



Better Advocacy, Better Inclusion

Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices

The experience of 20 Italian antiracist realities

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Introduction

What is and what do we mean by advocacy? How much and how is it practiced by the Italian anti-racist movement? What are the social and political priorities that are at the core of the initiatives promoted at local, National and European level? And what is the role of migrants, refugees and discriminated/racialized people in their designing and implementation?

These are some of the issues addressed in the interviews conducted by Lunaria with 20 local and national realities of the Italian antiracist movement, including historical and well-structured associations, local committees and informal movements, whose results are presented in this report. The interviews carried out show a very dynamic world that pursues social change by adopting very different strategies and methodologies of intervention.

One can do advocacy without knowing it, or the critical and conscious rejection of this concept, born and consolidated in the Anglo-Saxon world, can accompany the preference for the idea of justice and social change from below.

Regardless of the use of the definition at the theoretical level, a plurality of initiatives pursues social change and the guarantee of people's rights. Attempts are made to directly redirect the choices of policy makers. Strategic legal actions attempt to indirectly provoke legislative reforms. Old and new communication tools lend themselves to the denunciation of different forms of discrimination and institutional racism. Multiple actions of collective solidarity from below fill the void left by institutions. Events and public mobilizations (from sit-ins to flash-mobs, from mail-bombing to open letters to public decision-makers, from online petitions to street demonstrations) attempt to shake the indifference of public opinion and politics.

A strategic approach to advocacy, understood as the ability to plan one's own initiatives over time, taking into account the objectives pursued, possible interlocutors, available tools and possible allies, does not yet seem to be rooted in Italy, with the exception of a few large organizations.

Instead, the social priorities on which to concentrate their forces are very clear and mostly shared: the fight against institutional racism, the completion of the regularization procedure started in 2020, the request to end the labour exploitation of migrants in all sectors of the labour market more precarious and equal access to welfare, the (re)putting on the agenda of the reform of the citizenship law and a greater commitment of the institutions in the fight against ethnic/racial profiling. Self-organization, public mobilization and creative use of new communication channels are some of the most used tools.

The report is divided into two main parts.

In the first part, a brief presentation of the official data available on discrimination, hostile discourse and racist violence and a, albeit partial, picture of the Italian antiracist world outlines the context in which the realities we interviewed move.

In the second part, in-depth analysis sheets dedicated to each of the realities interviewed follow the overall analysis of the interviews.

The report closes with some final considerations

1. The national context

1.1 Available data on discrimination, hate speech and crimes

The lack of a coordinated system of official data on discrimination and racist violence in Italy has been repeatedly denounced. Therefore, to obtain an overall picture, it is necessary to combine official data with those produced in other areas.

One of the official sources of reference in the field of discrimination is UNAR (National Antidiscrimination Racial Office)¹. The latest published data regarding reports received by the office refer to 2019². The majority of the 3,394 relevant reports worked on in 2019 by the Office relate to discrimination on "ethnic-racial" grounds (2,496 cases, or 73.5% of the overall total). Focusing on last figure, it is noted that it is the subcategory with the generic connotation "skin colour" that is most recurrent (with 749 cases), followed by "foreigner" (698 cases), "refugees" (390 cases) and "Roma, Sinti and Caminanti" (341 cases).

Scope	"Ethnic-racial" motive	Roma, Sinti, Camminanti	Total	% On total
Public life	960	225	1.185	47,48
Delivery of public services	223	81	304	12,18
Leisure time	257	8	265	10,62
Housing	164	7	171	6,85
Work	137	1	138	5,53
Public transport	125	1	126	5,05
Services from public establishments	107	2	109	4,37
School and education	66	3	69	2,76
Law Enforcement	47	12	59	2,36
Health	54	0	54	2,16
Provision of financial services	15	1	16	0,64
Total	2.155	341	2.496	100

Source: Lunaria reworking of Unar data

1 The office, set up in 2003 and located at the Department of Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, has the task of guaranteeing the right to equal treatment and combating discrimination by collecting reports, providing assistance to victims, carrying out research and analysis, promoting awareness activities and reporting to the Government and Parliament.

2 See: UNAR, Report to the President of the Council of Ministers on the activity carried out and to Parliament on the effective application of the principle of equal treatment and the effectiveness of protection mechanisms, 2019, available here: <https://bit.ly/3jhY0lx>.

The 53 cases of "multiple discrimination" detected in 2019, or in a broad sense the reports in which two or more discriminatory factors are co-present, mainly concern the intersection between "ethnic-racial" and religious motives (28 cases or 52.8%).

The disaggregation of data on discrimination on ethnic-racial grounds and referring to Roma, Sinti and Camminanti by area of discrimination shows that almost half of the reports received concern public life (47.4%). The other most frequent areas of reported discrimination are public services (12.1%), leisure (10.6%), housing (6.8%), work (5.5%) and public transportation (5%). The other areas of discrimination considered by UNAR are less relevant with a frequency of less than 5%.

Since 2009, UNAR has also been monitoring cases of discrimination that involve the initiation of legal proceedings, with the aim of gathering information on the process of the cases. These are largely cases inferred through daily media monitoring, to which is added an activity aimed at completing the information collected regarding the identification data of the victim or perpetrator that is essential to initiate judicial monitoring. In 2019, approximately 150 requests for information were made³, the judicial authority answered most of them.

The most reliable official source of reference regarding, instead, hate crimes is the ODIHR/OSCE Observatory, which publishes an international report every year, fed by official data provided by the Police Forces and OSCAD (Observatory for Security against Discriminatory Acts)⁴, integrated with information provided by civil society organizations⁵. In 2019⁶, according to the latest report, in Italy, the discriminatory crimes documented by the police were a total of 1,119, of which 805 were of xenophobic and racist matrix, 107 referred to gender or sexual orientation and 207 to disability status. The breakdown⁷ by type of motive of the discriminatory crimes reported to the Police Force shows, once again, in our country the clear prevalence of racist and xenophobic crimes, which represent 71.9% of the total of so-called "hate" crimes. Among the reported crimes of xenophobic and racist matrix in 2019, cases of incitement to violence (271), grave desecration (152), physical violence (104) and threatening behaviour (79) are the most numerous.

In addition to these two crucial official sources, it is worth noting some data produced by civil society organizations.

³ The Office follows with particular attention the cases in which the judge has decided to apply the aggravating circumstance of the purpose of discrimination or "ethnic, racial or religious hatred" provided for by Law no. 205/1993.

⁴ See the latest report from January 2020, "When Hate Becomes a Crime. Characteristics and legislation to combat hate crimes," available here: <https://bit.ly/3ijGz4t>.

⁵ The official data for Italy are provided to Odihr by combining the data of the "Sistema di Indagine - SDI" (extracted from the inter-force CED) which concern crimes with discriminatory purposes that have "regulatory coverage" (i.e. related to "race", ethnicity, nationality, religion and belonging to national linguistic minorities), with the reports of OSCAD - Observatory for Security Against Discriminatory Acts - which concern discriminatory areas without specific regulatory coverage (related to sexual orientation and gender identity). Observatory for Security Against Discriminatory Acts - which concern discriminatory areas without specific regulatory coverage (related to sexual orientation and gender identity). Lunaria contributes annually to the collection of data provided by civil society organizations.

⁶ See the latest report here: <https://hatecrime.osce.org/italy>.

⁷ ODIHR notes that Italy has not reported the number of hate crimes prosecuted or information on the conviction of hate crime cases.

Among the 7.826 cases documented by Lunaria in its online database⁸ from January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2020, the 972 physical assaults are of particular concern. Although the data documented by Lunaria have no statistical representativeness, the anomalous recurrence of physical assaults, carried out individually or in groups in the biennium 2018-2019, is to be watched with great attention.

Other important data are those related to hate speech, with particular attention to online hate speech. In this regard, Amnesty International Italy has published, also for 2021, the results of its research "The Barometer of Hate"⁹, now in its fourth edition and dedicated this year to pandemic intolerance. The research, carried out between June and September 2020, took into analysis more than 36,000 unique contents, including posts/tweets and related comments of 38 pages/public profiles of politicians, newspapers, representatives of the union world (organizations and individuals) and welfare-related entities. The main focus was the impact the pandemic has had on economic, social and cultural rights and the related impact on online hate. From the analysis conducted, it became clear that migrants and refugees are the haters' favorite scapegoat, alongside health care workers, runners, and those on supposedly exclusive benefits. It emerged that in 10.5% of cases comments are offensive and/or discriminatory, and 1.2% of these are hate speech (+0.5% compared to previous editions), and that online hatred is more radicalized when it crosses themes related to economic, social and cultural rights (DESC)¹⁰.

The latest survey of the Intolerance Map¹¹ also reports some alarming data. A determining factor in the analysis, which covered the period March - September 2020, was, again, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. A total of 1,304,537 tweets¹² were extracted and analyzed. Of these, 565,526 were negative tweets. Hate speech appears to have decreased significantly compared to 2019. People hate, in short, in a different, more entrenched, radical way, although in absolute terms hostile tweets have decreased. People hate the social groups most exposed to the changes and adaptations needed to overcome the current pandemic crisis: women and migrants. Jews are still consistently hated, as historically in every period of crisis they represent the object of intolerance.

There is a final clarification to be made. The data illustrated, both those produced by the authorities responsible for combating discrimination and racism, and those produced by civil society organizations, while constituting a fundamental basis of information for the knowledge and analysis of the evolution of racism in our country, represent only that

⁸ The full database is available here: <http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/il-razzismo-quotidiano/>.

⁹ The Hate Barometer is a project of Amnesty International through which, since 2018, the level of discrimination and hate speech in online debate is monitored, combining the use of algorithms with the involvement of activists throughout Italy. The latest report is available here: <https://bit.ly/3Cbv2Mx>.

¹⁰ The data increases when this type of content crosses other themes: in posts/tweets that talk about DESC and "Roma" at the same time, the percentage rises to 43.2%; in the case of DESC and "immigration" to 20.2%. In comments, when themes about DESC overlap with "Roma" and "immigration," the figures reach 45.2% and 34.2%, respectively.

¹¹ A project now in its fifth edition and carried out by Vox- Italian Observatory on Rights, in collaboration with the State University of Milan, the University of Bari Aldo Moro, Sapienza - University of Rome and IT'STIME of the Catholic University of Milan, which has been mapping hate speech on social since 2015. All reports are available here: <http://www.voxdiritti.it/>.

¹² In 2020, women (49.91%) and Jews (18.45%) occupy the top two spots, followed by migrants (14.40%), Muslims (12.01%), homosexuals (3.28%), and the disabled (1.95%).

"visible" part of discrimination and racist violence that are the subject of complaints and reports¹³. They should therefore be used with great caution.

1.2. Anti-racism in Italy between migrant self-organization and the realities of the third sector

To attempt to provide a general snapshot that can account for all the realities operating in the various strands of commitment in the field of immigration in Italy, we must make a necessary premise. We are faced with a picture that is not only complex, but also varied and multifaceted. This is because the subjectivities in the field are structured differently and especially in the last decade, new informal subjectivities have arisen, with a very "fluid" organization that is difficult to categorize. The survey conducted in the universe of civil society, the results of which we present here, forced us to make choices, through a targeted selection of realities that move and act at local or national level, with the aim of causing social change, addressing the issue of "participation" in decision-making processes by migrants. The picture we have been able to draw from the interviews conducted in the field is, therefore, necessarily partial and tells only a small part of these realities. Of this large part of civil society that we have not been able to investigate, we try here to offer a brief overview¹⁴.

The term "organization of civil society"¹⁵, understood in a broad sense, "designates the organizational structures whose members act in the public interest through a democratic process, playing a mediating role between the public authorities and the citizens"¹⁶.

We could try, then, a classificatory approach that distinguishes them by their legal status, by the types of services offered, or by the type of activities carried out, or even by their territorial extension. There are various classifications, ranging from those with a legal-administrative slant to those of a more sociological nature.

For example, third sector entities have recently been redefined under Law 106/2016 delegating to the Government the reform of the Third Sector¹⁷.

13 For a description of the context and the current situation of the activity of reporting, recording and collecting data on hate crimes in Italy, making practical and feasible recommendations on how to improve it, see the report "The coordination on hate crimes data in Italy", realized within the project Facing Facts, available here: <https://bit.ly/3jfT3tn>.

14 At the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies - Directorate General of Immigration and Integration Policies - is established the Register of Associations and Bodies that operate in favor of immigrants. This register is aimed at private bodies, associations and organizations that meet the requirements established by art. 53 of Presidential Decree August 31, 1999, n.394, as amended by Presidential Decree October 18, 2004, n.334 and whose registration is a requirement for accessibility to public funding, where required. Here is the link: <https://bit.ly/3A5tp15>.

15 On the website of the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation it is possible to consult the list of civil society organizations and non-profit organizations that intend to carry out international cooperation initiatives with the support of the Agency, <https://www.aics.gov.it/home-ita/opportunita/area-osc/>.

16 From the glossary: <https://bit.ly/2TRyuL3>.

17 Thus began the long reform process of the entire discipline of non-profit entities, which led to the issuance of three implementation decrees of the Reform, concerning: the institution of the five per thousand (Legislative Decree 111/2017); the revision of the discipline of social enterprise (Legislative Decree 112/2017); the Single Code of the Third Sector (Legislative Decree 117/2017).

Sociological studies, on the other hand, have developed a classification¹⁸ that is roughly based on the services offered and that we can summarize with four general types of organizations, namely: organizations that perform a predominantly welfare function, which take "care" of people in difficulty, providing direct, material help, orientation to services and opportunities available, carried out on a voluntary basis and with performances, and "light" or low-threshold services; structured organizations, which are able to manage "heavy" and continuous interventions with paid and specialized staff, also taking advantage of public funding as an important but not exclusive resource; the pressure groups of the "claiming" associations, aimed at the protection of rights tout court through an advocacy activity that has an impact on regulatory texts and public opinion; and finally, the mutual aid organizations that represent a rather self-organized way of responding to their needs (among these, the associations of immigrants and foreign citizens, but also the many spontaneous committees of solidarity from below, many of which arose during the pandemic).

As for the advocacy activities carried out by these organizations, they range from denunciations of serious violations of the rights to which foreign citizens are often subjected to, to open letters against illegitimate practices and exclusionary policies by institutions, from requests for improvement of international legislation to the adaptation of domestic legislation to international law itself, from the inclusion in the political agenda of issues related to the development of the countries of the South of the world and the political choices necessary to pursue them, to actions in support of search and rescue (SAR) of migrants in the Mediterranean, passing also through strong stances against some media actors, to end with actions in the streets and demonstrations or the organization of conferences and public events to raise awareness and shared discussion on issues of migration, borders and asylum rights.

From an organizational point of view, the large national organizations, represented at the local level by sections, are flanked by associations of a national nature, but without autonomous offices at the local level. There are also some more hybrid realities that have a representation extended over macro-areas, which does not always coincide with the narrow regional boundaries and local level organizations, which have an even narrower field of action, but no less incisive and relevant. In addition to these numerous structured organizations, there are many others with a mixed structure or not structured as associations or cooperatives, but which operate both at the national and local levels. The case of large national campaigns, for example, shows how different realities that deal with immigration in various capacities, converge on a specific theme and join forces to achieve a

¹⁸ Maurizio Ambrosini in "Sociologia delle migrazioni", published by Il Mulino in 2005 (but already in a text he had edited in 1999, *Tra altruismo e professionalità. Terzo settore e cooperazione in Lombardia*), he revised and adapted to the Italian context the classificatory approach of the traditional non-profit sector already elaborated by J. Douglas in 1987 (*Political Theories of Nonprofit Organization*, in W.W. Powell, 1987, *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*). Douglas himself warned that the distinction remains rather arbitrary and artificial. Nevertheless, it was then taken up and reworked by many other scholars (see, among others: Donati P., 1997, *L'analisi sociologica del terzo settore: introdurre la distinzione relazionale terzo settore/privato sociale*, in Rossi G. (ed.), *Terzo settore, stato e mercato nella trasformazione delle politiche sociali in Europa*, F. Angeli, Milano; or F. Campomori, 2008, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza locale. La governance dell'integrazione in Italia*, Rome).

common goal, despite the variety of memberships and different positions. In addition to protest and awareness-raising campaigns, social movements in various cases provide tangible services to migrants in need, such as housing in occupied buildings. Alternatively, movements are formed that, while framing an objective, flow fluidly into a collective that nevertheless has no structure of belonging or at least does not highlight it (the No Borders movements, for example). We can also mention the groups that have formed spontaneously at the local level to provide services to asylum seekers, temporarily received or in transit (such as groups active near railway stations or border crossings). Some of these groups also network across national borders, bringing together the common interests of other European countries.

The specificity of migrants' associations

The associations of migrant communities in Italy deserve special attention. They represent an important part of the world of civil society organizations and a phenomenon that has been widely studied for years in numerous socio-anthropological field studies¹⁹. Yet, all these realities are often excluded from the institutional decision-making processes, but also of movement, which concern them.

We don't have many national statistics on the phenomenon, but we can say with certainty that it is a part of the third sector world that is in great ferment and evolution and that should be observed carefully in its various phases of growth and change. The research available in Italy has dealt with this phenomenon only in certain aspects, in circumscribed areas, or limited to a particular national group.

We know that there is a marked heterogeneity of migrants' associations in terms of history, degree of formalization, level of articulation and consolidation of internal organization, composition, quality of relationships with local institutions and other associations, authoritativeness within the national group(s) of reference, leadership characteristics, number and type of activities carried out (ranging from mutual aid to cultural activities, up to those that bring together the so-called "second generations"). The participation of migrant citizens and of the associations representing them in decision-making processes, as recently reiterated in the European Commission's New Action Plan for Integration and Inclusion²⁰, not only contributes to their "empowerment", but can also facilitate the design of more effective social inclusion policies that meet people's real needs²¹. In Italy, there has been a mapping of these associations on the Portale Integrazione Migranti (Migrants'

19 See the analysis, although dated: C. Mantovan, 2007, *Auto-organizzazione, partecipazione e rappresentanza dei migranti in Italia*, in *Immigrazione e cittadinanza. Auto-organizzazione e partecipazione dei migranti in Italia* - FrancoAngeli, Milan.

20 A document intended to serve as policy guidance and resource connector, offering an overview of the possible use and leveraging of different European funds that can be used to address barriers in access to education, employment, health care and housing that today hinder the participation and inclusion in European society of people from a migrant background, available here: <https://bit.ly/2WV8M9T>.

21 In numerous sociological studies, the "ethnic paradox", according to which participation in associations of migrants that keep alive the identity and culture of the countries of origin does not work to the detriment of, but rather favours the process of inclusion in the host society, especially at the local level, finds a further declination in a "transnational" key, in which the concern about the "paradox" shifts from the idea of separate "ethnic identities" to a critical perspective on the thickening of ties with the country of origin.

Integration Portal) since 2014²². When the new version of the Portal was put online, an update was made: the new mapping is the result of several phases of work and collaboration, as well as of the associations themselves, of the regions that have shared their information assets. There are currently 1,143²³ associations surveyed, but they probably represent only part of the existing associations.

Strands of commitment

Another interesting aspect that helps us to better delineate this overall picture is that concerning the various fronts on which these realities are engaged. The first, very broad, is the one related to the theme of reception, both understood as material management and services related to it, and as, with a longer look, as the fight for the rights of asylum seekers and for an adequate reform of the right of asylum itself. Another very transversal strand of commitment is that of the "borders", both north and south, those by land or sea, with all the violations of rights that they bring with them. It is enough to think of the movements, including informal and rescue, that deal with migrants passing along the so-called "Balkan Route", or those who guard the mountains of the French border, or those who are present in the ports, especially those in Sicily. In addition to these collective struggles, there are also all those related to the Detention Centers for Return (the former CIE, now CPR), places of suspension of the law par excellence, where many violations of rights have occurred and still occur.

Then, undoubtedly, there is all the commitment that revolves around the rights of citizenship. The latter is a very broad concept that includes all the struggles for the full enjoyment of fundamental rights, the struggles against institutional discrimination, as well as the battle for the reform of the law on citizenship. To these issues, we must add the field of labour, which is the one that has seen, in the last period, the emergence of spontaneous forms of self-organization and struggle (see the case of the rebellion of riders especially in the midst of pandemic for a contractualization of labour relations, but also all the various struggles conducted against the exploitation of logistics workers in different sites of sorting of goods), and which has experienced several forms of solidarity from below very important.

Changes in progress

In the last year, the media have offered a particular visibility to Italian antiracism. What is often forgotten is that the Italian antiracist movement has, however, a long history that has seen many transformations over the years, often in parallel with the changes in the

²² It was created as part of the IN.CO.NT.RO initiative promoted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies - Directorate General for Immigration and Integration Policies, with the IDOS Study and Research Centre, which was responsible for its initial implementation.

²³ At any time, it is possible for associations to be included, update their data or be deleted from the mapping by following the instructions on the Portal Integrazione Migranti, at this link: <https://bit.ly/3inxtnE>.

migration phenomenon. Although it is not possible to reconstruct the battles faced in these years²⁴, we try to make some brief considerations.

The year 2020 and the brutal murder of George Floyd reminded us of the need to open our eyes to broader horizons and the need to pay attention and listen to the new generations. In this nodal passage, there are some elements of continuity with the antiracist past, which also serve as elements of rupture: the struggles made in the past years, today see a new "mixed-race" generation interfacing with the old one. In the various phases of the anti-racist struggles, we have seen migrants take their lives by the hand and move forward together with the rest of the movement. Later, the children of migrants, born in Italy or elsewhere, have also begun to organize themselves in various associations. Today we are in a phase of critical structuring and consolidation, which builds on the struggles carried out by migrants even twenty years ago.

As a matter of fact, the first result of this critical "contrast" with the past has been that some issues that have been at the centre of historical anti-racism (for example, the battles against institutional racism, for different migration policies or the one on citizenship) have finally become mainstream in Italy as well, even if to a lesser extent than in the US, because the subjects raising them have changed. The current "paradox" is that the protagonists of the claims and advocacy actions are very often not "migrants", but new Italians (de facto or de jure), young people born of foreign parents and raised in Italy or even children of so-called "mixed couples". This new generation certainly has more tools to communicate, more time at its disposal, university studies and training behind it that contribute to raising life expectancy, but also to changing the forms of its political commitment, compared to the previous generation: in addition to no longer accepting, as perhaps happened to their parents²⁵, to be "used" as the "object" of campaigns and claims. Today, they are the real protagonists and "subjects" of the claims and advocacy actions from below.

24 For a more in-depth reading, see: G. Naletto, 2020, "2009-2019: ten years of antiracism in Italy divided between 'fear' and welcome," in *Lunaria*, Quinto libro bianco sul razzismo in Italia, available here: <http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/quinto-libro-bianco/>.

25 "More at the root, the absence of channels of formal political representation and participation makes it difficult to apply comparative analyses of the political integration of foreigners and ethnic minorities to Italy. If we were to limit ourselves to direct political participation, we would have to trace a large part of the foreign population in Italy to the profile of the "isolated": a form of political integration that combines marginality of immigrant leaders (the "ethnic elites") with respect to the power structure of the receiving society, and low - in the strict sense, indeed, non-existent - political participation of the generality of the immigrant population", P. Boccagni, 2012, "La partecipazione politica degli immigrati: dal dibattito internazionale al caso italiano", in M. Ambrosini (ed.), *Governare città plurali*, Milan, Angeli.

2. The results of the qualitative research

2.1. The methodology

There are two basic hypotheses underlying the research.

The first is that there is a close connection between the recurrence of xenophobic and racist discrimination, the lack and/or inadequacy of social inclusion and citizenship policies aimed at citizens with a migration background and the level of participation of the latter in the design of public policies that concern them.

The second hypothesis is that the success or otherwise of some campaigns aimed at changing/reorienting public policies on migration, asylum and anti-discrimination depends not only, but also, on the ability of (formal and informal) social entities to activate themselves in a strategic way.

Starting from these hypotheses, our goal was to verify if and how much the concept of advocacy (in particular, policy advocacy) is applicable to the Italian antiracist world and, if so, in which strategies and with which practices it is declined.

Therefore, the methodology of the investigation included three main phases.

The review and analysis of the international literature provided a theoretical support regarding the definition of advocacy, the existing classification systems, the phases of the advocacy cycle and the main topics covered by the studies that analyses the advocacy initiatives carried out by non-profit organizations. The review of the national literature has privileged the theme of foreign citizens' participation in public and associated life and the public policies experimented at the local level to facilitate the processes of social citizenship. The review was summarized in synthetic survey sheets.

In a second phase, we proceeded to elaborate an interview grid (See Annex 1 in the Appendix) to carry out semi-structured qualitative interviews with 20 associations/committees/informal movements engaged in Italy in the field of guaranteeing the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees and in the fight against discrimination of a xenophobic and racist nature. The interviews were conducted between April and July 2021 using an online platform, transcribed in full and then summarized in the forms contained in chapter 2.3. The crossing analysis was then carried out considering three main dimensions: the social mission and the political agenda; the participatory processes and the advocacy experience gained by the realities interviewed.

The last phase was dedicated to the drafting of the report.

2.2. The interviews: an overview

2.2.1. A listening path to work better

We present below an overview of the interviews conducted with representatives of 20 realities of the Italian antiracist world. The main objective of what could be defined as a **social survey**, rather than a research in the proper sense, was **to listen** to the voices of some Italian realities that have distinguished themselves in recent years in our country for having tried to trigger a **cultural, political or social change** in the ways in which Italian society as a whole (local and national institutions, the parties, the media, the administrative bureaucracies, but also the world of education, the various actors in the world of work, the cultural environment) relate to foreign citizens and citizens of foreign origin, the Roma and the minorities most exposed to discrimination, xenophobia and racism.

The need to carry out this path was born from the observation of the difficulties encountered in recent years in the attempt to concretely and effectively orient acts, decisions, institutional and social behaviour, in the direction of the effective guarantee of citizenship rights, of a substantial application of the constitutional principle of equality and the construction of greater social justice. In the background of this work there are many battles, some of which (we hope momentarily) are bitterly lost. Such as those on citizenship, for the closure of detention centers, for the radical change of national and European migration policies, which so far have favored the policies of rejection rather than those of reception.

The emergency caused by the Covid-19 pandemic has affected, together with European citizens, migrants and those seeking protection in Europe, an Italian civil society already weakened in previous years by security laws and cynical political balancing acts.

In the middle of the pandemic, however, something else happened. The rebellion triggered by the killing of George Floyd in the United States has reached many European countries, including Italy, helping to create or make more visible new collective anti-racist subjectivities, mostly made up of young foreigners or foreign-born.

Hence the inevitable rise, in some ways necessary, of some questions.

How can we make our battles stronger and, more importantly, successful? Have we made mistakes and if so, what are they? Can we avoid repeating them? What are the constraints, internal and external to us, that determine the success or failure of our battles? How much does it matter how we organize ourselves, how we make decisions, how we choose the priorities on which to focus our efforts? How do we communicate with those who are not already on our side? Does service delivery facilitate our ability to identify priority social needs or not? And how and in what ways does the network of relationships that develops as a result of what we do trigger effective, concrete, and recognizable processes of equal participation?

Are the forms of organization, the types of initiatives implemented, the presence and roots in the territory, the availability of resources and "technical" skills important elements that condition the outcome of our campaigns for rights?

These are the issues we discussed during the interviews.

The snapshot we present in this chapter, with an in-depth study of each of the organizations interviewed in the next chapter, is inevitably brief and partial. It does not claim to represent in an exhaustive way the different souls of a universe (fortunately) very rich, varied and plural in terms of forms of organization and self-organization, areas of intervention, priorities and working practices. The intent is rather to offer a contribution to a collective reflection that helps us to identify the strengths, but also our weaknesses, to better equip ourselves and relaunch with greater strength our battles for the rights of all and against racism.

2.2.2. The social entities interviewed

The choice of the realities to be interviewed was not an easy one. In making it, we took into account the ultimate goal of our work: to analyze some experiences of advocacy in order to then plan, in a participatory way, a training course specifically dedicated to what the international literature of Anglo-Saxon tradition defines as policy advocacy. The criteria that guided the selection of the social realities to be interviewed are therefore the following:

- The carrying out of some form of advocacy.
- The representation of self-organized realities by migrants, foreign nationals or people of foreign origin, but also of more formal anti-racist organizations.
- The need to analyze advocacy practices carried out at both local and national levels.
- The commitment to at least one of three major thematic areas: anti-discrimination, welfare or labour.
- The need to interact with realities that practice different advocacy strategies (with reference to recipients, practices, activation and communication tools used).
- The intention to avoid a "Roman-centric" approach focused only on the national level: we interviewed realities that operate in Anzio, Bologna, Caserta, Imola, Ferrara, Foggia, Rome, Milan and Turin; in many cases they have an articulation on the whole national territory or they operate in several cities.

Among the 20 organizations interviewed (the list is contained in the Appendix), 10 operate on a national level, 6 have an exclusively local dimension, and 4 are very deeply rooted in the territory, but are also very active in advocacy initiatives on a national level. The subdivision by thematic area is not rigorous because many organizations operate in all three of the chosen thematic areas. Referring to the areas of intervention highlighted during the interviews, 10 organizations interviewed can be traced back to the area of the fight against discrimination, 6 deal mainly with welfare and 4 have carried out advocacy initiatives related to the world of work.

The interviews are rich in content and far exceeded our expectations. The long interviews that we conducted between April and July 2021 have given us many insights that we can only partially return here. We intend to disseminate them in other forms (taking into account many of the suggestions we collected) in order to return with greater immediacy,

starting from the voices of the women and men we interviewed, the richness of analysis, reflections, in some cases, even critical interlocutions, that we have collected.

Below we will try to highlight some key elements that seem particularly relevant.

There are three levels of analysis: the first concerns the **social mission and the political agenda** of the organizations interviewed with reference to the **social needs** considered priorities in the current phase; the second focuses on the theme of the **active participation** of foreign citizens and citizens of foreign origin, as well as minorities most exposed to discrimination, in the life of the organizations/motions/committees interviewed; the third is specifically dedicated to the **advocacy experience** carried out by the collective subjects interviewed.

2.2.3. Social missions and political agendas: the priority social needs

In the first part of the interviews, we asked to indicate, on the one hand, the priorities that are at the center of the social mission of each of the organizations/informal entities interviewed; on the other hand, to indicate the goals that are considered strategic in the current phase, in light of the context both internal and external to the organizations.

The following table attempts to summarize the various themes **reported during the interviews**: this does not mean, of course, that some themes and strategic objectives that were not touched upon during the interviews are not pursued by the organizations. The fight against all forms of discrimination and institutional/systemic racism; the relaunching of the commitment to reform the law on the acquisition of Italian citizenship; the claim for information that looks more fairly at the presence of migrants and people of foreign origin; the guarantee of equal rights in access to welfare, health, education and work; the demand for a single, public, efficient reception system capable of promoting the autonomy of the people received, together with the importance of creating collective social spaces for relations, intervention and socialization in the territory are the issues that emerged most clearly during the interviews, albeit with different nuances.

Although the need for a reform of the legislation on immigration and asylum is shared by many of the realities interviewed, despite being mentioned several times, it was not the subject of in-depth analysis during the interviews, perhaps because the recent and limited modification of the so-called Salvini decrees seems to lead many realities to consider unrealistic in the current political context the objective of a further and more radical intervention of the legislator. The same seems to apply to other objectives that have long been the focus of numerous campaigns and initiatives of the Italian anti-racist movement, such as the closure of detention centers for migrants affected by deportation orders, the radical critique of European policies on asylum, the fight against "illegal" migration, search and rescue of migrants at sea and the outsourcing of external borders.

The realities interviewed	Action Aid	Arci	Asgi	Ass. 2luglio	Coord. Migranti BO	Ex Canap. Caserta	G2	ISC	LE	Medici Amsi	Medu	Naga	No Cap	No Hate Speech Mov.	Occhio ai media	Questa è Roma	RBS	Refugees Welcome	Tempi Moderni	Trama di terre
Priorities on the agenda																				
Fight against discriminations																				
Citizenship law reform	X	X		X			X	X								X	X			X
Fight against institutional racism		X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X			X	X	X			
Fighting everyday racism			X																	X
Fight against ethnic profiling															X					
Equal Labour Rights			X		X	X				X									X	X
Contrast hate speech		X						X						X	X					X
For correct information		X					X	X	X					X				X		X
De-ethnicization of the Roma issue				X																
Welfare																				
Equal health rights										X	X	X								
Equal education rights																X				X
Equal housing rights				X									X							X
Combating housing segregation				X									X							
No CPR			X		X			X	X											
For a good reception	X					X			X									X	X	X
Creation of collective social spaces					X	X						X				X			X	X
Work																				
Equal access to public employment			X							X						X				X
Against labour exploitation						X					X		X						X	X
Regularization	X					X		X											X	
Ensure wage parity										X									X	
Equal access to medical professions										X										
Regular employment contracts													X						X	X
No ethnic. of the labour market			X																	X

Other topics

	Action Aid	Amsi	Arci	Asgi	Ass. 21luglio	Coord. Migrant i BO	Ex Canap. Caserta	G2	ISC	LE	Medu	Naga	No Cap	No Hate Speech Mov.	Occhio ai media	Questa è Roma	RBS	Refugees Welcome	Tempi Moderni	Tramonti di terre
Migration policy reform	X					X	X			X										X
PdS Requirements Review																				X
Freedom of movement						X	X													
Dublin Regulation Reform and EU Pact							X													
Special protection application			X				X													
Participation and antiracism		X						X	X	X				X	X	X	X			
Public Policy Transparency	X									X										
Fighting economic and social inequalities				X			X													X

Returning instead to the most debated issues, it may be useful to analyze in more detail how they are declined.

Institutional and systemic racism is thematized in different forms: there are those who, like Asgi, focus their attention on the universalistic guarantee of the principle of equality and on the contrast of discrimination implemented by national and local institutions to restrict the exercise of certain social rights, favoring the path of legal and judicial protection.

"The choice of action is preceded by a careful evaluation of the reasonableness of the requests, the effective possibility of obtaining justice and the collective value (universal ed.) of the action. This last evaluation is very relevant to verify the possible undesired and counterproductive effects that the legal battle to extend a right could cause. It is important, in fact, that any battle for equality produces a strengthening of rights for the entire community (Italian and foreign) and does not lend itself, as far as possible, to provoking retaliatory effects that can harm everyone". (Alberto and Paola, Asgi)

Naga, Medu and Amsi also underline the emphasis on the universality of rights when they claim the right to health for all foreign citizens, including undocumented ones, promote advocacy actions, but also directly ensure health care to those who are excluded from access to public health service. The question is also posed by the association 21luglio, which highlights the need to "de-ethnicize the battles for rights".

Questa è Roma and Razzismo brutta storia are more committed to a cultural awareness work that tries to use new languages and expressive tools, especially attentive to young people. Several realities, including LasciateCentrare, the migrant coordination of Bologna and the Ex-Canapificio of Caserta, identify one of the worst faces of institutional racism in the rules governing the entry and stay of foreign citizens in Italy and offer legal and administrative support related to the procedures on the stay, fighting for the completion of the regularization procedure launched in 2020.

According to Arci, the very overlap between migration and racism that has prevailed in the public debate is at the origin of the spread of hostility and intolerance that in recent years has struck migrants and asylum seekers with a particular aggressiveness. Asking for a correct application of the rules that regulate the new residence permit for special protection means to facilitate the integration of asylum seekers in the Italian society and, in this way, to contribute to deconstruct some of the most captious arguments that support xenophobic and racist discourses and behaviours.

Trama di Terre works, starting from a gender approach, against intersectional forms of discrimination that affect migrant women and those in difficult social and economic conditions by offering psychological and legal support services and shelters.

Fighting systemic racism also means countering the ethnicization of the labour market that has always characterized the history of migration (internal and external) in Italy and that tends to relegate foreign workers to the least qualified and most labour-

intensive segments. This can be done, for example, by fighting to facilitate the recognition of qualifications and training (Trama di Terre), access to public employment (Asgi) and the most qualified professions (Amsi) or by contributing to the construction of paths to another economy (No cap).

Many of the organizations interviewed (Italianisenzacittadinanza, G2, Questa è Roma, Arci, ActionAid, Razzismobruttastoria), are engaged in relaunching a **political and cultural battle on citizenship**. The interviews reveal different strategies and modes of initiative, although they are united by a lack of confidence (more or less explicit) in the possibility of achieving the objective of a reform of the legislation in the short term. Among those most committed on this front are associations and movements of young people of foreign origin. Compared to the past, the intention to identify, while maintaining the horizon of reform, intermediate objectives that make it easier to access and carry out the procedure for the recognition of citizenship according to the current legislation, is significant.

Attention to the world of information is transversal. The informal group Occhio ai media of Ferrara monitors the local press and also produces alternative narratives, very much linked to the territory. Realities such as Razzismo brutta storia, Questa è Roma and G2 are interested in promoting the self-narration of subjectivities exposed to discrimination and in pressuring the national press to give more visibility to Afro-descendant authors. Arci also considers this last objective a priority. Italianisenzacittadinanza works a lot on self-representation through storytelling, both on social networks and with an intense relationship with the traditional media. The young people of the No hate speech movement are active with information and awareness campaigns against the spread of online hatred.

At the center of the commitment of the realities that fight for **equal rights in the labour world** (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna, Ex Canapificio Caserta, No Cap and Medu) there are initiatives aimed at combating the exploitation of migrant, black and precarious labour in the countryside, but also in care work and logistics, and to urge a rapid closure of the regularization procedure launched in 2020. It is precisely from the labour world that new forms of activation and self-organization of migrant women workers emerge in Bologna, but also in Trani, Foggia and Pontino. The guarantee of rights at work is linked to the **fight against the discomfort and segregation of housing** to which many labourers working in the South are forced, which gave rise, for example, to the experience of No Cap in Foggia.

Another form of segregation against which the association 21 Luglio is fighting in Rome, with actions of denunciation, but also of pressure on local institutions, is that of the camps in which thousands of **Roma** live.

The weaving of relationships in **cultural, social and service collective spaces** of native, foreign and foreign-born women is at the center of the story of Trama di Terre. The importance of creating communal spaces (physical and virtual), where to act out daily relationships, returns in many interviews. These are intercultural or social centers, services (legal, psychological support, anti-violence) but also virtual windows (chat, social and especially in the last phase, online platforms). (Arci, Trama di Terre, Naga, ex Canapificio, Italianisenzacittadinanza).

In some cases, these spaces are also conceived as an opportunity to guarantee alternative forms of **reception**, projected towards the construction of the autonomy of the person, extraneous to the predominantly charitable vision that prevails in many local institutions (Trama di Terre, Ex Canapificio). Associations such as Refugees Welcome, No Cap and Tempi Moderni are working in this direction, one trying to spread the experience of welcoming in the family, the other working side by side with farm workers to support their labour and political emancipation. A specific commitment to the issue of **transparency** of reception policies characterizes the work of monitoring reception centers and the resources allocated to them promoted by ActionAid.

2.2.4 Participation

Participation, meaning, "*being part of*, that is, belonging to a group, and as *taking part in* a certain act or process"²⁶, was the focus of the interviews.

The problem of a political participation of foreign citizens mainly *mediated*²⁷ by the organizations of the Italian third sector has been widely debated in the anti-racist movement and investigated in many field studies. It has almost always been raised with greater intensity precisely when the demand for protagonism by movements and associations of immigrants or citizens of foreign origin has been strongest²⁸.

During the interviews, we tried to investigate how much and how this theme, which is today almost absent from the public debate (still unfortunately unbalanced on an emergency reading of migration) crosses the internal debate and especially the practices of the interviewed entities; what are the obstacles that prevent a full and equal

26 Lo Schiavo L., *Immigration, citizenship, participation: the new demands for inclusion in public space. Processes of self-organization and participation of immigrants*, p. 25, Department of Cognitive, Psychological, Pedagogical and Cultural Studies (COSPECS), University of Messina, Quaderni di intercultura I/2009, available here: <https://cab.unime.it/journals/index.php/qdi/article/view/463>.

27 Mantovan C., *Immigration and Citizenship. Self-organization and participation of migrants in Italy*, p. 82, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 2007, available here: <https://bit.ly/2TPEO5K>.

28 It suffice to think, for example, of the debate developed in the years 2001-2002 within the Migrants' Table of the Social Forum and the birth of the Immigrants' Committee that followed.

participation in the public space and if there are ways of organization and relationships that facilitate it.

The interviews brought out very different points of view and approaches, only in part due to the heterogeneity of the history and of the "national" or generational composition of the social base and of the managerial groups of the realities interviewed.

"I have experienced with a lot of impatience, not only in the field of anti-racism, but in general, certain interventions of more rooted political subjects with respect to the new ways and methods of emerging political subjects. Even just in analysis, there's a somewhat paternalistic way of doing things from a generational point of view, especially compared to us, from people whose political history is anchored in the 1970s-80s." (Mackda, Razzismo brutta storia)

The very high demand for protagonism of the realities founded by young people of foreign origin born and/or raised in Italy is expressed, albeit with different nuances, highlighting a complex, in some cases conflictual, relationship with the historical Italian anti-racist associations.

"The last word, if we want to put it that way, is always up to the person directly concerned, then we are always open to confrontation etc.. But we noticed how there was always a resistance, and there is still a lot of resistance, to understand this issue." (Kwanza, Questa è Roma).

What emerges clearly is the request for a greater listening, the feeling of a lack of political recognition of the new antiracist subjectivities born in recent years, of the knowledge and talents of the so-called second-generation youth; the rejection of forms of involvement perceived as opportunistic or instrumental; the need to take a voice without mediation and using languages and forms of expression different from those traditionally characteristic of antiracist activism.

"But most of the subjects have the citizenship and so they should listen very carefully especially to those who are making a collective political path, who however have put together not only their own individuality, their own path, but are weaving it with others." (Paula, Italiani senza cittadinanza)

"We only get called when we talk about migration and when we talk about youth, in the panel you see all young white heterosexual Christians etc. And instead no, that's where you have to insert diversity, if you talk about work you have to invite people who have different characteristics and work in different fields, if you talk about women, violence on women, you have to invite eh, you don't have to make me the conference apart migrant women, violence on migrant women, where you put women who were born and raised in Italy, so they are not migrant women anywhere." (Kwanza, Questa è Roma)

The awareness of the difficulties of triggering authentic processes of participation of foreign citizens, not only in associative or movement initiatives, but also in volunteer

activities, emerges even more in those who work with asylum seekers, migrants, refugees or Roma.

"The anti-racist movement, at this moment, is totally outside the dynamics of migrant communities, and only deals with the people who arrive, the disputes of those who are in reception centers are brought forward, however the whole world of long-stay migrants has no voice, is not listened to, is not given a space." (Yasmine, LasciateCIEntrare).

"Our founder of the association used to say that he imagined that after a few years the association would be led only by foreigners or migrants, and unfortunately to date this is still not the case." (Sabina, Naga)

"When we look at the organizations that fight for human rights or whatever, commendable work, however, it lacks the methodological capacity in developing participatory processes, so there is a risk that, there is the will to involve, but then when it comes to do it you don't have the skills to be able to do it." (Carlo, July 21)

"They have very complicated lives and work absurd hours, that is, even everything that we conceive for the average white man, doesn't work for them because at 6pm on average they can't connect to zoom to take a course." (Fabiana, Refugees Welcome)

The identification of the main **elements that hinder** the public participation of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, seems to confirm what has already been widely found in the past²⁹. The precariousness of living, housing and working conditions that keep in the foreground the care of material problems; the exploitation that characterizes in a particular way some segments of migrant labour (in the countryside, but also in care work); the legal precariousness of many foreigners that induces them not to expose themselves when they are affected by discrimination or racist violence (Asgi) or when they are in detention centers (LasciateCIEntrare); the high territorial mobility that characterizes especially the first phase of the migrants' presence in Italy (ex-Canapificio) and, conversely, the strong limitations to the autonomy of asylum seekers hosted in governmental reception centers (Coordinamento Migranti Bologna), are all indicated as factors that hinder a direct social and political engagement of migrants and asylum seekers for their rights.

"Involvement is difficult both because we do not have dedicated figures and because the people we meet live in conditions of extreme socio-housing precariousness and poor political representation." (Mariarita, Medu)

The most important obstacle is certainly the interruption of some paths due to pressing needs, which can be work elsewhere, constant precariousness or losing one's residence permit, above all moving and perhaps moving away from a certain path. (...) Because it is clear that there is a leadership that is formed by people, who are also the historical memory of this path, who perhaps

²⁹ Mantovan cit. pag 198.

have done it, who have lived it, who can then act as a mirror for others and make that type of participation grow. So, one stumbling block is always a bit of discontinuity in the processes of participation, due to personal life paths. This on the one hand, and on the other, in the last two years, the strong lack of a space. (Mimma, ex Canapificio)

A more political interpretation emerges from the words of two young activists engaged in the fight against institutional racism and on the issue of citizenship. In this case, the elements considered more hostile to participation, rather than being traced back to individual subjective situations, refer to the change in the Italian political context and seem to highlight the existence of a deeper problem, systemic and cultural, within the anti-racist world, connected to the crisis of leftist political cultures to which it has traditionally been linked.

"I am extremely convinced that there is a lack of reflection on the politics and practices of alliances, however, depth for me also implies a somewhat more lucid analysis of circumstances. In the sense that there is almost never a reflection on politics, on how much the presence of strong ideologies that have contributed to taking certain things for granted have affected some movements. It was taken for granted to be on the same side. And the difficulty of telling oneself that a political side has lost and that the defensive dimension in which a political side finds itself, which is also the one that gave birth in Italy to anti-racism, this dimension sometimes prevents or makes it difficult to recognize the radicality of some criticisms."

(Rahel, Razzismo brutta storia)

"There is a need for an education of non-racialized people, a re-education in the use of a decolonized space, and very often there is resistance because it means questioning a whole range of things." (Mackda, Razzismo brutta storia)

The interpretations proposed, regarding the main limits to participation, thus seem to differ depending on whether we are talking about the participation of first-generation foreign nationals (whether immigrants, asylum seekers, or refugees) or "children of immigration."

When the focus shifts to **how participation can instead be constructed**, the interviews show greater convergence. Participation seems to be facilitated by **listening, relationships and self-organization**, which, however, can be fully realized only within **well-identified collective spaces**, physical but also virtual, and following **methodologies and times that are not heterodirected**.³⁰

³⁰ The importance of these elements was also highlighted in a research carried out by Centro Astalli in 2017: "Interaction and encounter are the characterizing feature of the initiatives analyzed. The main objective of each of them, realized through different strategies, is to create a space where migrants and citizens can meet and exchange experiences with a certain continuity, to better understand each other beyond mutual stereotypes. Only when the refugee begins to feel part of a community and is able to establish social relations with the local population, can the integration process be said to have begun."

*"Trama was the first place where I felt like a person and that's a big difference for what we do, to feel like a person in the place where you live, where every idea is heard and accepted even if there are different thoughts, so for me relationship building is the key point and this **relationship** where there is recognition of you as a woman and as a human being." (Nohora, Trama di Terre)*

*"a support, **a place** where you feel welcomed, **where you are not afraid to tell** what has happened to you, even women who have stated that they have been raped, it is not easy to admit already normally, imagine for a migrant woman who comes from a culture where she can be labeled even within the community." (Tempi Moderni)*

*"One of the tools of participation that the staff of the Movement uses, that is a group of immigrants who over the years have turned to the **help desk** and who perhaps from their own personal problem have become activists, some even just Sprar operators; (and then n.d.r.) the mode of making meetings in concentric circles periodically in a few people, then in larger groups until it is online, but the contact with the staff must be resumed and reinforced." (Mimma, ex-Canapificio)*

The direct or indirect management of collective spaces or basic services is essential to build relationships with people who claim rights, to identify through listening to the priority needs on which to open disputes or advocacy campaigns, to start processes of real political participation (ActionAid, Arci, ASGI, Naga, Ex Canapificio Caserta, Amsi, Trama di Terre).

However, services alone do not automatically generate direct involvement in the activities of the association (ASGI, Naga, Medu). It is necessary to accompany them with an internal path of continuous relationship (periodic meetings set at times that can be reconciled with work, participation in recreational moments, opening of chat for the daily sharing of information) and with political activism to encourage the structuring of a collective belonging and identity. (Arci, Ex Canapificio, Coordinamento migranti di Bologna)

"All the initiatives in various ways offer services that respond to concrete needs of forced migrants and paths to support autonomy. Very important, however, is the enhancement of the resources of the migrants themselves, to encourage their self-sufficiency and strengthen their self-esteem. Some of the initiatives do not like to describe their activities as "services" and prefer not to emphasize the distinction between "volunteers" and "beneficiaries": in fact, they believe that the spirit and method that distinguishes their action is that of "doing with" and not "doing for". See, Associazione Centro Astalli, Good Practices in Integrating Forced Migrants through Community Building, 2017, p. 18-20, available here:

<http://www.centroastallicatania.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Pubblicazione-I-GET-YOU.pdf> Centro Astalli,

"When you do the path, you are able to understand that it is important to tell your story and your experience and to be protagonists of the change of the law in denouncing it, but from there to getting to understand that it is a collective path that is not only your problem, and therefore it should not be only your magnified picture that goes on, but the choral one, it is not easy, it is a path that is done however within a political organization." (Paula, ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza)

"The active involvement of people could be favored by the promotion of political and cultural battles that can more easily generate belonging than the mere provision of services." (Filippo, Arci)

Where at the origin of the association or movement there is the direct protagonism of foreign citizens, this seems to happen more easily. (Italianisenzacittadinanza, Tramaditerre, Occhio ai media, Amsi). From this point of view, the contribution of the practices experimented by the women's movement seems particularly relevant.

"Our idea was both to be in the squares, to be visible, to make everyone participate, even those who did not have a political background, but who were directly interested and wanted to participate." (Paula, ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza)

*"A woman had told me to come that there is good work with women, I came and started a little bit with the Italian course to ask for information, and then I started there a little bit, and in that small space, from the course, you can understand what it means in the sense of participation. The work beyond the three areas that make up Trama is **every space** that allows Trama to women, both inside and outside, for political participation." (Nohora, Trama di Terre)*

The relevance of the **formal dimension of internal participation** in organizations (which affects the issue of representation and internal democracy) was highlighted only in a few cases, which coincide with associations that already have citizens of foreign origin within the governing bodies (Occhio ai media-Cittadini del mondo, No Cap, 21 luglio, Questa è Roma) or with the experiences of self-organized movements (Coordinamento migranti Bologna, Ex Canapificio).

The difficulty in dealing with this last dimension seems to confirm the existence of a problem of unresolved relations between the old and the new subjectivities of the movement, both because it is difficult to question consolidated organizational cultures and because new professional skills are perhaps needed. From this point of view, some organizations such as 21luglio (see fact sheet below) and ActionAid seem to find a theoretical reference (explicit in the first case, unstated in the second,) in Saul Alinsky's methodology of *community organizing*³¹, which calls for promoting processes of active listening and leadership building to trigger social change.

31 Saul Alinsky, *Radicals, to action! Organizing the powerless*, Edizioni dell'Asino, 2020.

"we are inspired by the methodology of community organizing of Saul Alinsky of the School of Chicago, 1930s, and so there is first a campaign of listening, identification of leaders, and then a whole process of analysis, study and confrontation with them "we are inspired by the methodology of community organizing of Saul Alinsky of the School of Chicago, 1930s, and so there is first a campaign of listening, identification of leaders, and then a whole process of analysis, study and confrontation with them." (Carlo, July 21)

"The guiding principle is always listening, is to understand the people we work with what they need, beyond material need, the need for recognition of their rights (the principle that always guides AA's work), it's all about rights and the ability of communities to be empowered, empowered, in the demand for their rights. This is a fundamental thing for which we always try not to replace people in solving a problem, but also in going and asking for political change". (Livia, ActionAid)

2.2.5 Advocacy

The last level of analysis was dedicated to the experience of **advocacy developed within the various organizations interviewed**. We tried to understand to what extent this definition is applicable to the commitment of the various organizations surveyed and whether advocacy experiences have been tried out that can be considered exemplary, not only in terms of the results obtained, but also in terms of the decision-making processes through which they were built.

The definition of policy advocacy that we have assumed in our research, starting from the awareness of the lack of a shared definition³² in the international literature, has referred to:

"The set of activities and initiatives promoted by Italian civil society organizations and those constituted by people with a migrant background aimed at influencing and reorienting public policies at the local, national or European level, towards the prevention and contrast of discrimination and institutional racism on the one hand and the promotion of civil, social and political citizenship rights on the other, thanks to the direct participation in their definition of people with a migrant background, discriminated or "racialized" people and social movements."

We have assumed, on the other hand, that the same systems and mechanisms of open participation (often "granted") by institutions, can reproduce, depending on how they are structured, forms of exclusion and discrimination.

One of the critical nodes identified by the studies dedicated to the analysis of policy advocacy initiatives promoted by non-profit organizations concerns the democratic challenge that these involve: do they or do they not reflect the priorities of the people

32 Gen, S. & Wright, A. C. (2018). *Strategies of policy advocacy organizations and their theoretical affinities: Evidence from Qmethodology*, Policy Studies Journal, 46 (2), 298-326

they claim to represent?³³ And if so, how are priority social needs identified, and what, if any, strategies and "tactics" are chosen?

First of all it must be said that the use of the definition of advocacy is clear and is used only in some of the realities interviewed³⁴, in one case (Coordinamento Migranti di Bologna) the critical and all-political rejection of the definition is explicit.

The initiatives reported are very heterogeneous, as it can be easily seen from the forms contained in the next chapter, and are addressed to different stakeholders. If we want to attempt a classification, we can identify three large groups:

- Initiatives addressed, directly or indirectly, to national, but especially local, **policy makers**, with the aim of changing/redirecting public policies³⁵;
- Initiatives of cultural and symbolic level aimed at producing a change in the collective imagination of migrants, refugees and the so-called "second generations" **addressed to the world of information or to the complex of public opinion**³⁶;
- The initiatives that through the realization of forms of denunciation, protest and interventions of mutual aid **seek to build directly from below the change and social justice**³⁷.

The organizations interviewed did not show a formal organizational structure specifically dedicated to advocacy, except for ActionAid and the association 21luglio. In most of the other cases, there are no dedicated professional profiles: advocacy is carried out mostly thanks to the political initiative of the representatives/spokespersons of the organizations/groups.

Decision-making processes are more horizontal in the informal and movement realities (such as the Coordinamento migranti di Bologna, the movement Italianisenzacittadinanza, the ex Canapificio), where young people are very active or where the direct contact developed thanks to the services provided or in social spaces,

33 See: Mosely, J. *Recognizing New Opportunities: Reconceptualizing Policy Advocacy in Everyday. Organizational Practice*, (2013) *Social Work*. 58: 3 231–239 e De Sanctis G., *Voices from the Margins: Policy Advocacy and Marginalized Communities*, in *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research*, Vol. 1, 2010.

34 Action Aid, Arci, Asgi, Ass. 21luglio, ISC, LE, Medu, Naga, Occhio ai media, Questa è Roma, RBS, Refugees Welcome, Tempi Moderni.

35 They include initiatives for the reform of the law on citizenship, on the discipline of residence, on the closure of detention centers and spaces of housing segregation, for a humane reception of asylum seekers and refugees, for the transparency of public policies, for the correct application of existing rules and anti-discrimination appeals).

36 This includes communication, self-narration and alternative storytelling initiatives, as well as actions aimed at changing the relationship of main-stream media to migrants and minorities most vulnerable to discrimination.

37 For example, by setting up listening and protection spaces for victims of discrimination, promoting widespread family welcome, or publicly denouncing rights violations and forms of ethnic profiling. Some systems for classifying advocacy initiatives are presented by: MacIndoe H., *How Competition and Specialization Shape Nonprofit Engagement in Policy Advocacy*, Nonprofit Policy Forum 2014, which basically distinguishes between "formal advocacy including direct lobbying, administrative lobbying, coalition building, judicial advocacy, and expert testimony and grassroots advocacy (which includes grassroots lobbying, public events, public education, voter registration, and media advocacy)."

contributes to consolidate a collective thinking and acting and the weaving of relationships of trust.

What emerges is a plurality of initiatives that are **rarely conducted strategically** and can rely on professional figures and dedicated economic resources³⁸. Also, for this reason, only in a few cases there is a clear understanding of what in the literature is called the *advocacy cycle*. In many cases, there is an explicit recognition of the lack of a consolidated practice of analysis and verification of the context in which one intends to intervene; of definition of clear and achievable objectives; of thoughtful identification of the interlocutors and the activities to be undertaken. And this happens not only when it is a question of reacting defensively in the face of sudden crisis events, but also when the long-term objective would make it possible to better articulate the strategy to be adopted.

From the point of view of the **types of activation**, in many cases a plurality of the main traditional "tactics" identified in the literature have been experimented with³⁹: from coalition building, to public mobilizations, to the search for interlocution with political decision-makers, to the promotion of denunciation, information and awareness campaigns, to pressure on the media, to the promotion of litigation that may lead indirectly to the change of legislation, up to the monitoring of public policies and administrative practices.

Several of these initiatives have achieved **tangible results**. We would like to recall some of them here, referring you to the in-depth information sheets for a complete overview.

In 2011, the campaign *LasciateCIEntrare*, thanks to the initiatives of protest and monitoring of detention centers, managed to obtain the cancellation of the ministerial circular that prevented access to the centers of the press and associations.

An anti-discrimination action promoted by Naga in collaboration with Asgi, Avvocati per niente and Anolf in 2014 to obtain the assignment of the pediatrician for the children of undocumented foreign citizens led to the modification of a regional rule.

The denunciation of drug trafficking intended for labourers in the Pontine area to make them work intensively made by *Tempi Moderni* in 2014 led to the opening of a judicial investigation.

A campaign promoted by *Trama di terre* to facilitate access to housing for single women with children (migrants and natives) led in 2015-2016 the Municipality of Imola to change the way of calculating the score for access to public housing.

³⁸ The exceptions are Action Aid and the 21luglio association, which elaborate long-term strategies, and the Italian *senzacittadinanza* movement which, albeit informally, seems very attentive to reshaping its initiatives according to the evolution of the political, institutional and social context.

³⁹ See: Gen S., Wright, A. Conley., *A framework for policy advocacy* (2012). Faculty of Social Sciences - Papers. 955 e Gen S., Wright, A. Conley (2018) cit.

The Rights in Common campaign promoted by Action Aid, after the approval of Law n.132/2018, encouraged many municipalities to issue registry registration to asylum seekers and effectively misapply the national rule.

Refugees Welcome involved the Municipality of Ravenna in the creation of a register of welcoming families.

In 2018, thanks to an anti-discrimination appeal, Asgi, in collaboration with a committee of citizens of Lodi, obtained the modification of a regulation of the Municipality of Lodi that hindered the access of foreign children to certain facilities for school transportation and canteen services.

The association 21luglio in 2020, thanks to its public protest initiatives, has led the City of Rome to find social housing for 90 Roma subjected to eviction of camps.

An open letter of Razzismo brutta storia addressed to the weekly magazine L'Espresso contributed to open the pages of the newspaper to young Afro-descendant authors.

Thanks to the collaboration with some local social entities, No cap has built several experiences of work and housing inclusion of workers in the South.

Networking, grassroots activism that does not fear conflict, the renunciation of self-referentiality and training aimed at listening to emerging social needs, seem to be the essential elements for making a qualitative leap in the ability to influence the decisions of institutions. From the interviews, it also emerges clearly the importance of not concentrating attention only on national political decision-makers: local institutions (from Municipalities to Prefectures, from schools to Local Health Authorities) are considered equally crucial.

2.3. The 20 advocacy initiatives investigated. The summary sheets

Antidiscrimination Area

ActionAid ITALY

City: Rome

Website: www.actionaid.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

ActionAid is an international federation of independent organizations founded in England in 1972. It began operating in Italy in 1989 as an international cooperation organization, but in the last ten years it has developed a national area of activity. The ten-year strategy elaborated until 2028⁴⁰ has the general objective of guaranteeing and developing the quality of democracy in the world. Gender policies, combating violence against women and poverty, inclusive citizenship, resilience and the fight against poverty, transparency and accountability of public funds, participation in change by communities affected by inequalities, together with the fight against global inequalities, are the strategic objectives of the organization. ActionAid Italy has promoted in the last 5 years numerous advocacy initiatives in the field of migration, asylum and the guarantee of citizenship rights.

2. Priority social needs

ActionAid Italy operates in three main programmatic areas: rights, redistribution and social resilience. In the first area, there is the programmatic objective "Right to an inclusive citizenship" that the organization pursues by operating on three different levels:

- Supporting migrants in their process of awareness of their rights and their participation in public life at local and national levels, in Italy.
- By changing the public's perception of migratory phenomena and migrants' inclusion, through training, awareness and information activities.
- By contributing to improve policies related to entry, transit and reception of migrants at Italian and European level, ensuring the respect of fundamental human rights and the right to mobility.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The working methodology privileges a strategic approach focused on the direct involvement of people claiming rights in advocacy initiatives. In the current phase,

40 The strategy is available here: <https://www.actionaid.it/app/uploads/2018/02/AA-2028.pdf>

advocacy activities on migration and inclusive citizenship revolve around the following priorities.

- I. Transparency and accountability of data on the reception of asylum seekers and refugees, the resources allocated to it and the professional skills and expertise involved. This is a complex work begun three years ago that ActionAid intends to extend also to the Holding Facilities for Repatriation (CPR- Centri di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio) system. The final goal would be to convince the competent authorities to create a public online platform freely accessible to all.
- II. The theme of rights and access to services. Specific activities and projects are aimed at promoting social inclusion, guaranteeing the right to education and housing, thanks to the collaboration with CPAs (Reception Centers for minors), university students and some guests of the former Sprar (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees) (now SAI).
- III. Citizenship and civil registration. A specific campaign has been launched with the aim of guaranteeing the right to registration of foreign citizens and, in this way, urging local administrations not to hinder (through the denial of registration) the exercise of certain rights.
- IV. The commitment in the campaign "Ero straniero" (I was a foreigner) is aimed at soliciting a reform of the national legislation on immigration, but also the closure of the regularization procedure of foreign workers started in 2020.⁴¹
- V. ActionAid pays particular attention to the policies of externalization of European borders by monitoring the use of EU funds, especially those for international cooperation "diverted" from their original use to be invested for the purpose of "fighting illegal migration". A report, "The big wall", has already been published and an online platform is being created in which the data will be made available in an agile format and accessible to all. The association has decided not to intervene directly in search and rescue missions at sea, but it continues to support the joint mobilizations promoted by the networks or campaigns with which it collaborates.
- VI. A final front of commitment concerns the analysis of the policies of repatriation of migrants facilitated by the presence of the organization in some countries of origin of migrants. Thanks to interviews carried out with local associations, ActionAid published two years ago a first report on the concrete effects of repatriations on migrants who are repatriated to Gambia.

⁴¹Article 103 of Decree-Law No. 34/2020 provided for a regularization/emersion procedure for foreign citizens without residence permits who were already in Italy as of March 8, 2020 in certain segments of the labour market: agricultural, domestic or personal care sector.

4. The participatory process

ActionAid works according to its ten-year strategy, but the organization is aware of the need for constant updating that considers the constantly evolving context. Considering the two key elements of defining an advocacy strategy, the identification of what (what needs and therefore what goals?) and the definition of how (with what initiatives/tactics?), according to the association, the changes underway have affected the latter more. The reflection on the ineffectiveness of some "traditional" modes of institutional interlocution (and intermediation) have led ActionAid to identify as a guiding principle of its work that of listening to "rights seekers", both in the process of identifying problems and in that of defining advocacy initiatives. "In an ideal world, our work should not exist, in the sense that in an ideal world there should be no intermediation between those who ask for the recognition of a right and those who make policies so that this right is recognized. Listening is always at the base of any engagement strategy with both communities and policy." The attempt is to strengthen citizen communities and help ensure that they enter into a direct relationship with institutions. In operational terms, the process of listening to communities takes place through direct involvement in projects activated at a territorial level (for example, on social, educational and housing inclusion), partnership and the signing of territorial pacts with local authorities that also favour direct interlocution of people who claim rights with local institutional actors.

At the technical level, the choice of the contents of the various initiatives partly follows known working methods: the definition of the classic problem tree and the analysis of the context that helps verify how much difference can be produced and lead to change. These preparatory assessments are considered essential to avoid the risk of wasting time and resources. In addition, of course, the identification of the target audience is central. ActionAid is reflecting a great deal, for example, on the advisability of acting and intervening at the territorial level before the national one, believing on the one hand that it is easier to interact with institutions at this level, and on the other hand that the immediate impact that advocacy initiatives promoted at the local level can have on communities is greater. It may be easier for institutional interlocutors at the local level to see the proposed change as a solution to their own problems. "We used to think 'we need to bring change to the law, so let's go talk to the minister, then let's go talk to Parliament.' Instead, very often we're realizing that going the other way around, that is, starting from the bottom with both communities and institutional stakeholders and then maybe getting to the national parliamentarian, or the minister, sometimes creating a network of municipalities that support you on that cause, very often can be more compelling, or more useful." On the other hand, according to ActionAid, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between what can be considered a service in the proper sense (which is one of the most common ways to get in touch with those claiming rights) and

what is not. At the organizational level, the profiles that deal most directly with advocacy are the thematic experts who cooperate with unit and project managers and the communications office.

5. The Advocacy experience

The two advocacy initiatives considered exemplary concern the issue of civil registration and the reform of the law on citizenship.

The "Rights in Common" campaign, promoted a few years ago, involved a dozen municipalities in the commitment to issue civil registration to asylum seekers, after the approval of a national law that prevented it.⁴² The public appeal launched by the association obtained many adhesions and succeeded in encouraging institutional behaviours that at the local level actually hindered the application of the national law. A similar campaign was recently promoted in Rome and Naples to urge local administrations on the one hand to correctly apply art. 4 c.2 of law n.91/92 on citizenship and, on the other hand not to hinder the guarantee of certain rights by denying registration to Italian and foreign citizens living in precarious housing conditions. The slogan "Rights in storage" characterized a flash-mob that included the delivery to public decision makers of empty boxes chosen as a symbol of the rights denied to those who are without registration.

The current campaign for the reform of the law on citizenship is considered exemplary especially for the innovative ways in which it is conducted. ActionAid supports the campaign at an organizational and communicative level, playing a facilitating role, but tends not to appear with its own logo, leaving space, both in terms of creativity and visibility, to a group of so-called G2 (Second Generation) young people

ARCI

City: Rome

Website: www.arci.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

ARCI (Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana - Italian Recreational and Cultural Association), founded in 1956, is one of the largest Italian organizations for social promotion (more than one million members; 117 local committees; 5,000 clubs). It works in the cultural, recreational and social field. Migration, asylum and fight against racism constitute one of the main areas of work.

⁴² Art.13 Law 132/18.

2. Priority social needs

Arci's commitment ranges from the management of projects for the reception and protection of asylum seekers and refugees, to the provision of services (legal protection, linguistic mediation, school support and teaching of the Italian language, orientation, housing, employment and social integration of citizens of foreign origin), to the management of a "Multilingual Helpline" that offers guidance and support to asylum seekers and refugees. Committed for many years in the fight against racism and discrimination, Arci has also gained extensive experience in the fight against hate speech. In recent years, the association has played a very important networking role that has given rise to several campaigns and advocacy initiatives on migration and asylum policies and on citizenship.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The social mission of the association is to promote processes of participation, reception and social inclusion of migrants in the Italian society. In the current historical phase, the priorities identified cover many different areas.

First, according to Arci, there is an Italian specificity in the very accentuated overlap between the phenomenon of racism and the issue of guaranteeing the rights of foreign citizens. This is due to the dynamics of migration in the last decade, to the predominantly emergency management of public policies and a public debate, including political, that stigmatizing migrants as such and polarizing public opinion on the rescue and reception of asylum seekers and refugees, has fuelled xenophobia, and helped to convey a distorted and misleading representation of foreign citizens. For this reason, according to Arci, in a political context that is not conducive to further regulatory reforms, it is a priority to engage civil society to stimulate institutions to correctly interpret special protection (recently introduced into Italian legislation) and, in this way, to reduce the time of "irregular" stay of migrants and speed up the process of integration into Italian society. A second priority issue concerns the reform of the law on citizenship, in which many so-called "second-generation" young people are strongly involved. This is a very important political and cultural battle, according to Arci, to try to redirect the public debate in the direction of the guarantee of citizenship rights and to relaunch, as an anti-racist movement, battles that are not only defensive.

Finally, it is urgent to promote more incisive actions on the media system, in particular on RAI (public radio and television service) to claim a greater role and visibility of foreign citizens and civil society in public information. In fact, there is often an instrumental use of the migration phenomenon by the world of politics, which has an almost exclusive visibility in radio and television services dedicated to migrants, asylum seekers and foreign citizens. Giving voice to migrants and anti-racist associations could contribute to ensure a better balance of information on these issues.

4. The participatory process

Arci is a complex organization, divided into regional and provincial committees and thousands of clubs throughout the country. Membership in the association mainly follows two channels: participation in the cultural and associative activities promoted on the territory and contact with the system of services managed by the association (as users or service operators). There are several circles that, especially in the South, have foreign and Roma members; in other cases, associations of foreign citizens have joined Arci. Also in the area of migration, the relationship with the association is developed through activism on the territory or by working as service operators. For some time now the association has been reflecting on how to encourage activism in the territory. The active involvement of people could be favoured by the promotion of political and cultural battles that can more easily generate belonging than the mere provision of services.

From the organizational point of view, the National Immigration Commission, which brings together 24 people representing the regional committees, is the main forum in which the strategic actions of the association are discussed. The commission meets (physically or online) every two months, but also operates with a Whatsapp chat that allows for a faster and daily sharing of information.

5. The Advocacy experience

Among the many advocacy campaigns promoted and underway, the one considered exemplary is the national campaign *L'Italia sono anch'io*, promoted in 2011 together with 21 other national organizations. According to Arci, there are several elements that qualify this campaign an exemplary case. First of all, the identification of a very precise objective shared by the promoters from the beginning: the reform of law n.91/92 on citizenship. Secondly, the involvement in the promoting group of the then only national association of young people of the so-called second generation (G2) and the contribution to the emergence of a strong protagonism of young foreigners that was also expressed, in the last phase of the campaign, in the birth of the new informal movement of *#italianisenzacittadinanza* (Italians without citizenship).

Thirdly, the collective construction of a strategy planned over time and that has included the elaboration of a popular bill for reform, the launch of a national campaign to collect more than 200 thousand signatures involving more than 100 local committees, the deposit of the texts in Parliament, the start of a parliamentary debate on the text and a pressure work on the parliamentary groups. The campaign has narrowly missed the goal of the reform, which was scuttled for political reasons in the Senate after approval in the House. But, according to Arci, it is precisely the impulse towards greater

protagonism on the part of young foreigners and their greater visibility in the media that constitutes the campaign's most precious legacy.

Associazione 21 luglio

City: Rome

Website: www.21luglio.org

1. A brief presentation of the association

The Association 21 July was established in Rome on April 6, 2010. It is enrolled in the UNAR Register of Associations and Bodies that carry out activities in the field of anti-discrimination. The Association is also a member of: Charter of Rome Association, European Roma Information Office, CRC Group (Working Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Adolescent), CILD (Italian Coalition for Civil Liberties and Rights), ISSA (International Step by Step Association) and Platform for Fundamental Rights (FRP). The July 21 Association is a nonprofit organization that supports groups and individuals experiencing extreme segregation and discrimination, protecting their rights and promoting the well being of girls and boys.

2. Priority social needs

The association deals with communities and groups living in conditions of extreme housing segregation at the urban level and maintains an approach related to children's rights, and above all a systemic vision. Therefore, the Association tries to intervene on the system, that is, on what generates and produces rights violations in the context of extreme segregation. It moves along the outskirts of the capital, while at the national level, having identified the "Roma camp" as a place of institutional discrimination par excellence, from which then derive a whole series of other rights violations, from the right to education to health and work, it promotes advocacy actions aimed at overcoming these places of discrimination, in which about 18,000 people live segregated on an "ethnic" basis. Over the years, Associazione 21 Luglio has developed a method that - without any "ethnic" connotation - stems from an approach linked to rights and moves along two axes: actions "on the context" of communities exposed to discrimination, with the aim of involving political decision-makers, the media and society in a change of approach both in the management of public discourse and in political actions that impact on the living conditions of these communities; and actions "in the context", involving members of communities living in situations of segregation and exclusion. Training and empowerment are intended to facilitate the creation of opportunities and facilitation of access to key services, always with the goal of encouraging the achievement of total autonomy.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The Association declines its national and local method in the city of Rome, where it carries out daily advocacy and monitoring activities. On a territorial level, it implements its actions in the Tor Bella Monaca neighborhood within the cultural and educational development centre Ex Fienile, a building given in management by the Municipality of Rome to an ATS of which Associazione 21 Luglio is the leader. The synergic intervention of the associations that manage the space in partnership and of the other local realities with which an informal network has started to be established, aims at triggering virtuous dynamics that can invest the territory and activate processes of information and direct participation to the social life of the neighborhood. At the general, national and local level, the main advocacy action is to encourage the transition from an activity of mere complaint and legal action to an accompaniment of administrators towards processes of overcoming the camps. The association has therefore agreed and decided, internally, on a change of approach towards public decision-makers and a more consultative attitude.

At the European level, however, the strategy aims to "de-ethnicize" the Roma issue. According to 21 Luglio, it is certainly necessary to talk about Roma, but it is necessary to put them on the list of the new and old poor, not as a parallel issue that never intersects with the issues of poverty in general, but rather as an issue that is integrated with the others. The Association also says it is opposed to the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion, since, in its opinion, it would produce a contrary action that foments anti-Gypsyism itself. The Association, recently, has published the Agenda Roma 2021, a research addressed to the political decision makers of the future municipal administration that from next autumn will take office in Rome, with the precise aim of overcoming the city's Roma camps. In order to do so, says 21 Luglio, 4 years, 6 phases and 16 actions to be promoted according to a precise timetable are needed. In June 2021, the association has defined the advocacy strategy for the next seven years, until 2028 and the action program will be announced in September.

4. The participatory process

The Board of Directors, elected by the Assembly of members, has the task of implementing the general directives established by the Assembly and to promote any initiative aimed at achieving the social goals. Among the members of the Board of Directors there are three Roma people. In fact, the association privileges the direct involvement of Roma people and tries to achieve the success of its initiatives by putting itself in the background. 21luglio observes that very often in the way of associationism there is a lack of methodological capacity in developing participatory processes, with the real risk of having the will to involve people, but then not having the skills to do so.

What is lacking, therefore, is training of the third sector on community organizing, on how to promote and do leadership, and on how to promote listening campaigns. In general, attentive listening to needs requires time, effort, patience and expertise. Therefore, according to 21 Luglio, it is precisely the fatigue of listening, the complexity of listening, that would most hinder the protagonism of people exposed to discrimination/exclusion. The association, in its advocacy actions, is inspired by the methodology of community organizing of Saul Alinsky of the Chicago School. Therefore, it first carries out a listening campaign, then it identifies community leaders, and finally it starts a process of analysis, study and comparison on how to carry out an advocacy action. Nothing is improvised.

5. The Advocacy experience

In 2014, in a camp of about forty Romanian Roma in extreme poverty, located in the north of Rome, under threat of eviction, the association has sided with the inhabitants of the camp in the political battle against eviction and has supported these people in a process of claiming an alternative housing solution to the camp itself. The association, together with the Roma, has camped in front of the Town Hall: other associations have been involved, including Amnesty International, the press has been summoned and some parliamentarians have been contacted. It was then obtained a collective convocation by the Councillor for Social Policies, which eventually provided an alternative housing solution to the camp for the evicted Roma.

Another important advocacy action is that of Area F: much longer and more structured because it lasted several months, during which the association managed meetings, there were 3 demonstrations in the Capitol with a lot of participation, an open letter to Mayor Raggi, a lot of press coverage. In the end, the 90 people who were to be evicted in the first days of September 2020, in fact, have all been placed in municipal housing, thanks also to a process of identification of community leaders who have mediated and supported the process.

The use of communication is fundamental to the association: it is work that is part of an overall strategy that aims to then create consensus in public opinion and pressure on policy makers.

Rete G2 – Seconde generazioni

City: Rome

Website: www.secondegenerazioni.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

Rete G2 - Seconde Generazioni was founded in 2005. It is a national non-partisan organization founded by children of immigrants and refugees born and/or raised in Italy. Those who are part of Rete G2 define themselves as "children of immigrants" and not as "immigrants": those who were born in Italy did not migrate; those who were born abroad but grew up in Italy did not migrate voluntarily but were brought here by their parents or other relatives. Today Rete G2 is a network of "citizens of the world" from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

2. Priority social needs

The association was born with a very precise objective, that of reforming the law n.91/92 on Italian citizenship to facilitate its acquisition by the so-called second-generation young people. Rete G2 was one of the associations promoting the national campaign L'Italia sono anch'io (I am Italy too) launched in 2011. Many years later and despite the defeat suffered in 2017, when the reform law was scuttled in Parliament, citizenship remains, according to G2 activists, a priority because only by becoming citizens the children of immigrants can truly enjoy the same rights as their peers, children of Italians. For example: to have equal access to public competitions or to be hired as professional journalists in the editorial offices. A second priority of G2 is to encourage the cultural transformation of Italian society and a more correct media representation of Afro-descendants and, more generally, of second generations.

3. The social mission and political agenda

In this phase, G2's mission is to maintain the attention of other antiracist associations, the world of politics and the media on the need not to set aside the prospect of reform of law n.91/92 and to organize initiatives that allow, even thanks to the identification of intermediate objectives, to reopen the path to reform. The activists of G2 are aware of the difficulty of the current political phase and show a certain pessimism regarding the possibility of a reform of the legislation by the end of the current legislature. Even the greater fragmentation present within the Italian antiracist movement compared to a few years ago is an obstacle: precisely in the field of citizenship, different realities and networks are moving in an uncoordinated manner and this according to G2 is a sign of weakness that is also the result of the lack of a collective elaboration by the antiracist world and in particular by the campaign L'Italia sono anch'io, of the defeat suffered in 2017. Today, on the other hand, the anti-racist world finds itself according to the

activists of G2 in a marginal position and this marginality has been aggravated by the crisis caused by the health emergency.

Also in view of these contextual elements, G2 has chosen to focus in the current phase on the correct application of existing legislation, promoting a campaign specifically dedicated to art.4 c.2 of Law 91/92 which regulates the obtaining of Italian citizenship at the age of eighteen years for those who were born in Italy and are children of non-Italian parents.

4. The participatory process

G2 follows a method of direct participation, without intermediaries, looking for a direct dialogue with the institutions and privileging a path of collective analysis. The Network uses the tools of politics but defines itself as non-partisan and independent.

5. The Advocacy experience

In the last few months, G2 has launched a new campaign that focuses on the right to access Italian citizenship for young people born in Italy. This choice, the activists explain, in no way signals the renunciation of the claim for an overall reform of law no. 91/92. If anything, it is conceived as a sort of "screwdriver", a picklock to re-propose, through the conduct of a specific and pragmatic battle, the general objective of the reform. The new campaign is promoted by Rete G2 - Seconde Generazioni and Black Lives Matter Roma, with the contribution of ActionAid Italia, ASGI Lazio, Associazione 21 Luglio, Clinica del diritto dell'Immigrazione e della cittadinanza dell'Università Roma Tre, Comunità di Sant' Egidio, Lucha y Siesta - Casa delle Donne and focuses on the correct application of art. 4 c.2 of the law on citizenship by public administrations. A monitoring of the illegitimate practices adopted in Rome has been synthesized in the dossier "La cittadinanza ai 18 anni" (Citizenship at 18) published and diffused online in June 2021 and accompanied by the organization of a sit-in in the square.

G2's idea is that at this stage it is important to demand the correct application of the law and to reduce as much as possible the number of young people born in Italy and children of non-Italian parents who, due to illegitimate administrative practices, remain excluded from the right that the law recognizes to them at the age of 18 years to declare that they want to acquire Italian citizenship. This right is subject to the ability to demonstrate certain requirements: being born in Italy, having reached the age of 18 and having resided continuously on Italian territory. The application must be submitted within the 19th year of age. It is precisely regarding the verification of these requirements that local administrations often adopt illegitimate practices that actually hinder (and in many cases preclude) the guarantee of the right to citizenship as provided for by art. 4 c.2 of Law n.91/92. The objective of G2 and of the other promoters of the campaign is to extend the monitoring to other cities and to put pressure on the

public administrations so that they apply the law correctly, with reference to the verification of uninterrupted legal residence. In Rome, as well as in other cities, for example, young people living in occupied spaces encounter obstacles in proving the continuity of residence because the administrations do not accept to elect them in the occupied spaces.

Activists also urge the structural insertion of an information campaign on citizenship in schools, proposing that the weekly hour of civic education be used for this purpose. Legislative reform, claiming the correct application of the law in force, information and cultural awareness of rights therefore go hand in hand and are the main strategic objectives of G2 in the current political phase.

Italiani Senza Cittadinanza

City: Roma

Web: www.italianisenzacittadinanza.org www.facebook.com/italianisenzacittadinanza/

1. A brief presentation of the movement

Italiani Senza Cittadinanza (Italians Without Citizenship) is an informal grassroots movement born spontaneously in 2016 on the initiative of a group of young twenty-something foreigners and of foreign origin residing in various Italian cities with a very precise goal: to urge the Senate to definitively approve the reform of Law 91/92 on citizenship, already approved in the Chamber on October 13, 2015. Thanks to an intense online and offline mobilization activity, the movement has grown over the years structuring a very participatory collective political path, based on the direct activation of young people of foreign origin born or raised in Italy in the conception and development of the initiatives promoted to obtain the approval of the reform, but also to support young Italians without citizenship in the administrative practices required to apply for Italian citizenship.

2. Priority social needs

The social need that animates the movement is to guarantee the rights of citizenship for thousands of young foreigners born or raised in Italy, who are an integral part of the Italian society to all intents and purposes, but have been excluded for many years from the possibility of applying for Italian citizenship.⁴³ More precisely, the reform of the

⁴³ Children of foreign citizens born in Italy have the right to acquire Italian citizenship by submitting a simple declaration of intent to the Office of Civil Status of their municipality of residence within one year of reaching the age of 18 if they can prove that they were born in Italy and have resided legally and continuously in Italy from birth to the age of 18. Children of foreign parents who were not born but grew up in Italy are entitled to apply for Italian citizenship under the same conditions as foreign adults, i.e., demonstrating legal residence in Italy for at least 10

legislation requested by the movement aims to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship by foreign minors who were not born, but grew up in Italy; to anticipate the acquisition of citizenship for foreign minors born in Italy; to reduce the minimum period of residence (10 years) required for adults to submit the application; to shorten the time required to complete the procedure and to abolish the rule that provides the possibility to revoke the citizenship obtained by residence.

In the last two years, the need to link the battle over citizenship more closely to other campaigns has become more pressing: the one for the closure of the Holding Facilities for Repatriation (Centri di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio) and the one against institutional racism and various forms of intersectional discrimination.

3. The social mission and political agenda

Italianisenzacittadinanza has gradually redefined its political agenda considering the many changes that have affected the Italian institutional and political structure in the last three years, the legislative evolution and the new social demands that emerged as a result of the pandemic emergency. The failure to approve the reform discussed in the last legislature (when the majority in Parliament was center-left) has had a very strong and painful impact on the movement, leading some activists to resign and even leave the country. Following an intense internal debate, however, the Italianisenzacittadinanza have decided to continue their campaign while reshaping the strategy. The battle for the reform of Law 91/92 has been flanked by specific initiatives to cancel the rules introduced by a center-right government with the L.132/2018 (on immigration and security) that have extended the maximum duration of the procedure from two to four years and introduced the revocation of citizenship in the occurrence of terrorist offenses.

Finally, the economic and social crisis caused by the pandemic has drawn the movement's attention to the difficulties faced by many young foreigners in reaching the minimum income level required to apply for citizenship.

4. The participatory process

The complex challenge on which the movement is focused on is that of transforming the individual stories of injustice and institutional discrimination experienced by young foreigners interested in acquiring citizenship into a collective heritage and political pathway.

The movement has experienced a very peculiar organizational development and internal dynamics.

years and minimum income requirements.

The main "forum" of internal debate initially provided was a chat on Messenger, flanked by some national meetings in presence, generally held in conjunction with the organization of street mobilizations. With the growth of the movement, specific chats dedicated to working groups have been added to the main chat. The weekly meetings of the operational group, both face-to-face and online, are now the most important place for information sharing, discussion and decision-making.

The decision-making processes are horizontal both in terms of the initiatives to be undertaken (media campaigns, open letters, policy advocacy, public initiatives, etc.), and in terms of the interlocutors to involve (associations and other movements) or with whom to interact (media, political actors).

The very dynamic Facebook page is used as a monitoring tool (with an online desk and daily management of private messages and reports received), as a channel of internal information and as a means of external communication aimed at journalists and the world of politics, thanks to the very effective use of the storytelling. With more than 29 thousand followers, the page is in fact the "showcase" of the movement.

The Tik Tok and Instagram pages are addressed to a younger target, young foreigners in their twenties, with the aim of building a real inclusive virtual community able to dialogue with young people who are not already politically active.

Overall, the social profiles and pages of Italianisenzacittadinanza are tools that foster relationships, dialogue, active listening and even self-education of young people who directly experience discrimination, prevarication, arbitrary choices and real barriers created by a citizenship law that is totally inadequate.

5. The Advocacy experience

The advocacy activity of the movement is multidimensional, it includes policy advocacy initiatives (directly addressed to policy makers), public mobilizations in the streets, an intense media relations activity and, especially after the pandemic emergency, also initiatives aimed at improving the administrative practices that regulate the application procedure for Italian citizenship.

In the first phase (2016-2017), the unblocking of the legislative reform was a priority and it was pursued through the organization of dozens of public initiatives that were highly participated in front of the Parliament, through direct interlocution with the parliamentary groups, through a strong media visibility, through the close collaboration with civil society and the world of education engaged in the battle on citizenship, including the promoters of the campaign L'Italia sono anch'io.

The failure to approve the reform with the end of the last legislature and the installation of a new center-right government, hostile to the reform, imposed a long period of reflection and suggested a rethinking of the strategy and more underground forms of interlocution with individual institutional actors.

The new change of government in September 2019 prompted the movement to seek an interlocution with the President of the Council with the aim of orienting the contents of the proposed reform of Law 132/2018, a reform later approved by Parliament in October 2020. The request to reduce the maximum time to complete the procedure from 4 years to 1 year produced partial success: L. 129/2020 reduced them to two years extendable to three.

The beginning of the pandemic emergency then forced new changes in direction and focused the attention of the movement on the need to support young foreigners who, due to new economic difficulties, found the income requirement an obstacle to accessing Italian citizenship. Then the movement tried to implement a strategy that sought alliances with other organizations (Save the Children, Tavolo Minori) to request a moratorium on the income requirement. Unfortunately, this objective was not achieved.

According to the activists of Italianisenzacittadinanza, the pandemic phase has made it more difficult for civil society to interact directly with political decision-makers. Even networking and alliance-building activities have become more complex because in the new political phase civil society is more fragmented, less agreed on the strategies to be adopted, not always willing to listen and take on board the views and needs of those directly concerned. Hence the decision to promote (together with another association of young foreigners, COONGI) the establishment of a table with some associations involved in citizenship and to differentiate the advocacy strategy by identifying short-term objectives (the improvement of some administrative practices through dialogue with the Ministry of Interior) and long-term objectives (the development of a new proposal for reform of the law on citizenship that takes into account the mistakes and political obstacles encountered in the past). There remains a strong commitment to communication, aimed at broadening public consensus on reform as much as possible. For example, the online campaign Obiettivo Cittadinanza (Objective Citizenship), promoted in collaboration with the association Cittadinanzattiva, goes in this direction. By telling the personal stories of some activists of the movement, it communicates in an empathetic and immediate way their concrete status as Italian citizens.

As two of the movement's activists recall, "We cannot afford not to have our feet on the ground". For this reason, their gaze is still turned to the future, which they hope is as close as possible (the reform of the law on citizenship), but also to change the present with less ambitious administrative objectives, but very important to improve the daily lives of thousands of young Italian citizens de facto, but not by law.

LasciateCIEntrare campaign

City: Rome

Website: www.lasciatecientrare.it

1. A brief presentation of the campaign

The campaign LasciateCIEntrare was born in 2011 to oppose a circular of the Ministry of Interior (then led by Roberto Maroni), which prohibited access to the press⁴⁴ in the CIE (Centers for Identification and Expulsion) and in the C.A.R.A. (Reception Centers for Asylum Seekers). (Reception Centers for Asylum Seekers). Appealing to the right/duty to exercise art. 21 of the Constitution, i.e. freedom of the press, LasciateCIEntrare obtained the abrogation of the circular⁴⁵ and has always fought for the closure of the former CIEs, now CPRs, the abolition of administrative detention and the reform of immigration policies. Currently there is no funding to support the campaign, which is why there are few people left, more as individuals than associations. As of today, it is made up of subjects of various origins that are constantly changing: at this moment the campaign is supported by the activism of 4 Italians and a group of Tunisian citizens.

2. Priority social needs

Since the autumn of 2012, the campaign has promoted actions of testimony and political pressure to explicitly call for the closure of Expulsion and Identification Centres. Over the years, after a partial questioning of the failed policies of detention, the provisions of the Minister of the Interior Minniti (Democratic Party) - taken up by Matteo Salvini (Leader of the Northern League) - have gone in a completely different direction: in addition to renaming them in Centers of Permanence for Repatriation (CPR), they have provided for the reopening of the centers already closed, proposing to bring them even to one per region. The campaign has continued to carry out visits and monitoring with the involvement of parliamentarians and associations, has produced many reports on visits to the centers and the criticalities found⁴⁶, the inhumanity of treatment and often the total negligence with which even the peripheral organs of government - the

⁴⁴ See here: <https://bit.ly/3A57KpR>.

⁴⁵ Already in 2012 the Lazio Regional Administrative Court had intervened on the matter, declaring illegitimate the prohibition to oppose to journalists a generic denial of access to the Centers of Identification and Expulsion for Migrants. This ruling was reached thanks to the appeal filed by journalists Raffaella Maria Cosentino and Stefano Liberti, who had been repeatedly denied access.

⁴⁶ In 2015 LasciateCIEntrare together with Cittadinanzattiva and Libera also promoted a series of initiatives on the C.A.S., the Extraordinary Reception Centers present on the national territory, whose complete list has not yet been made public, through the campaign "InCAStrati", available here: <https://bit.ly/37j6tzi>.

Prefectures - manage contracts and guarantee to the managing bodies large sums of money that do not correspond to the services to which migrants are entitled by law.

Now, however, *Lasciateci centrare* functions only as a sort of amplifier of all the disputes brought by Tunisian citizens. It is in contact with Tunisian activists, associations and families of Tunisians, Tunisian citizens throughout Europe and Tunisia, and they all work together on the right to apply for international protection, on denouncing what happens in the CPRs and during deportations, through the collection of direct testimonies. As far as reception is concerned, the Campaign is currently trying to carry on some battles with a part of the asylum seekers, proposing to the Prefecture of Rome meetings (also in remote mode) with the delegations of migrants of reference of the reception centers monitored, without however obtaining concrete and decisive answers. Wherever possible, the campaign uses the representation of the individual to connect to other local realities and join forces. It is doing so in Rome, but also in Sardinia, for example, where an observatory is being built together with migrants on the issue of administrative detention.

3. The social mission and political agenda

In the past, the campaign has focused on advocacy actions at the national level through numerous reports, requests for access to documents and complaints. Since its inception, the campaign has flanked its monitoring and reporting activities with advocacy against the institutions responsible for monitoring the management of the reception system, primarily the Prefectures. The commitment was mainly addressed to the accesses to the centers, accompanied by parliamentarians and associations. Over time, political and media interest in detention centers has waned, changing the narrative. The attention of the campaign then shifted to the issue of bad reception.

Campaign activists admit that perhaps a misjudgement was made in this case. Declining the attention on the CPRs and wanting to involve many actors on the territories to carry out the monitoring were two steps that then paid little attention to the protagonism of migrants and decreased the political pressure that was previously exercised. After years, the political instrumentalization of the campaign's message, combined with the inability to communicate effectively and the lack of funds to support the actions, led to the end of a cycle and to an overall rethinking of the campaign itself. In fact, *Lasciateci centrare* continued to operate, following all the problems linked to closed ports and landings, for example, but always in a rather reduced way and on an individual basis. The campaign maintains that it has lost a lot of effectiveness in advocacy actions, because it believes that over the years it has lost the authority and credibility of the beginning, as well as not having been able to grasp the changes and the evolution of the migratory phenomenon itself, coming out strongly weakened also in terms of visibility. The lack of ability to provide an adequate response to the

migration policies of Minniti first and then Salvini, has basically highlighted the biggest shortcoming: that is to have remained, in fact, a campaign, and not to have been structured in any way.

4. The participatory process

The campaign laments the fact that, at present, there is no migrant who represents the struggle in this field: there never has been, if not in a fragmentary form, as when there was the movement of the "bocche cucite" (sewn mouths), but for a short period. The problem, according to LasciateciEntrare, is that it is very difficult to get migrants to engage in the issue of administrative detention, because once they leave the CPR, they do not want to be involved anymore, except in rare cases and without wanting to appear publicly or expose themselves. One of the problems that the campaign would like to return to address is precisely that of migrant representation in disputes. It is a difficult presence to obtain for a number of reasons, among which we must certainly take into account the difficulty of the campaign itself to communicate properly to the outside world, the lack of interest on the part of some migrants because they are involved in other issues more related to private life, and the dynamics of relationships between associations. Even at this moment, the same Tunisian migrants who have fought and are fighting with the campaign to bring forward some issues, do not expose themselves because they are afraid of possible retaliation even by the police forces. Participation, according to the campaign, always develops from practical things, needs and requirements of the migrants themselves. The anti-racist movement, at this moment, according to the campaign, is totally out of the dynamics of migrant communities, and deals only with the people who land, cutting out the migrants of long stay. In most cases, the representation of migrants is "used" only for a matter of facade, operating a big instrumentalization.

5. The Advocacy experience

Advocacy activities have always had the objective of creating political processes that favour an objective reading of the territory and the orientation of public policies towards a correct management of the reception system, highlighting existing distortions. The activities carried out include press campaigns, meetings with institutions, publication of reports, round tables, conferences, seminars or any other tool deemed useful⁴⁷ and agreed upon with local associations. Among the many actions, we should certainly mention the campaign conducted on the access to the CIEs⁴⁸ and the

⁴⁷The LasciateCIEntrare Campaign, through an annual monitoring, has collected the different practices of different administrative offices throughout Italy on the subject of civil registration and residence, creating a toolkit, available here: <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1kOJF4SlAPRhbZrQQiAbWmGoKvdq7rYst>.

⁴⁸The LasciateCIEntrare campaign presented its report on the national civil society mobilization to demand access in migrant centers on World Refugee Day in June 2016, available here: <https://bit.ly/3fryF7m>.

one on the denunciation of "bad reception"⁴⁹: two of the most successful actions with good feedback. Each territorial group of the campaign, according to the local reality, organized monitoring visits inside the reception facilities (CIE, CAS, CARA, HOTSPOT). The modalities of access to any Reception Center scattered throughout the national territory (Hot Spot, CARA, CIE, CAS, etc.) were defined by the territorial group that had to carry out such access, in relation to its capabilities, its strengths and its modus operandi, inevitably linked to the context in which it operates. The methodology for monitoring the structures has always been shared in a common evaluation grid adapted according to territorial needs. The grid, made up of general and more specific data, is to be considered as a "guideline" aimed at verifying comparable data at the national level for the development of reports⁵⁰. The reports drafted by the territorial groups were sent to both local and national media. The activists involved in the monitoring visits have different professional backgrounds (legal, health, language); in some cases, depending on the type of facilities to be visited, parliamentarians were involved. In cases where violations of the human rights of the guests of the facilities have been highlighted, the territorial groups have carried out actions of complaint to the competent bodies, both at local and national level, to report abuses, illegalities, and mismanagement of the reception system. The actions have always included support for the mobilization of public opinion to put pressure on all relevant institutions and any other non-state actor to stop human rights abuses and create the conditions so that they are not repeated in the future.⁵¹

No Hate Speech Movement Italia

City: Rome

Website: www.facebook.com/NoHateSpeechIT

1. Brief presentation of the association

No hate speech movement Italia is an informal group of young activists, mostly under 35, born in 2017 to follow up at the national level the initiatives promoted by the

⁴⁹See: "Welcoming: the real emergency. monitoring report of the LasciateciEntrare campaign on accomplishment, administrative detention and forced removals, submitted February 2016 available here: https://www.meltingpot.org/IMG/pdf/lasciateciEntrare_rapporto_2016-2.pdf.

⁵⁰ You can read all the reports produced by the territories here: <https://www.lasciateciEntrare.it/category/report/>.

⁵¹ In October 2019, Mai più, a book published by Left, edited by Yasmine Accardo and Stefano Galieni, is released. It collects contributions from activists of the LasciateCIEntrare campaign, the Association of Rights and Borders (ADIF) and Melting Pot Europe, available here: <https://bit.ly/3fKmFyf>.

homonymous international campaign, at the urging of the Council of Europe, to prevent and combat the spread of hate speech in particular in the world of youth.

2. Priority social needs

No hate speech movement considers it a priority to promote and disseminate a culture of human rights by giving voice to people exposed to discrimination, xenophobia, racism, gypsophobia, sexism and homotransphobia. To help counteract the processes of polarization of public opinion that fuel the spread of online hatred, it is considered strategic to be able to communicate with a very wide audience, outside the world already sensitive and committed to this issue. The group is active to help make the commitment against hate speech a widespread and shared practice among young people, starting from the belief that online hostility and violence are not a problem that affects only the groups chosen as targets, but a phenomenon that harms everyone.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The group operates in the four priority areas defined within the international campaign: hate prevention through human rights education, media and information literacy and awareness initiatives, the production of law enforcement tools, stimulating reporting activities, and the development of counter-narratives and alternative narratives.

4. The participatory process

No hate speech movement Italia brings together young activists from different cities organized in some regional networks, in thematic groups and in subgroups that manage specific initiatives planned mostly as communication campaigns on social media, on the occasion of some international days (March 21, day of action against racism; April 8, international day of Roma, Sinti and Camminanti; June 20, world refugee day). So far it has been supported at the organizational level by the association Apice.

The desire to actively involve young people belonging to population groups most exposed to hate phenomena distinguishes the work of the Italian group. Currently feminist activists, LGBT activists, young people directly involved in guaranteeing the rights of Roma, Sinti and Camminanti are directly involved. The movement has not yet succeeded in involving migrants, refugees or citizens of foreign origin in the network of activists, but on the occasion of some communication campaigns promoted against xenophobia and racism, an asylum seeker has been involved in the design and production of key messages and materials disseminated online.

The working methodology is informal but horizontal: the communication campaigns are defined collectively starting from an initial brainstorming process and then proceeding to the definition of the messages in groups. Policy advocacy actions are

mainly conducted in collaboration with other partners and networks. At the international level, the Italian group cooperates with the Antidiscrimination Committee of the Council of Europe whose priority aim is to include the fight against hate speech as a priority objective in the political agendas of different countries. At the national level, the movement is part of the National Network on Hate Speech and Hate Phenomena that promotes the relationship with the central national institutional offices. A second level is that of collaboration with local authorities, fostered by some associations that support the initiatives of the movement, mainly aimed at promoting training and awareness-raising of young people at the local level.

The distinction between activism and policy advocacy is highlighted by the activist interviewed: the two dimensions are both aimed at bringing about change, but while activism allows for greater autonomy and does not require any mediation, the interlocution with institutions can force certain compromises.

The group also interprets the concept of advocacy in a very concrete and operational way, considering, for example, the activities of awareness raising and training of activists from below fundamental to trigger those processes of cultural change that are necessary to stop the spread of hate speech and reaffirm the culture of human rights. The impact of the activities is therefore measured primarily from the number of activists involved and trained during the year, based on their ability to convey on their territory the contents and activities of the various campaigns and to support the sharing of materials disseminated online.

5. The Advocacy experience

Awareness of the relevance of intersectional discrimination characterizes the activism of the group, which seeks to prevent and counter online hate in a holistic way by promoting several thematic campaigns throughout the year. The methodology of work is not yet well developed at the strategic level in the long term, but includes objectives and activities defined in the short term, at least on an annual basis.

Special attention is paid to the production of counter-narratives and alternative narratives and the dissemination of information campaigns. Among the campaigns carried out recently, the action day linked to the International Day of Roma, Sinti and Camminanti involved the use of storytelling to propose alternative representations of one of the communities most affected by online hostility and hatred. The stories of two fashion designers (one Roma and one Sinti) and a Roma researcher were told online to help break down and deconstruct the representation that tends to link these communities to the phenomenon of crime.

Overall, the movement's commitment is to offer a contribution to the spread of an anti-racist culture, able to overcome the boundaries of some movements committed against

discrimination, which are sometimes perceived by the public as elitist movements, without giving in to the temptation of oversimplification.

Occhio ai media - Cittadini del mondo

City: Ferrara

Website: www.occhioaimedia.org

1. A brief presentation of the association

Occhio Ai Media is an informal group created in 2009 by the Association Cittadini del Mondo of Ferrara, founded in 1993 on the initiative of citizens of various nationalities with the aim of promoting inclusion and guaranteeing the rights of immigrants. The Occhio ai Media group aimed to provide a collective response to the misinformation produced by the local media towards non-EU immigrant citizens.

2. Priority social needs

The activists of Occhio ai Media consider it a priority in this phase to counteract the processes of social, political and cultural polarization that tend to oppose the rights of Italian citizens to those of foreign citizens through the promotion of cultural and information initiatives that allow to open a dialogue with those segments of Italian society that are more distant from the antiracist world and more hostile to migrants and asylum seekers. Supporting the activism of young people of foreign origin, reporting and analyzing cases of denigrating and discriminatory information against foreign minorities, the commitment to the production of a correct, direct, unfiltered and non-welfarist representation of migrants living in Italy, the thematization of the existence of institutional racism and the denunciation of ethnic profiling are currently the areas of greatest commitment of the group.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The evolution of the political and institutional framework in the last three years has prompted the activists of Occhio ai Media to dwell on the analysis of the forms of ethnic profiling that have emerged more and more frequently in Ferrara, particularly in the GAD area, which includes three neighbourhoods (Giardino, Arianuova and Doro) where many foreign citizens live. During the electoral campaign that preceded the 2019 municipal elections, the group noticed that in the local media almost daily there were articles dedicated to police checks carried out on foreign citizens. Hence the decision to begin a systematic analysis of the local press and to produce a report that highlighted, on the one hand, the centrality of the connection between foreign citizens and crime in

the electoral campaign conducted by the city's right-wing political forces; on the other hand, precisely the frequency of police checks on foreign citizens carried out in the neighbourhood. The media and political representation of GAD as an area made unsafe by the presence of foreign citizens offers a partial distorted view of both the territory and the foreign citizens and helps to fuel the social conflict between Italian and foreign citizens. Hence the group's commitment to deconstructing this representation, denouncing and analyzing ethnic profiling cases.

4. The participatory process

Occhio ai media is an informal group made up largely of young people of foreign origin that has benefited from the support of the association Cittadini del mondo while maintaining a strong autonomy. The growth of the group came about thanks to the relationships forged during the after-school activities and the teaching of Italian promoted by the association. Some young people who attended the courses were then actively involved in the activities of Occhio ai Media, in particular in the initiatives carried out in Ferrara's high schools.

On the one hand, the symbolic choice of the "mother" association itself to give priority to non-EU foreign citizens for statutory positions (president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer); on the other hand, the definition of equal participation paths, also in relations with third parties (public bodies, associations, private partners) have favoured the protagonism of foreign members and members of foreign origin in decision-making processes. Choices regarding priorities for action, initiatives to be undertaken and communication tools used are made collectively and horizontally.

The active involvement of young people of foreign origin in the group's activities is considered a priority to avoid replicating forms of antiracist activism of a welfare, paternalistic and often heterodirected nature that, according to the activists of Occhio ai Media, now characterizes the activities of many historical and more structured antiracist associations.

5. The Advocacy experience

The initiative considered most relevant in the last three years is the one aimed at denouncing ethnic profiling. This was not a strategic choice made cold, but a need that matured in the association in the occasion of the 2019 municipal elections and the security climate that has spread in the city. The close relationship with the foreign communities that live in the GAD and the direct involvement of some young people from the area in the group's activities have allowed them to grasp the emergence of a problem that has been removed from collective memory, although it has been present for some time both in Ferrara and in the rest of the country.

The activists of Occhio ai media consider this phenomenon underestimated but very relevant to the daily life of foreign people who risk being stopped for a document check even several times a day, just because they are foreigners.

Operationally, the campaign began with a monitoring of local information dedicated to GAD and police checks carried out on foreign citizens; a second monitoring was carried out during the first lockdown. The results of the monitoring were compiled into two reports, "It's Just Words" (2019) and "In the Time of the Pandemic, No One is a Foreigner" (2020), which were publicly presented online. Finally, the group chose to produce an alternative narrative of the GAD by making a video-documentary that gave voice to residents, merchants, association members, and some urban planning and crime experts. The challenge that Occhio ai Media intends to face after the health emergency is to be able to use the reports and videos produced to involve the political and social realities of the city, the world of school and universities in public confrontation initiatives. The wide collaboration with the associations of foreigners in the area, with trade unions and with the world of school and culture could facilitate the achievement of this goal despite the presence in the current government of the city of a majority hostile to the presence of foreign citizens.

QuestaèRoma

City: Rome

Website: www.questaeroma.org www.facebook.com/questaeroma

1. A brief presentation of the association

QuestaèRoma is a cultural and sports association founded in 2013 by a group of young people of foreign origin dissatisfied with the experience previously lived within some parties, unions, anti-racist associations and other entities. The association aims to combat all forms of discrimination through the opening of new meeting spaces, aggregation and participation and the enhancement of political, artistic, cultural and sporting skills of its members. The goal is to promote a new idea of citizenship, for a more inclusive and less discriminatory society.

2. Priority social needs

QuestaèRoma was born from the need of some young people to overcome the limits to participation in decision-making processes found in civic and political experiences carried out within organizations composed and directed mainly by "white" citizens. According to the activists of the association, in many historical and more structured organizations, often the involvement of people belonging to groups most exposed to

discrimination and racism is instrumental and not authentically equal. "Instead, a common and truly shared struggle requires being built from the beginning together." Regarding racism, "the last word always rests with the person directly affected." Therefore, the association wanted to create new social spaces capable of promoting aggregation, the exchange of experiences among young people of foreign origin united by the desire to fight discrimination, even though they find themselves in different legal and family situations: children of mixed couples, children of parents who are both foreigners, with or without Italian citizenship. QuestaèRoma was born at a time when the approval of the reform of the law on citizenship seemed close. Hence the conviction in the first phase of activity, to concentrate the commitment in the construction of social and political citizenship of young people of foreign origin having as horizon their active and conscious political participation, also thanks to the possibility of exercising active and passive electorate.

The lack of reform has led activists to renew their commitment to the approval of the law and to build alliances with other realities of the movement. In the last year the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement in Italy has also offered the opportunity to relaunch the fight against systemic and structural racism and Afrophobia.

3. The social mission and political agenda

Citizenship, the fight against all forms of discrimination and racism are the three key points of the political agenda of the association, which acts in parallel by working on the cultural, symbolic, visual and media level and by participating in or promoting street mobilizations. A particular commitment is dedicated to the school world. At a programmatic level, QuestaèRoma fights to increase the number of teachers of foreign origin and to change the didactic curriculum so that, for example, the history of Italian colonialism is included, and the weekly hour of civic education is used to increase the cultural, inclusive, anti-racist and anti-discriminatory educational offer through interactive and participative workshops. Operationally, QuestaèRoma has organized several sports and cultural events, realized some videos that have been disseminated online, promoted intercultural initiatives in schools and some training initiatives on racism addressed to activists of other organizations. Among these, the sporting event Mondialito, an event with middle school students and a coach from Michael Jordan's school dedicated to sports citizenship, a meeting involving youth leaders of all parties on youth policies, flash-mobs and public mobilizations on citizenship and against systemic racism. In the last year the association has also promoted a campaign to ask RAI (RadioTelevisione Italiana) to promote correct information, free from sexist, racist, abilists, homolesbobitansfobes and ethnocentric stereotypes and prejudices.

4. The participatory process

The need to have a say and to self-determine a collective path is at the origin of the birth of QuestaèRoma. The local dimension of the association facilitates internal participatory processes, periodic meetings and horizontal communication. Art, music, photography, sport, cinema are the communication tools used by the activists of the association to convey their political messages, using forms of language more inclusive and permeable among young people. The subjective experiences, thanks to the use of these languages, are transformed into collective experiences enhancing the different talents and individual professional skills and, at the same time, taking care not to trivialize the contents of the messages conveyed.

The strategic approach of the association varies in relation to the external context and individual objectives. About citizenship, activists believe it is necessary to work in parallel with political decision-makers and with awareness-raising initiatives aimed at public opinion. On discrimination and racism, the strategy is built gradually and provides for different ways of intervention: from public mobilization to training, organization of seminars, conferences, cultural and sporting events. In terms of information, the need to protest in the streets in a spontaneous way has preceded the definition of a more articulated strategy.

5. The Advocacy experience

QuestaèRoma promoted in April 2021, in collaboration with BLM groups in various Italian cities, the campaign #CambiaiRai, following an episode that occurred on March 28, when the actress Valeria Fabrizi, commenting on a photo of herself during the transmission "Da noi... a ruota libera", said: "I look like a negra, a black girl". With #CambiaiRai activists wanted to reopen a public debate on the issue of correct information and the lack of presence in Rai, as well as in the entire media system, of the voices of black and "racialized" people. The objective of the campaign was to urge public television and the entire media system "to provide information, promote culture and entertainment in a plural and inclusive way, avoiding proposing racist, sexist and ethnocentric cultural models".

A public letter was spread online and used to promote a mail bombing addressed to Rai. At the same time, sit-ins were organized in front of the Rai offices in Milan, Rome and Turin.

The CambiaRai campaign followed another initiative promoted in the previous months by other associations⁵² to urge Rai not to use the practice of black face during entertainment broadcasts.

52 Arci, Cospe, Italianisenzacittadinanza, Lunaria, Razzismobruttastoria have sent a letter to the President of Rai and to the Director of Rai1.

The two initiatives, sharing the same goal, exemplify very well how the Italian antiracist world is going through a very dynamic phase of transition, in which the forms of collaboration between the historical associations and the new self-organized antiracist subjectivities are all to be reinvented.

This is Rome is now engaged in a new campaign "On the right side of history" promoted together with other organizations that are part of the "Network for the reform of citizenship".

Razzismo brutta storia

City: Milano

Website: www.razzismobruttastoria.net

1. A brief presentation of the association

Razzismo brutta storia is an association founded in Milan formally in 2011 following a campaign of the same name conducted in 2008 after the murder of Abdul Guibre. The main mission is to combat discrimination, all forms of forced solitude and exclusion through culture and education, developing a critical work that is able to speak to a wide audience, not elite or self-referential. The specificity that characterizes it is the relationship with the publisher Feltrinelli who promoted its birth, at the urging of a group of personalities from the world of culture, identifying in the killing of Abdul the beginning of a trajectory projected towards the growth of inequalities and structural racism. In the last three years, the start of a process of redefinition of the work strategy has sought to expand and strengthen the forms of collaboration with the "racialized" subjectivities. This process has initiated a transitional phase in which the formal (institutional) structure of the association is flanked by a more informal level of participation developed through the establishment of a network of "associated experts", belonging to the communities most exposed to the risks of discrimination and racism.

2. Priority social needs

Starting in 2018, the association has developed a three-year work strategy articulated on three strategic objectives inspired by other organizations, such as the Center for Intersectional Justice in Berlin and Enar (European Network Against Racism) which has its headquarters in Brussels and whose board includes Razzismobruttastoria. The plan included the creation of a new scientific committee composed almost entirely of experts with a migratory back ground (formed in 2019), the development of cultural initiatives that would promote understanding of the current shape of racism in Italy and an

analysis (also in historical perspective) of the causes that have been at the origin of the failure of many anti-racist struggles.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The observation of the absence of a language suitable to provide a subjective, correct and undistorted account of racism in Italy, starting from the direct expression of the people who live it on their skin, led Razzismobruttastoria to focus its attention on the importance of language and on the need to promote new cultural initiatives, able to propose innovative lexicons, tools and styles of expression/communication, also trying to adapt to the Italian context concepts and definitions generated in other countries.

Another key element of the association's agenda is the critical rejection of the clear distinction, which tends to characterize the public debate, but also conditions some anti-racist campaigns, between the so-called "second generations" (represented in a positive way) and economic migrants (criminalized). In terms of policy advocacy, this distinction implies in fact a tendency of divarication between initiatives/campaigns in support of citizenship reform and those focused on the guarantee of migrants' rights and migration policies. Razzismobruttastoria, while acknowledging the differences that characterize the two experiences, that of migration and that of the racialization of the sons and daughters of migration, rejects this separation, considering it one of the elements that have fostered some forms of political and legislative fury against minorities and migrants. It believes that in both cases we should speak of institutional racism and that it is necessary to work simultaneously on both fronts (reform of the law on citizenship and abolition of the Bossi-Fini law).

Finally, the association shares the objectives of some campaigns promoted by other antiracist realities aimed at obtaining the completion of the regularization procedure of migrant workers started in 2020 (campaign Non possiamo più aspettare- We cannot wait anymore) and the initiatives aimed at claiming greater fairness in the world of information (for example with the campaign CambieRai). Priorities are constantly changing and the team of the association highlights how the definition of the work strategy must reconcile the political and social priorities identified in the internal debate with the need to find the necessary resources to pursue them.

In the current phase, Razzismobruttastoria is interested in better understanding what is moving in the antiracist world and with what practices, having as a theoretical horizon an intersectional approach to the fight against discrimination and weaving new relationships according to this goal. The vices imputed to the historical antiracist world are paternalism (which in many cases coincides with generational differences); the tendency to leave little space for the elaboration, points of view and decisions of "racialized" subjects; the difficulty in understanding the importance of the diversity of new practices of expression and political activism and the "decolonization" of collective

spaces; an insufficient reflection on the crisis of politics and the practice of alliances that hinders the willingness to question one's role and to constructively welcome the radicality of the criticisms made by the new anti-racist subjectivities. "Deciding that one is willing to change something about oneself and one's path in a defensive phase like the current one is almost impossible, but if this willingness is not there, - the activists of Razzismobruttastoria point out - we will continue to look for enemies, not allies".

4. The participatory process

In recent years Razzismobruttastoria has tried to encourage the direct expression of "racialized" people. The group of experts that make up the scientific committee was formed from the need to analyze the current situation of the antiracist movement in Italy. The group uses three main tools/spaces for internal communication and confrontation: a chat room, the organization of meetings, which during the pandemic took place mainly online, and the periodic organization (every 3-4 months) of retreats of 2, 3 days that allow to deepen the internal discussion on specific issues.

5. The Advocacy experience

The advocacy actions that Razzismobruttastoria considers particularly significant are three. The first one is the campaign "The words we are missing" which, with the production and online diffusion of seven postcards and videos, proposes seven key words to make anti-racist commitment more effective: Positioning, Whiteness, Racialization, Intersectionality, Privilege, Decolonization, Responsibility. According to the activists of Razzismobruttastoria, words are also important to articulate a different antiracist discourse. In the same direction goes the production of *Antira_zine*, an experimental fanzine, available online for free, that "in a sexier and funnier way", uses creativity and a plurality of languages to reach a young, wide audience, less close to the world of activism or the academic one. The possibility of conveying the *Antira_zine* using Feltrinelli channels online and offline (in bookstores) expands the potential to reach an audience less close to those who traditionally attend the antiracist movement.

The sending of a letter to the weekly magazine *L'Espresso*, which following the death of George Floyd had published the cover with two young "white" activists, has instead allowed, according to Razzismobruttastoria, to raise the issue of greater visibility, narration and self-narration of the subjectivities that personally experience racism in the media. Successful action because, also following the sending of this letter, the weekly opened some columns edited by young Afro-descendants.

Finally, the organization of a meeting in Brussels with some Euro-parliamentarians of the Democratic and other Parties and the delivery of a summary document were an opportunity to propose an interpretation of the anti-racist world from a racialized

perspective and to raise the issue of institutional racism that also crosses the political culture of the left.

Welfare Area

ASGI

City: Turin

Website: www.asgi.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

ASGI is an association of social promotion founded in 1990 on the initiative of a group of lawyers, jurists and scholars committed to guaranteeing the rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, foreign citizens permanently residing in Italy and Roma. ASGI is a point of reference at national level for lawyers, jurists, social workers, anti-racist associations, and public bodies. Thanks to a wide network of collaboration with the legal offices of local associations, ASGI is active in the legal protection of foreign citizens, in the elaboration of state and EU normative texts and in the promotion of anti-discrimination actions in civil and penal law. The judicial action is accompanied by an intense activity of information on the evolution of legislation, training and communication to the media. ASGI has made an essential contribution to the removal of much institutional discrimination both on a local and national level.

2. Priority social needs

The principle of equality in access to rights, services and work guides the anti-discrimination initiatives of the association, which is active against discrimination carried out by private individuals (e.g. home, banking services), in guaranteeing access to social security benefits (maternity support, access to public housing, childcare, citizenship income) and work, with particular attention devoted to public employment.

3. The social mission and political agenda

According to ASGI, the guarantee of the principle of equality is decisive to promote the successful integration of foreign citizens into Italian society and to ensure that all people can operate according to their abilities, rather than on the basis of the type of residence permit they hold. In many cases, the legal actions promoted by the association have been confirmed by the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court, which has reiterated that all social policies must be defined and applied considering the needs of the person, regardless of their national or legal status.

With regard to the rights of access to employment, in addition to various actions promoted to ensure access to public employment for foreign citizens, ASGI is trying to confront the phenomenon of "ethnic" and ghettoizing segmentation of the labour market, according to which foreign citizens tend to be placed in the weakest, least protected and most labour-intensive sectors (agriculture, domestic and care work, logistics, construction, catering). This is a difficult challenge because the logic of the functioning of the labour market hinders the recognition of equal opportunities in the world of work and the enhancement of the knowledge and skills of foreign workers, but it cannot be easily regulated by regulatory interventions.

4. The Participatory process

To date, the association has a limited number of foreign members, but the daily relationship and the social relations and trust with foreign citizens that the lawyers members weave in the exercise of their professional activity facilitate the identification of priority and strategic areas in which to intervene. Moreover, ASGI, even though it can take legal action in Turin, where its legal headquarters are located, normally prefers to promote anti-discrimination appeals in the territories where discrimination occurs, even when the reports come directly to the email of its national anti-discrimination service.

The greater involvement of foreign citizens in advocacy actions and in the overall activities of the association is a need present in ASGI. There is an awareness of the fact that the denunciation and reporting of discrimination could have a stronger impact if the foreigners directly affected were involved. At the same time, ASGI emphasizes that many people affected by discrimination wish not to expose themselves publicly, especially in the media, and not to risk double victimization. And it is right to respect their will.

5. The Advocacy experience

ASGI's advocacy activity is mainly expressed at the judicial level with the promotion of anti-discrimination appeals and strategic lawsuits. The wide network of collaboration with legal support desks managed by Italian and foreign associations at a local level means that ASGI's interventions are inspired by the needs expressed by foreign citizens directly (when the desks are managed by associations of foreign citizens) or indirectly (through the foreign users of the desks).

The association does not have any professional figure dedicated to advocacy nor does it act following advocacy strategies developed at the table. Normally, the simultaneous emergence in many areas of the country of the same type of request/discrimination inspires a nationally coordinated advocacy action. The decision to act is preceded by a careful assessment of the reasonableness of the requests, the actual possibility of

obtaining justice and the collective value (universal ed.) of the action. This last evaluation is very important to verify the possible undesirable and counterproductive effects that the legal battle to extend a right could cause. It is important, in fact, according to the association, that any battle for equality produces a strengthening of rights for the entire community (Italian and foreign) and does not lend itself, as far as possible, to provoking retaliatory effects that can damage everyone. It often happens, in fact, that the detractors of equality use, for example in the field of social policies, the insufficiency of available resources to justify forms of institutional discrimination.

There are many successful judicial initiatives promoted by Asgi, but among those particularly significant in recent years, the two partners interviewed mention two.

The first has been articulated in the promotion of various anti-discrimination appeals relating to the request to foreign citizens of third countries, provided in some municipal and regional resolutions, to prove the lack of property in the countries of origin through the presentation of original documents produced by them to access public housing or contributions to support the rent. The last appeal won in this area dates back to June 22, 2021 when the Court of Turin upheld the appeal presented by Asgi with the support of the Antiracist Network of Valle d'Aosta against a notice published by the Region of Valle D'Aosta that regulated access to the so-called "rental contributions". Asgi underlines how this requirement has distinguished for years the work of the administrations causing not only numerous discriminations, but also the unnecessary aggravation of the work of public officials, forced to check the suitability of the documentation produced. The campaign has been very successful: the judges have proved Asgi right and the request for such documentation has been removed both by the municipalities and the regions.

Another exemplary initiative concerned the requirements for access to certain subsidized social benefits in school canteens and for the school bus modified following the approval of a resolution by the City of Lodi in October 2017. Also in this case, as a result of the changes, in order to obtain the benefits of the law and not pay the full rate for the canteen service and school transportation, families of foreign children had to present, in addition to the ISEE required of Italian families, also a certification attesting to the absence of revenue in the country of origin.

Thanks to the extraordinary mobilization of civil society, starting with the families of foreign children and their Italian classmates, a very effective advocacy campaign has acted in parallel on the level of social solidarity (with public mobilizations and a fundraiser aimed at immediately ensuring the canteen service to children excluded from the facilities), media (obtaining great visibility also at the national level) and legal, thanks to the victory (Order of the Court of Milan R.G: 20954/2018 of December 13, 2018) of an anti-discrimination appeal promoted by Asgi and Naga.

CSA Ex Canapificio

City: Caserta

Website: www.csaexcanapificio.it/Sito_CSA/Homepage.html

1. A brief presentation of the association

The voluntary association "Committee for the social center" was founded in 1995, initially based in the municipal structure of the Ex-Macello and then, since 1998, in the premises located in Viale Ellittico n.27, in Caserta. During the years, the association has carried out a prolonged social action on the territory, whose incisiveness and social and civil utility is now unanimously recognized by the citizens and the institutions. In the same place the Movement of Migrants and Refugees of Caserta gathers; the Movement counts thousands of foreign citizens and fights for the implementation of the right to asylum, against exploitation at work of not regularized migrants, and against the Camorra and all forms of racism (both cultural and institutional), for the regularization of foreign citizens, the right to vote and citizenship.

2. Priority social needs

In order to respond to the needs coming from the territory and from the citizens, both native and foreign, the Association, with the help and full participation of migrants, has put in place many initiatives of a cultural, social and recreational nature: activities to promote artistic, cultural and musical expression; opening and consolidation of information desks and free trade union and legal advice aimed at workers, unemployed, precarious and migrants; demonstrations and street initiatives for the rights of migrants and all citizens; awareness campaigns on the right to asylum and against racism, construction of associative networks of social intervention in particular for the defense of the territory, the environment and for the dissemination of practices and policies aimed at social inclusion; projects and recreational events aimed at promoting opportunities for redemption for young people and citizens who live exclusion and social isolation in working-class neighbourhoods, recreational and educational activities with children and adolescents. The basic objectives are to encourage the growth of critical consciousness and active citizenship, protect the rights of the weakest, promote policies of inclusion and spread values such as peace, solidarity and interculturalism.

3. The social mission and political agenda

Regarding the Italian political agenda, the association has been fighting for years primarily for the overcoming of the so-called Bossi-Fini Law. The Ex Canapificio has also given a substantial contribution in the collection of signatures and in the drafting of

the popular initiative law "Ero straniero"⁵³ (I was a foreigner) and considers it a very good starting point which includes the whole mission of the association. In the last year, the association has also put on the agenda a very intense activity of advocacy for the overcoming of the so-called "security decrees"⁵⁴ and for the introduction and proper functioning of the new legal institution of protection for special cases. After the entry into force of the so-called Salvini decrees, the association has detected, only through the activity of the information desk in the area of Castel Volturno, as many as 1,947 cases of migrants who have lost their old residence permit for humanitarian reasons, not being able to convert it with a residence permit for work, and therefore remained without documents. More recently, the association has promoted a series of actions for equal access to anti-Covid 19 vaccines for migrants with and without residence permit, some of whom lack social security cards, or without a social security number, or even with a numeric social security number. At the national level, the association is part of the Forum Per Cambiare l'Ordine delle Cose⁵⁵, with which it promotes a common action and network. With regard to European policies, for the association, the reform of the Dublin Regulation and the criticism of the current structure of the European Pact on Migration remain central.

4. The participatory process

In the organizational structure of the Social Center, there are both volunteer activists and paid operators within the former Sprar project (now SAI-Siproimi), both foreign citizens and Italians, with equal levels of roles and responsibilities. There are people who deal with reception, others with the legal desk, others with inclusion activities, such as the income support desk, and they always work in mixed teams (Italians and foreigners). This is an important factor, for the association, of active and inclusive participation.

The pandemic has dealt a blow to the whole organization, especially after the loss of the historical headquarters of the Ex Canapificio.⁵⁶ This constituted a big problem especially because, in addition to the social distance to be respected for Covid, the main center of aggregation was also missing. The period of the pandemic has inexorably kept away even the activists of the Movement, but the association believes it is essential to resume and reinforce again the meetings and assemblies, through a planning of a sort of roadmap of the main disputes: the new headquarters,⁵⁷ the residence permit for special protection and the inclusion plan for Castel Volturno.

53 See here: <https://erostraniero.radicali.it/>.

54 For a summary see here: <https://www.meltingpot.org/+Decreto-legge-Salvini-su-immigrazione-e-security-+.html>.

55 See here: <https://www.percambiarelordinellecose.eu/>.

56 See here: <http://www.vita.it/it/story/2019/04/09/lex-canapificio-di-caserta-rubato-alla-collettivita/281/>.

57 Here is the evolution until today: <https://www.casertanews.it/attualita/casa-sociale-ex-canapificio-mamadou-caserta.html>.

One of the most effective tools of participation that the staff uses, together with the Movement of Migrants and Refugees (also composed of migrants who over the years have turned to the desk and who later became activists and some operators of the former Sprar), is the mode of making meetings with a periodic frequency, first in small groups, then gradually in larger groups, with a mode that expands at the same pace with the construction of the path or action.

The priorities in the advocacy actions to be carried out are decided adopting a simple methodology that starts from the investigation in the field, especially through the instances brought to the desk, which is configured as a desk of assistance, guidance, taking charge, legal protection, but above all of struggle and dispute. People are proposed to get together to build a path and choose whether to participate and be personally protagonists for the claims that become collective. The biggest obstacle to the full involvement of migrants is certainly the interruption and discontinuity in the participatory paths due to priority needs related to private life, such as the transfer elsewhere for work, the constant precariousness or the loss of residence permits.

5. The Advocacy experience

The Ex Canapificio has carried out numerous advocacy initiatives over the years. First of all, in 2010, the association recalls the "strike of the traffic circles" against illegal work,⁵⁸ to publicly denounce labour exploitation. Following the strike, a process was started that led to the signing of a protocol with the Public Prosecutor's Office, in 2011, which, in addition to protecting the victims of sexual exploitation, finally included those of labour exploitation.

Another important campaign to remember is the one related to the SVI Plan. Following some events of camorra that occurred in 2014 (including a shooting that killed two migrants and the subsequent demonstration by migrants demanding justice)⁵⁹, the then Minister of the Interior sent special missions to guard the territory⁶⁰. The Ex Canapificio, on that occasion, built both a communication campaign and a plan of proposals addressed to the local and national government: the SVI, i.e. a plan for Vulnerable and Exploited Persons who cannot be expelled. The plan foresaw to conduct a census of these people and support them in a path that would make them emerge from the condition of "irregularity", thanks to an agreement directly stipulated with the Ministry of the Interior and with the Territorial Commissions that examine asylum requests. The plan also provided for a sort of pact, which, after regularization, offered the possibility to start a training and work scholarship path. It was an institutional path that brought

58 See here: <https://bit.ly/3A7QLU0>.

59 See here: <https://bit.ly/3rOzBYC/>.

60 See here: <https://bit.ly/2WSv6kj>.

its benefits both on the territory and at the national level, often brought as an important example of collaboration, inclusion and integrated conflict resolution.

The Ex Canapificio has then conducted, in the last period, a strong action together with the Europasilo Network and the Forum per Cambiare l'Ordine delle Cose, on the reception system. First of all, a battle has been carried out in order not to expel any asylum seeker from the reception system, as required by the security decrees, since this would have seriously compromised the path of inclusion started within the Sprar. Then, a campaign was launched to request a widespread public reception system, thought of as a unique system of support and regeneration of the local community, through the active participation of citizens and migrants, no longer thought of only as users, but as protagonists. Finally, a campaign on "double protection" claimed special protection, as the right to a residence permit, but also to vaccinate. Together with other associations, the former Canapificio asked for the modification of the regional platform for access to the vaccine so that it would be extended to all and would also be available to undocumented migrants.

AMSI - Associazione medici di origine straniera in Italia

City: Rome

Website: www.amsimed.org

1. A brief presentation of the association

The Association of doctors of foreign origin in Italy-AMSI was founded in 2000 with the aim of assisting healthcare professionals of foreign origin. Initially it focused only on physicians, then later on all healthcare professionals with a migrant background.

2. Priority social needs

First, AMSI aims to guarantee the recognition of the professionalism of foreign doctors and the presence of highly qualified figures of foreign origin, as well as equal rights at work for doctors of all nationalities. The association intends to protect health professionals of foreign origin from many forms of discrimination related to the remuneration that does not correspond to the level of preparation, the exclusion from some calls and public competitions that require the requirement of Italian citizenship, the precariousness of some highly specialized figures, as well as real manifestations of racism, especially against those who have a different skin colour or who, for example, wear the veil. Another priority of AMSI is to provide health assistance to those who have difficulties of an economic, administrative, linguistic and cultural nature. This need has become especially evident since the outbreak of the pandemic. In addition,

professional updating is a very important element, because it is a moment of inclusion, of collective socio-health professional exchange. To respond to another important need, AMSI contributed to the foundation of the movement United to Unite, in 2012, in which professionals of all nationalities converge.

3. The social mission/political agenda

AMSI has 2 important objectives in its mission: the assistance to health professionals, especially those who have difficulties in the recognition of their qualifications and with regard to some cultural (or religious) aspects; the medical assistance to citizens of foreign origin, through the outpatient clinic created to treat all citizens of foreign origin with or without a residence permit. Currently, the Association claims that in Italy there are as many as 77,500 health care professionals of foreign origin, of which 22,000 doctors, 38,000 nurses, 5,000 pharmacists, almost 5,000 also physiotherapists and work mostly in the private sector. Through Amsi's online and telephone desk, every day the association receives a series of solicitations, and on the basis of these, every 5-6 months, the point of the situation is made, summarizing the problems most felt among foreign communities and associations.

4. The participatory process

The strong point of the association, which also ensures a wide involvement and participation of citizens with migrant background, is its polycultural knowledge: the social base of the association is made up of citizens with different national origins and cultural backgrounds, which enriches the potential of the association. AMSI also underlines the importance of listening and of the management of the desk acting as a sort of antenna to identify key social needs on which to act and eventually intervene with advocacy actions. In addition, many Italian healthcare professionals follow Amsi's initiatives, lend a hand and most of them are an important part of the shared community that is able to network in the various territories. A point of weakness that could, in some way, hinder participation and sharing of advocacy paths could be identified in a conflictual relationship with some anti-racist realities or some associations of foreign communities.

5. The Advocacy experience

Amsi has led and participated in several campaigns since 2000. The first campaign, which also gave birth to Amsi, was a campaign for doctors to be admitted to the professional register without the requirement of citizenship. Subsequently, there was also a campaign to gain access to the organization chart of doctors in Rome, in 2001-2002. On that occasion, the president of Amsi was elected for the first time in Italy as a

councilor in the order of doctors of Rome and then re-elected four times. This election was one of the strongest pushes for the whole project.

As far as the most recent period is concerned, Amsi has carried out two fundamental programmatic actions that, in addition to concrete results, have also had a good media resonance: good immigration and good health.

Good immigration, since 2000, consists of 10 programmatic points in favour of solidarity, rights and duties, against the exploitation of human beings and "irregular" immigration. Thanks to this program, Amsi has managed to pass, with some obstacles, the idea that part of the immigration in Italy is also composed of qualified and trained people, such as doctors, nurses and physiotherapists. For this reason, Amsi has strongly contributed to the birth of Uniti per Unire (United to Unite): a transversal group that includes all foreign and Italian professionals.

Good Healthcare, on the other hand, aims at the right to equality and equal treatment between healthcare professionals with a migrant background and their Italian colleagues. Finally, in 2009, a very important battle, won together with many other associations, was the one against the "spy doctors", i.e. against the attempt of the government of that time to introduce the obligation to report undocumented foreigners by doctors (it was the amendment 39. 306, presented during the examination of DDL 733 at the Senate Assembly, aimed at suppressing paragraph 5 of Article 35 of Legislative Decree 286 of 1998, which establishes the prohibition of "reporting to the authorities" of irregular migrants by medical and nursing staff to the competent authority in anticipation of a measure of expulsion).

NAGA - Organizzazione di volontariato per l'Assistenza Socio – Sanitaria e per i Diritti di Cittadini Stranieri, Rom e Sinti

City: Milan

Website: www.naga.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

Naga is a voluntary association present in the city of Milan since 1987 and counts more than 400 voluntary members. The association provides legal, health and social assistance to foreign citizens, asylum seekers, victims of torture, Roma and Sinti through a series of activities that are structured in two locations. The access of aspiring members to Naga is through an orientation and training course. Four employees, all part-time, who carry out coordination and secretarial activities, support the group of volunteers. To manage the activities there is a board of directors currently composed of

7 people, always volunteers, which is renewed every three years by election among the members.

2. Priority social needs

Naga's commitment is divided into areas. Each one focuses on specific needs and all together they guarantee listening, care and protection to foreign citizens. The assistance activity is integrated and enriched by a constant activity of training, documentation, reporting, raising awareness and pressure on institutions. For users, all services are free of charge. The activity in direct contact with people is entirely carried out by volunteers, among whom there are mainly doctors, nurses or psychologists, but many other professionals are also involved, from university students to retired teachers.

The association runs an outpatient clinic of basic medicine for people without residence permit where volunteer doctors and nurses work. Over time, it has been joined by two counter activities: one is more related to bureaucratic-administrative practices, the other has a legal focus. Naga relies on the external support of several lawyers who mainly proceed to challenge denials of international protection and expulsions, always and only under the regime of free legal aid. In addition to these activities, there is a non-residential day center (Naga Har Center) for asylum seekers, refugees and victims of torture, which also serves as a socialization center. Naga is equipped with two mobile units: one is a health unit, a camper adapted as a medical clinic that visits informal places in the city; the other is aimed at people in prostitution, with a low-threshold information service. A group of volunteers is active in the three Milan prisons, offering a support service to foreign prisoners, very often just as a bridge of contact with family members who are in their homeland. Finally, a research and observation group is active, born from the analysis of the prefectural emergency reception system in Milan and province, and more recently extended to the monitoring of the housing issue tout court.

3. The social mission and political agenda

Naga, with its activities, promotes the guarantee of new rights of citizenship for migrants, even if undocumented, and monitors the concrete and effective application of rights already recognized. It promotes the right to health for foreign citizens, even without documents, as essential and inalienable and to be guaranteed through the public health service. Naga also proposes to die out when the public bodies in charge will take concrete and direct management of services and interventions related to the presence of foreign citizens. Through the twenty years of experience of the day care center Naga Har, but also of the same medical clinic, the association has observed, over the years, a progressive precarization of people's lives, especially after the last economic crisis, which has led to a change in the social needs to be met and the same service users. There has been an increase in the number of people who have lost their jobs and

consequently their residence permits, and who have been forced to turn to the services of the association. Moreover, until now the Lombardy Region has never dealt with this issue in a systematic way: Naga has many so-called chronic patients, i.e. people who have pathologies that are not necessarily serious and disabling, but who need continuous care, and who have their only point of reference in the outpatient clinic, because they are excluded from access to regional health care.

In the area related to asylum seekers and refugees, the activity of the association in recent years has focused on the management of denials of international protection and the search for answers in the face of the high increase in the rejection of applications. In addition, there has been a tightening of the procedures adopted by the various institutional bodies, especially the Police Headquarters, and there have also been difficulties in physical access to the offices, worsened with the advent of the pandemic.

4. The participatory process

The founder of the association liked to imagine that, after a few years, only citizens of foreign origin would lead Naga. Unfortunately, to date, this is not yet the case. According to Naga, there are two elements that make the participation of foreign citizens not so high: the first one is related to the fact that many people turn to Naga at the time of need and are passing through, and this limits the possibility to start longer and lasting paths of participation; the other element relates to the prevailing request to satisfy basic needs, so there is little need for people to want to go beyond the satisfaction of the specific need.

In fact, it happens quite frequently that people who have known the center as users, at some point decide to become volunteers of the association. What is more difficult to achieve is a second level of participation in the association's meetings or in the candidature for the board of directors. In the Naga Har center, which is a place lived and frequented by different people even for a long time, the association tries to organize periodic meetings with the people who frequent it to collect requests, information or proposals for change that concern the management of the center. It happened sporadically, on the push of a particular event, that it was possible to start paths of wider participation. For example, a few years ago, in a reception center in Milan, the guests of the center began to denounce what was not working in the CAS and turned to Naga to develop a path together.

5. The Advocacy experience

For Naga, it is difficult to talk about real structured advocacy campaigns. The campaigns conducted so far have originated from the observatory work carried out thanks to the outpatient clinic and the legal desk and have been focused on communication, in order to highlight the objectives that the association has always had

(such as the right to health for all or freedom of movement), while at the same time much more practical activities have been carried out with the intention of obtaining concrete results in each case.

Naga's actions arise in the most varied ways: sometimes there is an input from a volunteer; other times there is a discrimination or some direct violation. The tool that supports the intervention, in most cases, is the legal action, sometimes, pilot cases are promoted. At first, Naga follows the individual case, responding to an immediate need, then moves on to legal action, and then later, with a positive outcome, starts with a communication and information campaign.

In 2014, Naga supported a discrimination lawsuit brought against the Lombardy Region, together with Asgi⁶¹, Avvocati Per Niente, and Anolf - Cisl, to obtain the assignment of the pediatrician for the children of undocumented foreign citizens⁶². The campaign was born from the case of a family who then appealed against the Region. The appeal was won, and subsequently the Region partially modified the law on an experimental basis. In the last period, however, Naga has fought for the extension of access to the Covid vaccine even to people without health cards, writing to the Lombardy Region twice and considering the opportunity to promote stronger actions, collecting cases of foreign citizens excluded from the vaccination campaign and, therefore, possible plaintiffs in a legal action.

Refugees Welcome Italia Onlus

City: Milan

Website: www.refugees-welcome.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

Refugees Welcome Italia is an association born on December 11, 2015. It is part of the European network Refugees Welcome International, founded in Berlin in 2014 and now active in 12 countries. RWI was born thanks to the commitment and dedication of a group of professionals with multidisciplinary skills and a solid experience in the field of reception and social inclusion policies: project managers, social workers, psychologists, lawyers, social researchers, communication and fundraising experts, journalists, photographers. A 5-member Board of Directors, elected by the General Assembly, which defines the strategies, intervention priorities and working methods of the association, manages the governance of Refugees Italia Onlus. On an operational level,

61 See here: <https://bit.ly/3A5xSAT>.

62 See here: <https://bit.ly/2Vi5jS9>.

Refugees Welcome Italia is composed of a central staff and local groups active in 34 Italian cities.

2. Priority social needs

Refugees Welcome Italia is an independent organization that promotes the mobilization of citizens to foster the social inclusion of refugees, female refugees and young migrants who have arrived in Italy as unaccompanied minors. It is animated by the desire to strengthen social cohesion in communities, through knowledge, the creation of relationships, and cohabitation between people who would be unlikely to meet alone. RWI supports and promotes family welcome, mentoring, solidarity cohabitation, activism alongside refugees and those who, having the right to live in our country, encounter many barriers that prevent the full expression of their potential, their desires and their projects. RWI promotes the encounter and mutual understanding between people, to overcome fears, stereotypes and prejudices and contribute to the full realization of each one and the creation of a more generous, curious and vital society. RWI also aims to contribute to a cultural change regarding the theme of migration, to nurture a counter-narrative of the migration phenomenon and people's life stories, and thus to encourage a completely different narrative from the dominant one. To do so, it promotes the activation of citizens in the first person: opening the doors of their homes, welcoming a refugee into their home, getting to know them, helping them to achieve their own path to autonomy and to fully integrate into Italian society. According to RWI, work on the needs and resources of the people received should be greatly strengthened, through a profound rethinking of the way in which these people are "placed, relocated and moved". There are many ways to actively participate in RWI: the most common is to become an activist in a territorial group and to facilitate the reception in the family. Among the other modalities that have been added over time, there is mentorship, intended as a path of guidance aimed especially at very young people who arrived in Italy as unaccompanied minors in the moment of transition to adulthood.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The main mission that RW has developed at the international level is linked to the promotion of inclusion, through welcoming families. Then, in individual countries, very different strategies have been developed according to the different national contexts. RWI is still a very small reality, and in recent years has not been able to conduct advocacy actions in a structured way, lacking a dedicated figure for this purpose. What they are trying to do, especially in the last year, is to strengthen the capacities of the territorial coordinators, trying to promote actions at least at the local level, and have a strong impact on territorial welfare.

From the beginning, RWI has tried to build the experience of welcoming families with a role of direct protagonism of the people to the point that all those who sign up to be welcomed are met personally and placed at the center of a relational process that is attentive to their specific needs. Meetings are also held to understand if the person is willing to join the territorial group, to then become a facilitator of experiences and support others who will follow in their footsteps. Once people are welcomed into the family for a period of at least six months, sometimes even longer, RWI tries to enhance their talents, their aspirations, to support paths of protagonism, even though, especially at the beginning, quite basic and priority needs prevail. There are still very few people who manage to do this, but one of the projects that RWI would like to pursue from next year is to create capacity-building paths dedicated to the people hosted, so that they can become, even within RWI, important voices to better direct the debate with political decision-makers and to ensure that the governance of RWI itself sees refugees and host families as protagonists. RWI firmly believes that fostering the protagonism of these people is decisive, enriching and important, but it should be tailored to their possibilities and potential.

4. The participatory process

In the Italian antiracist panorama, according to RWI, refugees still have little chance to be protagonists. In general, there is fatigue on both sides: migrants struggle to participate and associations struggle to involve. In addition to this, there is also the issue of associations formed by migrants: according to RWI, there is a caesura between associations born even 20 years ago and second-generation associations. RWI claims to have tried to involve the new associations that have not, however, shown great interest in what RWI does, not for lack of interest, but because the urgencies are still many and very different. RWI believes that it is necessary to go beyond the single urgencies and to network, to make a collective discourse that aims at a real change in policies that does not aim at an immediate advantage for the single association, but at a general change in policies. Associations often meet each other, participate in meetings, hold events together, but it is as if all these energies are often dispersed without aiming at real goals. An exemplary participatory path is that of a boy who arrived in Italy as an unaccompanied minor and was accepted in Venice. He was interested in studying and learning, to the point that he rode his bicycle to school every day to obtain his eighth-grade education. When he was taken out of the reception center, he was welcomed into one of RWI's families. Here he was able to consolidate his studies and participate in union activities. Thanks to a two-year family placement, he was able to find his way. He is a person with strong skills of civic protagonism and slowly he became available to RWI activism, becoming one of the main teachers in the training courses for families

who want to host. And he does so with the passion of someone who has lived these experiences from the inside.

5. The Advocacy experience

RWI has never conducted real advocacy campaigns: rather, it has conducted numerous targeted initiatives, aimed at specific areas, where it has found the possibility of a fertile interlocution. In particular, through a FAMI (asylum and migration fund) project that is still in progress, RWI has promoted family-based care with the creation of a register of welcoming families and the support of some municipal administrations. In this process, the Municipality of Ravenna was the first to take up the challenge and to ask RWI for help in structuring this register and the entire process for welcoming families. RWI is trying to replicate the experience in Rome and Bari.

RWI has collaborated with other associations in a number of advocacy campaigns, also giving a large contribution and a constant presence (as in the case of the Io Accolgo Campaign). In the past, RWI has tried to interact with the Ministry of Interior, trying to propose the introduction of experimental actions in the reception policies. There have been only timid openings, traceable in some of the notices for the FAMI calls dedicated to the social inclusion of migrants. RWI has also opened an interlocution with Anci and the Central Service, always about reception of refugees, and participates in the National Asylum Table.

The association complains about the lack of an advocacy manager who can follow closely some concrete situations and build in parallel effective actions. On the contrary, communication has always been a very important asset of RWI, on which it has invested a lot, also in economic terms, with the aim of characterizing its awareness initiatives in a very precise way.

Trama di Terre

City: Imola

Website: www.tramaditerre.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

Trama di Terre is an intercultural association of women from all over the world active in Imola since 1997 and founded by a group of 14 women of 5 different nationalities. The association was founded with the aim of welcoming and building relationships between native and migrant women, to fight for the rights of self-determination of all and to oppose discrimination and male violence in all its forms. To achieve this goal, Trama di terre has opened over time some services, which it does not like to define as such,

conceiving them as observatories useful to activate concrete grassroots practices of solidarity and equality of women. An intercultural center, a shelter for women in economic and housing difficulties, a shelter for women victims of forced marriages and violence related to honour, an anti-violence center, houses of extraordinary accommodation for women seeking asylum, a reception center Sprar (then Siproimi and Sai) are the main activities carried out over the years.

2. Priority social needs

The members of Trama di Terre consider it essential to create collective spaces where native and foreign women can meet, confront each other, support each other, fight together for the recognition of their rights, prevent and combat gender-based violence, social exclusion, discrimination and racism. The cultural, national and social plurality of the group and the collective action are considered the founding axes of the political identity and social mission of the organization. Trama di Terre "is not a place for immigrants, it is a place for all women," the association emphasizes.

Among the priorities identified in the current phase there is the need to fill the lack of a comprehensive political approach to gender and origin (geographic, cultural, social, economic) equality, the latter understood not only as national origin, but also social, economic, religious. The contrast of economic and social inequalities is considered essential to defeat the currently dominant thought of the "primacy of the Italians" which, according to the members of Trama di Terre, has won in Italy both politically and culturally and has contaminated even progressive political cultures.

Cultural and educational work is considered a priority to prevent and combat everyday social racism that is not only identified with the most recognizable forms of racism and sanctioned by law. According to the women of Trama di Terre, today widespread racism, that which passes through social relations of all kinds, is more frequent than in the past. There is a lack of migrant bodies and/or bodies of non-Italian origin in public spaces. It is encountered in the access to housing, but also in everyday cohabitation when a house can be found. It expresses itself in the intolerance of kitchen odours, in the refusal to rent to "black" people, it affects young migrants who do not go to school, without anyone taking care of them. It shapes an "ethnified" labour market in which foreign women, even if they have a university degree, are called to work only as family assistants, domestic workers or waitresses, but do not work, for example, as teachers in schools. Undeclared work affects migrant and native women today more than in the past, and discourses that overlap sexism and racism permeate labour relations.

A polycultural and intercultural educational policy is needed, but also training for teachers and recognizing the cultural plurality of Italian society with facts, first by facilitating the recognition of qualifications and training acquired in the country of origin.

The way in which institutions tend to relate to foreign women should change, as should the institutional conception of reception, which maintains a welfare imprint: foreign women are considered recipients of services and economic aid, rather than holders of rights that institutions should recognize and respect.

As far as national legislation is concerned, according to Trama di Terre, the most urgent changes are the modification of the requirements for the issuance of residence permits (which currently oblige migrants to undergo lengthy bureaucratic procedures and hinder the path towards personal autonomy), a reform of migration policies that allows to stop violent migration managed by traffickers and to govern it as a structural and ordinary phenomenon, and the reform of the law on citizenship.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The principle of universality of women's rights guides the association, together with respect for the cultural diversity of which they are bearers. The promotion of spaces of autonomy and participation aims at the full implementation of the principles of equality, equal social dignity and citizenship of native and migrant women. Trama di Terre intends to combat the different forms of discrimination by recognizing the intersectionality that affects migrant women and those who are economically weaker. With its activities Trama di Terre pursues the self-determination of women and their voice in private and public spaces. The fight against fundamentalism of all kinds runs through the activities of the association that fights any patriarchal culture, both Italian and foreign, focusing on a gender approach and women's rights.

4. The participatory process

The association has developed thanks to the weaving of relationships between women. Trama di Terre is a hospitable shelter, recognized in the territory, which allows women who approach it to find an emotional closeness, to become aware of the discrimination suffered, to take the floor in the protected space of the association, to experience political participation inside and, thanks to the collective experience, to conquer it outside. The relationship is built above all thanks to the various services offered, the cultural activities, training and political initiatives promoted by the intercultural center and word of mouth. The teaching of the Italian language, the shelters, the anti-violence center, the political initiatives, training, but also cooking and music are the channels through which women meet and become part of the association. "The kitchen is also a political place, of political exchange, because here were the women of different nationalities and languages and in that moment I, with almost zero Italian, had anyway the possibility to relate and, as I always said since I arrived in Italy, Trama was the first place where I felt like a person...For me this is a one hundred percent political path. And it comes through building a welcoming relationship."

The construction of relationships also passes through confrontation and the opening of conflicts and the recognition of internalized racism, of what the president of the association defines "good racism" that "leads to say that everything a migrant woman says is okay". Instead, there have been open conflicts in the association about homosexuality, abortion, religion and the veil. These were open conflicts in respect of each one, having only one goal: to extend the rights of all.

5. The Advocacy experience

The advocacy initiatives mentioned by the association are three. The first one concerned the protection of women victims of forced marriages. Trama di Terre, after having carried out a research in 2011, opened a reception center with the support of Vodafone Foundation and ActionAid. When the project ended, the association tried to convince the municipality to support the maintenance of the center, unfortunately without success. Just the relationship with local institutions is one of the critical issues that the association denounces, according to which the institutions not only do not support the services and activities, but they struggle to understand and recognize their importance "except when you solve a problem".

A second battle, however, has had a positive outcome. After having requested for a long time to facilitate access to housing for single women with children (migrants and natives), in 2015-2016 the City Council changed the way of calculating the score for access to public housing, recognizing a higher score for women coming out of situations of violence.

Not a real campaign, but an initiative that nevertheless appears interesting is the meeting organized with the Mayor on June 19, 2021, in the occasion of World Refugee Day. Some asylum seekers have delivered to the Mayor a letter in which they have explained in a very clear way the real barriers they encounter in the construction of a path out of the reception system that guarantees them social and economic independence and autonomy from social services. The letter focuses attention on discrimination in access to work, training and housing and in the recognition of educational qualifications, asking the Mayor to take charge of them. The answer was unfortunately terribly in line with the times: "but there are also Italian citizens".

Work Area

Coordinamento Migranti Bologna

City: Bologna

Website: www.coordinamentomigranti.org

1. A brief presentation of the movement

Coordinamento Migranti Bologna was born in 2004 and brings together a group of Italians and migrants, men and women, some present and active for twenty years, others joined later, over time. In 2019, an internal subgroup of the Coordinamento was born, called the Assembly of Women⁶³, which always meets with the Coordinamento Generale, but also has autonomous venues and moments of discussion.

2. Priority social needs

The Coordinamento has constantly accompanied the struggles alongside migrants, supporting their point of view. The needs to which these common struggles have tried to respond have followed the various phases of national policies and regulations. There is a strong idea behind the actions carried out, and it is the one that starts from the overall social conditions of migrants and the processes of deconstruction of a series of rights. The Coordinamento strongly believes that migrants should not be seen only as exploited subjects, victims of violence or abuse, but, rather, as people who with a determined act of will have left to improve their living conditions, exercising their right to freedom of movement and circulation. In this general political framework, we prefer not to use words like "solidarity": the Coordinamento is not in solidarity with migrants, but unites Italians, migrants and second generations. The Coordinamento wants to emphasize that, obviously, the struggles change as the protagonists themselves change, and consequently the way in which the struggles are organized also varies, depending on how the composition of the group changes and the needs that are considered more immediate from time to time. The growth of the participation of migrant women, mostly working in the field of domestic work and care, has transformed, in the last two years, even the struggles on this side. It is the dimension of self-organization that counts a lot in the work of the Coordinamento: it is considered strategic that migrants take the floor, indeed that they are themselves "carriers" of instances, needs, necessities or urgencies. The Coordinamento does not have a desk through which to receive requests, and often the shared actions are born by pure chance, from an informal meeting between some people of the Coordinamento that are confronted on a concrete fact

63 See here: <https://bit.ly/2VIXGKv>.

happened: the violation of a right of a single migrant, becomes an element of collective struggle. On the basis of the claims, the Coordinamento decides how to act: that is, whether to seek a dialogue with the institutions, or to open a dispute, or to seek the intervention and support of other associations or lawyers.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The leitmotif of the struggles put on the agenda of the Coordinamento is certainly the perverse link between the residence permit and the work contract, as provided for by the so-called Bossi-Fini Law and the conditions of exploitation of migrant labour that result from this. The Coordinamento affirms the political role of migrants in their struggle against the policies of job insecurity, to which they have always been exposed and by which they have always been affected in both the labour and social spheres. The Bossi-Fini Law and institutional racism are considered fundamental levers of precarization. For this reason, the protagonism of migrants is a political priority against work and existential precarity. The Coordinamento also fights all forms of racism, both everyday and institutional. The latter derives largely from current regulations that make it difficult, if not impossible, to access public and social services, giving priority to Italians or bureaucratic practices so complicated and costly that they materially exclude migrants. Finally, the Coordinamento has always established transnational connections with the struggles of migrants in other European and non-European countries⁶⁴, because it recognizes in the violation of borders by migrants the first and most important form of globalization. The women and men of the Coordinamento Migranti are also opposed to any form of administrative detention of migrants in Europe or outside Europe, claiming full freedom of movement for every man and woman who decide to build another future.

4. The participatory process

The Coordinamento highlights how in participatory processes the leadership is migrant. In the early years, the Coordinamento has always held a fixed weekly meeting every Wednesday evening, which was also very well attended by migrants. In more recent times, even before the pandemic, the Coordinamento had to modify and adapt the meeting modalities, having noticed that most of the asylum seekers, often workers engaged in the logistics warehouses at night, were not available to participate. Moreover, many other migrants were engaged in the Italian school or in the evening courses to obtain the third grade. The weekly meeting was, by mutual agreement, moved to Saturday in order to have a wider participation. During the meetings, the participants discuss and plan the various mobilizations, as well as planning larger

⁶⁴The migrants of the Coordinamento have joined the Transnational Migrants Coordination, a transnational coordination of associations, unions, individuals, collectives, autonomous, parties, from all over Europe, and also from Turkey and Maghreb, see here: <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/category/movimenti-transnazionali/>.

assemblies to involve a wider number of migrants who may not attend the Coordinamento. Another participatory tool used continuously by the Coordinamento is the active participation in the festivals organized by the various national communities or associations of foreign communities or religious communities: in fact, they are excellent moments of informal acquaintance, in which political discussion does not tend to take place, but they represent a good moment to aggregate other people around the Coordinamento. In addition to these two tools, the Coordinamento has set up several Whatsapp chats, depending on the topics to be discussed or groups that are mobilized on an action. The whole process of construction of any mobilization is shared, even in the drafting of public statements, overcoming even language barriers, and always seeking the direct contribution of migrants.

Among the elements that hinder the processes of participation and leadership there is certainly the availability of time, such as in the case of migrant women who have a full-time job, often alone with their children, or in the case of migrants seeking asylum who are in reception, often in very precarious living conditions, with tight work schedules. A major obstacle to participation comes from the "controls" on the lives of migrants, especially asylum seekers, carried out by the managing bodies of reception or employers.

5. The Advocacy experience

The Coordinamento Migranti, over its twenty years of activity, has conducted numerous advocacy actions. Certainly a very important step has been that on the labour struggles in the logistics sector that had their peak from 2013 to 2015. Among the most recent ones, there is the action conducted against Yoox, an online high fashion warehouse born in Bologna, but with a transnational market, in which many migrant women work, some of them being part of the Assembly Migrant Women⁶⁵. With the advent of the pandemic, the company has carried out numerous shift changes, imposing unsustainable working hours on the workers that are incompatible with family needs and the care of their children, in such a way as to push them towards voluntary resignation or at least towards the request for part-time work. The company did this because it has a lot of redundant permanent staff and cannot outright fire them. Hence, the stunt of changing shifts, to make foreign women pay the highest price possible. The migrants have asked for the support of the Coordinamento, and together with the basic union Cobas, an important dispute has been opened at the interporto of Bologna. The dispute is still open, but it had a negative turning point when another union, the CGIL⁶⁶, signed an agreement that protects only women who have very young

65 See here: https://youtu.be/AgIq1x_uKYA.

66 See here: <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2020/12/23/sul-caso-yoox-comunicato-area-di-opposizione-cgil/>.

children up to 2 years old. The Coordinamento has also conducted a parallel social campaign that has gone very well and has spread an appeal⁶⁷ signed by thousands of people, with very broad consensus.

The other important action, still open, concerns the Mattei Reception Center in Bologna, a very large hub that hosts about 200 asylum seekers. Already in the past, the Coordinamento has repeatedly denounced the very critical situations of the structure, with hygienic and living conditions at the limits of the possible. The explosion of the pandemic has further exacerbated these critical issues: failure to respect the social distancing, dormitories of 15 people inside containers, failure to deliver anti-covidium devices. Following all these complaints, a legal action was carried out with the support of Asgi⁶⁸. Then, on their own, some of these migrants held a very important meeting inside the structure and drew up a ten-point list of things that were not going well and that they wanted to change. The Coordinamento supported these requests and published and disseminated their letter, calling into question the managing body but also the Police Headquarters, the Prefecture and the Municipality. In the absence of an institutional response, the migrants blocked the entrance of the Cas for a morning, demanding the opening of a meeting table, without success. On May 1, 2021⁶⁹, the migrants, again with the support of the Coordinamento, marched, in the middle of Ramadan, for about 5 km from the Mattei Reception Center to the Prefecture. The issue is still being resolved, because the institutions have not yet received the migrants.

MEDU- Medici per i diritti Umani

City: Roma

Website: www.mediciperidirittiumani.org

1. A brief presentation of the association

Medici per i Diritti Umani (MEDU) is an independent, non-profit humanitarian organization founded by a group of doctors, midwives and other volunteers engaged in a health mission with the Kichwa indigenous communities of the Ecuadorian Andes. MEDU was formally established in 2004 in Rome with the aim of treating and witnessing, bringing medical aid to the most vulnerable populations, and - starting from medical practice - denouncing human rights violations and in particular the

67 See here: <https://www.zic.it/pioggia-di-adesioni-allappello-per-le-lavoratrici-yoox/>.

68 See here: <https://www.asgi.it/asilo-e-protezione-internazionale/coronavirus-asilo-bologna/>.

69 See here: <https://www.coordinamentomigranti.org/2021/04/26/primo-maggio-al-mattei-marcia-delle-e-dei-migranti/>.

exclusion from access to care. Within MEDU there are no figures dedicated exclusively to the advocacy strategy.

2. Priority social needs

The policy priorities are the promotion of human rights in general and the right to health of the most vulnerable population groups.

3. The social mission/i and political agenda

The themes that the association currently deals with are:

- Countering labour exploitation in agriculture.
- Promotion of access to primary care and mental health for all.
- Fight against torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment.

4. The participatory process

Migrants and refugees reached by MEDU projects participate in the advocacy action through the direct testimonies they provide to MEDU operators that converge in public reports, public statements and documents addressed to institutions. Migrants/refugees are informed about the institutional advocacy and public opinion information activities carried out by MEDU and provide their socio-personal data and testimonies by signing an informed consent, aware that they will be included in reports and advocacy documents.

In rare cases, migrants and refugees reached by the mobile clinic at precarious settlements have participated in institutional meetings and round tables with local institutions. Involvement is difficult both because MEDU does not have dedicated figures and because the people encountered live in conditions of extreme socio-housing precariousness and poor political representation. In the case of labourers, for example, the organization and articulation work by local unions is very weak, as well as the awareness of their rights and forms of political action. Participation and leadership require information, conscientization and organizational work that requires time and specific skills, as well as the creation of a common feeling, legal and political recognition and the identification of shared issues and problems.

In summary, a first obstacle encountered by MEDU in fostering the direct participation of migrants/refugees in the design and implementation of advocacy strategies is the absence of a long-term strategy. Advocacy initiatives are designed from time to time, based on evidence gathered on the ground during project implementation. The second obstacle is the absence of a dedicated figure within MEDU. The third obstacle is the precariousness of the legal and living conditions of migrants, the lack of organized communities and the low political representation of migrants and refugees (also due to the low socio-legal recognition).

5. The Advocacy experience

Advocacy initiatives are built on a case-by-case basis, starting from what was found during the care and information activities carried out in the field. The coordinators of individual projects share themes and issues of interest with staff and then, with the support of the general coordinator and, depending on the case, the coordinators of the national and international desks, the strategy is developed. An action usually involves a first level of data collection, systematization and processing, followed by the identification of political interlocutors at national and local level, to whom analysis documents must be submitted. In parallel, the data flow into public reports, which are also transmitted directly to policy makers relevant to the individual issues.

MEDU reports as an example the project Terragiusta, a campaign against the exploitation of foreign workers in agriculture, launched in 2014. Every year, a mobile clinic reaches different regions of Southern Italy where foreign agricultural labourers work in exploitative conditions and live in precarious settlements. The mobile clinic provides medical assistance and socio-legal and health guidance, as well as on labour rights. During the activities, data on the living and working conditions of the labourers are collected, as well as in-depth direct testimonies. These data and analyses flow into public reports prepared at the end of each season. In addition, the individual criticalities encountered are the subject of meetings with relevant decision-makers at local and national levels.

This annual campaign has identified as complex and correlated causes of exploitation conditions: unfair mechanisms of the agri-food chain (institutional advocacy level: MEDU has asked and obtained to be part of the Caporalato Table), legal precariousness of migrants (MEDU has introduced a legal worker and in the reports analyses the legal conditions, also making specific proposals), widespread illegality (political level: interlocution and participation in institutional tables, public denunciation through reports, posts, analysis documents transmitted to relevant institutions and then made public). The reports always contain specific proposals addressed to individual institutions to overcome the problems highlighted (in this case: Government, Region, ASP, Prefecture, Police, Municipalities).

Finally, MEDU constantly participates in institutional coordination and advocacy tables of civil society organizations (e.g. Tavolo Asilo, Tavolo Immigrazione e Salute), to give strength to the advocacy actions. Allies include other civil society organizations and local community agencies.

Monitoring and evaluation of advocacy campaigns are not systematically implemented. Certainly, the macro-results of the individual initiatives are systematized (e.g. database of institutional meetings with themes and results obtained; database of network meetings with ODG and results obtained, etc.), sometimes summarized in reports and publicly disseminated through press releases or posts on social networks.

NoCap Association

City: Foggia (FG)

Website: www.nocap.it

1. A brief presentation of the association

NoCap was founded as a nonprofit association in 2017 and, from the beginning, has dealt with the issue of the fight against caporalato, thanks to the experience brought by Yvan Sagnet (at the time a Cameroonian student at the Polytechnic University of Turin who worked in the Salento countryside to pay for his studies), known for having led the revolt of the labourers of Nardò in 2011. The revolt led to a large mass strike of workers that had a great media prominence, brought to light the problem of labour exploitation and caporalato⁷⁰ in all its facets, pointing the spotlight on the so-called "ghettos". That strike was the spark that started an investigation, a trial and the "first conviction for slavery in Europe"⁷¹. In the meantime, the campaigns of the trade unions found the support of political interlocutors and on July 26, 2011 the bill 2584 ("Measures aimed at penalizing the phenomenon of illicit intermediation of labour based on the exploitation of labour activity")⁷² was presented; it provided for the tightening of punishment for anyone who carried out activities of labour intermediation characterized by exploitation, violence, threat or intimidation, taking advantage of the state of need or necessity of the worker (Legislature 16 - Bill N. 2584). To arrive, finally, to the new Law 199 of 2016⁷³, which is the most complete and the main one of all the legislation, because it had the great merit of putting together the responsibilities of the caporale, as an illegal intermediary, with that of the owner of the company, beneficiary of this form of exploitation and black labour. NoCap has followed the entire evolution of the legislation.

2. Priority social needs

The perspective of NoCap is to create and promote a more humane form of economy, which considers social needs - not just profit - and which focuses on the environmental and human resources of the territory by eliminating the causes of exploitation and forms of para-slavery to which hundreds of thousands of workers are subjected. One of the basic needs that the association tries to respond to is the need for regularization of

70 The caporale is a person who recruits labour for third parties by taking advantage of the state of need of the workers (mostly migrants, if we think of the agricultural sector) that puts them in the need to accept employment under any conditions.

71 See here: <https://bit.ly/3lsdje4>.

72 See here: <https://parlamento16.openpolis.it/atto/documento/id/66242>.

73 See here: https://temi.camera.it/leg17/post/OCD25-272.html?tema=temi/nuovi_reati_d.

migrants working in agriculture, especially after the entry into force of the so-called "Salvini decrees", and even more so with the advent of the pandemic. The conquest of the residence permit paves the way to the guarantee of certain rights and access to certain services: among these are the registration at the registry office, at the Employment Center, at the general practitioner, the opening of a bank account or the obtaining of a rental contract. In addition to regularization, the association tries to respond to the need to obtain a regular work contract that respects the national collective bargaining agreement and that does not include submerged forms of exploitation or mistreatment. It also deals with the problem of transportation of workers as well as the housing issue. To respond to all these needs, the association has considered it of fundamental importance to expand the network of partnerships.

3. The social mission and political agenda

The fight against "caporalato", and more generally against the exploitation of labour, is at the heart of NoCap, which has studied how to create an ethically sustainable supply chain, promoting not only the escape from the "ghettos" of many immigrants but above all their work and social inclusion in the communities where they live. NoCap is configured as the first international network against caporalato⁷⁴ that wants to spread a model to make clear the traceability along the entire supply chain of agricultural products, from production to processing and marketing that also includes environmental sustainability. The association, through its experts, conducts activities of promotion, awareness, enhancement, control and verification at companies and in general along the supply chain to ensure that all the provisions and rules on labour and safety are respected and applied according to national and international regulations. In 2019, with the creation of Italy's first certified ethical supply chain, NoCap marked the transition "from protest to proposal" by bringing together all the actors in the supply chain⁷⁵. NoCap aims to guarantee producers a fair cost and workers the protection and guarantee of their rights. The project is in an experimental phase and is being developed in three specific areas: in Apulia; in Sicily in the Capitanata and Ragusano areas where tomatoes are harvested and then transformed into puree; in Basilicata, in the Metapontino area, where fresh vegetables are harvested and packaged. About a hundred labourers and twenty companies are involved in all this. They may seem like small numbers on the surface, but they are important and fundamental to be able to

⁷⁴ In order to be part of the No Cap Network, it is necessary that retailers, distributors and producers adhere to its values and conditions. In fact, a multi-criteria matrix has been created by the Association, in collaboration with CETRI-TRIES Third Industrial Revolution European Society, which is a sort of "litmus test" that allows the Network to ensure that companies respond positively to the criteria promoted by No Cap. It consists of six criteria that aim to promote sustainability in its three aspects - environmental, social, economic.

⁷⁵ NoCap's ethical supply chain came to fruition in the summer of 2019, through the hiring of 40 farm labourers hired by the company Prima Bio (FG) to harvest and process tomatoes.

fight a system of labour exploitation that can no longer be justified and that should not belong to a civilized society. The boys who are part of these activities have all been removed from the shantytowns and the territorial ghettos organized by the underworld run by the caporali. Thanks to this initiative, they have been guaranteed a protected and dignified job, suitable places to live, suitable means of transport to go to the farms and agricultural fields, regular medical examinations, safety devices such as overalls, gloves and safety shoes to work without risking their lives more than they already have, chemical toilets when necessary.

4. The participatory process

NoCap has a president who is of Cameroonian origin and is black, a person who has worked in the countryside, has been exploited, understands the dynamics, and knows them well, and has lived in the "ghettos". It is on the basis of these assumptions that all NoCap workers are involved, along with the companies, to share a social project. The NoCap workers also become "controllers" of the situation, especially after the insertion in the company, to protect even those more subtle forms of "gray labour" still so widespread and little denounced. They are the first activists, they are the antennas of the association and play a fundamental role of daily monitoring. Their involvement also entails direct responsibility and the initiation of leadership processes within the work teams.

5. The Advocacy experience

In the summer of 2020, the association, together with the farms Prima Bio (FG), O.P. Primo Sole (MT) and La vita bio (RG), dealt with the regularization promoted by the "Decreto Rilancio" of about 150 farm workers in Capitanata (Puglia), Metapontino (Basilicata) and Ragusano (Sicily). In these territories the labourers were involved in the harvesting of tomatoes to be transformed into preserves, in the collection and packaging of fresh fruit and vegetables and in the cultivation of tomatoes. In order to realize the project of the ethical supply chain, a new approach has been tried, innovative compared to the way in which today the relationships within the supply chain are built. In this context, the collaboration and cooperation with the Megamark Group is inserted. From the collaboration between the Association and Magamark was born the brand Iamme⁷⁶, with which NoCap products are sold in stores managed by the distributor. At the end of July 2020, the project 'Women labourers against caporalato' was born, as a result of the agreement between the association and the Megamark Group of Trani (leader of modern distribution in Southern Italy with over 500 supermarkets), together with Rete

⁷⁶ The name of the brand has a double meaning: on the one hand "iamme" represents the Neapolitan expression that urges to act, to do something. On the other hand, it refers to the English expression "I am me", with which we want to focus attention on the subjectivity of workers, holders of rights that too often are not recognized - starting from human rights.

Perlaterra (association and network of companies that promote agro-ecological practices of land work). The local workers involved in the project will harvest organic table grapes in the Ginosa (Taranto) area, which will then be packaged in the Aba Bio Mediterranea plant in Policoro (Matera), and distributed by the Megamark Group in A&O, Dok, Famila, Iperfamila and Sole365 supermarkets in Southern Italy with the 'Nocap' label and the 'IAMME' ethical and quality brand. IAMME - Nocap organic products are already present on the shelves of the Group's supermarkets with a line of reds (passata, peeled tomatoes, ready-made sauces) and one of fresh fruit and vegetable products.

Another aspect that NoCap deals with is the escape from ghettos and the subsequent transfer of immigrant labourers to decent housing facilities. It is precisely in this context that the third sector realities of the various territories in which NoCap projects are active come into play: the Association collaborates, for example, with Caritas, the Waldensian Church, private entities operating in the social field, but also with second reception centers (SIPROIMI). In Basilicata, the Archdiocese of Matera-Irsinia and Caritas Diocesana have made available to workers who are part of the NoCap Association an entire structure, Casa Betania - the House of Dignity - financed through 8xMille funds: in addition to reception, training is also provided for workers who, at the same structure, have their own garden where they independently grow vegetables and a variety of wheat originating in Africa.

In the Capitanata area, some of the workers hired through NoCap are housed at Casa Sankara, while others are housed at the Don Bosco Village of the Emmaus Association (an organization that deals with the recovery and social reintegration of people in difficulty, such as minors, people with psychosocial problems and drug addicts, people with hardships such as victims of trafficking and violence, pregnant women and mothers with dependent children, and immigrants). One of the houses made available by the institution is home to five workers who are part of the NoCap project "Donne Anti-tratta" (Anti-trafficking Women), born through the collaboration of different third sector realities that operate in the Foggia area and deal with the reception and inclusion of immigrants, victims of violence and trafficking and homeless people. For female workers who work in the company's warehouse, the stay in this structure is foreseen for the duration of the employment contract. Once the work contract has been stipulated, and for as long as it is valid, the female workers are directed to develop their agency capacity. This mechanism is triggered and sustained over time thanks to the - albeit temporary - work, economic and housing stability that allows them a certain level of control over their daily lives, supporting their empowerment through a process of self-reflection and empowerment.

Finally, the effort made by NoCap has led to the creation of an application for smartphones, created to ensure dignity and rights to all, with a focus on women and

children. With the No Cap App, you can directly or informally denounce any kind of illegal action related to exploitation in the agricultural sector in Italy. It is not a tool provided only to labourers, but also to ordinary citizens who can safely report situations on the edge of legality. The rationale is to create, also through a social use of social networks, a network that facilitates contact between anyone who has experience, direct or indirect, of caporalato and those who can concretely do to protect the exploited.

Tempi Moderni Aps

City: Sabaudia (LT)

Website: www.tempi-moderni.net

1. A brief presentation of the association

Tempi Moderni is an association of social promotion, based in Sabaudia, that deals with studies, researches, training and scientific investigations on topics of current and academic interest. It also promotes and publishes journalistic investigations able to keep together deepening, methodological and expositive rigor. It promotes essays and articles, monographs and collections through publications, the organization of specific events such as seminars, advanced training courses and masters, in cooperation with universities and recognized training and research institutions. Finally, it profiles itself as a modern research center capable of supporting free, independent and innovative research in terms of methodology and communication.

2. Priority social needs

One of the main needs to which the association responds is that of accompanying migrants in the process of emersion from illegal work. Thanks to some projects, several female workers, in particular of Romanian origin, have been approached and have then started a gradual process of accompaniment to emerge from illegal work and sometimes even denounce it. The stories that emerge are many and of different nature and expand the needs that the association goes to meet: not only labour exploitation, but also health problems, mistreatment and physical violence. However, there are many migrants who decide not to start any path of emersion and/or denunciation. Many of them are even ashamed to tell their story to the community they belong to, for fear of being judged. The pandemic, of course, has made things even worse: the association has found worrying cases of physical violence, even very heavy, against some labourers who had simply asked their employer for the provision of anti-counterfeiting devices

required by law.⁷⁷ In the Pontine countryside the Covid-19 pandemic has radicalized the forms of exploitation of workers. In the lockdown period of last year (2020), taking advantage of the absence of controls, bosses and caporali have perceived a sense of impunity and have been able to exploit in a more extreme way, with the knowledge that they would not be sanctioned. According to research conducted by Tempi Moderni, in 2020 there was a 15-20% increase in exploited foreigners in the Italian countryside (equal to about 40-45 thousand people) with a worsening of their working conditions and an increase in working hours that ranged from 8 to 15 hours per day. In addition, there was a 20% increase in the number of hours worked and not recorded but with lower pay and a lowering of hourly pay, in some cases down to 3.50 euros. In addition, the increase in insecurity, due to the emergency climate, has pushed many exploited immigrants to consider themselves secondary to the Italians and to renounce all claims.

3. The social mission and political agenda

Tempi Moderni was born as a study center but it also wants to become an active part, contributing, where necessary, to a development of policies, dealing in particular with the rights of migrant workers exploited in the countryside of Agro Pontino, with a focus on the Indian Sikh community, which is the most numerous and most organized. The mission of the association, beyond the research, is to broaden the gaze towards the foreign communities present on the territory and their participatory processes and construction of the various leaderships. This is a fundamental step for the association, since the collaboration and mediation with certain figures recognized by the communities is the basis for the success of some paths of emergence and denunciation of exploitation. It is obvious that to involve them in a more participatory way, it is necessary to fill the gaps that characterize our reception system. For example, these people should know Italian well. The association intervenes on this with language courses, meeting the needs of workers, their time and their availability, adapting the timing of training to those of their private lives. Moreover, the forms of protest and strike remain fundamental, since they represent not only the manifestation of a desire for legality, but also the expression of a process of emancipation that endures over time. The first strike by the Indian community in 2016 was followed by other demonstrations, occupations of businesses, and trials. Unfortunately, a strike is not enough, just as a single law or parliamentary inquiry is not enough: changing labour exploitation requires acts and behaviours from both national legislatures and local governments. The association has recorded a sort of delegation of responsibility on the part of many local administrators, who blame the Parliament for the exploitation of labourers in

⁷⁷ See for example: <https://bit.ly/3xmMJFB>. The denunciation and the testimony of the labourer are contributing to change in order to re-establish fundamental rights. He himself, through the lawyer Arturo Salerni of the association Progetto Diritti, has joined the civil action in the relative process, not limiting himself to the denunciation. Today he works, even if at a reduced pace, because the damages of that aggression are, unfortunately, so far permanent.

order not to see their own faults. In the trials held at the Public Prosecutor's Office in Latina against child labour, no local government has joined the proceedings as a plaintiff.

4. The participatory process

According to Tempi Moderni, specific training should be provided on the concept of leadership, with an anthropological approach to the issue. This is because it is not obvious that "our" vision of leadership corresponds to that of another culture. Sikhs, for example, have a strong link with religion, very often identifying the leader with the head of the gurdwara. Tempi Moderni emphasizes how it is of great importance to foster these processes from below, making them spring from the community itself, with recognition and identification, without imposing leadership from above. Then, there is the fact that a person working more than 14-15 hours a day, if not properly trained, cannot develop the necessary leadership or governance skills. An association of the Sikh community was born only recently: but we are talking about a community that has been present for over 30 years in the Agro Pontino and that is only now developing an awareness of the importance of self-organization.

5. The Advocacy experience

From 2016 to the end of 2020, Tempi Moderni accompanied workers to file 150 complaints with the Latina prosecutor's office and law enforcement agencies. Many have become lawsuits, which are still ongoing, involving leading entrepreneurs in the agricultural sector in the province of Latina as defendants. In some cases, workers have turned themselves in as civil parties.

In 2014, the President of Tempi Moderni (Marco Omizzolo) denounced drug trafficking destined for workers⁷⁸ in a dossier. This traffic was then recognized and certified by an extraordinary operation of the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Nas of the Carabinieri of Latina: Operation No Pain. In addition, Operation No Pain revealed the complicity of a doctor and a pharmacist who prescribed oxycodone-based drugs to prevent workers from feeling the fatigue of exploitation. It has therefore become necessary to provide not only a police and judicial response, but also a social and health one, to prevent and treat all those who have plunged into a dramatic addiction. On April 18, 2016, in Piazza della Libertà, right under the Prefecture of Latina, the Indian Community of Lazio together with Flai Cgil, Cgil and cooperative In Migrazione, organized⁷⁹ the first and largest strike of Indian labourers, with over 4 thousand people present. In the last period,

⁷⁸See 2014 Dossier - Doparsi per lavorare come schiavi (Doping to work as slaves) available here: <https://bit.ly/3xhsTv7>.

⁷⁹ See here: <https://bit.ly/3Ca4Wtx>.

Tempi Moderni has been working on a project called "Dignity-Joban Singh"⁸⁰, which foresees the start-up, after a crowdfunding campaign, of a series of legal, social assistance and training desks, organized with the help of Progetto Diritti, in the Pontine territory. These counters are in various Pontine cities, starting from Sabaudia, to provide free legal assistance to seriously exploited women and men, victims of trafficking and forced to silence or subordination. Mobile teams of professionals will directly reach the meeting places and homes of workers to offer their support. It is a project based on horizontal relationships. A common language has been developed and we work together with the people we meet.

80 On June 6, 2020, an Indian boy named Joban Singh, just 25 years old, was found lifeless inside his apartment in the well-known Bella Farnia Mare residence, in the town of Sabaudia, already the place of residence of many Indian families mostly employed in agricultural labour activities. Joban Singh decided to hang himself after having entered Italy through an Indian human trafficker, to whom he still owed about 9,000 euros, having been severely exploited in one of the largest farms in the Agro Pontino area and having been refused by the owner at his request to emersion from irregularity through art. 103 of the government's "Decreto Rilancio" (Legislative Decree no. 34/2020). This is the thirteenth case of a severely exploited Indian worker who committed suicide in the province of Latina due to the perverse combination of exploitation, caporalato, fraud and international trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation. See: <https://bit.ly/3yqEd9J>.

3. Conclusions

Over the years, the long history of immigration in Italy has favoured the emergence of a plural and varied anti-racist universe from the point of view of social composition, legal and formal structure, territorial scope of intervention, priorities and working methods, models and practices of participation. Alongside voluntary work of a charitable nature, there are more structured organisations that operate with paid staff, groups and campaigns to put pressure on public decision-makers, mutual aid experiences, many of which are self-organised by migrants, and committees and movements fighting on the ground, which often initiate successful disputes with local institutions. These realities intervene in many areas: from the management of reception of refugees (not only material), to actions denouncing violations of rights (social, educational, labour, in detention centres), discrimination and institutional racism, to monitoring and mutual aid in border areas, to promoting search and rescue missions at sea.

With the 20 interviews, the results of which we present here, we have tried to get to know better the advocacy experiences promoted in three areas of intervention (anti-discrimination, welfare and labour) that go beyond the boundaries imposed by the political and institutional agenda (focused on the permanent "emergency" of migration policies) and privilege the guarantee of citizenship rights for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. The focus was on the analysis of three dimensions: the social mission and the political agenda, the processes and practices of participation and the experiences of advocacy.

Social mission and political agenda

The fight against all forms of discrimination and institutional/systemic racism; the relaunch of the commitment to reform the law on the acquisition of Italian citizenship; the demand for information that gives voice and looks more fairly at the presence of migrants and people of foreign origin; the guarantee of equal rights in access to welfare, health, education and work; the demand for a single, public, efficient reception system capable of promoting the autonomy of the people received, together with the creation of collective social spaces for relations and activism, are the priorities that emerged most clearly during the interviews, albeit with different nuances. The need for reform of immigration and asylum legislation was mentioned by many of the interviewees, but it was not indicated as a priority for advocacy initiatives in the short term. The recent (and limited) modification of the so-called Salvini decrees perhaps leads to consider a more radical intervention of the legislator unlikely.

Participation

The very high demand for protagonism of the realities founded by young people of foreign origin born and/or raised in Italy is expressed, albeit with different nuances, highlighting a complex relationship, in some cases conflictual, with the historical Italian

anti-racist associations. What clearly emerges is the perception of a lack of political recognition of the new antiracist subjectivities that have emerged in recent years, and of the knowledge and talents of the so-called second-generation young people; the need for greater listening; the rejection of opportunistic or instrumental forms of involvement; the desire to take a direct and unmediated stand and to use languages and forms of expression other than those traditionally typical of antiracist activism.

The difficulties of triggering authentic processes of participation of foreign citizens emerge even more in the realities that work with asylum seekers, migrants, refugees or Roma. The precariousness of living, housing and working conditions that keep material problems in the foreground; the exploitation that particularly characterises certain segments of migrant labour (in the countryside, but also in care work and logistics); the uncertainty of the legal status of many foreigners that leads them not to expose themselves when they are affected by discrimination or racist violence or when they are in detention centres; the high territorial mobility that characterises especially the first phase of migrants' presence in Italy and the strong limitations to the autonomy of asylum seekers hosted in governmental reception centres, are the main factors that hinder a direct social and political commitment of migrants and asylum seekers for their rights.

Participation seems to be facilitated by listening, relating and self-organisation, which are fully realised above all within well-identified physical and virtual collective spaces, based on methodologies and times of relating and activism that are not heterodirected.

The advocacy experience

The definition of advocacy is clear and is used only in some of the realities interviewed; in one case its critical refusal, all political, is explicit. Nevertheless, all the organisations interviewed are clear about the social change they are pursuing with their activities. The initiatives reported are very heterogeneous and can be divided, schematically, into three large groups:

- those addressed, directly or indirectly, to national and local political decision-makers, with the aim of changing/redirecting public policies;
- those of a cultural and symbolic level, which seek to change the collective imagination of migrants, refugees and the so-called "second generations", addressed to the world of information or to public opinion;
- those who, through denunciation of rights violations, protest and mutual-help interventions, build change and social justice from below.

Only in a few cases do they have professional figures and dedicated economic resources.

The forms of activation are manifold: from coalition-building, public mobilisations, conversing with policy makers, promoting campaigns to denounce, inform and raise awareness, lobbying the media, monitoring public policies and administrative practices, to launching litigation that can indirectly lead to changes in legislation.

Networking, grassroots activism that does not fear conflict, the renunciation of self-referentiality, and training aimed at improving the identification of emerging social needs

and strengthening the capacity for self-organisation are considered indispensable for making a qualitative leap in the ability to guide the decisions of institutions at all levels (local, national and international).

Appendix

Annex 1

List of the entities and people interviewed

Antidiscrimination			
1	Action aid	NATIONAL	Livia Zoli
2	Arci	NATIONAL	Filippo Miraglia
3	Associazione 21luglio	NATIONAL	Carlo Stasolla
4	G2	NATIONAL	Mohamed Tailmoun
5	Italianisenzacittadinanza	NATIONAL	Paola Baudet Vivanco, Fioralba Duma
6	Lasciateci centrare	NATIONAL	Yasmine Accardo
7	No hate speech movement	NATIONAL	Debora Barletta
8	Occhio ai media	LOCAL	Shahzeb Mohammad, Robert Elliot
9	Questa è Roma	LOCAL	Kwanza Musi Dos Santos
10	Razzismo brutta storia	LOCAL	Giulia Frova, Mackda Ghebremariam Tesfau, Rahel Sereke
Welfare			
11	Amsi	NATIONAL	Foad Aodi
12	Asgi (Gruppo AntiDiscriminazione)	NATIONAL	Paola Fierro, Alberto Guariso
13	Ex Canapificio Caserta	LOC/NAT	Mimma D'Amico
14	Naga	LOC/NAT	Sabina Alasia
15	Refugees Welcome	NATIONAL	Fabiana Musicco
16	Trama di terre	LOCAL	Alessandra Davide, Claudia Inurreta, Adjisam Mbengue, Nohora Jerez
Labour			
17	Coordinamento Migranti Bologna	LOC/NAT	Lorenzo Delfino
18	Medu	NATIONAL	Mariarita Peca
19	No Cap	LOCAL	Francesco Strippoli
20	Tempi Moderni	LOCAL	Pina Sodano

Annex 2

Grid of interviews

Main topics

- 1. The political agenda:** what are the priorities for the organization/movement/informal group interviewed? What social rights/needs they consider to be priorities in their advocacy work? What political approach to discrimination and racism?
- 2. Participation/protagonism.** How migrants/refugees/minorities/discriminated people are involved in the definition of the organization' policy advocacy strategy? What is the method used to identify the objectives/priorities of their advocacy work? h
How did the advocacy initiatives they promoted come about?
What can facilitate the processes of protagonism and participation of migrants and minorities? What are the main obstacles to their protagonism/participation?
- 3. Description of the advocacy cycle** from 1 or more concrete examples

Draft grid for semi-structured interviews

1. The political agenda

- The political agenda of organization/movements representatives interviewed
- The organizational structure (who, what professional profiles, statutory positions are engaged in Policy Advocacy activities?)

2. The level of participation

- Level, role and methodologies of immigrants' participation to the advocacy process (formal and informal collaborative/participatory processes)
- Eventual obstacles faced in direct participation/protagonism of immigrants/refugees/racialized people to the Policy Advocacy strategy designing and implementing

3. One or more examples of advocacy campaigns implemented

- Definition of the problem/s and of its/their causes (who, how, where)
- Possible solutions identified
- Context analysis and strategy: who can give an answer? What are the main targets of the Policy advocacy activities described? And the main allies?
- Short- and long-term objectives
- Typology of activities developed
- Preparation of topics and development of key messages
- Communication (lobbying, public campaign, media work)
- Success' indicators
- Networking
- Monitoring and evaluation activities

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