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The Salvini Immigration-Security Decree-Law and its Regional Socio-economic Effects: the Case of Tuscany

Valeria Nanni* and Mario Biggeri**

Abstract

In Italy, the phenomenon of migration has reached the dimension of an emergency in the internal public debate (Carta 2018) with the Decree-Law on Immigration and Security (Law 1.12.2018, n.132) representing a major downturn in the architecture of the Italian system of protection. This paper is a tentative to explore the Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law and its regional socio-economic effects. The Salvini's reform has been decried by civil society organisations for lowering protection standards, infringing constitutional and human rights guarantees and exacerbating social tension on migration (AIDA 2018). Composed by forty articles, fifteen of which are dedicated to immigration, international protection and citizenship, the so called 'Salvini Decree-Law' is leading, and it will lead, some relevant effects on Italian regional and local contexts. Indeed, even if an important role is played by national government in defining comprehensive solutions to migration phenomenon, in Italy activities and measures for migrants are planned and implemented through coordinated actions at national, regional and local level. On the grounds of this complex context, a conceptual framework is introduced to analyse the Salvini Decree-Law's effects on regional contexts and to generate hypothesis on the strategies that local and regional policy makers (but also non-state actors) should follow. In particular, this tool analyses challenges the implementation of the new Law is leading in the two specific domains of reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees. The case study of Tuscany Region has been chosen due to its well-known welfare model and strong social capital structure. The study results are reported and systematised in an ex-post SWOT analysis.

Keywords: migration, immigration policy, Italy asylum governance, reception system

Abstract

In Italia il fenomeno della migrazione ha assunto nuovamente l'aspetto di un'emergenza nel dibattito pubblico (Carta 2018) con il Decreto Legge "Immigrazione e Sicurezza" (legge n. 132/2018). La normativa in questione ha rappresentato una grave recessione nell'architettura del sistema di protezione italiano. Il presente articolo è un tentativo di esaminare il Decreto-Legge Immigrazione e Sicurezza e i suoi effetti socio-economici regionali, assumendo la Toscana come caso di studio. La riforma voluta

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dall'ex Ministro dell'Interno Salvini è stata criticata dalle organizzazioni della società civile per l'abbassamento degli standard di protezione, la violazione delle garanzie dei diritti costituzionali e l'inasprimento della tensione sociale intorno ai processi migratori (AIDA 2018). Composto da 40 articoli, 15 dei quali dedicati all'immigrazione, alla protezione internazionale e alla cittadinanza, il cosiddetto "Decreto-Legge Salvini" ha comportato alcuni effetti rilevanti nei diversi contesti regionali e locali italiani. Infatti, anche se un ruolo importante nelle politiche generali relative al fenomeno della migrazione è svolto dal governo nazionale, in Italia le politiche specifiche di integrazione e accoglienza per i migranti sono messe in atto attraverso azioni coordinate a livello nazionale, regionale e locale. In questo contesto complesso, introduciamo un quadro concettuale per analizzare gli effetti del Decreto-Legge sui contesti regionali e per avanzare ipotesi sulle strategie che i responsabili delle politiche locali e regionali (ma anche attori non-statali) dovrebbero perseguire. Nello specifico, l'articolo mette in luce le sfide che la nuova Legge apre nei settori dell'accoglienza e dell'integrazione dei richiedenti asilo e dei rifugiati. Il caso di studio della Regione Toscana è stato scelto sulla base del suo noto modello di welfare e della sua forte struttura in termini capitale sociale. I risultati dello studio sono indicati e organizzati in un'analisi SWOT a posteriori.

Parole chiave: Immigrazione, Italia, politica d'asilo, sistema d'accoglienza

Introduction

Over the last four decades, Italy has gone through an important transformation, shifting from an emigrant country to *also* an immigrant destination (Pannia *et al.* 2018; Caponio *et al.* 2011). Population movements have changed radically in recent times, both in quantity and quality: 'traditional' (economic) international migration is now accompanied by new types of mobility (refugees and displaced persons) caused by wars, persecution and environmental disasters (Zapata *et al.* 2019). Indeed, even if immigration to Italy is mostly a labour migration, with features that place it within a *Mediterranean model*, "Italy is in a more advanced phase of the migration transition" (Baldwin-Edwards 2012, 150) than other Southern European countries. In particular, since the large migration flows that took place in 2014, a special attention has been paid to issues relating to refugees and asylum seekers. In fact, from 2014 to 2018, Italy received the highest number of non-EU citizens looking for economic opportunities and for international protection in its history (Pannia *et al.* 2018; Pesce 2017). In addition, before a dramatic fall in the number of migrants on the Central Mediterranean route occurred (Frontex 2019), in 2017 Italy has been the main entry point in Europe for asylum seekers (Frontex 2018). Even if the peak of migrants arrivals was recorded in 2016 and the first half of 2017 (Galera 2018), the phenomenon of migration has reached the dimension of an emergency

in the Italian public debate (Carta 2018) with the Decree-Law on Immigration and Security (Law 1.12.2018, n.132)¹ representing a major downturn in the architecture of the Italian system of protection. It weighs very heavily upon legal provisions and protections for migrants in Italy, particularly for migrants seeking asylum (Corsi 2019).

In light of the Italian *immigrants politics* structure, the Security-Immigration Decree is leading, and it will lead, some relevant effects on Italian regional and local contexts. For this reason, the general aim of this paper is to explore the Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law and its regional socio-economic effects.

Tuscany Region, in being a good regional practice, is considered as case study. Since the early '90s, Tuscany, one of the most civic Italian regions (Huysseune 2003), has been legislating in the migration sphere trying to put forward an alternative model to the national one (Rossi *et al.* 2013; Bracci *et al.* 2016), which foresaw social integration for all immigrants living within the Region. In the same way, the Region defined its own integrated reception model to host refugees and asylum seekers in its regional territory (based on the so called *accoglienza diffusa* model).

On the grounds of this complex context, the paper introduces a conceptual framework to analyse the Salvini Decree-Law's effects on regional contexts and to generate hypothesis on the strategies that local and regional policy makers should follow to face challenges that the implementation of this new Law is leading specifically in the domain of reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees. The analyses of a group of key-informants generate a qualitative description of weaknesses and potentials of the Tuscany reception system before the Law 1.12.2018, n.132 implementation and identify the main positive and negative Decree-Law's effects and the related policy implications.

The paper is organized as follow. In the next section we provide relevant information on the Italian immigration – as well as immigrants – politics, with a focus on the case of Tuscany. In the third section, the research design and methods are presented. Then, the results are reported and systematised in an ex-post SWOT analysis from a comparative perspective. In the fifth section, policy implications for the Tuscany reception and integration system are provided. Finally, the main conclusions and research perspective are reported.

¹ It has to be highlighted that the last October 5th, 2020 the Council of Ministers approved the new Decree on Security and Immigration (Decreto-Legge n. 130, 21 October 2020, available at <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2020/10/21/20G00154/sq>) which rewrites several Salvini Decree's provisions. Although the new Decree provides for many changes to the current Law introduced by the former Interior Minister, Matteo Salvini, as some civil society organization have pointed out, the new Decree Law represents a step forward a country with more rights and more humanity, but doesn't go in the direction of a complete dismantling of the Salvini Decree's provisions (*Nuovo decreto immigrazione: "Passi avanti, ma ancora punti critici"* (2020). Available [here](#)).

1. Background

1.1 Immigration politics, immigrants politics and welfare

From a legislative point of view, Italian legislation base for the regulation of asylum was until recently composed mainly by the “Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the conditions of third country nationals” (the Consolidated Law on Immigration), first adopted in 1998 and amended in 2002 (Pannia *et al.* 2018). Some scholars have argued that even if it provided a fundamental set of principles on foreigners’ legal status and a framework of regulations which is still binding, the Legislative Decree No. 286/1998 failed to provide a solid and thorough basis for the regulation of asylum and migration in Italy. In particular, with specific reference to asylum, the field is characterised by relevant structural weaknesses. Indeed, the national asylum regulation relies on a number of legislative decrees, transposing the EU Directives into the Italian legal system, while an organic and complete law is still lacking since 1948 (Pannia *et al.* 2018).

More recently, a reformist phase (2014-2017) took place in Italy to face the unprecedented mixed migration flows with a number of radical reforms. During this time-span, the national system of reception has been entirely reframed, in particular by the new provisions of the D. Lgs.No. 142/2015² (*ibid.* 2018). Despite this number of reforms, the asylum and migration management structure is still complex and not uniform. Indeed, the Italian reception system is a multilevel and multifaced one (Pesce 2017; for an overview of the Italian reception system, see AIDA 2019).

Moreover, whilst the number of migrants arrivals is at the lowest level registered in the past few years (Carta 2018), current Italian - and European - migration policies continue to be focused on security, unlawful detention and deportation and there is an unwillingness to provide a safe and legal way to enter the country. In particular, in October 2018, the Italian government – following a restrictive trend started with the implementation of the Law No. 46/2017, the so called Minniti-Orlando Decree³ - introduced a Decree-Law on “Special temporary permits, international protection and immigration” (Decreto-Legge n. 113, 4 October 2018) that was converted into Law in early December (Legge n. 132, 1 December 2018) (AIDA 2018; Villa 2018). The Law 1.12.2018, n. 132, better known as *Salvini Security-Immigration Decree*, has become one of the flagship measures of the former Government and it has been presented by the Interior Minister Matteo Salvini as “a step forward to make Italy safer” – however it will arguably increase the number of cases of destitution, vulnerability, and exploitation (Carta 2018).

² Available at www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2015/09/15/15G00158/sg

³ Available at www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2017/04/18/17G00059/sg

The principal Decree changes are both substantive and procedural, as well as the modalities of reception (Corsi 2019). There is a wide debate concerning the dubious constitutionality of this legislative measure, not only in relation to its contents, but also to the methods with which it was approved (ibid. 2019).

The Decree, that promotes a restrictive and criminalising approach and prioritises 'security concerns', is clearly an expression of the League's hard stance on migration policies, even if the reading of the migratory phenomenon in terms of security is deeply rooted in the Italian system (ibid. 2019). In view of this 'securitarian' approach adopted by the Government, the President of the Republic himself accompanied his signature with a letter addressed to the President of the Council⁴, reminding that all 'constitutional and international obligations' assumed by Italy remain binding, even if there is no explicit reference to them in the Decree (Carta 2018).

Composed by forty articles, fifteen of which are dedicated to immigration, international protection and citizenship, it contains 'urgent measures' on international protection and immigration, as well as on public security, prevention of terrorism and organised crime. In particular, the new Decree has introduced the end of humanitarian protection, a downsizing of the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), longer detention times in repatriation centres (CPR) and hotspots, withdrawal of citizenship for terrorism crimes, tighter restrictions for permits, and the revocation of refugee status for those convicted of certain crimes (for an in-depth analysis of the Salvini Decree, see ASGI 2018; Carta 2018; Curi 2019).

The reform has been decried by civil society organisations for lowering protection standards, infringing constitutional and human rights guarantees and exacerbating social tension on migration (AIDA 2018).

The Decree-Law is leading, and it will probably lead, some relevant effects on Italian local contexts. Indeed, even if an important role is played by national government in defining comprehensive solutions to migration phenomenon, in Italy activities and measures for migrants are planned and implemented through coordinated actions at national, regional and local level. It is worth noting that while *immigration politics* (i.e. all the measures establishing the condition for the regular entry and stay of foreigners in the Italian territory) belong to the exclusive competence of the State; in *immigrants politics* Regions have a concurrent, or even exclusive, legislative competence (Pannia *et al.* 2018). In fact, with the Constitutional Reform ratified in 2001, that envisage a quasi-federalist state structure, regional levels of government were entrusted with primary responsibility on social policy fields, immigrants' integration included (Campomori *et al.* 2013). Thus, Regions kept playing a decisive role in the migration governance, according

⁴ *Decreto Sicurezza e Immigrazione: Mattarella emana e scrive a Conte* (2018). Available at www.quirinale.it/elementi/18099

to an effective ‘multilevel model’, as outlined by the Constitutional Court (Pannia *et al.* 2018; Campomori *et al.* 2013). Following the Reform of Chapter V of the Constitution, many regional governments have adopted laws on immigration and social ‘citizenship’, setting up a detailed and specific framework of measures in favour of foreigners living in their Region. This includes the recognition of fundamental human rights as stipulated in national and international laws.

1.2 The Tuscany reception and integration model

Taking into consideration the case of Tuscany, according to the conceptualization promoted by Vampa (2017) based on the Goerz’s work (2006), Tuscany has been defined as a region with a strong regional welfare and a high level of social capital (see the definition provided by Putnam 1993). In light of its high quality and successful regional government, it is usually outlined that Tuscany is also one of the most civic Italian regions (Huysseune 2003). Tuscany’s high level of social capital elevates its standard of living and provides the region a social environment in which productive cooperation in all spheres of civic life is possible (Lang *et al.* 1998). In this particular social environment, a regional approach to the immigration phenomenon has been developed during the last twenty years, which foresaw social integration for all immigrants living within the Region, even undocumented ones (Campomori *et al.* 2013). Indeed, with the Regional Laws No. 41/2005⁵ and No. 29/2009⁶, Tuscany Region has been trying to put forward an alternative model to the National Immigration Law: by declaring the right of irregular migrants to access basic socio-health services (Rossi *et al.* 2013; Bracci *et al.* 2016).

Moreover, Tuscany Region, in the last five years, has defined an integrated reception model to host refugees and asylum seekers in its regional territory. The model is based on the presence of small reception structures across Tuscany (the so called *accoglienza diffusa* model), in order to avoid large concentrations and to guarantee effective integration pathways for the hosted migrants. In fact, according to the Tuscany Region (2019), the 828 temporary reception centres in Tuscany accommodate an average number of 11 people. The Region also stressed the need of promoting a system based on widespread and shared responsibility, as a key driver to social cohesion and safety, and on the collaboration between Municipalities and Third sector organizations which holds together shared quality and responsibility (Regione Toscana *et al.* 2018; Regione Toscana 2018a).

In light of the structural dimension of the migratory phenomenon and the consequent need for long-term policies, the Region of Tuscany decided in 2017 to define regional measures and guidelines to improve the reception system and to

⁵ Legge regionale 24 febbraio 2005, n. 41. Available [here](#).

⁶ Legge regionale 8 giugno 2009, n. 29. Available [here](#).

transform it into a real integration system. The idea was to guarantee social cohesion in the regional territory and to try to shift from the 2014 emergency context to a structural one in the reception centres spread across Tuscany (Regione Toscana 2018a). This was the reason for the launch of the project *#AccoglienzaToscana* in March 2017 and for the publication of the *White Paper on immigration policies for asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international or humanitarian protection* in July 2018 (Regione Toscana 2018). The White Paper is a programmatic document that tries to integrate and improve the tools already activated by Region during the last years, while setting itself up as a working basis for domestic and European discussions aimed at improving the responses to the phenomenon of immigration in terms of quality, fairness, effectiveness and efficiency (*ibid.* 2018).

In terms of migrant population size, and in particular refugees and asylum seekers' presence, until September 2018, 9,683 asylum seekers lived in Tuscany (Regione Toscana 2019), while the Italian reception system was hosting 107,156 migrants at national level (280,845 were hosted in first reception phase and 26,167 in the second reception one) (Ministry of the Interior 2019). In October 2018, the Tuscany reception system hosted 9,936 migrants: 8,820 in the CAS system and 1,116 in the SPRAR project. About the 90% of the migrants accommodated in CAS structures are asylum seekers, while the 10% are international or humanitarian protection holders. In the SPRAR project, only the 20% of the accommodated migrants are asylum seekers (*ibid.* 2019).

The asylum seekers and refugees hosted in Tuscany's reception centres correspond to the 2.4% of the foreign-born population (410,000 people) and to the 0.3% of the total Tuscany's population (3,736,968 people) (Regione Toscana 2018a).

2. Research design and methods

In order to answer the research question underlying this work, a qualitative study was conducted, by analysing the reception experiences and the Salvini Decree-Law's effects and responses of a group of managing bodies and policy makers operating in Tuscany. The Tuscany's territory thus represent the dimension of our analysis.

This qualitative study was conducted in three main phases: 1) identification and recruitment of key stakeholders, 2) key stakeholders interviews and 3) data analysis.

2.1 Phase 1: Identification and recruitment of key stakeholders

The authors purposive selected the stakeholders involved in the research. Indeed, *purposive sampling* is essentially to do with the selection of units with direct reference to the research question being asked (see Bryman 2012). For this

reason, focusing the analysis on three different Provinces of Tuscany Region, 12 different stakeholders (*i.e.* policy makers and NGOs) were chosen due to the opportunity they presented to explore some illustrative examples of the Tuscany's reception and integration system. The author selected three Local Councils that are located in three different adjacent Provinces: Firenze, Pistoia, Lucca.

Moreover, in order to better identify different levels and patterns of the Tuscany's reception model, the authors selected three local councils (referred to as 'Policy makers' in the study) with a different class of demographic amplitude. In addition, in light of its essential role in *immigrants politics*, the regional policy maker was involved in the research. For the regional policy maker and for the local council with a largest demographic dimension, a double interview was performed. For each of the Provinces considered in the study, the authors also selected a first reception phase managing body and a second reception one (referred to as 'NGOs' in the study). The researchers started their recruitment process consulting the managing bodies' lists available on the three Prefectures websites and the lists uploaded on the Servizio Centrale's [website](#). Thus, the sample is composed by a total of 12 different stakeholders: 6 NGOs and 6 policy makers. The sample involved a regional Councillor (n=1), three local Councillors (n=3), one regional official (n=1), one local official (n=1), one social cooperative's President (n=1), four project managers of different Third sector organizations (n=4) and a Vice-President of an association (n=1). The table below shows the profile of the stakeholders interviewed.

<i>ID</i>	<i>SEX</i>	<i>ORGANIZATION</i>	<i>PROFESSIONAL ROLE</i>	<i>PROVINCE</i>
RT	M	Tuscany Region	Councillor	/
RT	M	Tuscany Region	Official	/
PM1	F	Local Council	Councillor	Firenze
PM1	M	Local Council	Official	Firenze
PM2	M	Local Council	Councillor	Lucca
PM3	F	Local Council	Councillor	Pistoia
NGO1	M	Social cooperative	Project Manager	Firenze
NGO2	M	Faith based organisation	Project Manager	Firenze
NGO3	M	Social cooperative	President	Lucca
NGO4	F	Faith based organisation	Project Manager	Lucca
NGO5	M	Association	Vice-President	Pistoia
NGO6	M	Social cooperative	Project Manager	Pistoia

Table 1. Profile Of Key Stakeholders

2.2 Phase 2: Key stakeholders interviews

Qualitative research often involves the collection of people's experiences, views and opinions *in their own words*. The most common way of gathering people's words as

data is the qualitative interview (Braun *et al.* 2013). For this reason, 12 face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researchers in the period January-March 2019. The major goal of the interviews was to generate a qualitative description to understand the weaknesses and the potentials of the Tuscany's reception and integration system before the Salvini Security-Immigration Decree's implementation and to identify the main positive and negative Decree's effects. The semi-structured interviews also aimed to define possible recovery strategies and concrete actions analysing the organizations' reactions to this legislative change and their policy proposals.

Semi-structured interviews had the crucial added-value of allowing to discuss multiple topics, with a certain freedom for the interviewee and interviewer and represented crucial occasions to discuss relevant needs of the Tuscany's system and potential solutions. This interview approach allowed the researchers to ensure that they elicited the same core information from each stakeholder, while also providing with the flexibility to probe more deeply into the rich descriptions of experiences that stakeholders shared.

The *ad hoc* survey was based on a core questionnaire designed by the authors. The interview guidelines consisted up to 22 open-ended questions, depending on the groups of stakeholders involved. The interview guide was structured into three different sections to allow investigation into the main domains of inquiry:

1. Background policy maker/NGO
2. Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law's effects
3. Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law's reactions

As stated at the beginning of each interview, all the information collected in the survey is strictly confidential and was used for statistical purposes only.

2.3 Phase 3: Data analysis

All the interviews were recorded and transcribed *intelligent verbatim*. The transcribed interview data were manual coded with a two cycles of analysis. *Content analysis* was thus employed (*viz* Saldaña 2015), which involved identifying themes and categories prior to coding the data. The themes included in the coding were based on knowledge, perceptions and experiences of the stakeholders that addressed the research objectives. To categorize data, a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) framework was used.

The SWOT format is an established research tool, which has unique relevance to the current research objectives and it is commonly used to extract and summarize relevant information from the study findings. The SWOT matrix served as a *content analysis table* to identify which codes were used for each participant and to analyse aggregate data. Utilizing the content analysis table in this way, the authors were

able to cluster items of data that were related, to identify patterns that emerged and that led to the identification of categories. Ultimately, the SWOT framework provided an overview of which strengths and opportunities should be maximized and which weaknesses and threats should be minimized or eliminated. The SWOT matrix - presented in the Annex 1 – constitutes a useful tool to generate hypotheses or assess effects of new policy or program implementation. Thus, it provides a new and consistent framework to define strategies that local and regional policy makers (but also non-state actors) should follow to face policy changes related effects.

The SWOT matrix needs to be adapted according to the different regional and local contexts taken into consideration. For this reason, a specific version of this SWOT matrix has been applied to analyse the Tuscany reception and integration system. As such, in its regional version, '*strength*' was identified as a competitive advantage internal to the Tuscan reception model. Conversely, '*weakness*' was defined as a limitation internal to the Tuscan reception model that hinder good reception and integration pathways. As shown in the matrix below, strengths and weakness have been structured in three different categories. The first two (1. Tuscan reception model, 2. The complementary dimensions of reception) follow the regional objectives and principles defined inside the regional *White paper on immigration policies for asylum seekers and international or humanitarian protection holders*. The third category is about historical, social and cultural factors that affect the Tuscan reception system. The three categories are further divided in subcategories. '*Opportunity*' was defined as any external environmental factor related to the Salvini Security-Immigration Decree that produce a positive effects on the Tuscan reception system; similarly, '*threat*' was defined as any environmental factor Decree-related that could act as a barrier or produce a negative impact inside the Tuscany's reception system. For these reason, opportunities and threats have been structured following the main Decree's provisions dedicated to immigration and asylum.

Moreover, a category about new tender specifications scheme's⁷ effects – an issue strictly related to the Decree's provisions – and a more general category have been added. As for strengths and weaknesses, all the categories are further divided in subcategories. Once the data were initially sorted as per SWOT categories, an open-ended coding process was initiated to explore the nuances within each of the categories. The results of the SWOT framework were then translated into policy recommendations. While data provided by two first sections of the questionnaire (1. Background policy maker/NGO; 2. Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law's effects) have been analysed through the SWOT analysis method, data obtained by the third dimension of the inquiry (3. Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law's

⁷ Schema di capitolato di gara di appalto per la fornitura di beni e servizi relativo relativo alla gestione e al funzionamento dei centri di prima accoglienza (Ministerial Decree of 20 November 2018). Available at www.interno.gov.it/it/amministrazione-trasparente/bandi-gara-e-contratti/schema-capitolato-gara-appalto-fornitura-beni-e-servizi-relativo-alla-gestione-e-funzionamento-dei-centri-prima-accoglienza

reactions) were used to provide policy recommendations based on the interviewed NGOs' and policy makers' experiences.

Strengths	Weaknesses
1. The Tuscan reception system 1.1 The integrated governance model 1.2 The SPRAR system reception model 1.3 Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services 1.4 Reception procedures as part of the welfare system 1.5 The widespread reception model 2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany 2.1 Language training 2.2 The training-work supply chain 2.3 Social and health services 2.4 Citizenship and community 3. Historical, social and cultural factors	1. The Tuscan reception system 1.1 The integrated governance model 1.2 The SPRAR system reception model 1.3 Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services 1.4 Reception procedures as part of the welfare system 1.5 The widespread reception model 2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany 2.1 Language training 2.2 The training-work supply chain 2.3 Social and health services 2.4 Citizenship and community 3. Historical, social and cultural factors
Opportunities	Threats
1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration 1.1 The abrogation of 'humanitarian protection' 1.2 Making returns more effective 2. Provisions on international protection 2.1 Provisions on asylum seekers who committed serious crimes 2.2 Provisions on subsequent applications and border procedures 2.3 Reception conditions for asylum seekers 3. Citizenship 4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) 5. General impacts	1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration 1.1 The abrogation of 'humanitarian protection' 1.2 Making returns more effective 2. Provisions on international protection 2.1 Provisions on asylum seekers who committed serious crimes 2.2 Provisions on subsequent applications and border procedures 2.3 Reception conditions for asylum seekers 3. Citizenship 4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) 5. General impacts

Table 2. The SWOT matrix for the Tuscany reception system

Source: Authors' elaboration

3. Salvini Decree-Law's socio-economic effects on Tuscany reception system: comparative findings

This section presents the main findings of the qualitative research. The results are reported and systematised in an ex-post SWOT analysis performed in a comparative perspective⁸. Data have been grouped into four key themes: the four SWOT components (i.e. Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats). All these four themes have been divided in categories and subcategories, as summarized in the table below.

⁸ For the simplified SWOT analysis of NGOs and policy makers findings, see Annex 2 and 3.

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>1. The Tuscan reception system The integrated governance model - <i>Beyond essential services provision</i> The SPRAR system reception model - <i>The SPRAR system as an optimal reception model</i> Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services - <i>Extending SPRAR quality principles to the CASs</i> The widespread reception model - <i>Following the widespread reception model principles</i></p> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany The training-work supply chain - <i>Training and professional programs</i> - <i>Volunteering schemes</i> Citizenship and community - <i>Social cohesion and intercultural dialogue activities</i></p> <p>3. Historical, social and cultural factors Tuscan reception history Social capital structure</p>	<p>1. The Tuscan reception system The integrated governance model - <i>Lack of real autonomy and integration pathways</i> Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services - <i>Time to acquire refugee status</i> Reception procedures as part of the welfare system - <i>Reception procedures as substitute of the welfare system</i> - <i>In-house services provision</i> The widespread reception model - <i>Dismantling the widespread reception model</i></p> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany Social and health services - <i>Not uniform services and procedures</i></p> <p>3. Historical, social and cultural factors Housing and community context</p>
Opportunities	Threats
<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration The abrogation of ‘humanitarian protection’ - <i>Higher number of international and subsidiary protection permits</i></p> <p>2. Provisions on international protection (n.a.)</p> <p>3. Citizenship (n.a.)</p> <p>4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) - <i>Dismantling the ‘bad business’ of the reception activities</i></p> <p>5. General impacts Rethinking the reception system Creation of third reception phase projects Shedding light on social exclusion</p>	<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration The abrogation of ‘humanitarian protection’ - <i>Increase in number of irregular migrants</i> - <i>Protection gap: limited and differentiated forms of protection for potential beneficiaries</i> - <i>Permit conversion related problems</i> Making returns more effective - <i>Uneffective repatriations</i></p> <p>2. Provisions on international protection Reception conditions for asylum seekers - <i>Dismantling the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Exclusion from the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Dismantling the integration services provided by CAS</i> - <i>Forbidden registration at General Registry Office for asylum seekers</i></p> <p>3. Citizenship (n.a.)</p> <p>4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) - <i>Dismantling the widespread and integrated reception model</i> - <i>Closing down the reception centres</i></p> <p>5. General impacts ‘Social bombs’ creation Strong pressure on local authorities services Lower level reception system Job losses risk – Reception system Discrimination From reception to security issue</p>

Table 3. Simplified SWOT analysis of comparative findings. *Source:* Authors’ elaboration.

3.1 Comparative findings: strengths

Concerning the *Tuscany reception system*, all the interviewed stakeholders have recognized the SPRAR system reception model as an optimal one for the reception of asylum seekers and refugees. For this reason, the main effort – of the managing bodies, in particular – during these years was to extend SPRAR quality principles also to the temporary reception centres. Indeed, a large number of the NGOs involved in the research declared to manage CAS projects with the same quality standards of the SPRAR system, providing integration and training services in the temporary centres. Moreover, the findings indicated that the organizations follow the widespread reception model principles, hosting migrants in small reception structures. In line with the Regional provisions set out in the *White paper on immigration policies for asylum seekers and international or humanitarian protection holders*, they stated that the widespread reception model is the better way to create social cohesion and integration pathways. In addition, the stakeholders promote an integrated and supportive governance model as “a precondition for ensuring effective, sustainable and non-emergency system responses” (Regione Toscana 2018, 14). As a respondent explained: “This means that the main objective is not only the provision of essential services, but to provide personalized programmes to help migrants recovering personal autonomy and to integrate them into the Italian society” (NGO3).

About the *complementary dimensions* of the reception in Tuscany, the main results of the research are connected to training-work supply chain and the so defined ‘citizenship and community’ activities. In particular, regarding the former, the involved NGOs outlined that several training and professional programs and volunteering schemes have been promoted during the last years. A further finding that emerged is a lower attention for employment related services, even though Regione Toscana *et al.* (2018) postulated the need to promote both migrants employment and social integration in its *White paper*. While, about citizenship and community activities, all the respondents shared the goal of promoting intercultural dialogue and social cohesion in the hosting territories. Several interviewees pointed out that these kind of activities “play an important role as ‘bridges’ between the hosted migrants and the local communities” (NGO5).

Finally, a further relevant aspect is related to the Tuscan reception history and its strong social capital structure. Indeed, the findings show a long and pioneering experience in migrants’ reception and integration in Tuscany. However, some main differences in large and small size Local Councils – in particular, in services provision – and in the NGOs’ reception histories have been highlighted.

3.2 Comparative findings: weaknesses

The first weakness point internal to the *Tuscan reception system* concerns the integrated governance model. Indeed, some NGOs stressed that reception system

does not really create autonomy and integration pathways for the hosted migrants⁹. For this reason, they then highlighted the need for ‘post-reception’ support for all the migrants that have finished their SPRAR or CAS project. A second point is about the time to acquire refugee status. Both NGOs and policy makers outlined that asylum seekers remain in the CAS projects for a very long period of time waiting for a reply of the Territorial Commission¹⁰ about their asylum application. Indeed, currently, the waiting time before the determination of the protection status is on average of one year to one year and a half (Galera 2018).

Moreover, another important issue that emerged is that reception procedures have been designed and implemented as ‘a substitute of the welfare system’. Thus, rather than being fully integrated with welfare policies, in-house services provision has been promoted in the tender specifications schemes to date. According with the interviewed stakeholders, “this reception approach, started with the Minniti-Orlando Decree, intends to penalize the widespread reception model. Indeed, the in-house services provision is not sustainable for a small reception structures system” (PM1).

Concerning the *complementary dimensions of reception*, the policy makers stressed on a not uniform social services provision in all the hosting territories. In particular, a significant gap between the large and small size Local Councils came up.

A further relevant remark, strongly correlated with the need of ‘post-reception’ support, is about the housing context. Indeed, some of the respondents shed light on the challenge several migrants are facing in finding an accommodation outside the reception system. As Phillips (2006, 539) describes, “the housing conditions and experiences of refugees clearly play an important role in shaping their sense of security and belonging, and have a bearing on their access to healthcare, education and employment”. Indeed, this is recognised as one of the main challenges in the reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees in several European countries.

3.3 Comparative findings: opportunities

There are at least five important issues related to the Decree implementation that are worth considering as external environmental factors that could produce positive effects on Tuscan reception system. First of all, concerning the Decree provision about *the abrogation of humanitarian protection*, some of the respondents highlighted an increase in number of granted international and subsidiary protection permits, which represent more effective forms of protection compared to the humanitarian one (viz Pannia *et al.* 2018). This statement is weakly supported by

⁹ From a national perspective, according to ANCI *et al.* (2018), in the 2017, the 43,1% of migrants who left the SPRAR system have achieved working or housing integration.

¹⁰ Territorial Commissions are administrative bodies in charge to examine asylum applications and to determine the international protection status (Pannia *et al.* 2018).

data evidence. Indeed, according to data published by the Ministry of the Interior, from January 2018 to October 2019 there was a slight increase in international and subsidiary protection, while – as shown in the table below – a significant decrease occurred in granted humanitarian protection. Moreover, the table shows a relevant increase in rejections, that highlight the so called ‘protection gap’¹¹.

	January 2018		January 2019		October 2019	
	a.v.	%	a.v.	%	a.v.	%
Refugee status	434	7%	670	9%	983	11%
Subsidiary protection	339	5%	426	6%	648	7%
Humanitarian protection	1,825	28%	150	2%	/	/
Rejection	3,950	60%	6,202	83%	6,766	76%
Other	2	0%	21	0%	531	6%
Total	6,550	100%	7,469	100%	8,928	100%

Table 4. Comparison of Decisions on Applications for International Protection
(January 2018 – January 2019 – October 2019)

Source: Authors’ elaboration from Ministry of the Interior (2019).

Secondly, analysing the *new tender specifications scheme related impacts*; the NGOs remarked that the decrease in funding per migrant hosted could be a right incentive to dismantle the ‘bad business’ of the reception activities¹². Also this opportunity point is weakly supported by empirical evidence. In fact, the dismantling of the widespread reception model has been outlined by all the stakeholders involved in the research as a major risk of the new tender specifications scheme and the Salvini-Decree implementation. This reception model has prevented the Tuscany reception system by the corruption and mafia infiltration – sometime

¹¹ According to several scholars and organizations, the abrogation of humanitarian protection is likely to open a *protection gap*. Indeed, the substitution of humanitarian protection with a restricted list of ‘special’ residence permits, means that the right to asylum set out by under article 10 paragraph 3 of the Constitution is “no longer fully implemented by the legislator”. This could open the possibility to bring legal actions to ascertain the right of asylum guaranteed by article 10 or raise questions of constitutionality (Carta 2018; ASGI 2018).

¹² The new scheme provides a shift in funding from 35 euro per diem per migrant to 26, for the large reception centres, and 19, for the small ones.

correlated with the existence of large-size reception centres – disclosed by journalistic and criminal investigations in other Italian regions (Nadeau 2018).

A third important issue that emerged is that, according with both the policy makers and the NGOs, the Decree implementation represents an interesting phase to rethink the reception system and to design new welfare services. In light of the fact that the Decree provisions dismantle the previous reception system, now there is the opportunity for policy makers to work – in closer collaboration with Third sector organizations – on strengthening the network of local services and to make reception procedures as part – rather than substitute – of the welfare system. Thus, the effects of the Salvini Decree can encourage the creation of local and regional networks to face the reception issue with a more integrated approach.

The findings indicated a fourth opportunity point lead – also – by the Decree implementation. The dismantling of several emergency centres, as a consequence of both the Salvini Decree and the relevant decrease in number of migrants arrivals, could represent a favourable moment to design ‘third phase’ reception projects for all the migrants that finished their integration pathways in first and second phases reception centres, but still need ‘post-reception’ support. Thus, according to the involved stakeholders, “this phase could be important to create better integration projects for all the migrants already in the Tuscan local contexts” (NGO3).

The final issue concerns the fact that the Decree effects are putting lights on different poverty and social exclusion phenomena, not only involving migrants excluded from the reception system. Indeed, the regional report *Le povertà in Toscana* (2018) highlights that there were 61,938 households and 142,687 individuals living in absolute poverty in 2016 in Tuscany; while 150,000 households were in a food poverty situation (Caritas della Toscana 2018). Moreover, in 2017, 24,836 people asked for a support to a counselling centre managed by Caritas in Tuscany. The 36.1% of these people were Italians (*ibid.* 2018). According to the interviewed NGOs, thus, this phase represents an interesting opportunity to design more comprehensive measures to address social exclusion phenomena.

3.4 Comparative findings: threats

Concerning the main threats that emerged from the analysis, both the NGOs and policy-makers findings indicated that the Decree implementation will lead a relevant increase in number of irregular migrants, mainly as a consequence of the *abrogation of humanitarian protection*. Indeed, as Villa (2018) pointed out in his study, between June 2018 and December 2020, the number of irregulars in Italy will increase by at least 140,000. Part of this increase (about 25,000) has already happened over the past months (Villa 2018).

Focusing on the regional level, according to data provided by Regione Toscana (2019), there will be about 5,000/6,000 irregular migrants in Tuscany in three years. 3,200 of these migrants will receive a rejection of their demand for international protection as a direct effect of the abrogation of humanitarian protection. Moreover, a further number of 1,300 migrants that obtained a humanitarian protection in 2016 and 2017 must be added, because of the fact they could have a limited permit renewal (Regione Toscana 2019). Thus, a high risk to become irregulars also exists for this group of migrants.

All the interviewed stakeholders also outlined that the new granted ‘special protection’ residence permits¹³ “create several conversion related problems” (NGO1) and, as stressed by several NGOs, they reduce the scope of protection and the number of potential beneficiaries, thus creating – as already stressed – a ‘protection gap’. Indeed, despite the seemingly vast range of cases they cover, in practice the new ‘special cases’ will probably be applicable to a very small minority of those who were granted humanitarian protection beforehand (Villa 2018).

Concerning the Decree provisions on *improving returns* and facilitating the return of third-country nationals in an irregular situation, a vast majority of the involved actors stated that making returns more effective is highly complex, because of the lack of funding and agreements with countries of origin. Indeed, according to Brenner and Forin (2019), in the medium/long term, the Decree will cause thousands of asylum seekers and people with temporary protection status to lose their residency permit, but there is no mechanism to get them to leave Italy. Many cannot return to their homelands because Italy, as stressed by the interviewed stakeholders, does not have readmissions agreements with most of the relevant countries in Africa. Between 2013 and 2017, Italy managed to repatriate only 20 percent of all rejected asylum applicants, and in the second half of 2018 returns were 20 percent lower than during the same period of 2017 (Brenner *et al.* 2019). Regione Toscana (2019) estimates that less than 100 of those 5,000/6,000 irregular migrants will be repatriated in the next three years.

Moreover, there are some relevant threats related to the second chapter of the new Decree and, in particular, to the most discussed Decree provisions concerning the *reception conditions for asylum seekers*. Those threats emerged both for NGOs and policy-makers involved in the research. An important issue that emerged in the analysis concerns that, with the amendments introduced by the new Decree, asylum-seekers and persons holding humanitarian protection status would thereby

¹³ The Salvini Decree provides for the creation of a ‘special protection’ residence permit, which can be issued only to those persons who cannot be expelled due to the *non-refoulement* obligations defined in article 19 of the Consolidated Act on Immigration unless the applicant can be returned to a country where he/she could receive ‘equivalent protection’. These new residence permits can be granted in restricted ‘special cases’, i.e. persons affected by ‘exceptionally serious’ medical conditions; persons who cannot return to their home countries due to ‘exceptional natural disasters’; and persons who have carried out ‘exceptional civil acts’ (Carta 2018).

be excluded from the SPRAR system. According to the involved stakeholders, the greatest risk for these migrants is to become homeless people. Thus, an increase in social exclusion phenomenon is expected. Then, another highlighted threat is related to the removal of integration services, such as Italian language courses, vocational training and legal assistance, provided by the temporary reception centres. The respondents remarked “migrants will only remain in the centres waiting for the Territorial Commission response” (NGO6). For this reason, this provision could hamper integration prospects for those allowed to stay and reduce the quality of reception system. According to Villa (2019), there are currently about 47,290 pending asylum applications in Italy. A final issue is about the rules on civil registration (*iscrizione anagrafica*) of asylum seekers. In fact, the Salvini Decree stated that the residence permit issued to them does not constitute a valid title for registration at the Registry Office. There is a general agreement on the fact that the main provision’s consequence will be a difficulty in access health and welfare services. Indeed both the groups of respondents referred to a *de facto* discrimination in the services provision. On 18 March 2019, the Civil Court of Florence upheld the appeal brought by an asylum seeker confirming his right to be registered at the registry office. According to the Court, even after the changes made by Decree Law 113/2018, the law cannot be interpreted in such a way as to exclude asylum seekers from the right to residence. Such an interpretation would violate the constitutional principle of equality and the prohibition of discrimination pursuant to Article 14 ECHR¹⁴ (AIDA, 2019).

Regarding *the new tender specifications scheme for temporary reception centres*, according to the involved stakeholders, it goes in the direction of a dismantling of the Tuscany’s widespread reception model and the integrated governance one. Moreover, they highlighted that the limited funding provided by the new scheme will create a sustainability problem for the involved managing bodies, that could decide to close down their reception centres.

Finally, we have highlighted several *general Decree impacts* from the data, which have been grouped in five main categories. A first aspect is related to the creation of the so-called ‘social bombs’ phenomena, as a consequence of the Decree implementation. This phenomenon refers to all those irregular migrants that will be excluded from the reception facilities and that will start living in the street. The respondents also remarked a correlated risk, for this group of migrants, of “falling prey of organized crime situations” (PM2). A second observation concerns the fact that, in light of the increase in social exclusion and the need for emergency services access, strong pressure on local authorities’ services is expected. Indeed, social services are, after health services, the main institutional entry door and front-office for immigrants in Italy (Corbisiero 2010). In particular, according to all the interviewed stakeholder, the main impact will be on the larger cities.

¹⁴ Civil Court of Florence, Order 361/2019, 18 March 2019. Available at <https://bit.ly/2TZ9DTG>

Some remarks made by both the interviewed NGOs and policy makers highlight another relevant point about the job losses risk for a high number of operators and professionals employed in the reception field¹⁵. A final issue concerns an increase in discrimination and racism among local inhabitants as a consequence of the Decree implementation. One of the interviewed policy makers stated that: “The Decree has not only created practical effects, but also a climate of discrimination. For this reason, to create integration pathways for migrants is now much more difficult” (PM1). In addition, the involved policy makers highlighted a political issue. Indeed, in their view, the Decree turns reception issue in security one, thus causing a cultural regression.

3.5 Salvini Decree-Law's socio-economic effects on Tuscany reception system: final remarks

The SWOT analysis performed for the case of Tuscany, which could be taken as reference also for other Italian regions, provides an overview of which strengths and opportunities should be maximized and which weaknesses and threats should be minimized or eliminated. Concerning the latter, as already pointed out, the Law 1.12.2018, n.132 implementation is leading, and it will lead, a relevant number of *threats*, rather than opportunities, at national level and in the Tuscany local contexts. Moreover, the analysis highlights that a vast majority of these threats match with and deepen the already existing *weakness points* of the Tuscany reception system, going in the direction of a dismantling of the widespread reception model and the integrated governance one.

In this regard, in light of the integrated reception model and the regional approach to the immigration phenomenon Tuscany developed during the last twenty years, also highlighted in the research findings, it is possible to foresee that Tuscany local contexts are arguably facing fewer threats related to the Salvini Decree implementation compared to other Italian Regions. Nevertheless, several challenges must be tackled to allow further development of good reception and integration pathways.

¹⁵ For more information, see *Decreto Sicurezza, cinquantamila lavoratori a rischio con i tagli alla rete di assistenza. La denuncia della CGIL* (2018). Available at www.controlacrisi.org/notizia/Solidarieta27/2018/12/12/52000-decreto-sicurezza-cinquantamila-lavoratori-a-rischio-con-i/; *Decreto Sicurezza, la CGIL Firenze: “Va contrastato, porta emarginazione”* (2019). Available at cgilfirenze.it/2019/01/decreto-sicurezza-la-cgil-firenze-va-contrastato-porta-emarginazione

4. Policy implications for the Tuscany reception and integration system

Based also on data obtained by the third dimension of the inquiry (*Salvini Security-Immigration Decree's reactions*), and thus on the interviewed NGOs' and policy makers' experiences and policy proposals, this paper identifies a set of policy recommendations addressed to regional and local policy makers – and that could also be applied in other regional contexts - to face challenges that the implementation of the so called Salvini Decree is leading specifically in the domain of reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees:

Increasing the local authorities funding available for emergency measures (e.g. emergency shelters, food banks, street emergency units). Indeed, according to the Tuscany Region estimates, there will be about 5,000/6,000 irregular migrants in Tuscany in the next three years. Moreover, people holding humanitarian protection do not qualify for the SPRAR system anymore and risk to being kicked-out from the reception centres. For this reason, several integration and social services should be designed and provided outside the reception system. Local institutions are in fact called upon to act in the general interest and to guarantee fair access to services with a special attention to the needs expressed by people living social exclusion or vulnerable situations. This recommendation is particularly addressed to large-size Local Councils. In addition, promoting the co-designing of several integration and social services with local Third sector, where appropriate and possible, could be a further relevant point to make the response to new social issues more effective.

Promoting the setting up of local networks - stable, solid and interactive - involving all those actors (local authorities, managing bodies, local Third sector) and recognized organizations that can contribute to the successful operation of activities aimed at the reception, protection and integration of asylum seekers, those already granted recognized international protection status and all the migrants that are going to have the cessation of reception measures. Moreover, also the development of regional co-ordination of local authorities and bodies to take part in a network of reception projects can be useful to create a more comprehensive and homogeneous reception and integration system and in order to promote an exchange of practices and tools. These implications allow local and regional actors to develop skills and make it easier for them to build confidence and awareness (UNDP 2009) with the new reception system, as designed by the Law 1.12.2018, n.132, and new social issues.

Rethinking the reception system as part of the local welfare one has been highlighted by all the stakeholders involved in the research as a crucial point. The reception procedures and the complementary measures should be managed in a perspective fully integrated with welfare policies. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen the services network and promote standardized and shared information and procedures (Regione Toscana 2018a).

Designing and promoting, in close collaboration with Third sector organizations and managing bodies, 'third phase' reception projects for all the migrants that finished their integration pathways in first and second phases reception centres, but still need 'post-reception' support, but still need 'post-reception' support, with a particular attention to the households. Moreover, managing bodies could act as intermediary between migrants and landlords, to provide support to migrants exiting the reception programs and looking for an accommodation. Indeed, in some respects, the provision of and access to accommodation is a cornerstone of migrants' integration, as pointed out by several interviewed NGOs. In this sector, the role of NGOs is crucial in filling the gaps due to the limited capabilities and financial constraints of local governments (Peace *et al.* 2019).

Implementing interventions toward the creation of more effective socio-economic integration processes is a very important and complex part of these points. Stimulating the professional formation and supporting the creation of new opportunities of employment for asylum seekers and refugees is essential both to expand the migrants' well-being, but also to create a real integration mechanism into local communities for a relevant number of migrants that are going to leave the reception facilities. To foster this implication, it is surely essential a strong cooperation between local authorities, social organizations, public employment services and training agencies.

Guaranteeing the presence of an Immigration Help Desk in every Municipality, or in every network of Municipalities and strengthening the linguistic and cultural mediation tools available is a key issue in building the local intercultural management policy. Moreover, as pointed out by Regione Toscana (2018a), strengthening the network of information nodes (public relation desks, info-youth, regional web portal [P.A.eS.I.](#)) to share practices and administrative tools on the theme of reception and new social issues of migrants living outside the reception system could be relevant.

The new tender specifications scheme provides a selection mechanism that will tend to favour large organizations that while being very much focused on generating economies of scale and are not interested in supporting social and work integration of recipients and paving the way for beneficial impacts upon hosting communities (Galera 2018). For this reason, as stressed by Regione Toscana (2018a), favouring the public territorial governance also in the CAS system by establishing coordination tables at the area level between the managing bodies and the local contact points for the reception system (Municipalities, Provinces, Unions of Municipalities, Districts and Health Consortia) also with the purpose of defining strategic guidelines and quality standards for the reception supply chain could be relevant. Continuing to favour the implementation of local reception projects that are 'SPRAR oriented', also for first level of reception. It is worth noting that on June 2019 the Tuscany Region enacted an additional regional funding dedicated to integration and social cohesion projects managed by local authorities and Third

sector organizations¹⁶ that goes in this direction. Moreover, the Regional government and local authorities' promotion of greater monitoring and evaluation actions of first phase reception projects and services is also necessary to ensure the respect of these quality standards.

In light of the [tightening](#) in discrimination that the Decree implementation is leading, promoting - as several of the interviewed NGOs have started to do - the involvement of asylum seekers and refugees in volunteering schemes at local level, in collaboration with Third sector organizations and local inhabitants and, at the same time, strengthening the commitment of citizens, civil society and local authorities toward reception and integration plans through a strategic and participative approach, are surely a useful action both to let migrants understanding the society in its broader sense (language, culture, history and institutions) and to start a community building process. Collaborating through local organizations could also encourage migrants and local inhabitants to think and act as part of same territorial communities and contribute to promote a 'culture of welcome' (Galera 2018); while favouring citizens involvement can create a sense of collective social responsibility.

Conclusions

In this paper we have convened that the Salvini Decree has consolidated the link between migration and security issue, thus leading not only practical effects in the Tuscany local contexts, but also increasing anti-immigrant hostility.

Moreover, as outlined in the first pages of this work, this new legislative measure fundamentally undermines international and constitutional human rights principles, lowers protection standards and exacerbates social tension on migration, fuelling a climate of discrimination (AIDA 2018).

The implementation of further grounds for exclusion and withdrawal of protection, the reduction of procedural guarantees, and the general restrictive approach on the rights of migrants and asylum seekers adopted represent some of the more critical points (Carta 2018). According to CILD (2018), the provisions included in the Decree-Law seriously affect several fundamental rights of those people who need protection, as well as the reception system and the integration path foreign people are allowed to take in Italy. Moreover, the new Decree addresses social issues (housing, health, economic issues) by providing for repressive tools that will fuel social tension and will entail costs for the whole community.

Thus, the 'securitarian' approach adopted by the Government with the Salvini Decree implementation, not only impacts the management of Italy's integration

¹⁶ Avviso pubblico per la presentazione di progetti di integrazione e coesione sociale nelle comunità toscane e per la tutela dei bisogni essenziali della persona umana sul territorio regionale. Available at www.regione.toscana.it/-/progetti-di-integrazione-e-coesione-sociale-e-tutela-di-bisogni-essenziali

system for asylum seekers and refugees as well as social workers and civil society, but also increases injustice, racism and irregularity. The risk is the dramatic consequence of infringing fundamental rights of individuals, may arise (Corsi 2019).

In particular, the impact of the Decree 'on the streets' and the creation of new 'invisible people' (i.e. those migrants holding humanitarian protection or that will receive a rejection of their demand for international protection, as a consequence of the 'protection gap') are some of the main challenges that this policy change is triggering.

Despite the Tuscany Region enacted a radical opposition to the Salvini Security-Immigration Decree-Law with the Regional Law 45/2019¹⁷, some of Salvini Decree's *threats* cannot find a comprehensive policy response at local and regional level. Even if some initiatives have already been promoted in this direction, regional and local policy makers, together with the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI), should continue a debate with the Interior Ministry to face these challenges.

From an overall point of view, the main limitation of this research is that a robust evidence of the Salvini Decree effects could only be provided by in-depth analysis performed in a longer-term perspective. Despite this time variable consideration, this study provides a basis for further studies on this specific topic concerning the Security-Immigrations Decree-Law's effects.

The SWOT matrix, in its general version, used as a *content analysis table* to analyse aggregate data, provides a useful framework to assess the Decree's effects also in other Italian Regions. Indeed, the SWOT matrix proved to be a useful method to assess any policy changes that involves specific regional or local contexts. Thus, this method can be used to generate hypotheses or assess effects on the strategies local and regional policy makers (but also non-state actors) should follow to face new policy or program implementation.

However, many aspects still need to be investigated. In light of the number of threats the Law 1.12.2018, n.132 implementation is leading, to analyse the main Decree's effects and the migration and international protection issues from a political economy perspective could be a relevant step in order to define a more comprehensive national and regional strategy of reception and integration of all those people that are making a 'dignity seeking journey' (Crepeau 2017).

¹⁷ Legge Regionale n. 45 del 17/07/2019. Available [here](#).

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Annex 1: The SWOT matrix

Strengths	Weaknesses
1. The reception system 1.1 The Regional model 1.2 The SPRAR system as reception model 1.3 Standards for Exceptional Reception Centres (CAS) services 1.4 Reception procedures as part of the welfare system 2. The complementary dimensions of reception 2.1 The training-work supply chain 2.2 Social and health services 2.3 Other 3. Historical, social and cultural factors	1. The reception system 1.1 The Regional model 1.2 The SPRAR system reception model 1.3 Standards for Exceptional Reception Centres (CAS) services 1.4 Reception procedures as part of the welfare system 2. The complementary dimensions of reception 2.1 The training-work supply chain 2.2 Social and health services 2.3 Other 3. Historical, social and cultural factors
Opportunities	Threats
1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration 1.1 The abrogation of ‘humanitarian protection’ 1.2 Making returns more effective 2. Provisions on international protection 1.2 Provisions on asylum seekers who committed serious crimes 1.3 Provisions on subsequent applications and border procedures 1.4 Reception conditions for asylum seekers 3. Citizenship 4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) 5. General impacts	1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration 1.1 The abrogation of ‘humanitarian protection’ 1.2 Making returns more effective 2. Provisions on international protection 2.1 Provisions on asylum seekers who committed serious crimes 2.2 Provisions on subsequent applications and border procedures 2.3 Reception conditions for asylum seekers 3. Citizenship 4. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS) 5. General impacts

Source: Authors’ elaboration.

Annex 2: Simplified SWOT analysis of NGOs findings

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>1. The Tuscan reception system</p> <p>The integrated governance model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Beyond essential services provision</i> <p>The SPRAR system reception model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The SPRAR system as an optimal reception model</i> <p>Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Extending SPRAR quality principles to the CASs</i> <p>The widespread reception model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Following the widespread reception model principles</i> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany</p> <p>Language training</p> <p>The training-work supply chain</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Training and professional programs</i> - <i>Volunteering schemes</i> <p>Social and health services</p> <p>Citizenship and community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Third reception phase projects</i> - <i>Social cohesion and intercultural dialogue activities</i> - <i>Immigration Help Desks</i> <p>3. Historical, social and cultural factors</p> <p>Tuscan reception history</p>	<p>1. The Tuscan reception system</p> <p>The integrated governance model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Lack of real autonomy and integration pathways</i> <p>Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Time to acquire refugee status</i> <p>Reception procedures as part of the welfare system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Reception procedures as substitute of the welfare system</i> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany</p> <p>Citizenship and community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Lack of "post-reception" support</i> <p>3. Historical, social and cultural factors</p> <p>Housing and community context</p> <p>Discrimination</p>
Opportunities	Threats
<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration</p> <p>The abrogation of 'humanitarian protection'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Higher number of international and subsidiary protection permits</i> <p>2. Provisions on international protection</p> <p>Reception conditions for asylum seekers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Forbidden registration at General Registry Office for asylum seekers as a fair measure</i> <p>3. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the 'bad business' of the reception activities</i> <p>4. General impacts</p> <p>Rethinking the reception system</p> <p>Creation of third reception phase projects</p> <p>Shedding light on social exclusion</p> <p>Closer Third sector-local government co-operation</p>	<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration</p> <p>The abrogation of 'humanitarian protection'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Protection gap: limited and differentiated forms of protection for potential beneficiaries</i> - <i>Permit conversion related problems</i> - <i>Increase in number of irregular migrants</i> <p>Making returns more effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Uneffective repatriations</i> <p>2. Provisions on international protection</p> <p>Reception conditions for asylum seekers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Exclusion from the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Dismantling the integration services provided by CAS</i> - <i>Dismantling the widespread reception model</i> - <i>Forbidden registration at General Registry Office for asylum seekers</i> <p>3. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the widespread and integrated reception model</i> - <i>Closing down the reception centres</i> <p>4. General impacts</p> <p>Uncertainty situation</p> <p>Strong pressure on local authorities services</p> <p>Lower level reception system</p> <p>"Social bombs" creation</p> <p>Job losses risk – Reception system</p> <p>Discrimination</p>

Annex 3: Simplified SWOT analysis of policy makers findings

Strengths	Weaknesses
<p>1. The Tuscan reception system The SPRAR system reception model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Different projects with differentiated services</i> <p>The widespread reception model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The widespread reception model as a successful experience</i> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany Language training The training-work supply chain</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Training and professional programs</i> - <i>Employment related services</i> - <i>Volunteering schemes</i> <p>Social and health services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Health services</i> - <i>Immigration Help Desks</i> <p>Citizenship and community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Social cohesion services</i> <p>3. Historical, social and cultural factors Tuscan reception history Social capital structure</p>	<p>1. The Tuscan reception system Quality standards for Exceptional Reception Centre (CAS) services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Time to acquire refugee status</i> <p>Reception procedures as part of the welfare system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Reception procedures as substitute of the welfare system</i> - <i>In-house services provision</i> <p>The widespread reception model</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the widespread reception model</i> <p>2. The complementary dimensions of reception in Tuscany Social and health services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Not uniform services and procedures</i>
Opportunities	Threats
<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration Making returns more effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>'Sending home' irregular migrants</i> <p>2. General impacts Rethinking the reception system Creation of third reception phase projects</p>	<p>1. Provisions on humanitarian residence permits and fight against irregular migration The abrogation of 'humanitarian protection'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Increase in number of irregular migrants</i> - <i>Permit conversion related problems</i> <p>Making returns more effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Uneffective repatriations</i> <p>2. Provisions on international protection Reception conditions for asylum seekers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Exclusion from the SPRAR system</i> - <i>Dismantling the integration services provided by CAS</i> - <i>Dismantling the widespread reception model</i> - <i>Forbidden registration at General Registry Office for asylum seekers</i> <p>3. New tender specifications scheme related impacts (CAS)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Dismantling the widespread and integrated reception model</i> - <i>Closing down the reception centres</i> <p>4. General impacts 'Social bombs' creation Stronger impact on large cities Falling prey of organized crime situations Strong pressure on local authorities services Lower level reception system From reception to security issue Job losses risk – Reception system Discrimination</p>