



The parable of the Italian reception system

by Sergio Bontempelli and Giuseppe Faso

1. Reception: the end of a cycle

1.1. Italian migration policy and residential reception: a recent link

In recent years, it is common perception that *immigration policies* and government choices concerning *migrants' residential hospitality* in Italy are linked.

Public debate has stressed this links at times by highlighting the costs, other times the benefits that would come from government commitment to provide hospitality to refugees in dedicated/*ad hoc* facilities.

This way, reception centers have been seen as one of the most visible and debated aspects of the national migration policies. This focus on hospitality is quite recent though. Still ten years ago, in 2011, the hosting capacity of Sprar - the network of reception facilities established in 2002 – did not exceed 3.000 beds throughout the national territory¹.

This situation changed drastically in 2011 following the Arab spring and political upheavals on the southern shore of the Mediterranean that triggered new migratory flows².

In the early stages of the crisis, the Berlusconi administration sought to reactivate the usual ejection mechanism with the aim to repatriate migrants to their countries of origin. However, the collapse of several Northern African regimes and the consequent absence of institutional interlocutors led to a stalemate.

The island of Lampedusa became filled with newly arrived migrants that could not be transferred anywhere else. Many of them sought asylum gaining a temporary right of residence since the authorities could not eject them until the final decision on their asylum applications.

The only way out consisted in hosting the new migrants and distribute them across the country. However, since Sprar did not have the capacity to meet the current needs, the government appointed the Protezione Civile (Civil Protection) to set up an additional facilities' network for such emergencies.

¹ Cfr. SPRAR Servizio Centrale, *Rapporto annuale del Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati. Anno 2012/2013*, Digitalia Lab srl, Roma 2013, page 52.

² Cfr. S. Bontempelli, *Da «clandestini» a «falsi profughi». Migrazioni forzate e politiche migratorie italiane dopo le Primavera arabe*, in «Meridiana», n. 86, year 2016, pages 167-179.



The new reception mechanism - called «Emergenza Nord Africa- ENA³»/ (“North Africa Emergency”) – was created side by side with the Sprar, it did not replace it.

Both were aimed at the same categories of migrants, namely asylum seekers but while Sprar – which kept its function unchanged - was managed by the municipalities, Ena was run by the Protezione Civile through prefectures.

When Ena facilities were closed down in February 2013⁴), they were substituted by CAS (Centri di Accoglienza Straordinari), under the supervision of the Interior Ministry. Thus, reception policies have continued to be characterised by the existence of two parallel systems.

Meanwhile, as a result of the considerable increase in number of arrivals by sea⁵, governments had to improve the accommodation/hosting capacity of the mechanism/system in place (of the existing facilities). As of December 31, 2016, Cas were hosting 137 thousand migrants and Sprar almost 24 thousand⁶. Nearly 35 thousand people were employed in the sector⁷.

1.2 The end of a cycle

The agreement signed with Libya by the then Minister of Interior Marco Minniti in 2017 have considerably reduced the number of arrivals by sea. The total number of migrants arrived by sea have decreased from 180,000 in 2016 to 120,000 in 2017, to 23,000 in 2018 and 11,000 in 2019⁸.

In addition to that, a number of measures to reform the reception system had been put in place along with an increasingly intense activity carried out by the prefectures aimed at withdrawing/revoking hospitality from an increasing number of beneficiaries. By doing this, Prefectures have literally emptied the

³ The Ena reception system was created following the DPCM 12-02-2011, which declared a state of humanitarian emergency in the national territory in relation to the exceptional influx of citizens from North African countries.

⁴ In the decree issued on February 12, 2011, the end of the “state of emergency” was set to December 31, 2011. Later, with the DPCM issued on October, 10, 2011, the deadline was postponed until December, 31 2012. Finally, through the Ordinance 33 (issued on December, 28, 2012) of the Head of the Department of Civil Protection, the final closure of the centers was set to December 28, 2013.

⁵ For data on arrivals by sea in these years please see Redazionale, Gli sbarchi in Italia negli ultimi 10 anni in «OpenPolis», website, <http://bit.ly/2LUp2xW>, article from 5-2-2018, e Centro Studi e Ricerche Idos, *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2017*, Idos, Roma 2017, page 122.

⁶ Cfr. Idos, *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2017*, cit., page 141.

⁷ Cfr. InMigrazione and Oxfam Italia, *Invece si può! Storie di accoglienza diffusa*, Oxfam, Rome 2019, <http://bit.ly/393hO5C>, page 2. This is an estimate to be taken with great caution, because there are no official data on the number of workers employed in the sector.

⁸ *Cruscotto statistico giornaliero*, December 31, 2019, <http://bit.ly/32DWQIk>.



Cas centres. According to a survey conducted by Duccio Facchini, between 2016 and 2019 the withdrawals involved at least 100,000 people⁹.

Thus, as early as 2017, the Italian reception system began to downsize and the decrees by Matteo Salvini – the then Interior Minister - adopted the following year¹⁰ considerably reduced migrants' access to protection and cut services offered in reception centres. According to an estimate by the Fp-Cgil, these measures have also led to a reduction in the number of staff employed in the sector with a cut of 40%¹¹.

The Minniti and Salvini decrees therefore closed the historical cycle that was opened in 2011¹².

By attacking the right to asylum and the agreements with countries of origin and transit in the name of the so-called “containment of migratory flows”, residential reception has once again become a relatively marginal phenomenon, which, however, has kept a central role in the framework of the migration policies. However, it has kept a central role in the frame to which migration policies are conceived: the invasion, the alleged improper condition of the asylum seeker, reduced to a migrant who “clogs the courts with appeals”, etc..¹³.

2. The exhaustion of the centre-model

2.1 Before Minniti-Salvini: the exhaustion of reception

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the decrees introduced by Minniti and then Salvini are the sole or main cause for the end of this cycle since the reception system had already exhausted its functions before their promulgation. In some respects, it was the events happened in 2011 - that led to the creation of a parallel emergency system additional to Sprar - that triggered a crisis dynamic.

⁹ D. Facchini, *I 100mila esclusi dall'accoglienza dalle prefetture italiane*, in «Altreconomia», n. 221, December 2019, pages 10-16.

¹⁰ Here we make reference to the Decree 113/2018, converted into Law 132/2018, and to the new national specifications on Cas as per Ministry of the Interior Decree 10-11-2018.

¹¹ Cfr. M. Franchi, *Già 5mila licenziati nei centri per l'immigrazione*, in «Il Manifesto», ed. online, 7-04-2019, <http://bit.ly/38azKdy>.

¹² To understand the substantial continuity between the two ministries, please read E. Gargiulo, *Una filosofia della sicurezza e dell'ordine. Il governo dell'immigrazione secondo Marco Minniti*, in «Meridiana, Rivista di storia e scienze sociali», n. 91, 2018, E. Pugliese & M. Vitiello, *Di Minniti in peggio, decreti anti immigrati e crisi della solidarietà*, in «Inchiesta», website visited on 3-10-2018, <http://bit.ly/3800MUB>, and the contribution of Andrea Pennacchi, a comedian with a strong satirical streak, *Andrea Pennacchi e il monologo del suo Pojana: “Orizzonti di mona”*, «Propaganda Live», on La7 TV channel, episode aired on 14-02-2020, available at <http://bit.ly/3a4cuiu>.

¹³ Milena Gabanelli, *Migranti, una proposta da 4 mld. Perché può funzionare*, Corriere online, 13 August 2016, <http://bit.ly/2I2TxRg>.



As a matter of fact, from that moment on, (public) hospitality aimed at asylum seekers began to be perceived primarily as a form of custody (and therefore control) of unwanted and undesirable people.

While Sprar - established years earlier also thanks to the deployment of several associations - had among others the aim of promoting migrants' social inclusion¹⁴, Ena and Cas centres seemed to have as their only goal to empty landing places like Lampedusa.

As for the asylum seekers and their settlement trajectories, there was no specific provision in the Ministry of the Interior's new measures, at least in the early years. It is no coincidence that the quality standards held by Sprar centres - which required, for example, host newcomers (reception) in small groups, and qualified operators in charge of facilitating migration social inclusion and the acquisition of status - were never entirely extended to Cas, except for generic references in some ministerial circulars¹⁵.

The ambiguities of Cas centers have thus generated an overall de-qualification of the reception system. The lack of clear and specific qualifications and competences required by the managing bodies, have turned asylum centres into a hunting ground for cooperatives, associations or companies looking for an easy profit.

In the space of a few years, several Cas centres set up by Prefectures have ended up managed by entities without any expertise. There are many well known cases where tenders to manage Cas centers were won by cooperatives or by hoteliers and bed and breakfast owners who had no knowledge of the needs of asylum seekers and who might have been pushed by the opportunity to pay off their debts thanks to State funding.

Episodes of «mala-accoglienza» (bad reception) have been documented for years now and in the worst cases, they have involved forms of organized

¹⁴ About the origins of the Sprar system please see ICS – Consorzio Italiano di Solidarietà, *L'utopia dell'asilo. Il diritto di asilo in Italia nel 2005*, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, Torino 2006, pages 87-99, and M. Calloni, S. Marras & G. Serughetti, *Chiedo asilo. Essere rifugiato in Italia*, Università Bocconi Editor, Milan 2012, pages 107 and following. On the standards of reception guaranteed by the Sprar centres before the Salvini decrees please see G. Faso e S. Bontempelli, *Accogliere rifugiati e richiedenti asilo. Manuale dell'operatore critico*, Cescvot, Firenze 2017, pages 39-40.

¹⁵ See, for example, the instructions given by the Ministry of the Interior in the Circular Letter n. 14906, 17-12-2014, *Afflusso di cittadini stranieri a seguito di ulteriori sbarchi sulle coste italiane*, available <http://bit.ly/circolare2014>.



crime¹⁶. These episodes have been used by the right wing to impose further limitations to the right to asylum¹⁷.

Cas managing bodies are often completely unaware and unrelated to the Sprar original purposes. Also, many of the people employed have internalized an idea of hospitality meant as surveillance and control of dangerous or deviant people.

Cas employees are more and more seen as guardians, responsible for supervising migrants and controlling their movements and behaviour. In many cases Cas centers have become real correctional structures where strong limitations to migrants' freedom are applied¹⁸.

2.2. From "correctional" reception to non-reception

The idea according to which reception is assimilable to correction was widespread among Prefectures, local officials, managing bodies and operators/workers of the centres. It then was widely transposed in the measures adopted at Ministry of the Interior and government level. Emblematic in this sense is Minister Minniti's work, which has given a strong authoritarian and disciplinary imprint on Cas activities and responsibilities.

Usually, when one thinks of Minister Minniti's measures, reference is made above all to the decree on asylum, known as the "Minniti-Orlando decree"¹⁹. However, as regards migrants' reception, of much more importance is the decree issued in March 2017, with which the Ministry of Interior amended the national tender specifications for Cas centers.

It specifies the standards that the Prefectures must require from the managing bodies: it is therefore a measure designed to regulate in detail the life of a Cas²⁰.

The specifications introduced in 2017 are openly inspired by a corrective, and in some ways punitive idea of reception. Cas are first and foremost equated

¹⁶ Y. Accardo e G. Guido (a cura di), *Accogliere: la vera emergenza. Rapporto di monitoraggio della Campagna LasciateCIEntrare su accoglienza, detenzione amministrativa e rimpatri forzati*, Campagna LasciateciEntrare, Roma 2016, in <http://bit.ly/32vuxeY> and *Cronache di Ordinario Razzismo*, in http://bit.ly/cronache_malaccoglienza.

¹⁷ An example of the right wing rhetoric on the issue is: M. Giordano, *Profugopoli. Quelli che si riempiono le tasche con il business degli immigrati*, Mondadori, Milano 2016. For a review of protests against the opening of centres see Lunaria, *Accoglienza. La propaganda e le proteste del rifiuto, le scelte istituzionali sbagliate*, focus n. 1/2017, Roma 2017, http://bit.ly/lunaria_accoglienza.

¹⁸ See G. Faso e S. Bontempelli, *Accogliere rifugiati e richiedenti asilo*, cit.

¹⁹ Decreto-legge 13/2017, then Law 46/2017: *Disposizioni urgenti per l'accelerazione dei procedimenti in materia di protezione internazionale nonché per il contrasto dell'immigrazione illegale*.

²⁰ Ministero dell'Interno, Decreto March 7, 2017, *Approvazione dell'allegato schema di capitolato di gara di appalto*, in <http://bit.ly/minniti2017>.



with Cie/Cpr, i.e. facilities designed to forcibly repatriate migrants - and not to receive them in view of their inclusion, as it should be for asylum seekers.

The decree issued in March 2017 established undifferentiated rules valid for both the reception centres and detention and deportation facilities. This equivalence introduces rules particularly strict. For example, workers' presence around the clock to perform a constant control over migrants.

The managing body is obliged to certify each entry or exit of guests through the use of an attendance register and/or a personal badge. External visitors (friends, relatives, worship ministers, etc.) must be authorized by the Prefecture, and meals can no longer be prepared independently by guests (as it was in small facilities), but they are provided by a canteen service²¹.

The reception centers have thus become like small barracks where time is regimented and rules that restrict asylum seekers' freedom of movement are applied. These rules have - at times - been interpreted in an even more vexatious way: emblematic is the case of the Prefecture of Florence, which issued two circulars that forced guests to return by 8 p.m. while centers' staff was requested to check migrants' personal correspondence (in violation of an explicit constitutional provision)²².

This authoritarian twist has profoundly changed the role of managing bodies and staff. The main activity of the centres has increasingly been that of imposing rules that migrants must respect in order to deserve hospitality. According to a survey conducted by Duccio Facchini²³, many Prefectures have revoked migrants' right to stay in reception centers in all the cases of violation of the internal regulations, even minor infractions²⁴, putting asylum seekers on

²¹ Sul capitolato Minniti si veda: D. Facchini, *Accoglienza dei migranti: ecco come l'Italia torna indietro di dieci anni*, in «Altreconomia», ed. online, 19 Maggio 2017, <http://bit.ly/2DL7X6z>; CNCA (Coordinamento Nazionale Comunità di Accoglienza), *Il "decreto Minniti" rischia di favorire strutture per migranti inadeguate e speculazioni intollerabili*, comunicato stampa, 13 Aprile 2017, dal sito CNCA, <http://bit.ly/2sKCoHP>; Senato della Repubblica, XVIII Legislatura, *Relazione sul funzionamento del sistema di accoglienza predisposto al fine di fronteggiare le esigenze straordinarie connesse all'eccezionale afflusso di stranieri nel territorio nazionale (anno 2017)*, Roma 2018, <http://bit.ly/3976bum>.

²² Cfr. Prefettura di Firenze - Area Diritti Civili, Cittadinanza, Immigrazione e Diritto di Asilo, *Capacità economica dei richiedenti asilo ospiti dei Cas - Vigilanza*, circolare prot. 0123513 del October 5, 2018 and Prefettura di Firenze - Area Diritti Civili, Cittadinanza, Immigrazione e Diritto di Asilo, *Orario di rientro degli ospiti nei centri di accoglienza*, circolare prot. 0126306 del 11-10-2018. For a review of these documents: A. Simoni, *Biking while black. Riflessioni a partire dalle recenti circolari del prefetto di Firenze*, in «Questione Giustizia», November 30, 2018, <http://bit.ly/3cd2Zj0>.

²³ D. Facchini, *I 100mila esclusi dall'accoglienza*, cit.

²⁴ Information on this expulsion activity from the centres is partial and sporadic. And it is a pity, because a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the revocation decrees would be very indicative of the choices made by Prefectures.



the street. The European Court of Justice has declared this practice to be unlawful²⁵.

The terms of the contract between the Italian government and the reception centers have been further modified in late 2018 by the then Minister of Interior Matteo Salvini. Reception has been limited to essential services provided to migrants while activities - such as vocational training, Italian language courses, etc., - aimed at social inclusion have been cancelled.

Also the average cost per migrant went from 35 euros to 20 depending on the size of the centres²⁶.

The most evident consequence – as per some accurate surveys²⁷ - has been the disengagement of those managing bodies with a strong social vocation, replaced by for-profit entities able to invest in large centres²⁸ and obtain considerable revenues.

These latter entities would save on the services provided to reception centers' guests, who are now inmates amassed and under constant surveillance²⁹. This system would make the wire tapped words pronounced by Salvatore Buzzi, the manager of one of these entities (now convicted), come true: "Do you have any idea how much money I make on immigrants? Drug trafficking is less lucrative"³⁰.

²⁵ European Court of Justice, November 12, 2019, causa C-233/18, Zubair Haqbin Vs Federal agentschap voor de opvang van asielzoekers, <http://bit.ly/2wSt0E4>. It should be noted that the Court prohibits the withdrawal of reception even in the case of serious violations: in Italy, many guests have been put on the street for minor or derisory violations of the rules imposed by improvised managers: hence the cancellation decided by the various Regional Administrative Courts (to which not all revoked of course had access).

²⁶ Ministero dell'Interno, November 10, 2018, *Fornitura di beni e servizi per la gestione e il funzionamento dei centri di prima accoglienza, di cui al decreto legge 30 ottobre 1995, n. 451*, in http://bit.ly/capitolato_salvini.

²⁷ Action Aid e Openpolis, *Centri d'Italia: la sicurezza dell'esclusione. Grandi centri per grandi gestori*, in «Openpolis», sito web, 2019, <http://bit.ly/2TdSFOQ>.

²⁸ A. Camilli, *Il decreto Salvini ha favorito il «business dell'accoglienza»*, «Internazionale», Febbraio17, 2020, <http://bit.ly/2wO99Fr>.

²⁹ "The Cas have become dormitories, the operators have a very strict control function that severely limits the guests' ability to find a job or carry out any other activity outside the centre": this is how Emilia Bitossi from the Naga association of Milan", statement reported by Annalisa Camilli in the mentioned article.

³⁰ Cfr. Redazionale, *Mafia Capitale*, Buzzi: "Con immigrati si fanno molti più soldi che con la droga", in «Il Fatto Quotidiano», ed. online, 2 Dicembre 2014, <http://bit.ly/2TlAAyv>.



3. The right wing and the new reception framework

3.1. *The cultural offensive of the right*

In recent years, the terms of the public debate on the issue of immigrants have been imposed/dictated by the right wing. Themes discussed have been migrants' invasion, their social dangerousness, the privileges they enjoy ("they stay in five-star hotels", "they stay here doing nothing", etc.); all this in a framework of public insecurity.

These denigrating images have met the consent of a large share of Italians. Given this scenario, asylum seekers are no longer seen as people in danger, who have fled their countries to seek protection, but, more and more often, as "illegal immigrants" generously housed in hotels or as "fake refugees", namely economic migrants seeking asylum instrumentally, for the sole purpose of obtaining a residence permit.

The strategies of the centre left - in response to the proclamations of the right wing - have been insufficient and often even subordinate³¹. Without questioning the terms imposed - such as migrants invasion, insecurity, etc. - the effectiveness of the proposed solutions is hard to imagine.

Just like Minniti and the majority of centre-left politicians, also authoritative commentators - from Federico Rampini³² to Milena Gabanelli³³, just to give two examples - instead of opposing the watchwords imposed by the right wing, have reacted by reassuring the public opinion and indulging people' fears, true or presumed.

This way, it is reinforced the idea that immigration is a source of insecurity that must be limited and only "deserving" migrants - who can adapt and do not bother - can be welcomed.

Emblematic is the case of the so-called "Accademia per l'integrazione" (Academy for integration) in Bergamo, a sort of reception centre organized in military style³⁴. The "Academy", created by the Municipality of Bergamo in

³¹ In these cases, as illustrated in a well-known book by George Lakoff, the frame of the right is strengthened: "when we discuss with someone of the opposite side using their language, we activate the frames of that side, strengthening them in those who listen to us at the expense of our own" G. Lakoff, *Non pensare all'elefante!*, Chiarelettere, Roma 2019, p.7.

³² Cfr. F. Rampini, *La notte della sinistra. Da dove ripartire*, Mondadori, Milano 2019.

³³ "The fears of citizens, who see increasing degradation in many marginal neighbourhoods where they live, should not be ignored". "We must put ourselves in their shoes and reassure them, governing the phenomenon with a pragmatic and realistic vision". (M. Gabanelli, *Migranti: la politica del «non fare»*, on *Corriere* online, article from February 2018, <http://bit.ly/2T5Q9eE>).

³⁴ "During their stay in the facility, the "pupils" - all males - are subjected to a rather strict discipline. Military rituals and habits are an integral part of the routine (...). The alarm clock is at 6.30 a.m., six days a week, and is followed by a sort of gathering in the corridor, with martial-



cooperation with Caritas, was enthusiastically introduced by the TV program "Le Iene" in the episode of November 11, 2018³⁵.

Academy's "deserving" guests - namely, those who accept without rebellion the disciplinary practices imposed by the managers - are "rewarded" by supporting them in their job search. After that TV programme, an petition on Change.org³⁶ - signed by 165,377 people - asked for the implementation of a proposal by the Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani (Italian Association of Municipalities), according to which "deserving" migrants should have been "rewarded" by obtaining a residence permit, as per Bergamo model.

The case has been analyzed by Enrico Gargiulo, who noted that the "Bergamo model" does not question the policy framework on migration and social integration and indeed it only confirms the undisputed equation between immigration and insecurity. Gargiulo also observes how the so-called Academy has brought to completion a bipartisan political path started earlier, with the requirement for the so-called "economic" migrants of language and civic education skills, as a condition for the issuance or renewal of the residence permit. These paths of civic integration were then extended, in different ways, also to asylum seekers and holders of international protection.

"The logic of integration as a duty", concludes Gargiulo, "has not only been extended to new categories but it was linked to the request for availability of free work. With the Academy, therefore, a circle is closed. The "good" immigrant, now, is the one who, even if not "economic", accepts to learn a job without being paid because considered incapable or without will"³⁷.

3.2. *Benevolence and civic integration*

Gargiulo is right to argue that the bipartisan political path had started earlier. We can reconstruct it by going back to a speech published in 2000 by Guido Bolaffi - Head of Cabinet of the then Minister Livia Turco - that focused on the "benevolence" of the government (centre-left coalition) and the justified sarcasm

type gestures. All participants are dressed in the same way: they wear a blue suit - in fact a uniform - with the words "Academy for Integration. Thanks Bergamo". They have to keep beds and common areas in perfect order, otherwise they may be punished (...). Mobile phones are "granted" only at certain times of the day: at night and briefly during lunch". (E. Gargiulo, *Il sogno dell'integrazione genera mostri*, «Global Project», website visited on January 4, 2019, <http://bit.ly/gargiulo2019>).

³⁵ See <http://bit.ly/ieneaccoglienza>

³⁶ See <http://bit.ly/3a9Lj5R>

³⁷ E. Gargiulo, *Il sogno dell'integrazione*, cit..



expressed by two experts on the matter like Enrico Pugliese and Sergio Briguglio³⁸.

The logic of "benevolence" makes the idea of asylum as a right disappear. Only "deserving" migrants can enter and remain, and the right becomes benevolence.

When another centre-left government resumed this path in 2006, "the idea of merit and the logic of social control became part of migration policies"³⁹.

It was then the Minister of the Interior Amato who – in 2006 - launched a *Charter of Values* which was decisive in the process of making immigrants inferior. The Ministry also arranges a "Security Package"⁴⁰ which was then finalized by the Leghista Minister Maroni. Due to space limitations, we will not reconstruct the path that brought to this securitarian philosophy which both centre left and centre right governments share – though using a different rethorical language on the issue⁴¹.

3.3. In the shadow of ("perceived") insecurity

Following the aggressive rhetoric of Minister Salvini, the tendency is to forget that the full assumption of insecurity as the main issue in relation to migration dates back to Minister Minniti, who stated that people' fears are to be reckoned.

Perception that replaces reality returns in documents and declarations by Minister Giuliano Amato first and ten years later by Minister Minniti.

But instead of questioning distorted perceptions through systematic reframing actions⁴² involving replacing offensive slogans and the relaunching of different ideas and projects - it has been accepted as a fact that fear and insecurity are not due to actual crime, but to a perceived one.

But if the perception of the reality is distorted who is responsible? Who contributes to misrepresentations of migration as a phenomenon if not politicians and media? And who more than them can (could) reset the public debate?

³⁸ Cfr., "Benevolenza" in Giuseppe Faso, *Lessico del razzismo democratico*, DeriveApprodi, Roma 2008, pp.31-34.

³⁹ E. Gargiulo, *Integrati ma subordinati. La civic integration tra precarietà e stratificazione*, in V. Carbone, E. Gargiulo e M. Russo Spena, *I confini dell'esclusione. La civic integration tra selezione e disciplinamento dei corpi migranti*, DeriveApprodi, Roma 2018. The book is essential to recreate the establishment of the "civic integration" system, which can only be mentioned here.

⁴⁰ See the entries "Valori", "Percepito" and "Per delinquere", in G. Faso, *Lessico del razzismo...* cit. and A. Rivera, *Regole e roghi*, Dedalo 2009, pp.135-137, or G. Faso, *Dall'Accordo al Piano di integrazione dei titolari*, in *I confini dell'esclusione...*, cit., pp. 139-169.

⁴¹ For a complete history of securitarian policies please see Wolf Bukowski, *La buona educazione degli oppressi. Piccola storia del decoro*, Alegre, Roma 2019.

⁴² Cfr. G.Lakoff, *Non pensare...* cit..



Instead, the debate (so to speak) takes place among those like Galli della Loggia – one of the most influential newspaper columnists - who affirms that "in the case of Italy, immigration has represented an opportunity to exercise illegality, a widespread illegality, of which people have for obvious reasons taken note", and those who mistake a social representation (the constructed image of the increase in crime) contradicted by the decline in crime (a 20-year trend verified on data) with a sacrosanct perception to deal with: accepting it.