometimes months, before they can access the asylum procedure and the assistance and reception measures dictated by law. During MSF’s first visits, in September 2015, migrants were forced to stay in Trieste inside cardboard or plastic makeshift shelters in disused and unstable silos near the railway station. In Gorizia, they were forced to sleep rough in the Park of Remembrance, right in the city centre, and in the bushes on the shores of the river Isonzo, the so-called “Jungle”.

In TRIESTE, the effort to guarantee an immediate reception to asylum seekers is testified by the numbers: 1,000 people were hosted inside the SPRAR centres and the extraordinary reception structures at the end of 2015, with the direct involvement of the municipality and SPRAR guidelines applied even in the extraordinary reception structures, one of the few cases in Italy. However, the number of reception places is insufficient compared to the arrivals: the silos empty and fill again at a constant pace and, during their weeks spent in these settlements, asylum seekers are subjected to unacceptable living conditions, exposed to the elements and with limited access to hygienic services26. On 7th January 2016, the mayor of Trieste published an ordinance that decreed the eviction of asylum seekers and forbade access and use of the silos27.

In GORIZIA, the presence of asylum seekers in the park and on the shores of the Isonzo river dates back to November 2013. Their reception has never been dealt with in a structured manner, but always through emergency and temporary solutions: hotels, tents, industrial warehouses. On 19th December 2014, an ordinance of the mayor imposed the ban on camping in all open-air areas and sites on the municipality’s territory, decreasing forced removal for the transgressors. There have been several evictions of asylum seekers, as well as confiscation of blankets and personal belongings to discourage their stay. On one occasion, in July 2015, the Prefect was forced to stop a truck containing “waste” collected in the park of Remembrance, which was heading towards the incinerator of Trieste, to prevent the destruction of the migrants’ belongings. On 7th August, a 25 year-old of Pakistani origin died, carried away by the current while washing himself on the shores of the Isonzo. Following this incident, in December, the associations “Tenda per la Pace e i Diritti” and “Forum per Gorizia” presented a complaint on the institutions’ behaviour in the management of asylum seekers’ reception to the Public Prosecutor’s Office of Gorizia. In the meantime, the only institutional solutions which were identified to deal with the constant increase in asylum seekers excluded from reception measures have been the reopening of the ex Centre of Identification and Expulsion (CIE) in Gradisca, and the migrants’ relocation to other centres in the province or other regions (Puglia, Campania, Tuscany).

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25. The very Local Health Authority has certified that “the site is absolutely unsuitable to host people, not even temporarily, as the observance of the most basic sanitation rules is not guaranteed, with a subsequent risk for the hygiene and health of the occupants” (A.A.S. n. 1 Triestina, 01/09/2015).

26. “(...): Considering that the high risk for public hygiene, security and safety developed inside the buildings, following their illegal occupation, is such to justify the adoption of a contingent and urgent action, as regulated by articles 50, comma 5, and 54, comma 4, of the D.Lgs. n. 38/2000 and m.i. and of the D.M. 5 August 2008.”

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© Alessandro Penso, Ex Moi, Turin

© Sara Creta, Silos, Trieste

© Sara Creta, Trieste

Figure not representative of the whole population of the site.

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© Sara Creta, Silos, Trieste

Figure not representative of the whole population of the site.
most critical informal settlements

MSF project in Gorizia

On 23rd December, MSF installed 25 housing modules and 2 sanitation modules in Gorizia, in the San Giuseppe area, which was provided by the local Caritas. In the first month of activity, over 280 people coming from Afghanistan and Pakistan have been housed. They had crossed Turkey and the Balkans experiencing traumatic events, not only in their countries of origin, but also during their journey.

In December, a primary health care project was also started in Gorizia, managed by MSF, together with the Italian Red Cross and the Local Health Authority. The outpatient clinic is devoted to all those asylum seekers who are waiting to access to the asylum procedure and to the governmental reception centres. By 16th February, 440 medical consultations had been carried out. The main pathologies found by MSF were dermatological infections and traumas. 12 people showed clear signs of psychological suffering, linked to the hardships they had experienced before arriving in Italy.

Despite initial resistance by local institutions regarding the start of the project, its value and importance have been publicly acknowledged, as demonstrated by the statements of vice prefect Antonio Gulletta, which were reported in the local press at the end of January 2016.

Currently, MSF is negotiating in order to identify adequate and sustainable solutions that can guarantee first reception for those asylum seekers arriving in the area involving the relevant local authorities (Municipality and Province) and civil society actors in Gorizia. MSF considers its intervention a temporary one and not a substitute for the institutions.

_padua

On 18th December 2013, some sixty migrants occupied two 800 square-metre buildings in the area outside the Padua fair: the structure was renamed “Gallo House”. The occupants are part of a group of about 260 people hosted in the province of Padua in the framework of the programme “North Africa Emergency” and who later found shelter for months in the offices of the Association “Stop Racism”. According to a March 2015 census, over 80% of occupants are holders of some form of international or humanitarian protection and come from Ghana, Nigeria, Mali and Togo. They are all men, with the exception of one woman.

Almost all the occupants have no stable job; in order to survive they use the canteen and other services provided by the Cucine Economiche Popolari (CEP)’, a few metres from the “Gallo” house. The only shower, set up in the garden that surrounds the two buildings, consists of simple wooden planks. During the occupation period, the main services (water and electricity) have been interrupted time and time again. In December 2014, one of the occupant’s 22 year-old man from Ghana, died inside one of the buildings of natural causes, aggravated by the cold and the total lack of heating. Some days before Christmas 2015, water and electricity supplies were cut again. The Prefecture office and the Municipality of Padua, questioned by the occupants with the mediation of the association “Stop Racism”, have not identified any alternative solution yet.

The majority of the settlement’s inhabitants are not registered with the National Health Service: the main barrier is the absence of municipal residence registration at the occupied building or at any other fictitious domicile in the city. The only medical assistance is provided by the primary healthcare clinic that operates inside the CEP.

Table 4. Padua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People not registered with the National Health Service</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported health problems in the last month</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No access to treatment</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to health services provided by organizations assisting foreigners and other forms of informal medical assistance</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The migrants who live in the “Don Gallo” house constitute a stable community, not a transit one, in our city. It is shocking that in the very centre of Padua 60 people are forced to use generators to have electricity, as it happens in MSF projects in South Sudan or Congo. The state of inertia, almost of abandonment, in which these people live, is hurting. But the fact that the refugees are ignored and abandoned to their destiny, especially by the relevant local institutions, is even more shocking.

Volunteer doctor, MSF Padua group

I.H., 20 years-old, Pakistan

When I was 16 I lost one eye because of an explosion where over 60 people died and about 100 were wounded. I left last April. I reached Turkey travelling mainly on foot and in small vans. We left the Turkish coast aboard an inflatable. We were about 100, there were so many families with children. The sea was very agitated and the inflatable capsized. Some people drowned. I arrived here in December and the first day we slept near the river, in the “jungle”. It was very cold, we had nothing to eat and no money to call our family in Pakistan. Now I have a bed and I can finally sleep in the warmth.

© Alessandro Penso, Gorizia

© Alessandro Penso, Gorizia
I arrived in Italy in 1994. I have worked for years as a welder in a factory in Veneto region, then the crisis arrived, first I was temporarily laid off and then they gave me unemployment benefits. I've been forced to come and live in this occupied building. Otherwise, how could I have paid my rent? My problem now is that I don't have municipal residence registration. My wife and I don't have a general practitioner, my children don't have a pediatrician. We also had problems when they needed to be vaccinated.

F., Ethiopia, 46 years-old, via Tiburtina

28. Interrogation n. 3-01869. “Measures to overcome the issue of illegal occupation of buildings in Rome, also in view of guaranteeing security during the extraordinary Jubilee”. The building in via Curtatone, near Termini station, is a site belonging to the institute for environmental protection (ISPRA). The seven-story building was occupied in October 2013, after the closure of the programme “North Africa Emergency”.

29. On the occupations in via Cavaglieri and via Collatina we cite, as examples, the following reports: IntegrAzione, “I rifugiati invisibili, 2015. In response to a parliamentary interrogation on the occupied building in via Curtatone, on 3rd December 2015 the Interior Minister declared that there were 103 ongoing illegal occupations in Rome. Of these, at least three - in the buildings in via Cavaglieri (“Palazzo Selam”), via Collatina and via Curtatone - host a population made up almost exclusively of Eritrean refugees. The number of occupants, at least 2,500 estimated people including women and minors, is subjected to strong changes due to the presence in the last two years of migrants transiting towards Northern Europe. General conditions in the buildings, already widely documented in several reports, have not been ascertained in the framework of this research, as the access has been denied by the respective management committees. In 2014 various public bodies and private organizations, coordinated by the Prevention Department of the local National Health Service (ASL) Rome 8 and by the National Institute for the promotion of migrants’ health and the contrast to poverty diseases (INMP) and with the participation, albeit limited, of MSF, started a social-medical service at the sites in via Cavaglieri and via Collatina, through a van equipped as an outpatient clinic and a team made up of a doctor, nurse and cultural mediator. The initiative represents a model of intervention in informal settlements, through a proactive offer of primary health care, which is particularly aimed at transit migrants, and through the promotion of access to territorial public health services for stable refugees. Another point of strength is the active involvement of the settlements’ management committees in designing and concretely implementing the interventions. During the research, some settlements were also monitored, which host both Italian and foreign citizens. In the Rome area, MSF has visited the occupied settlements in via Prenestina (“Metropoliz” – former Fiorucci factory and “Hotel a Stelle”), vale delle Province and via Tiburtina, as well as the occupation of the former Colonia Vittorio Emanuele III in Ostia. In these occupations, the total presence of refugees can be estimated at over 100 people coming mainly from the Horn of Africa and Sudan. The block to municipal residence registration for people in occupied buildings as decreed by article 5 of law n. 80/2014, has had particularly adverse effects in Rome, mainly in terms of the lack of registration with the National Health Service. This issue has been partially overcome by providing migrants with fictitious domicile at the offices of associations assisting foreigners, similar to what is provided for the homeless. In 2014, the Centro Astalli alone has provided 8,295 letters of hospitality, and therefore domiciles (just over 2,500 in 2010). This is an indicator of the extremely high number of migrants - among them many refugees - who live in Rome in socially unstable conditions. An agreement between the municipalities of the metropolitan area to provide municipal residence registration as close as possible to the actual living address, in order to facilitate access to local medical services, has never been finalized. Both the absence of municipal residence registration, whose assignment is dependent on the discretion of individual offices and workers, and the non coincidence between the fictitious address and the actual living place, represent insurmountable barriers for migrants’ access to public health services, also taking into account mobility difficulties and lack of financial resources.

© Alessandro Penso, via Tiburtina, Rome

21. MOST CRITICAL INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

ROME

In response to a parliamentary interrogation on the occupied building in via Curtatone, on 3rd December 2015 the Interior Minister declared that there were 103 ongoing illegal occupations in Rome. Of these, at least three - in the buildings in via Cavaglieri (“Palazzo Selam”), via Collatina and via Curtatone - host a population made up almost exclusively of Eritrean refugees. The number of occupants, at least 2,500 estimated people including women and minors, is subjected to strong changes due to the presence in the last two years of migrants transiting towards Northern Europe. General conditions in the buildings, already widely documented in several reports, have not been ascertained in the framework of this research, as the access has been denied by the respective management committees. In 2014 various public bodies and private organizations, coordinated by the Prevention Department of the local National Health Service (ASL) Rome 8 and by the National Institute for the promotion of migrants’ health and the contrast to poverty diseases (INMP) and with the participation, albeit limited, of MSF, started a social-medical service at the sites in via Cavaglieri and via Collatina, through a van equipped as an outpatient clinic and a team made up of a doctor, nurse and cultural mediator. The initiative represents a model of intervention in informal settlements, through a proactive offer of primary health care, which is particularly aimed at transit migrants, and through the promotion of access to territorial public health services for stable refugees. Another point of strength is the active involvement of the settlements’ management committees in designing and concretely implementing the interventions. During the research, some settlements were also monitored, which host both Italian and foreign citizens. In the Rome area, MSF has visited the occupied settlements in via Prenestina (“Metropoliz” – former Fiorucci factory and “Hotel a Stelle”), vale delle Province and via Tiburtina, as well as the occupation of the former Colonia Vittorio Emanuele III in Ostia. In these occupations, the total presence of refugees can be estimated at over 100 people coming mainly from the Horn of Africa and Sudan. The block to municipal residence registration for people in occupied buildings as decreed by article 5 of law n. 80/2014, has had particularly adverse effects in Rome, mainly in terms of the lack of registration with the National Health Service. This issue has been partially overcome by providing migrants with fictitious domicile at the offices of associations assisting foreigners, similar to what is provided for the homeless. In 2014, the Centro Astalli alone has provided 8,295 letters of hospitality, and therefore domiciles (just over 2,500 in 2010). This is an indicator of the extremely high number of migrants - among them many refugees - who live in Rome in socially unstable conditions. An agreement between the municipalities of the metropolitan area to provide municipal residence registration as close as possible to the actual living address, in order to facilitate access to local medical services, has never been finalized. Both the absence of municipal residence registration, whose assignment is dependent on the discretion of individual offices and workers, and the non coincidence between the fictitious address and the actual living place, represent insurmountable barriers for migrants’ access to public health services, also taking into account mobility difficulties and lack of financial resources.

Table 5. Rome/via Curtatone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People not registered with the National Health Service</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No regular access to general practitioner (lack of assignment; doctor not working in the same province; no consultation)</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported health problems in the last month</td>
<td>55.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No access to treatment</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to health services provided by organizations assisting foreigners and other forms of informal medical assistance</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Deliberation n. 280 of the Giunta Capitolina (government of Rome) of 11th August 2015, authorized five associations to assign a fictitious address for the municipal residence registration to homeless people: Caritas Diocesana, Sant’Egidio Community, Centro Astalli, Focus – Casa dei diritti sociali, Esercito della Salvezza.
FOGGIA AND ITS PROVINCE, BARI

A significant presence of asylum seekers and refugees in Foggia has always been linked to two main factors: the presence of big governmental first reception centres and the strong demand for labourers in the seasonal agricultural sector. The two elements have integrated well, especially in the area around Foggia: given the open structure character of the Borgo Mezzanone centre, asylum seekers, for the entire reception period, represent cheap and non-contracted laborers in the fields of the Capitanata, especially during the peaks of the seasonal harvests.

The settlements of Bari/Ex Set, Foggia/Ex Daunialat, Borgo Mezzanone and San Severo are certainly among the worst of those examined in this research: a situation made even more unacceptable by the fact that the conditions of some of these sites have been systematically denounced by humanitarian organizations and journalistic investigations for at least ten years. Among the Capitanata sites, the situation in Borgo Mezzanone is paradoxical. A series of containers, which were abandoned by the governmental first reception centre on the runway of a disused military airport, have been occupied by other migrants. Asylum seekers and refugees continuously pass from one space (managed directly by the interior Ministry) to another one (illegal) through the gaps in the centre’s fences, under the eye of surveillance cameras. The regional government that has recently formed has stated, as one of its priorities, the dismantling of the three “ghettos” in San Severo, Borgo Mezzanone and Cerignola: there is no mention of the relocation plans for San Severo, Borgo Mezzanone and Cerignola: there is no mention of the relocation plans for the hundreds of people present on the three sites, mainly holders of forms of international protection and therefore legally present on the territory, upon which a significant part of the province’s agricultural economy and richness is based. When interviewed by MSF last December, the Councillor in charge of Welfare of the Municipality of Bari, acknowledged the presence in the city of “a serious problem linked to the lack of adequate and available structures that can satisfy the request for housing, both for Italians and migrants. This situation has determined, in the last few years, a process of self-management by the migrants themselves through the occupation of some buildings and public structures, such as “Ferrhotel”, the former high school “Socrate” and the “Tent camp” inside the site of the Ex Set. These are situations that a civil country should not tolerate in any way.

According to the same Councillor, in Bari there are more than 10,000 people living in poverty, and in the last three months, 400 executive evictions of families, both Italian and foreign, have taken place.

“A living here is difficult. You need to get organized. There is no water, nor electricity. I bought a small solar panel that charges during the day and that I can use during the night. I have a wife and four children in Mogadishu. It would be impossible to support my family here with the money I earn. How could I pay a house rent? I have a permit to stay, but I can’t live in these conditions. I want to go back to Somalia.”

A., Somalia, 30 year-old, Bari/Ferrhotel
Morire di parto
Quando partorire diventa un’emergenza

N. arrived in Italy in 2008. The last time he saw a doctor was in the first reception centre of Bari-Palese. He earns a living as a barber inside the abandoned factory. He has scissors and razors of many sizes, a flask of alcohol to use as an aftershave, and a blanket as cape.

When I fled Libya, I spent nine days at sea: we were 125 people on the inflatable. During the journey, 11 people died. This place is better than nothing. It is a safe place to stay. It is not like the station, where they can steal your belongings and you don’t have a roof over your head. But even here it’s cold, especially for those who don’t have a bed and sleep on the floor. I feel alone, but I can’t go back to my country: there is war, there is hunger.

N., 32 years-old, Bari/Ex Set

In November 2014, the Municipality of Bari relocated about 170 refugees from an occupied building – the ex convent “Santa Chiara” - to a tent camp set up inside a disused factory, the Ex Set. The refugees, coming from the Horn of Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, had arrived in Italy in 2011 during the so-called “North Africa Emergency”. The intention was to keep their stay there to a limit of 45 days, before proceeding to transfer them to more adequate accommodation.

The refugees are still in the warehouse. Living conditions in the settlement are shameful. There are no doors and the windows are broken. Pigeons’ droppings are everywhere. On at least one occasion, one of the refugees was forced to get treatment at a hospital for a rat bite. The Civil Protection tents, which measure 20 square metres, host eight people each, without distinction of sex or familial groups. When it rains, the water gets in. The walls of the building have cracks and wide damp stains: pieces of plaster fall on the tents. In summer, temperature makes the air unbreathable, forcing the refugees to sleep outside. Pieces of asbestos that were in the adjacent courtyard were removed only in August 2015. Since November 2015, a dozen refugees have been transferred from the Ex Set to another publicly owned building, “Villa Roth”, where they live together with some Italian families.

The refugees have repeatedly asked the Municipality for a disused public space, which could be requalified through their own work and used as their accommodation instead of the tents. The counterproposals from the Municipality range from the relocation to containers in a semi-suburban area of the city and to a dormitory which is open from 8 pm to 8 am not far from the Bari-Palese first reception centre. This would mean starting everything from scratch after years living in our country and going back to the days immediately following their arrival.

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CONCLUSIONS

Informal settlements are only one of the most evident manifestations of the socially unstable conditions in which most asylum seekers and refugees are forced to live in Italy. The thousands of migrants who are part of the seasonal agricultural work circuit are another example. Their unbearable living conditions have been denounced many times, including by MSF, yet have never been dealt with in a structured and resolutive manner. The results of this study can only be considered partial and linked to the specific moment the research was carried out. MSF is determined to continue to monitor the contexts of social marginalization that involve asylum seekers and refugees, and the barriers to their access to healthcare. The primary objective of this will be to call on all relevant actors to assume responsibility for the protection of an extremely vulnerable population.

In this respect, MSF is asking national and local authorities to:

1. Guarantee migrants, asylum seekers and refugees who live in informal settlements dignified living conditions and basic rights - in particular the right to health care - either at the very same sites, legalizing irregular administrative situations and starting the necessary recovery of those sites, including through the direct involvement of migrants’ themselves; or at different sites, avoiding forced eviction not agreed with the settlers and when alternative accommodation has not been identified.

2. Devise new ways to register asylum seekers and refugees with the National Health Service, through the assignment of a general practitioner that is not dependant on the municipal residence registration or the domicile listed in the permit to stay. The registration should be linked only to the actual living place which should be indicated, for example, through a personal declaration. Additionally, the nature and/or the temporary character of the living place should not be an obstacle.

3. Register asylum seekers with the National Health Service with the assignment of a general practitioner immediately after access to the asylum procedure, as mandated by law, avoiding an improper use of the STP code, which is designed for undocumented migrants.

4. Promote, whenever necessary, the strengthening of public medical services, devising specific training for operators, a structured presence of language and cultural mediators within the services, and a proactive offer of outreach activities - especially in contexts of social marginalization, such as informal settlements.

5. Increase the capacity of the governmental reception system for asylum seekers, through ordinary structures, rather than extraordinary and emergency ones, and the direct involvement of the local municipalities. This would allow immediate access to the reception system for those migrants who want to request protection in Italy, without forcing them into prolonged waiting times in unacceptable humanitarian conditions.

6. Activate a constant monitoring mechanism on informal settlements that host mainly asylum seekers and refugees, with the basic aim of identifying vulnerable people - in particular unaccompanied minors, victims of trafficking, people affected by serious illnesses and mental disorders, victims of torture and serious violence - and refer them to specialist social-medical services, either local or national.
METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The whole of the traits of the target population - seekers and holders of international and humanitarian protection living in informal settlements on the national territory - makes the use of standard methods of statistical sampling practically impossible. The following note illustrates the procedure used for the realization of the research, which was as adherent as possible to statistical criteria of sampling selection. The procedure aims to create a comprehensive list of informal sites on the national territory and to gather social-medical information among a sample of foreigners who share the above mentioned traits.

PHASE 1

SITES MAPPING

The census phase (“mapping”) of informal sites, which was carried out in the period April to June 2015, was aimed at the identification of the sites that make up the frame population (informal settlements) and the target population (seekers and holders of international and humanitarian protection). This phase included:

- the design of a form to gather concise information on the settlements, in particular the number and the characteristics of their inhabitants;
- the illustration of the research project and the request for information on the above mentioned settlements to institutional and non-institutional actors, at a local and national level, which are active in assisting seekers and holders of international and humanitarian protection, as well as in the field of social policies, in particular housing policies;
- the verification of the information (actual existence of settlements and characteristics meeting the requisites of the target population).

PHASE 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MIGRANTS

In order to gather the main information presented in this report, a very concise interview form with multiple-choice questions was designed.

PHASE 3

SAMPLING AND WEIGHTING ADJUSTMENT

On the base of the mapping, the frame population of the sites was stratified by region (8 regions where informal settlements were present) and by dimensional class of the centre (“average” dimension 50 to 500 individuals, and “big” dimension over 500 individuals). From this classification, 16 strata were identified. A two-step sampling then followed. The first step unity was made up by the informal settlements and the second-step unity was made up of migrants. To select the first step unities, all the big settlements were used as self-representative units and a 50% survey rate was fixed in the strata containing the average size sites. The selection of the second-step unities happened through a casual selection of the people who were present when the settlement was visited. On the basis of the available resources and lacking prior certainty over the population size of the settlement, we decided to set the sampling number at 30 for the medium sites and 50 for the big ones.

The fieldwork was carried out from July to December 2015. The fieldwork was highly unbalanced compared to the informal site. The sampling fraction is however satisfying and varies in the interval 6.5% - 9.5% in the hypothesis of maximum and minimum population respectively.

While the interviews were carried out, as well as when designing the questionnaire and during the data elaboration, the anonymity of the interviewee was safeguarded. During the fieldwork, special attention was given to the relationship between researcher and interviewee and to the confidentiality of the interview. Furthermore, we were careful in not raising the interviewee’s expectations. The use of photographic material was authorized by those involved.

PHASE 4

FIELDWORK

The chosen fieldwork modality was the face-to-face interview. Where necessary, MSF staff was accompanied by cultural mediators and workers from local associations (often the same ones that had signaled the informal site). The sampling fraction is however satisfying and varies in the interval 6.5% - 9.5% in the hypothesis of maximum and minimum population respectively.

settlements, for a total of 315 interviews, and 6 big settlements, for a total of 202 interviews. The result was a sampling that is not self-weighting, and has some highly distorting elements. We therefore decided to adjust the sampled data with weights, which were obtained by the reversal of the evaluation of the probability of inclusion. This was calculated at a later moment on the new list of the frame population and on an evaluation of the demographic presence in the settlements, which was refined after the visit of the researcher.

The probability of inclusion $P_i$ takes into account the probability of extraction of the site and the probability of extraction of the individual:

$$ P_i = \frac{m_i}{N_i} \times \frac{n_i}{N_h} $$

where:

- $m_i$ is the number of interviews carried out in the i-th centre
- $n_i$ is the number of settlements where interviews in the h-th stratum were carried out
- $N_i$ is the number of settlements present in the population in the h-th stratum

Therefore, the same weight $w_i$ is assigned to each respondent present in the i centre of the h stratum:

$$ w_i = \frac{1}{P_i} $$

This sample weight is a tool to adjust the above mentioned distortions.

The sampling allows for an analysis by domains obtained by the intersection of region and size of the centre for a total of 11 analysis domains.
Table 7. Distribution of informal sites by region and population size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Population size of settlements</th>
<th>Total sites</th>
<th>Total population in the Regions*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50-499</td>
<td>N. Sites</td>
<td>Estimated average population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli Venezia Giulia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The population living in the settlements is estimated by privileged witnesses with an ample margin of uncertainty and in an alternate form. The value which is reported here is the central value in the signaled interval.

Table 8. Distribution of sites where interviews were carried out by region and population size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Population size of settlements</th>
<th>Total sample settlements</th>
<th>Total population in the Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50-499</td>
<td>N. settlements</td>
<td>N. interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli Venezia Giulia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List of Informal Settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE, PROVINCE</th>
<th>ADDRESS, DENOMINATION</th>
<th>TYPE OF SITE</th>
<th>MSF VISIT</th>
<th>POPULATION (PREVALENT)</th>
<th>POPULATION SIZE (MINIMUM/MAXIMUM/YEAR)</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>MINORS (&lt;5 YEARS)</th>
<th>RUNNING WATER</th>
<th>ELECTRICITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foggia</td>
<td>San Severo (Gran Ghetto)</td>
<td>Shacks</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>400-600</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palermo</td>
<td>Missione di Speranza e Carta</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>600-1000</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Via Cavaglieri (Selam Palace)</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>1000-1200</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Via Collatina</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>600-700</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>Via Curtatone</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>600-900</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Ex Moi</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>1100-1300</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catania</td>
<td>Piazza della Repubblica</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>50-150</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>Varcaturo</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padua</td>
<td>Don Gallo</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>60-100</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Via Tiburtina</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>50-80</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Via Bologna</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>50-80</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Corso Chieri</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Via Madonna della Salette</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Porta Palatina</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trieste</td>
<td>Silos</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>50-200</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Udine</td>
<td>Railway station</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catania</td>
<td>Railway station</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>20-50</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brescia</td>
<td>Via Marala</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reggio Emilia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trento</td>
<td>Ponte S. Giuseppe</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>30-50</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trento</td>
<td>Ponte S. Giorgio</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>30-50</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Udine</td>
<td>Parco Moretti</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>10-50</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udine</td>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>Open-air</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Asylum seekers</td>
<td>30-50</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The information on informal settlements has been provided by the following organizations and bodies: Accoglienza e Solidarietà (CT); Agorà Kroton (KR); Blocchi precari metropolitani (ROMA); Borderline Sicilia; Campaign “AssociazietE’Enfanti”, Centras - Borgo Mezzanone Pietralata; Centro Astalli - Asilo Refugees Service/Italy; Centro Astalli Trento; CIDIS - Cossano allo Specia (CT); CIDIS Migrante (RE); Comitato 3 Ottobre (ROMA); Comunità Progetto Suf - Lampedusa Terme (CZ); CSF Ex Canapificio (CZ); Emergenze interni; ex Pak (BS); Uisp (BS); Uisp in arrivo (UD); Prime Italia; Progetto Libera (LE); Mozambico Stop (PE); Rivolta la precarietà (BA); Tenda per la Pace e i Diritti (GO).

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Morire di parto: Quando partorire diventa un’emergenza

© Alessandro Penso

(received by the “T.U. sull’immigrazione”, is

under the National Health Service. The implementation of this

migrant can receive urgent, essential

Through this code, an undocumented

(Temporarily Present Foreigner)

take up to 12 months or longer, due to

centres, the so-called “Regional hubs”.

structures – identification is carried

First reception centres

(ex C.A.R.A. - Reception centres for asylum seekers and C.O.A. - Reception centres)

They have been defined by D.Lgs. n. 142/2015. Inside these centres – open structures – identification is carried out and the asylum procedure is initiated. The programmatic document “Italian Roadmap” provides for the creation of regional first reception centres, the so-called “Regional hubs”. The staying period in these centres should not exceed 30 days, but it can take up to 12 months or longer, due to a chronic lack of places in secondary reception structures.

S.T.P. Code

(Temporarily Present Foreigner)

Through this code, an undocumented migrant can receive urgent, essential and regular treatment – basic and specialist - under the National Health Service. The implementation of this norm, which was introduced in 1998, through the “T.U. sull’immigrazione”, is still very deficient and uneven across the national territory.

Territorial Commissions for the recognition of international protection

These bodies are hosted in the Prefectures, and are in charge of examining international protection requests. They are made up of: a prefect, acting as president; a member of the State Police; a representative from the municipality; a representative from UNHCR. The D. Lgs. n. 142/2015 made it possible by law for hearings with asylum seekers to take place in the presence of only one member of the Commission (something that had been systematically done for years).

Currently, there are 20 operational Commissions on the national territory and another 20 detached sections.

C.P.S.A.

(First aid and reception centres)

Here, first medical assistance of migrants arriving in Italy – especially by sea – is carried out, as well as their photographic identification and their allocation to first reception centres. The maximum staying period – 72 hours – is often surpassed due to the lack of places in other reception structures.

Asylum seekers

Those who are outside the borders of their own country and lodge, in another State, request for refugee status. They keep the status of asylum seekers until a decision on their submission has been taken.

Refugees

(refugee status holders)

According to art.1 of the Geneva Convention, a refugee is somebody who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country.

S.P.R.A.R.

(National protection system for asylum seekers and refugees)

Public second level reception system for international protection holders and seekers. It is made up of projects widespread on the national territory, led by local municipalities which voluntarily accede to the National Fund for asylum policies and services. The Fund is managed by the Interior Ministry and provided for in the Budget Law of the State.

Holders of subsidiary protection

Citizens of a third country who do not possess the requisites for refugee status, but who are believed to be at high risk of serious damage (death sentence, torture, threat to life in the case of internal or international conflict) if they were to return to their country of origin.

Humanitarian protection holders

Citizens of a third country who do not possess the requisites for international protection, but are allowed to stay on the national territory because of strong reasons, be they humanitarian (i.e. serious health problems) or linked to constitutional or international obligations of the Italian State.

We wish to thank, for their support during the research:

• Accoglienza e Solidarietà (CT)
• Architetto Senza Frontiere (Rome)
• Blocco presidio metropolitano (Rome)
• Borderline Sicilia
• Campagna “LasciateCiEntrare”
• Caritas - Borgo Mezzanone
• Centro Socio Culturale Affabulazione Ostia (Rome)
• Management committee of the occupied building in via Curtatone (Rome)
• Comitato Solidarietà Rifugiati e Migranti (TD)
• Comunità Progetto Sud - Lamezia Terme
• CSA Ex Canapificio (CS)
• Emergency - Projects in Castel Volturno, Foggia, Palermo and Polistena
• ICS – Consorzio Italiano di Solidarietà
• Refugee Office (TS)
• Intersos - Project Mesoghiós (Kr)
• Mission of Speranza e Carità (PA)
• Ospiti in arrivo (UD)
• Pazzismo Stop (VD)
• Riveliamo la precarietà (BA)
• SPRAR Servizio Centrale
• Tenda per la Pace e i Diritti (GD)
• University of Calabria (CS)

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Hédecins Sans Frontières projects on migration

In 2015, MSF tripled its projects on migration in Europe, mobilizing 335 humanitarian workers and spending an estimated 31.5 million euros. Between 31st January and 15th December 2015, MSF teams carried out about 100,000 medical consultations for refugees and migrants – on board ships in the Mediterranean, in Italy, Greece and the Balkans. Between May and December, MSF rescued and assisted 23,247 people at sea. Most of the pathologies we found could be easily prevented if European states had guaranteed a safe passage and an adequate reception system.

On 19th January 2016, MSF launched a report, at the international level, where it denounced the catastrophic failure of the European Union in responding to the humanitarian needs of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in 2015, and painted a dramatic picture, emerged from MSF projects on migration, of the medical-humanitarian impact of European policies on thousands of people on the run.

For more information and in-depth analysis:

www.medicienzafrontiere.it

MSF has dedicated its campaign #Milionidipassi to people on the run, to restore dignity to the issue of forced migration and guarantee everybody’s right to safety.

www.milionidipassi.it #milionidipassi #safeassage
Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is the largest independent medical humanitarian organization in the world. Founded by doctors and journalists in 1971, MSF delivers emergency aid to people affected by armed conflict, epidemics, malnutrition, exclusion from healthcare, and natural disasters in almost 70 countries. MSF offers independent and impartial assistance to those who need it most.

MSF reserves the right to denounce forgotten crises, combat the inadequacy and abuses in the aid system and publicly support a better quality of treatment and medical protocols.

In 1999, MSF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

www.msf.it