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**KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS FOR
SUSTAINABLE CITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH**



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**URBAN DIALOGUES
MIGRANT ACTORS
AND SPACES IN MILAN**

MILANO, ITALY

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The background of the entire page is a stylized topographic map. It features a complex network of white contour lines on a light beige background, creating a sense of depth and terrain. A grey, winding path leads from the bottom left towards the center. Two small, solid red human figures are positioned on this path: one further up and one further down, both facing away from the viewer towards the right. The overall aesthetic is minimalist and conceptual, suggesting themes of exploration, movement, and urban space.

Urban dialogues Migrant actors and spaces in Milan

**Post Graduate Programme a.y.2015-2016
Coopera(c)tion | Knowledge and skills for
sustainable cities in the Global South**

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Among the numerous ways of viewing the immigration experience, it seems particularly triggering to approach it not as a fixed and static point, a landing, but rather as a dynamic trajectory, one that leads from some place of origin, through an arrival district, into an imagined destination within the established city. Throughout its path, the immigration trajectory encounters several contexts and triggers necessarily a reaction; a dialogue is turned on.

Among the several stop-overs of migration, it is extremely significant to observe the one of the European City, investigating the dialogue between the needs and requirements of the migration phenomenon and the answers and reactions of the city, which at a closer look largely appears as a “collection of migrant enclaves” [D.Saunders], beyond the formal illusion of its official, symbolic center. In order to approach the subject and to analyse these “urban dialogues”, the mapping tool has been chosen; the map indeed allows to relate the urban phenomenon to a space, both in a static or more dynamic way.

Within such a broad subject a specific space and time of the migration experience have been identified, i.e. the city of Milan, at different scales, and the first reception phase of migration.



Mapping the actors Management and stakeholders

Between October 2013 and December 2015, Milan has hosted 84500 people, from whom only 656 remained as asylum seekers in Italy; this figure describes the intensity of fluxes affecting the city and the clear transitional nature of them. But today Milan is progressively turning into a final destination, rather than a temporary stop.

As first research phase, it has been investigated the current Italian reception system. The attempt to clearly summarize the reception mechanism, both in Italy and in Milan, has proved quite challenging; from the one hand indeed, the migratory phenomenon is constantly changing and presents an extremely dynamic character, from the other hand, the Italian approach to immigration keeps being much more present-oriented, rather than future-oriented, the interaction of these two aspects make it quite hard to draw a clear map of the involved actors.

1.1 Migration procedure

The Italian Reception system deals with immigration throughout three main steps: a First Aid and Reception, a First Reception and Qualification and a Second reception and Integration. Such an approach involves different aspects of the management system, rights and duties of migrants, legal staying in the country, services offered to them etc. All these issues could be summarized into three themes: the phases of the migration procedures and the related status of the migrant, the duration of each phase, and finally the centers of staying, where all the services and procedures should be carried on. The three aspects are obviously thought to be related one to the other, although often one's malfunctioning deeply affects the others, this leads for instance to have people spending months waiting for a legal recognition, in a center thought as a temporary accommodation. Nevertheless, going through the procedures, duration and reception centers of Italian immigration helps drawing an overall picture of the current situation and management.

procedures

As far as the procedures are concerned, the migrant landed in the Italian territory is supposed to undergo four main phases before receiving a formal recognition of his/her status of refugee, in need of subsidiary protection, or a formal denial of protection. To each phase corresponds a different status, which is respectively attributed to the same person.

Firstly, the migrant should present to a public officer (at the harbor, or any other border) a "Manifestation of Willingness" [step1] (it. *Manifestazione di volontà*), which declares his/her will of being recognized by the country. Such a declaration should be followed by a meeting, where the authorities formalize the request (Modello C3) of protection [step2]. The migrant should subsequently be given a temporary permission (It. *Permesso di soggiorno temporaneo*) [step3], with a six-month validity, which temporary recognizes the migrant as an asylum seeker in the Italian territory. After a certain amount of time, which should not exceed the mentioned six months, the migrant is called at an audition by a Territorial Commission (It. *Commissione Territoriale*) [step4], where he/her is asked to explain his/her condition and justify the asylum request. The Territorial Commissions have been lately enhanced, in order to speed up their

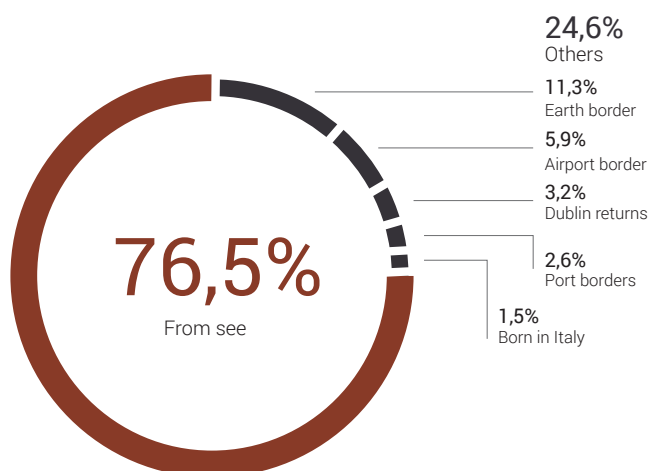
work, they are currently twenty spread up in the country. The Commission has then thirty days to express its decision, which the migrant can accept, or refuse starting a complaint procedure.

The Commission's decision can lead to three outputs:

- a- the migrant is recognized as refugee or as owner of a subsidiary protection, in this case he/her gets a five-year permission of staying and travel pass, which can be renovated after expiry;
- b- the humanitarian protection is recognized, the Commission denies the refugee status, but accepts a staying permission for humanitarian reasons, which has a two-year validity;
- c- denial, due to different reasons the Commission refuses to foster protection and ask the migrant to leave the country, even if without supporting him/her to do so.

The duration of each one of the four steps is often much longer then it should be; after having presented the Manifestation of Willingness [1], a time-period of three or four months passes before being called by the authorities for the formalization of the request [2]. Once the temporary permission has been received, the migrant waits an undefined number of months for the meeting with the Territorial Commission [3], usually they can wait from six to twelve months (exceeding therefore the validity of the temporary permission). To these months are to be added the thirty days (officially) needed by the Commission to express its opinion. Finally, it can be stated that, through the overwhelming randomness of the listed phases, the total period of time between the arrival in the country and the final recognition, or denial, of refugee (or under subsidiary/ humanitarian protection) can vary from seventeen months up to two years, leaving aside the time (circa three months) needed in case of complaint.

In order to manage and sort out the immigrants throughout these procedures, different typologies of Reception Centers are thought and functioning on the Italian territory.



Img. 02
Arrival in Italy

- CPSA

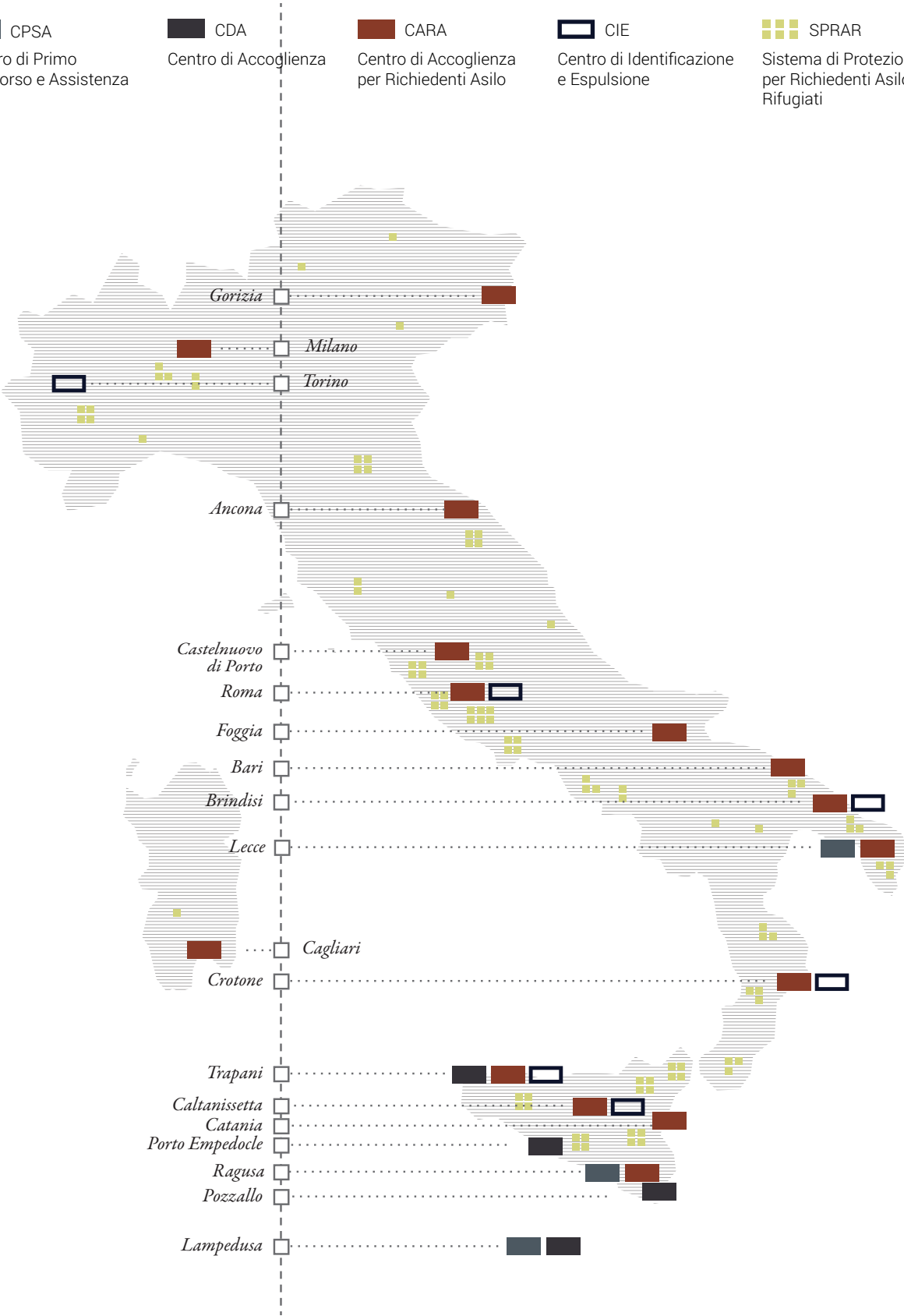
Centro di Primo Soccorso e Assistenza
- CDA

Centro di Accoglienza
- CARA

Centro di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo
- CIE

Centro di Identificazione e Espulsione
- SPRAR

Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati



**Img. 03**

Reception Centers in Italy

Img. 04

Migrants in Milan Central Station

The First Aid and Reception Phase is operated by the CPSA (Centri di primo Soccorso e Assistenza_L. n 563/1995); they are present mainly along the southern Italian coasts and carry out the very first procedures of health screening, immediate aid and identification; the immigrants shouldn't spend more than seventy-two hours within the CPSA. The Italian Roadmap (28.09.2015) decided to turn them into Hotspots, where besides the listed services, should also be started the migratory procedures and mainly a first distinction between those who could undergo the asylum seeker process and the so-called "economic migrant", which should instead be repatriated.

In order to temporary host the "rejected" migrants and to separate them from the others, are organized the CIE (Centri di Identificazione e Espulsione_D.lgs. n286/1998). Accordingly with the aim of avoiding the dispersion of economic migrants on the territory, the people held within the CIE aren't allowed to freely leave the center; here they are identified, they get the expulsion measure and are then are forced to leave the country; officially people should spend here ninety days, but they end up staying up to eighteen months.

The migrants who are instead reckoned as possible asylum seeker are moved to centers of the First Reception and Qualification system. They are of two kinds, the CDA (Centri di Accoglienza_L. Puglia n 563/1995), where the migrants are further identified and their regularity is once more checked, and the CARA (Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo_D.lgs.24/2008). While the foreseen time to be spent in the CDA is thought to be of max. forty-eight hours, a longer period of staying regards the CARA. In the latter centers indeed the migrant is supposed to be starting the immigration procedures [steps 1,2] and he should be hosted in the center until the reception of the temporary permission [step 3]. Formally the period of staying should vary between thirty days and one-hundred-and-fifty days, but it actually ends up lasting several months (in some cases also one year). These centers are progressively turning into regional or interregional "Hubs" (Centri Governativi di Prima Accoglienza_D.lgs. n 142/2015), closer to the European model.

The First Reception should be followed by the Second Reception and Integration System, although it often happens that the transfer between the

centers

two occurs with great delay. Officially the final moment of the immigration reception should be operated by the SPRAR (Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati_L- n 189/2002); the system is thought as a spread reception mechanism, where projects of integrated reception should be carried on, the services provided do not only include staying solutions, but should also offer support for the social and economic integration; the migrant is supposed to be hosted in these centers six up to twelve months, in any case until the decision of the Territorial Commission is expressed [4], or until the first grade judgment in case of Complaint Procedure (exceeding therefore the period of some months).

Although the SPRAR system is mainly referred as well-structured and functioning, in 2014 another kind of Second Reception centers have been defined, the CAS (Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria_Circolare 08/01/2014). These structures mainly differ from the firsts for their “extraordinary” nature, which far from limiting their use, allows a freer and less structured management, by operators who are asked fewer guaranties. Unfortunately, for the listed reasons the number of CAS ends up in most cases outnumbering the amount of SPRAR.

Considering the three aspects of procedures, duration and centers separately helps understanding how the whole reception system is conceived in Italy; nevertheless, the three themes should always be approached together along the First Aid, First and Second Reception phases. Their superposition though reveals also the main issues and lacks of the mentioned approach, in terms of management, time and services.

1.2 Involved stakeholders in Milan

Among the Italian regions, Lombardy is between the firsts for the role it plays in the reception system, within the current year it counts 13% of the country reception, such as other strongly involved areas as Sicily. Milan also plays a central role in the regional context, the characters of the migration fluxes regarding the city, though are currently changing. According to some data made available from the city administration, between October 2013 and December 2015, Milan has hosted 84500 people, from whom only 656 asylum seeker in Italy; this figure well describes the intensity of fluxes affecting the city, but also the clear transitional nature of them. Today, due to the changes in the border politics of the confining nations and to the consequent obstacles in reaching Northern Europe, Milan is much closer to a final destination, than to a temporary stop.

The reception system of the city, although able to receive great amount of migrants everyday, is constantly trying to adapt itself to the mentioned changing

situation, involving several management models and stakeholders.

According to its geographic position on the broader Italian territories, Milan is quite far from the terrestrial borders and the Southern coasts, nevertheless, the city is also the last Italian great center before the transit to Northern Europe. For these reasons, although the major reception activity consists in Second Reception centers, there are also some structures operating as First Reception; particularly, the latter ones cover the 7% of the city reception, while the SPRAR represent the 21% of it and the CAS the 70%.

Behind the services provided by the mentioned centers, there is a dense network of stakeholders involved in the field, the main operating actors are the institutions from one hand, and the third sector from the other.

In Milan, as in the whole country, the most of the immigration system is managed by the Prefettura, which play a major role in distributing the migrants and identified the needed centers to be opened. The SPRAR, instead, is followed by the single municipalities; the system indeed has a central coordinating unit (Struttura di Coordinamento Servizio Centrale) entrusted to ANCI (Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani).

the public

The third sector on the other hand, can be regarded as the second major stakeholder in the urban management of immigration, the centers indeed, although in some cases owned (or rented) by the municipality, are run by private or public institutions or cooperatives. As regards the First Reception, which represents a small percentage of the reception activity, the official centers are managed by Fondazione Progetto Arca, the French Gypse and The Italian red Cross; besides these CARA, exist a series of other structures also belonging to the first phase of reception, which can be generally defined as dormitories and in some cases transit centers. The management of the Second Reception System instead involves a greater number of actors, both in the SPRAR and CAS systems. The institutions applying to be part of the SPRAR are asked to follow some minimum requirements and well defined managerial assets, the

third sector



Img. 05
ARCA Hub, Milan

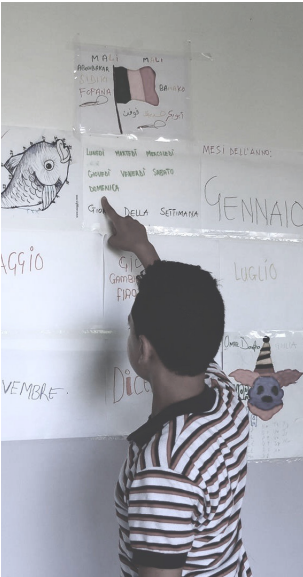
Img. 06
ARCA Hub, Milan

respect of the imposed limits ensure a structured system, where best practices are easier to be carried on (Via Zendrini) and an average quality is kept. The introduction of the extraordinary system of the CAS has left apart these advantages, to follow an emergency approach, which has necessarily lowered down the quality of the service offered.

The resulting situation, as carefully described by Naga, in their report “(Ben) Venuti!”, pictures a confused panorama, where the management is mainly left in the hands of the institution in charge of it; the lack of stricter requirements and criteria, present only in the case of SPRAR, leads to a scattered reality, where both good practices and dramatic ones are left free to operate.

In conclusion, this brief map of the actors and management of immigrant reception in Italy, and particularly in Milan, shows several weaknesses. Among them a major issue and significant aspect is the choice of approaching immigration as an emergency, such a behavior proves to have a dramatic impact both in the First and Second Reception Systems. The case of Milan is an example of both: the lack of a structural and not-temporary planning forces the municipality to constantly look for new solutions for the first reception (Expo, Baracks, Camps..), causing overcrowding of the existing centers and bad management; while considering immigration as an emergency leads to accept “extraordinary” solutions in the second reception, with a consequent lowering of the existing network’s quality.

Img. 07
ARCA Sprar
Via Zendrini, Milan



Beyond a simple record of official realities, the juxtaposition and interpretation of further data detects "not-so-formal" dynamics of migration.

Mapping the spaces A geography of (in)formal places



The second part of the work deals with a more spatial dimension, always observing the interaction between the migratory experience and the city. It has been attempted to map the existing migration spaces scattered in the urban area of Milan, particularly the one concerning the reception system. On this base is then suggested a more critical point of view, which highlights some interesting happenings. The research does not pretend to be fully exhaustive, the data's gathering indeed has been made on an ever-changing and mostly unclear reality.

2.1 Formal

The aim of the first analysis is to picture the current situation of formal reception spaces in Milan, distinguishing the spaces according to their function (first or second phase of reception) and their size.

data gathering The data are gathered from different sources, although the whole reception process should be followed, as seen before, by public institutions, there is no exhaustive list of the operating centers in the city. The most helpful data are presented within the report of Naga, the association has carried out a deep analysis and on-field research on the present reception system in Milan; also web-sources, declarations and newspaper articles are a precious source of information.

Although the data regard a wide number of realities, concerning the whole region of Milan, the drawn map (A) reports only those within the first urban borders; this first problem definition helps focusing on significant issues and managing a lower number of cases.

reception centers The centers are primarily divided into First Reception spaces and Second Reception, within this distinction there are further considerations to be made. The amount of centers defined as CARA, or HUB, are only three, but actually the number of migrants hosted still in the first phase of reception are much higher. There are indeed a series of further spaces devoted to the first accommodation of migrants in the city, which are defined generally as dormitory, sometimes not even defined and in some cases are referred as transit centers; the number of people hosted in these conditions is equal to, or exceed, the amount of migrants in the CARA/HUB. For these reasons, the dormitories and transit spaces are represented as belonging to the same category of the officially First Reception centers.

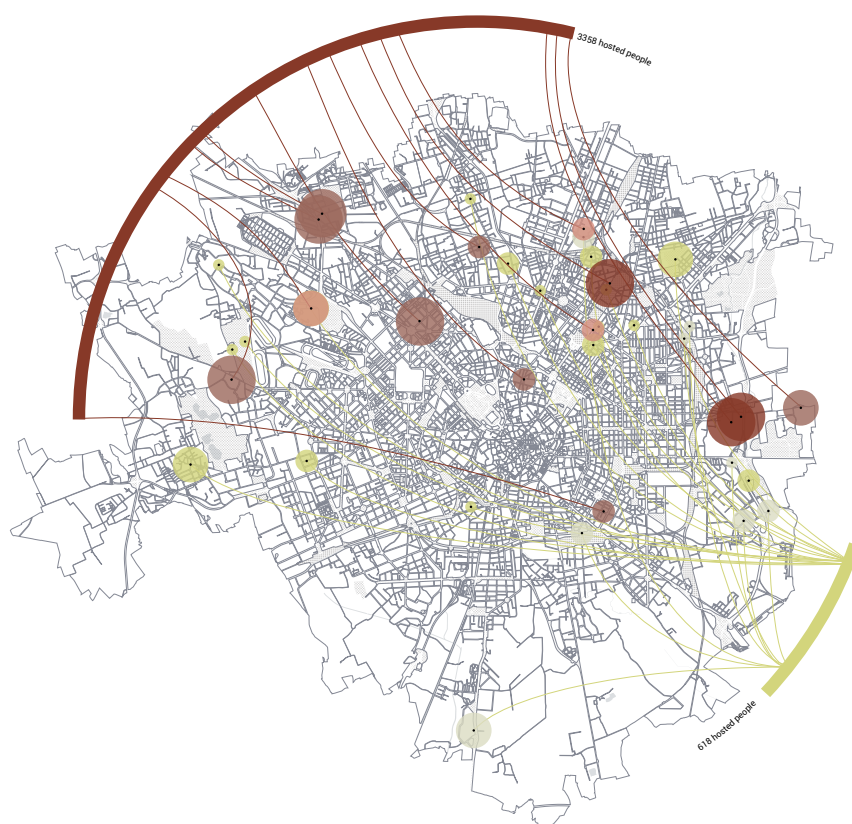
As regards the Second Reception, the map pictures the difference explained previously, it can be detected a number of SPRAR and a different amount of CAS. The reported figure though, does not sincerely represents the actual situation in the whole metropolitan Milanese region; while the amount of

SPRAR and CAS in the considered central area are similar, the second ones drastically exceed the firsts when looking at the wider metropolitan region (70% vs 21%), according to the issues reported in the previous chapter.

Comparing the two typologies of centers, it can be stated that a lower number of First Reception spaces host a much greater amount of people, the Hub of Via Sammartini reached 700 presences at some point. The Second Reception centers instead are greater in number, but due to their function and nature, receive only the 18% of the other centers, they can be also small apartments of two hosts.

The described mapping of formal spaces of reception provides a first look at the Milanese reality, showing how the First Reception centers are mainly in wide public spaces (schools, barracks, Station deposit..) on the Northern borders of the city, and the Second Reception Spaces are diffusely scattered around the city. While the distribution of the first mainly depends on the availability of public wide spaces, the second centers position follows the accommodations owned and provided by the respective managing institutions.

distribution pattern



Img. 11
Reception Centers

- First reception center-Hub/Cara
- First reception center-Dormitory
- First reception center-Transit
- Second reception center-Sprar
- Second reception center-Cas

Img. 12

Milanese Balconies

Img. 13,14_TableReception Centers in
Milan

2.2 Informal

The spaces of migration, even if limited to the reception procedures, seem to overcome the limits imposed by a formal definition of spaces. The mapping tool can therefore go beyond a simple record of official realities and try to gather, juxtapose and interpret further data, with the aim to detect a not-so-formal geography of migration.

In order to step from the first analysis of formal reception spaces towards the definition of an informal reality, it is build up a point of view, linking the two aspects and allowing the transition from the first to the second.

dynamic data

The second map (B) is drawn selecting three specific kinds of information: firstly only First Reception centers are considered, secondly it is recorded the difference between the capacity of the structure and the actual amount of migrants hosted, thirdly a dynamic source of data is used to further characterize the identified spaces. The choice of considering only First Reception centers is due to the easily detection of their impact on urban space, basically proportional to their great size. The capacity of these centers, moreover, is often exceeded and they are forced to be overcrowded, in order to ensure an accommodation for all the incoming migrants; the number of people hosted anyways should not be represented as a static data, but rather as a dynamic one, undergoing constant changes. In order to enhance the importance of dynamic information and to exploit their meaning when mapping the migrant experience, the facts of newspaper articles and reportage are also recorded in the map. This kind of figures, although not traditionally used in maps, satisfy particularly well the need of detecting facts and happenings which eludes a static record of the reality.

three areas

An overall look at this second set of information depicts a clearer scenario: there are three areas of Milan which are mainly interested by the reception activity, one in the North-West region, one around the central station and the third in the east districts. The three of them are characterized by different kinds of First Reception centers, always hosting more than a 100 people and in the three cases

TIPOLOGY	n	NAME_MANAGER_ADDRESS °RELATED ARTICLES	CAPACITY	HOSTS
FIRST RECEPTION/HUB	I.1	HUB_F.P.Arca_Via Sammartini 118+106mensa °1;8	100	500
	I.2	CARA_CRI_Via L'Aquila	200	200
	I.3	CARA(ex-cie)_Gepse/Ass.Acuarinto)_Via Corelli 28 °11;12;13;15	400	500
	I.4	HUB/CAS_?_CRI_Via Clerici Bresso (MI)	350	350
TRANSIT CENTERS	III.1	CASA SURAYA_Farsi Prossimo_Via Don Salerio 51	98	98
	III.2	HUB_F.P.Arca_Via Sammartini 118+106mensa		
	III.3	CARA(ex-cie)_Gepse/Ass.Acuarinto)_Via Corelli 28		
	III.4	CARA_CRI_Via L'Aquila		
	III.5	?_City Angels_Via XXV Aprile, Bresso (MI)		
	III.6	Memoriale della Shoa_Comunità di S. Egidio_Piazza E.J.Safrà 1	40	40
	III.7	Accoglienza_City Angels_Via Pollini 4	?	?
DORMITORIES	IV.1	Dormitory(ex-school)_F.P.Arca_Via Zoia, 10	200	200
	IV.2	Dormitory(ex-school)_F.P.Arca_Via Aldini 74/A °15	250	500
	IV.3	Dormitory(ex-school)_F.P.Arca_Via Mambretti 33	250	300
	IV.4	Dormitory(ex barack Mancini)_Telefono Donna_Via Corelli 176 °6;10;14	100	100
	IV.5	Dormitory_Remar Italia Onlus	?	?
	IV.6	Dormitory (ex-library)_Remar e Angels Service_Via S. Marco 49	50	50
	IV.7	Dormitory (Cascina Cuccagna)_CAM_Via Privata Cucagna 2	20	20
	IV.8	Dormitory(ex barack Montelloi)?_Via Francesco Caracciolo 29 °4;6	500	500
SECOND RECEPTION/SPRAR	II.1	Casa Suraya_Farsi Prossimo_Via don Salerio 51		
	II.2	Farsi Prossimo/La Grangia di Monluè	18	18
	II.3	_Farsi Prossimo_Via Giorgi 31	2	2
	II.4	_Farsi Prossimo_Via Gorlini 1	2	2
	II.5	_Farsi Prossimo_Via Sammartini 75	4	4
	II.6	_Farsi Prossimo_Viale Testi 302	4	4
	II.7	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Viale Marche 40	2	2
	II.8	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Via Corsico 10	2	2
	II.9	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Via Pellegrino Rossi 84	4	4
	II.10	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Via Padova 36	5	5
	II.11	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Via Spilamberto 5B, San Donato Milanese	3	3
	II.12	Apartament_Farsi Prossimo_Via della Libertà 29, San Donato Milanese	4	4
	II.13	Apartaments (2)_Cooperativa Comunità Progetto_Via Soperga 13	5	5
	II.14	_F.P.Arca_Via Stella	14	14
	II.15	_F.P.Arca_Via Macchi	14	14
	II.16	_F.P.Arca_4appartamenti?	60	60
	II.17	_F.P.Arca e Albergo della Vita_Via Privata Bernandino Zendrini °9	30	30
	II.18*	Dormitory Transiti:Albergo della Vita_Via Beato Michele da Carcano 4	75	90
	II.19*	Dormitory_Farsi prossimo/Caritas A./F. Casa del Giovane_Via Enrico Falck 28(5comunità alloggio)	25	25
	II.20*	Dormitory_F.P.Arca_Via Agordat 50 °16	58	58
SECOND RECEPTION/CAS	II.1	House_Associazione Ai.Bi_Via Lombardia 10, Vizzolo Predabissi (MI)	16	16
	II.2	Apartament_Associazione Cielo e Terra Onlus_Corso Sempione 79, Legnano MI	8	8
	II.3	Apartament_Associazione Cielo e Terra Onlus_Via Roma 47, San Vittore Olona (MI)	4	4
	II.4	Apartament_Cooperativa Ezio [in ALER]_Via Roma 5. Locate di Triulzi (MI)	3	3
	II.5	Community_Cooperativa Ezio_Via della Comunità, Pieve Emanuele (MI)	15	15
	II.6	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_Via Amedeo D'Apsta 17, Mediglia (MI)	6	6
	II.7	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_Pioltello (MI)	4	4
	II.8	Apartaments (3)_Cooperativa Melograno_Paullo (MI)	14	14
	II.9	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_Via Abelardo Pecorini 7	5	5
	II.10	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_Via Grazia Deledda 1. Bettola (MI)	4	4
	II.11	Apartaments (4)_Cooperativa Melograno_Settala MI	20	20
	II.12	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_San Donato Milanese (MI)	6	6
	II.13	Apartaments (2)_Cooperativa Melograno_Mombretto (MI)	9	9
	II.14	Cascina_Cooperativa Melograno_Pieve Emanuele (MI)	15	15

II.15	Apartament_Cooperativa Melograno_Locate Triulzi (MI)	5	5
II.16	Ex Elderly House_Cooperativa Intrecci_Via Gaetano Casat 52, Magenta (MI)	99	99
II.17	Apartaments_Cooperativa La Cordata_Via Giacomo Brodolini 24, Cinisello Balsamo (MI)	3	3
II.18	Apartament_Cooperativa La Tua Isola_Besate (MI)	5	5
II.19	Cascina_Cooperativa La Tua Isola_Via Duca Umberto Visconti di Modrone, Besate (MI)	15	15
II.20	Reception center_Cooperativa Lotta contro L'Emarginazione_Sensto San Giovanni (MI)	25	25
II.21	Apartaments (2)_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Via C. Colombo 5, Trezzano Rosa (MI)	2	2
II.22	House_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Inzago (MI)	10	10
II.23	Apartament_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Via Cimbardi 41, Cassano d'Adda (MI)	5	5
II.24	House_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Via Galileo Galilei 12, Bettola (MI)	14	14
II.25	Apartament_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Via Carcassola 74, Trezzo sull'Adda (MI)	5	5
II.26	Apartament_Cooperativa Sociale Ellepikappa Onlus_Via Garibaldi 24; Cambiago (MI)	5	5
II.27	CRIL_CRI_Via Giolitti 5, Cinisello Balsamo (MI)	13	13
II.28	Hotel_Fondazione Fratelli di San Francesco_Via Maestri del Alvaro 3, San Zenone al Lambro (MI)	170	170
II.29	Dormitory_Fondazioni Fratelli di San Francesco_Viale Isonzo 11	61	61
II.30	Ex-Summer center_Fondazioni Fratelli di San Francesco_Via Canzio 5, Cinisello Balsamo (MI)	25	25
II.31	Dormitory_Fondazioni Fratelli di San Francesco_Via Michele Saponaro 40	80	80
II.32	Cascina/Community_Fondazione Padri Somaschi_Via Buonarroti 6_Salerano sul Lambro (MI)	5	5
II.33	House_Fondazione Padri Somaschi_Via Quasimodo 21, Leignano (MI)	25	25
II.34	Hotel_GM Residence_Via Grandi 5_Rho (MI)	25	25
II.35	Hotel_Hotel L'Aragosta_Via Trieste 133, Gorgonzola (MI)	12	12
II.36	Apartaments (5)_Integra Onlus_Via Privata Giuseppe Ugolini 18	30	30
II.37	B&B_Integra Onlus_Via Ludovica D'Aragona	4	4
II.38	Unefined structure_Integra Onlus_Via Gaudenzio Fantoli 28	45	45
II.39	Apartament_Integra Onlus_Via Sanremo 13, San Giuliano Milanese (MI)	6	6
II.40	Apartament_Integra Onlus_Viale Fratelli Cervi 3, San Giuliano Milanese (MI)	5	5
II.41	Dormitory_Integra Onlus_Via Marco Fabio Quintiliano 46	50	50
II.42	Hotel_Integra Onlus_Via Nicola Antonio Porpora 170	8	8
II.43	Apartament_Integra Onlus_Via Amerigo Vespucci 12, San Giuliano Milanese (MI)	1	1

at least one of the centers is forced to host more people than it is supposed to. On all these cases, can be found many evidences of discomfort, both from the migrants hosted and the residents.

These considerations hint at the presence of a possible geography, laying aside the visible one, but slipping away from its definitions, a geography which probably welcomes and starts from the malfunctioning of formal realm.

In order to detect the described reality, only one of the three areas is considered and an analysis at a lower scale is carried on. The area of Via Corelli, on the East sector of the city, presents some interesting characters: it hosts two centers of great dimensions almost on the same street, and at a distance of only 1km has been recently located a third dormitory in an old barrack. Within such a short area therefore are hosted around 800 migrants. Furthermore, two of the mentioned centers appear to be receiving an amount of hosts, which exceed their normal capacity; these facts clear the reason why many articles can be found reporting problems and peculiar answers to this disadvantaged condition. Through a third map (C), the work tries to record the interaction between such a strong presence of migrants and the urban space, comparing its formal and informal forms.

The information gathered are mainly based on the mentioned sources and are somehow enriched by a direct visit of the investigated spaces.

The area lays out along the axis of Via Arcangelo Corelli, the street, which ends up at the border with the municipality of Segrate, defines the Northern border of the zone, since it runs right below the train rails. On the West the viaduct of the Tangenziale Est also represents a quite strong cut of the area towards the city center. The lower part of the district is occupied by a wide urban park, Parco Forlanini.

The first and bigger Reception Center is one of the three CARA of the city, managed by the French Gypse on the site of a former barrack, which also functioned for a certain period of time as CIE. The structure covers a wide area and is surrounded by a high wall, accordingly with its original function; the amount of people the space is normally able to accommodate is around 400, nevertheless some sources have reported picks of 500 hosts.

Right round the corner, in Via Privata L'Aquila is located another CARA, managed by the Italian Red Cross, where the migrants sleep also in tents. The center officially hosts 200 people and no further numbers are currently reported.

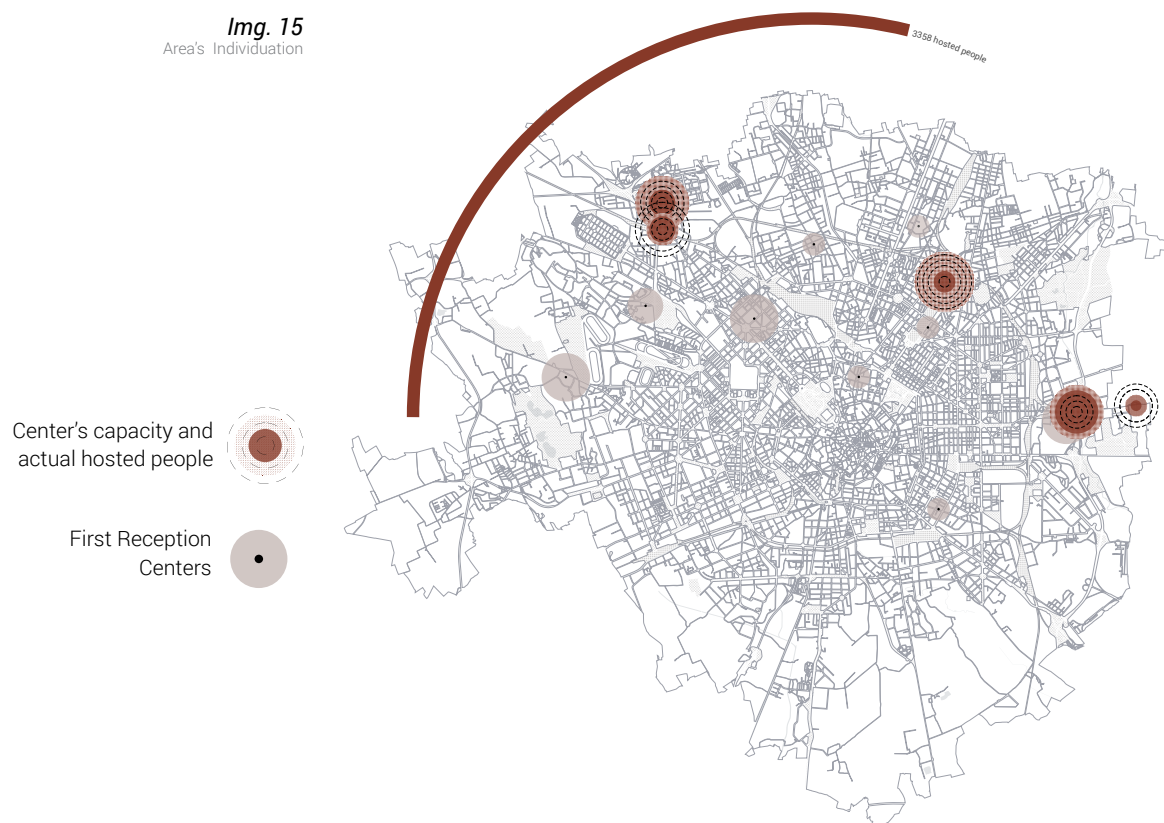
The third center is at the number 176 of Via Corelli, right before the border between Milan and Segrate; the center has been opened during the summer 2016, as a response to the increasing number of migrants arriving in Milan and the also increasing amount of them returning from the Northern Border of the country. The public call for its management has been won by the association Telefono Donna, it normally deals with female rights and now is taking care of the center, with an initial number of 100 migrants, which has later doubled. The structure was a former barrack (Caserma Mancini), the hosts have been accommodated firstly in temporary tents and recently moved in the building.

The considerations on the diverging information about the centers, their sizes and the attention of newspapers suggest to look beyond the formality described until now.

Following the news on a “favela” of “invisible migrants” under the viaduct, the observation of the space starts revealing the mentioned geography of informal practices; the proximity to the centers proves how such practices and spaces originate exactly from the leaks of the formal system and progressively start building an own shy space and ephemeral practices.

According to a work of MSF on informal migrant settlements on the Italian territory, two kinds of settlements can be found: open-air spaces of migrants newly arrived in Italy, waiting to access the reception procedures and system, and more structured settlements occupying abandoned buildings, containers, camps of immigrants living in the country from several years, who never entered the reception system or who have exited it without having carried on an

Img. 15
Area's Individuation



effective social integration process. Generally therefore the people involved are – not recorded in any reception list, - are unknown in their actual number, and – own an elusive nature with a high spatial and temporal mobility. The migrants inhabiting the settlements can be accordingly divided in two groups: those who have entered the country from less than three months, and the others. The firsts could be in different conditions, still waiting to enter the reception process, already out of it before having undergone the identification procedures, or migrants willing to transit to a different country.

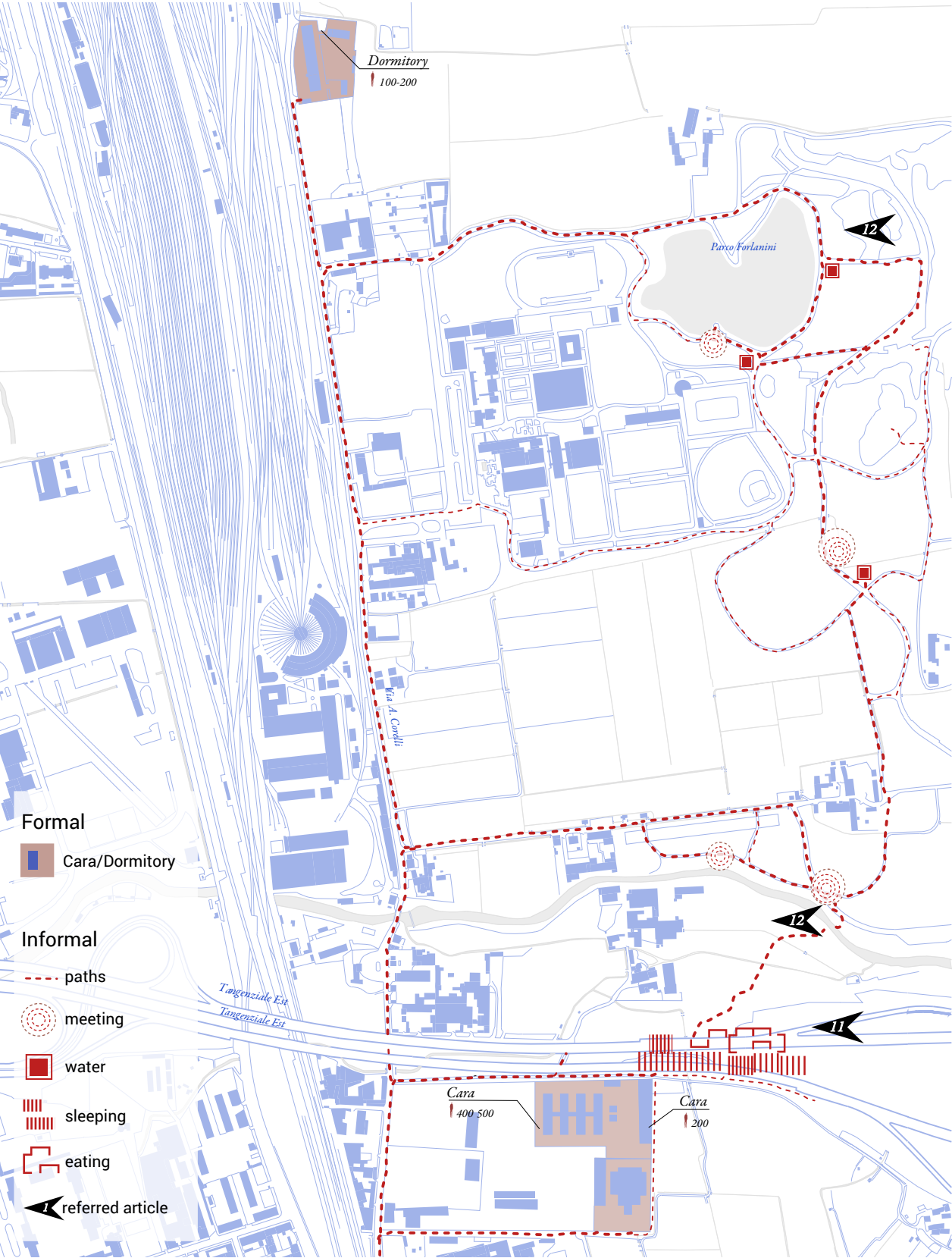
The space under the viaduct is furnished with mattresses, some shelves and cooking stoves; the entrance is marked by a short path, leading to a small gate covered with a red blanket. The settlement belongs clearly to the first kind defined by the work of MSF, and so do the people living there. They all entered Italy one year ago from the Balkans route, the ten men come from Pakistan and Afghanistan; after having reached Milan they have been moved to the CARA of Via L'Aquila, but before receiving the recognition of their refugee status have exited the center.

Under the Tangenziale they sleep, cook and spend their daily life, to get water though they need to move towards Parco Forlanini, where they can refill their water boxes and get washed. The mentioned space therefore appears to be the most visible and “stable” evidence of a broader geography of informal.

**Img. 16**Life under the Tangenziale
Est, Milan**Img. 17**

The area of Via Corelli

In conclusion, the maps and a dynamic use of them has revealed a strong contrast between the extremely rigid and static spaces, formally devoted to migrant reception, and a much more dynamic and fluid use of space performed by non-formal migrants. Although such a “discovery” could be interesting from a sociologic and urban point of view, it expresses a dramatic condition of living. The observations above should therefore trigger a different kind of thinking, where these realities stop being merely analysed and begin being considered as starting points of a more dynamic approach. These apparently weak points of the formal trigger some kind of informal happenings, which could reveal possible strengths of a new strategy.



Mapping the current actors and the spaces of migration in Milan highlights a wide range of issues and interesting topics, the first and probably clearest one is the forced interaction between the migration phenomenon and the city. If in some cases, this relation can be described as a positive exchange, some other situations show the absolute absence of common words, a mute dialogue with no point of encounter.

The size and constant presence of the phenomenon hinder the chance of avoiding communication, and suggests instead the need of building a common lexicon. The effort would bring advantages to both sides, to see them, things should be observed from a different point of view.

The mostly emergency-approach of the current management system of reception should face the clear long-lasting nature of immigration: people change, but the fluxes are continuous.

The rigidity of the spatial solutions fostered show a dramatic misunderstanding of the target: migrants are the most dynamic and fluid human beings, so are their practices and needs.

The word emergency should be substituted by long-term planning in the management of urban migrant reception, and the rigidity of the formal geography should leave the stage to more permeable spaces, allowing a free exit and motivating free entrance. Only then the strategic role of migration management and reception spaces will become clear to the city.

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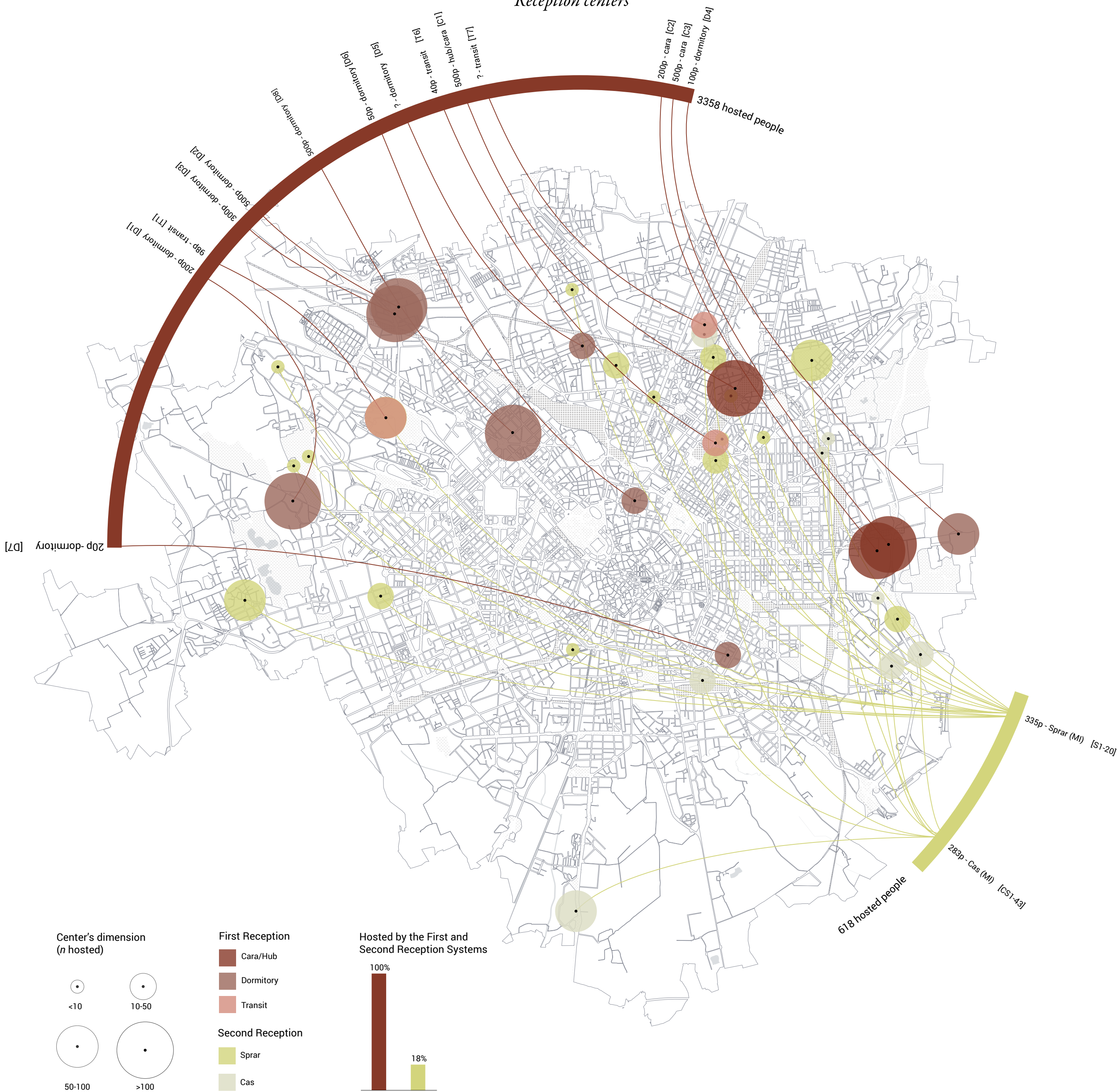
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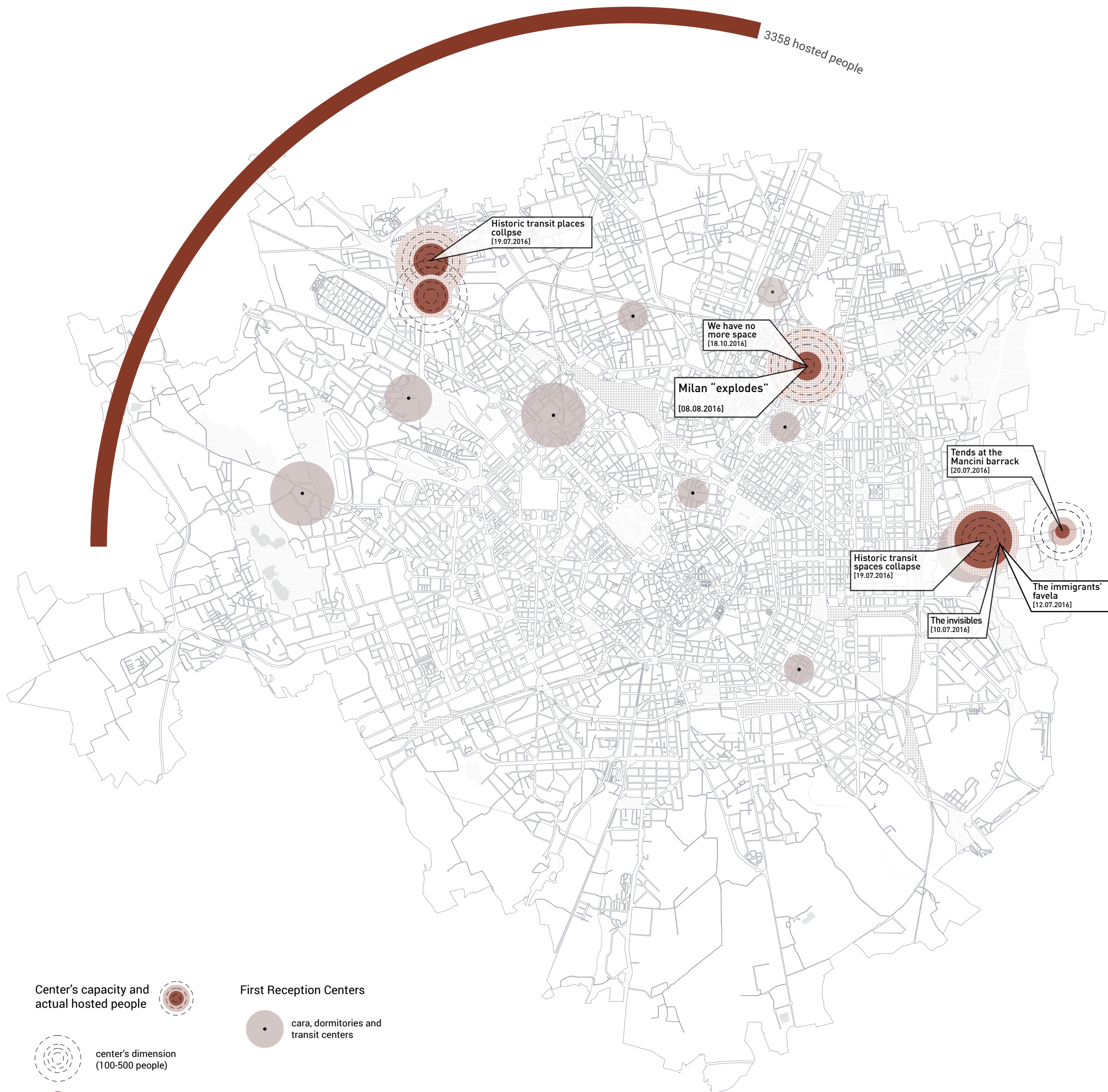
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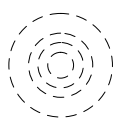
Attachment A
Reception centers



Attachment B
A dynamic map



Center's capacity and
actual hosted people



center's dimension
(100-500 people)



number of available
seats



number of hosted
people

First Reception Centers



cara, dormitories and
transit centers

Dynamic Information
(see Table 1)



newspaper articles and
reportage

Attachment C

The area of Via Corelli

