

ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITA' DI BOLOGNA

MASTER IN HUMAN RIGHTS, MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

CIRSFID

Interdepartmental Research Centre for History, Philosophy and
Sociology of Law and Legal Informatics

In collaboration with:

IRES

Institute for Economic and Social Research

Exploring the Migrants' Different Capacities to Aspire –
The Case of Emilia-Romagna

Suzana Abrahamsson

Supervisor (University):
Bernardo Venturi

Supervisor (Host organization):
Antonio Ori

Co-supervisor (University):
Gustavo Gozzi

Academic year 2015-2016

ABSTRACT

This paper explores how the migrants' attempt to create a meaningful life in an alien world is met through a qualitative case study conducted in the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy. In the light of Amartya Sen's capability approach, the study examines the migrants' genuine capacities to aspire and argues that migrants are human beings with aspirations like anyone else who, if given the capacity to aspire, cannot only contribute to the development of the 'host' country by filling gaps, or to their countries of origin through remittances, but also to their own personal lives by creating a sense of meaningfulness.

Whereas the first part of the case study is based on interviews with various stakeholders in migration matters, in the scope to investigate the interrelated challenges that lie ahead of this attempt and are ought to be overcome, such as ignorance, while at the same time highlighting some of the best practices that contribute to it, such as awareness, empowerment and inclusion, the second part changes focus to the migrants' perspectives by narrating some of their aspirations, frustrations and desires, which are often overlooked, but most necessary to consider before speaking about migrants in benefit terms. In this context, the paper also stresses the importance of recognizing human diversity, that is to say the recognition of variation in experiences, values, skills and outlooks, and the need to treat everybody according to their needs and abilities rather than ethnicity or race.

With regard to these points of view, the paper argues that the idea that people want to be parasites and to not make themselves useful is based on a flawed notion of what human beings are, since in reality we all seek recognition from others and being passive not only leads to phenomena such as 'brain waste', that is to say the waste of skills, and 'clientification', namely learning to become welfare clients, but eventually also to the loss of one's self-esteem.

The paper thus encourages the prevailing integration policies to embrace a multidimensional capability approach by enabling capacity building tools, which in turn enable the capacity to aspire and lead one to reach one's aspirations on one's own terms and eventually become in charge of one's own life. Through its emerging recommendations, its aim is to create a foundation that the existing integration policies can take into account and build upon. The current 'refugee crisis' might still be in a so-called emergency phase, where priority is mainly given to reception rather than integration. Nevertheless, in development terms, after emergency comes

recovery and reconstruction. This is the reason why the paper insists that being prepared is essential in order to not repeat previously made mistakes, which mainly has led to social exclusion rather than inclusion. The paper could thus be of relevance to policy makers and other professionals working with integration issues, both inside and outside of Emilia-Romagna and Italy. Through a small-scale study it wishes to contribute to a greater understanding of the importance of having a policy that not merely values human capital, but first and foremost the human being *per se*.

Keywords: migration, integration, unity, diversity, aspiration, capability, autonomy, self-esteem, social inclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who have supported me during this research. Firstly, I would like to thank my dear ones for their comprehension and constant encouragement. Secondly, I would like to thank my supervisors Bernardo Venturi and Antonio Ori, and co-supervisor Gustavo Gozzi, for their patience.

I would also like to thank those that made this research possible, namely Giorgio Palamidesi for his valuable guidance and contacts, and Patrizia Zoli for providing me with access to my interviewees at CPIA. Last, but definitely not least, I would like to thank my interviewees themselves for their time and trust. A special thanks goes to my narrators who entrusted me with their stories in order to help others. I truly hope that I have represented them in a just manner and that your voices will finally be heard.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract

Acknowledgements

INTRODUCTION

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 2. Methodology | 3 |
| 2.1 Methodological approach..... | 3 |
| 2.2 Research methods..... | 5 |
| 2.2.1 Sampling..... | 5 |
| 2.2.2 Interviews..... | 6 |
| 2.2.3 Analysis..... | 6 |
| 2.2.4 Position..... | 6 |
| 2.2.5 Potential limitations..... | 7 |
| 2.2.6 Ethics..... | 8 |
| 3. Theoretical framework | 9 |
| 3.1 The capability approach..... | 9 |
| 3.2 Human diversity..... | 10 |

CASE STUDY: Preliminary findings and qualitative analysis

| | |
|---|----|
| 4. Desk reviews and stakeholders consultations | 13 |
| 4.1 Best practices versus challenges..... | 13 |
| 4.1.1 Awareness versus ignorance..... | 13 |
| 4.1.2 United pluralism versus ‘groupism’..... | 14 |
| 4.1.3 Self-autonomy versus welfare dependency..... | 16 |
| 4.2 Emerging recommendations..... | 19 |
| 4.2.1 Enabling capacity building tools..... | 19 |
| 4.2.2 Breaking the silence..... | 21 |
| 5. The voices of the migrants: Narratives about frustrations and aspirations | 23 |
| 5.1 Narrator A’s story: “All I wanted was a little bit of peace of mind”..... | 24 |
| 5.2 Narrator B’s story: “I left to seek for a place where I was free to express myself”..... | 28 |
| 5.3 Narrator C’s story: “I came for love”..... | 32 |
| 5.4 Narrator D’s story: “I had to leave”..... | 34 |

CONCLUSION

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| 6. Conclusion | 37 |
|----------------------------|----|

BIBLIOGRAPHY

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| 7. References | 40 |
| 7.1 Literature..... | 40 |
| 7.2 Reports and documents..... | 41 |
| 7.3 Interviews..... | 42 |
| 7.3.1 Stakeholders..... | 42 |
| 7.3.2 Migrants..... | 42 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| AMIF | Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund |
| ENAIIP | Ente Nazionale ACLI Istruzione Professionale (ACLI National Agency of Vocational Training) |
| CARA | Centro Accoglienza Richiedenti Asilo (Centre for Reception of Asylum-seekers) |
| CGIL | Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (The Italian General Confederation of Labour) |
| CPIA | Centro Provinciale per l'Istruzione degli Adulti (Provincial Adult Education Centre) |
| ERDF | European Regional Development Fund |
| ESF | European Social Fund |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| SPRAR | Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati (System for the Protection of Asylum-seekers and Refugees) |

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The increasing influx of refugees into Europe during the recent years has created a questionable situation to which many refer to as a ‘refugee crisis’ – a term worth equal questioning since it mistakenly ascribes the crisis to the numbers or in the financing of the reception of the fleeing human beings rather than to anachronistic political institutions and since, if we want to look at numbers, it is in reality the less well-off countries¹ of the world that are bearing the “brunt” and hosting the largest numbers of refugees in absolute terms and not Europe. In fact, the United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR, estimates that almost nine out of every ten refugees, which is 86%, are in regions and countries considered economically less developed (UNHCR, 2014). Nevertheless, hardly a day passes by without the politicians discussing or the media reporting on this so-called crisis, about how to diminish the numbers of arrivals and how to accommodate or manage the ones that have succeeded in arriving nonetheless the occurring borders and obstacles that have been set up to prevent them from coming, rather than focusing on the root causes and the push and pull factors that make people risk their lives to seek international protection, and realizing that behind abstract concepts such as migration and asylum and numbers, there are real human beings with their grievances and hopes.

At the same time, there is another crisis, namely the demographic one, which ironically justifies the ‘refugee crisis’ since, faced with an aging population and possible skills shortages at all skills levels, it is predicted that Europe will be in a deep need of a generation of young people in the future and most refugees, at first glance, fit the bill. However, as Peo Hansen points out, refugees are perceived as the “wrong” kind of migrants because they are “not circular but often permanent”, unlike labour migrants, and thereby “difficult and expensive to dispose of” since they are “not easily matched with labour markets” and encompass “rights and social welfare provisions”, which in turn prompt negative attitudes towards refugees among the societies that refugees increase competition for limited resources (Hansen, 2016, pp. 26-27).

What is disturbing with these two complementary, but somehow

¹ Such as Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Kenya, Chad and Ethiopia.

contradictory, ‘crises’ is that they together imply that the perception of refugees as “too many” and “too costly” can only be beaten if refugees fill gaps and contribute. The perception of refugees as problematic or as mere “benefit takers” is in other words only justified if the refugees paradoxically turn into benefits themselves. This paper’s goal is to combat this very perception by rather highlighting refugees, and migrants in general, as human beings with aspirations, like anyone else, which should be taken into account before speaking about migrants in benefit terms.

The contention is that migrants will automatically contribute if the receiving countries change their perspective and approach and recognize them as *human beings* rather than machines and invest in them by enabling their capacities to aspire. In doing this, migrants will not only be able to eventually contribute to the development of the ‘host’ country by filling gaps or to their countries of origin through remittances, but also to their own personal lives by creating a sense of meaningfulness.

It goes without saying that the feeling that one can make use of ones abilities and skills, and develop them is crucial for the human well-being, not to mention for the refugee who did not leave for economic reasons but was forced to leave. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this paper does not intend to distinguish between the different terminologies that has been given to categorize different kinds of migration, but that it rather wants to emphasize the human in *any* kind of migrant. Furthermore, it rather prefers to stress the importance of recognizing *human diversity*, that is to say the recognition of variation in experiences, values, skills and outlooks, and the need to treat everybody according to that, independently on where they come from and why.

With regard to this, the paper argues that the idea that people want to be parasites and not to make themselves useful is based on a flawed notion of what human beings are, since in reality we all seek recognition from others and being passive not only leads to phenomena such as ‘brain waste’, that is to say the waste of skills, and ‘clientification’, namely learning to become welfare clients, but eventually also to the loss of one’s self-esteem through the deprivation of one’s capacity to aspire.

In the light of Amartya Sen’s capability approach, the paper thus suggests an integration policy that rather enables capacity building tools, which in turn enable the capacity to aspire and lead one to reach one’s aspirations on one’s own terms and by thus, ultimately become in charge of one’s own life. Through a small-scale study that

explores how some migrants' attempt to create a meaningful life in an alien world, in this case Italy, is met, it draws attention to the *implementation* of policy and law on human beings and thereby tries to contribute to a greater understanding of the importance of having a policy that not merely values human capital, but first and foremost the human being *per se*. Thus, by telling their stories its intention is to humanize the migrants and offer human portraits to concepts that otherwise might seem too abstract. Moreover, by investigating the challenges that lies ahead of this attempt, its aim is to create a foundation with emerging recommendations and best practices that the existing integration policies can take into account and build upon. The 'refugee crisis' might still be in a so-called 'emergency'² phase, where priority is mainly given to reception issues rather than the question of integration. Nevertheless, in development terms, after emergency comes recovery and reconstruction. This is the reason why the paper believes that being prepared is essential in order to not repeat previously made mistakes, which mainly has led to social exclusion rather than inclusion. The paper could thus bring insights that might be of relevance to policy makers and other professionals working with integration issues, both inside an outside of Italy.

2. Methodology

2.1 Methodological Approach

If there is one thing that my postgraduate studies has taught me, it is the need to adopt a holistic and an interdisciplinary approach to migration studies, and to see the complex nexus that lies between migration, development and human rights. As Raúl Delgado Wise and Humberto Márquez Covarrubias argue:

“Research approaches are mostly descriptive and schematic and often split by disciplines, all of which limits the understanding of migration and any opportunities we might have to influence it. Political economy [for example] provides an analytical alternative with which to engage this subject, addressing it from the historical, structural and strategic viewpoints...to uncover the nature and elements of contemporary migration” (Delgado Wise and Márquez Covarrubias, 2012, p. 92).

² As Luciano Carrino highlights, referring to the 'crisis' as an 'emergency' is wrong, since disasters caused by human behavior are in reality all predictable and in fact prepared. As he states: "Wars do not happen just like that. But they are prepared, organized and justified with all sorts of arguments that are used for the different purposes of the most powerful" (Carrino, 2016).

This is why I was determined to adopt not only a cross-disciplinary approach but also the so-called ‘mixed-methods approaches’, that is to say qualitative *and* quantitative approaches, to my research project in the beginning. Because, as Stephen Castles emphasizes:

“Quantitative research is important for obtaining comparative data to describe macro-social changes linked to migration [while] qualitative research is needed to provide understanding both of individual and community-level social action and of the history and cultures of sending, transit, and receiving societies”.

Moreover, Castles concludes that “most forms of migration research are likely to require ‘mixed-methods approaches’” (Castles, 2012, p. 21). Nevertheless, this proved to be an easier task in theory rather than practice when came to my research. This might be due to the fact that I simply am not a strong quantitative scholar, and nor do I get excited by or agree with the epistemological assumptions in rational choice/game theory or in quantitative behavioural approaches. The choices of methodologies were therefore quickly narrowed down to the qualitative ones.

While I were aware that each approach obviously had associated strengths and weaknesses *per se*, I felt like the qualitative approach with constructivism as its epistemological perspective was the most appropriate one for my case study since, besides not having any experience in statistics, I were seeking to investigate the situation of migration management in terms of quality rather than quantity, and narrate real people’s lived experience in terms of frustrations and ambitions. In other words, *nuances* that a quantitative approach might have otherwise missed. Nevertheless, I were aware of my limitations, that is to say what my qualitative approach might not offer, namely telling me the opinions and stories of ‘only’ a few individuals and thereby failing to maybe account for larger trends. However, as mention, this was never the goal of the study, and moreover, as Hilary Byrne Armstrong highlights, the aim of narrative inquiry is not to find one generalizable truth but to rather “sing up many truths/narratives” (Byrne-Armstrong, 2001: 112).

2.2 Research methods

The main empirical material collected during the case study was through semi-structured interviews with firstly various stakeholders and secondly some migrants. Furthermore, several materials in form of reports and documents were received from some of the stakeholders. A brief review of these materials was made, as well as a thorough reading of theories, previous research and other secondary sources, which were relevant to the overall study.

2.2.1 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used for the case study, as is most common in qualitative research according to Alan Bryman (Bryman 2012, p. 418). The initial objective for the first part of the study was to contact as many practitioners as possible working with migration and integration management in Emilia-Romagna, and to complement that material with actors from different civil society organizations, such as non-governmental organizations, labour unions and cooperative enterprises. However, this developed as to also include a local politician, after realizing their potential in commenting on the political situation.

Thus, as described in Bryman (2012, p. 424), a mix of snowball sampling and opportunistic sampling was made. The focus was throughout to interview people of relevance in migration and integration matters, which was realized both with direct contact of identified persons and by being introduced to such by a kind gatekeeper with an extraordinary social network in Emilia-Romagna.

The same goes with the second part of the study, also here I was lucky enough to gain access to my interviewees through a gatekeeper. Being a small-scale study, I had to be selective and focus my study on a somewhat homogenous group of first-generation immigrants. Nevertheless, in order to minimize the bias and not lose the variation out of my sample, I only choose to be selective when it came to their gender. The selection between male and female was however not decided beforehand, but afterwards, depending on my access and their availability.

2.2.2 Interviews

While the interviews with the stakeholders were conducted at multiple occasions and different locations in Emilia-Romagna (Bologna, Sasso Marconi and Ravenna), the interviews with the migrants were conducted at a provincial adult education center in Forli (CPIA). Dialogue-based, semi-structured one-to-one interviews were made, following a thematic framework developed in relation to the context.

Since semi-structured interviews often contain open-ended questions and discussions, which may diverge from the framework and consequently result in poor notes, I choose to tape-record all my interviews under the permission of the participants. This choice was further motivated by the potential distraction or intimidation that note-taking might have caused.

2.2.3 Analysis

Following each interview, I transcribed the audio-tapes verbatim in their original language, that is to say Italian, and then translated the transcription into English, which means that some informative details may have been lost in translation.

When it comes to the interviews with the stakeholders, I then tried to identify common themes and subthemes across the interviewees' answers and comments to use as the subheadings for the first part of my case study. I tried to do the same with the raw data obtained from the migrants by organizing their experiences as ordered, but then decided to go with a narrative mode of analysis, rather than a paradigmatic one, in order to not depersonalize and decontextualize their stories since representing and interpreting another's voice is not a simple task and needs to be done with respect, humility and not to mention responsibility for the entrust of the participants in sharing their stories. Thus, in order to do them justice, I felt the need to find an analysis method that suited my data and that made the most of it. This basically meant that I choose to summarize each participant's narrative by configuring the data into a coherent whole with a thematic thread, that is to say plot, under a heading per se, rather than mixing it with other narratives and running the risk of losing the story's context.

2.2.4 Position

Since the epistemological perspective was constructivism, the position of the study was 'interpretivist', as described by Bryman (2012, p. 280) as a feature for qualitative

research where emphasis is put on context and process. However, Laura Nader's view regarding studying *upwards*, *sideways* or *downwards* made me reflect on whether I was 'interpreting' sideways or downwards when studying migrants. From an outside perspective it might seem like I were 'only' studying up, by interviewing public and private institutions and a social enterprise, and down by interviewing migrants. Nevertheless, at a closer look, I feel like I were *also* studying sideways in a way, being a second-generation migrant myself and having a rich migrant history in my baggage. In other words, I feel like I were enough of an 'insider' to 'study' my subjects sideways rather than downwards, and thereby to provide a fair account of the voices of the migrants in a way that was not colonizing their experiences. Moreover, I would like to think that following Nader's advice on studying up, adds to this account since, as Nader highlights, research has been historically biased towards studying down and there is a need by thus to equalize the ratio by conducting new research which also studies upwards (Nader, 1972, p. 289).

2.2.5 Potential limitations

Studying sideways as an 'insider' does not necessarily mean that it was easier for me than for an 'outsider', since one obviously needs to negotiate one's role and be just enough of an insider without running the risk of losing the distance needed to study one's so-called subject or subjects. Thus, this was a complex matter that I was aware of having to pay attention to. Nevertheless, the ambiguity that lies within this issue and the absence of any concrete guidelines to handle it, made it hard for me to guarantee that not any bias entered into the way my data was gathered, interpreted and reported. Fataneh Farahani, besides sharing the same background to me as an Iranian-Swedish, shares a similar issue:

“As a woman from a traditional Iranian family, an immigrant woman who has lived in different Western multicultural societies, I could also identify with the challenges of adjustment and integration that the men and women interviewees shared with me in different ways. These common backgrounds obviously involved advantages as well as disadvantages throughout the research process” (Farahani, 2010, pp. 117-118).

The advantage of being an 'insider' and studying sideways clearly lies in that the accessibility to gain trust and reliability from your interviewees is much easier than if one would be an outsider and study one's subject downwards, while the

disadvantage seems to lie in the multiple challenge of being an insider who at the same time have to perform an outsider role as an academic researcher, balancing a so-called 'dual position'. Nader, however, seems to regard this issue rather as an advantage than a disadvantage. She articulates how based on observing her students, she noticed that when they conducted research on topics that they were personally connected to and invested in, the quality and intellectual contribution of the research generally increased. She acknowledges that many researchers say that a sense of complete objectivity is necessary when studying, and that one must conduct research on topics which one is emotionally detached from, but she contradicts these views and states that when students research topics which they are attached to, they are more likely to uncover insightful information (Nader, 1972, p. 285).

Another possible limitation might be related to the size of my samples since, as mentioned earlier, small sample sizes undermine opportunities to draw useful generalizations from, or to make broad policy recommendations based upon the findings. On the other hand however, small sample sizes help one to investigate research problems in a comprehensive and in a more in-depth manner. Thus, as it goes to show, the limitations one finds in using qualitative research techniques also reflect their inherent strengths.

2.2.6 Ethics

I have chosen to not include the names of my migrant respondents due to ethical considerations. Moreover, in order to avoid any stereotyping imaginary names, I have chosen to alphabetize the narrators. I have chosen to take this precaution also with the stakeholders, by numerating them, since the importance rather lies in their occupation and not their identity. Some of them might of course be identifiable through their occupation, but I remain confident that they will not face any consequences.

3. Theoretical framework

In the light of Amartya Sen's capability approach, and in order to avoid phenomena such as 'brain waste,' that is to say the waste of skills, and 'clientification,' namely learning to become welfare clients, this chapter stresses the importance of having a integration policy with capacity building tools that enables one to reach one's aspirations and become in charge of one's own life. Moreover, besides stressing the importance of valuing personal well-being and autonomy, it puts emphasis on the

recognition of human diversity, that is to say variation in experiences, values, skills and outlooks.

3.1 The capability approach

Within moral and political philosophy, the capability approach has in recent decades emerged as a new theoretical framework about well-being, development and justice. Although one can trace some aspects of the capability approach back to, among others, Aristotle³ and Karl Marx, it is economist-philosopher Amartya Sen who pioneered the approach and philosopher Martha Nussbaum and a growing number of other scholars across the humanities and the social sciences who have significantly developed it (Nussbaum, 1988, 1992, 1993, Sen 1993, 1999). The capability approach can therefore be seen as a flexible and multi-purpose framework, rather than a precise theory of well-being that can be applied to a wide range of fields, not to mention development studies and policymaking, welfare economics, social policy, and social and political philosophy.

The capability approach implies that freedom to achieve well-being is a matter of what people are able to do and to be, and thus the kind of life they are effectively able to lead. It is made up of five conceptual building blocks: Commodities, Conversion Factors, Capabilities, Choices, and ‘Functionings’. Commodities are the resources the individuals can dispose of. Sen’s standard example is the bicycle, but closer to the field of social policy, one could interpret less material goods, such as certain acquired skills, that are only useful if accompanied by respective labour market structures which can help turn these skills into valuable outcomes, that is to say ‘functionings’. In other words, the potential conversion of means into ends depends on the external social structures and, occasionally, on internal limitations in place, hence the term ‘conversion factors’. Sen thus uses ‘capabilities’ to refer to the opportunities made feasible (or constrained) by both external and internal conversion factors (Sen, 1992). In the light of this, an individual’s capability set is the set of the capabilities that he or she has real access to or are denied from, and in turn can or cannot choose from.

The objective of the capability approach is to enable an individual’s agency to have the option to help him or herself to a better life. The importance of autonomy

³ Aristotle used the Greek word *dunamin*, which is sometimes translated as ‘potentiality’, to discuss an aspect of the human good.

and the freedom to choose is thus central to the approach. One of the capacities that is required in order to fuel autonomy is what Arjun Appadurai refers to as the “the capacity to aspire” (Appadurai, 2004, p. 82). However, although we all have aspirations, we all do not have the capacity to aspire. The idea that people want to be parasites and to not make themselves useful is thus based on a flawed notion of what human beings are, since in reality we all seek recognition from others of our worth, and being passive, which is the opposite of autonomy, can lead one to, not only losing one’s skills, but eventually losing one’s self-esteem as well by lowering one’s aspirations. As Sen points out:

“Deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation...and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change, [adjusting] their desires and expectations to what they unambitiously see as feasible” (Sen, 1999, p. 63).

The deprivation of the capacity to aspire is what occurs to many people who migrate. Even though they might arrive with aspirations for a better life, that better life is mainly reserved for their children, consequently making them setting aside their aspirations for them by for example filling job positions below their skills level and by thus sacrificing their own being. Moreover, and eventually, the higher adjustability of the young people to the new circumstances disempowers the older generation. Therefore, many migrants not only become dependent on the welfare system, but also on their own children. Thus, besides losing their autonomy and agency, they might not only lose their esteemed role in the society, but also risk it in the eyes of their children.

By way of illustration, the example above highlights the importance of incorporating the capability approach into any integration policy in order to make capacity building tools that can enable one to reach one’s aspirations, rather than forgetting about them, possible, and in turn leading one to become in charge of one’s own *purposeful* life, rather than becoming a welfare client.

3.2 Human diversity

According to Masoud Kamali, another factor that excludes immigrants from active participation in the production and reproduction of their own life in the new society is the rejection of differences (Kamali, 1997). Indeed, at the heart of the capability approach lays the recognition that individuals are fundamentally diverse, hence their

different needs and aspirations. In other words, because humans are not all the same, they require different commodities to achieve the same functionings. The capability approach therefore questions the efficiency of ‘one-size-fits-all’ policies that are directed at changing conversion factors equally. By upholding the stress on human diversity, it rather directs the attention to individualization, and the need to direct resources appropriately, taking the needs of the individual adequately into account.

Thus, while Sen has often acknowledged his debt to the philosopher John Rawls, he also criticizes Rawls’s concentration on primary goods, since it tends to neglect the importance of the diversity of human beings:

“...the primary goods approach seems to take little note of the diversity of human beings...If people were basically very similar, then an index of primary goods might be quite a good way of judging advantage. But, in fact, people seem to have very different needs varying with health, longevity, climatic conditions, location, work conditions, temperament, and even body size...So what is being involved is not merely ignoring a few hard cases, but overlooking very widespread and real differences” (Sen, 1980, pp. 215–216).

In other words, if all persons were the same, then an index of primary goods would tend to yield similar freedoms for all, but given human diversity, the Rawlsian justice conception will fail to take note that different people need different amounts and different kinds of goods to reach the same levels of well-being or advantage. Thus, although Sen recognizes that there quite obviously are some common needs that all people share or value despite their differences, he still stresses the importance to consider their different outlooks to reach them:

“Some functionings are very elementary, such as being adequately nourished, being in good health, etc., and these may be strongly valued by all, for obvious reasons. Others may be more complex, but still widely valued, such as achieving self-respect or being socially integrated. Individuals may, however, differ a good deal from each other in the weights they attach to these different functionings – valuable though they may all be – and the assessment of individual and social advantages must be alive to these variations” (Sen, 2008, p. 24).

This consideration should therefore be taken into account when talking about integration. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen points out, “politicians and bureaucrats all over Europe talk of the importance of ‘integrating immigrants’ with no further

[clarification about] *who* is supposed to be integrated to *what* and by *whom*,” and without considering the fact that “there are very important differences between the adaptations between individual immigrants, ethnic and religious immigrant groups, and between majority individuals, groups and greater society.” He therefore argues for a “multidimensional approach”, besides the capability approach, which “neither ignores nor takes for granted”, and acknowledges “that ‘minorities’ do not speak with one voice” (Eriksen, 2007, 2015).

CASE STUDY: Preliminary findings and qualitative analysis

4. Desk reviews and stakeholders consultations

4.1 Challenges and best practices

4.1.1 Awareness versus ignorance

Interviewee 5, who at the time of writing is a councillor at the Municipality of Ravenna, tells me how her city, which used to be among the first in Emilia-Romagna to open its door to refugees and asylum-seekers, seems to have lost its solidarity:

“There is no longer ‘let’s save the people’, but rather a ‘let’s prevent them to arrive’ mentality, because the citizens think that the migrants in general are only troublesome. They don’t know how to distinguish between one migrant and another, but think that they are all the same thanks to the media who depicts the migrant as a criminal in general.”

Stereotyping the migrant as someone threatening produces fear and hostility amongst the people rather than solidarity and humanity. Fear that in the end is based on ignorance and misinformation. Interviewee 2 confirms that one of the greatest challenges is the issue on awareness: “We all have fixed ideas and prejudices, but the problem is when you do not put them into question.” Interviewee 5 agrees:

“There exists no awareness among the citizens about the situation. Moreover, everything is based on numbers. Our citizens think that the migrants who arrive are a burden, however they have no idea that in reality, according to Dossier Caritas Migrantes, even though they might rely on 8% on the GDP, they make it earn 11%. Thereby they rather make us move forward than backward since we are in zero growth. Moreover, they pay the pension of our seniors. Surely the refugee ‘weighs’ a bit more on our system, but one has to take into consideration that the famous 35 euros that are given per day for the reception of each refugee do not go directly into the refugees’ tasks, but only a part of it, 2 euros and 50 cents to be precise, goes under the name ‘pocket money’, the rest of it goes to the third sector. Thus, from another point of view, they are actually a resource for the development of the third sector.”

In order to raise awareness amongst the ignorance, her municipality promotes communication campaigns that help its citizens to prepare themselves mentally for the newly arrived migrants:

“We have over 70 villages with people who are not used to so-called ‘foreigners’, as a consequence the thought of having only a few refugees in their apartments might seem unsettling. We therefore try to promote a sort of pre-awareness by letting them ‘process’ the fact before the arrival of the migrants.”

Furthermore, she underlines the importance of having a space where interaction and dialogue can take place, where people can face their prejudices and fears of the unknown: “We have projects where we bring migrants to schools or other public places, in order to clear out those uncomfortable questions that people otherwise might avoid to ask.”

Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that the outcome cannot be determined, since there are bound to be frictions. Thus, it is important to let everybody have the possibility to, as Bhikhu Parekh puts it, “interrogate each other” so that different ideas and values that do not necessarily go down well in the new society can be put to test through dialogue and negotiation, also known as mutual accommodation (Parekh, 2000, p. 220).

4.1.2 United pluralism versus ‘groupism’

Every three years, the Emilia-Romagna Region writes a program at regional level, which on national level does not exist at all. Interviewee 2, who is responsible for immigration matters at the Region and has taken part in developing the programme, emphasizes how from his point of view it is not “just a piece of paper with 20 pages, but rather an effort to read a phenomenon and give an *united* answer.” The present 2014-2016 programme, which has been written by 45 different officials, is thus an attempt to share a view in an intersectoral way, that is to say to speak about the same matter *together* through different areas of the public administration.

Besides its intersectoral approach, the programme puts emphasis on human diversity and equality. As interviewee 2 points out:

“We have written 100,000 times ‘no to a parallel welfare system for migrants that have specialized services for migrants,’ but rather so-called universalist services that also embrace the different needs. This is also the reason why we have called the current programme for *Towards an Intercultural Community*, to create the idea that we are *all* called into action, not only ‘us’ or ‘them’.”

In this context, he explains how so-called affirmative action⁴ policies that only apply to ethnic or migrant minorities have not had such a great success in the Emilia-Romagna region since they paradoxically tend to divide that gap even more:

“In 2007 we created an action to support young migrants start-up businesses economically. Through this action we managed to support about 10 enterprises. However, in the public opinion it was as we had committed a crime. The Italian entrepreneurs were furious over the fact that we had provided a contribution to the foreign enterprises and nothing to them. Because of this very incident, we have not done anything like that ever since then.”

He goes on explaining how for similar reasons there does not exist any ad hoc calls for migrants regarding work and professional training in the region:

“Having a separate migrant desk makes it possible for other public services to say ‘no wait, you have your special desk, go to that one’ whenever they see a foreigner. This is not good because it puts a label on the migrant as a stranger, and this is exactly what that we are working on to prevent since several years. At the same time, quite obviously, people who immigrate have some common needs, such as language courses, help in finding work if one does not have any network one can use, skills training and numerous other forms of aid enabling one to become in charge of one's own life. Thus, these elements clearly justify a series of interventions aimed specifically at migrants.”

Interviewee 4, who is responsible for professional training matters at the Region, agrees and points out an alternative way to respond to these common needs without categorizing the migrants *per se* and by thus marginalizing them or discriminating other social categories and leading to some kind of ‘reversed structural discrimination’:

“Due to the equality factor, we do not make any difference between an Italian citizen and a foreigner, and by thus our programmes or projects do not have migrants as their specific target, but rather ‘socially fragile’ *people* who share some kind of vulnerability rather than ethnicity.”

By introducing an affirmative action on a broad scale that does not only apply to ethnic or migrant minorities, but also to other social categories, the Region is thus

⁴ Also-known as ‘positive discrimination’.

working on to overcome the issue that Rogers Brubaker has defined as ‘groupism’, at the same time as avoiding to neglect variation in experiences, values, skills and outlooks (Brubaker, 2004). Eriksen addresses this dilemma as well. According to him “conflation of equality with similarity [is one of] three⁵ dimensions of the conceptual framework preventing true equality between natives and immigrants.” He therefore confirms how “it is not sufficient – or even desirable – to introduce quotas or affirmative action policies in the educational system or the labour market”, but that first of all, “immigrants and their children must be able to feel that they are part of society; that the abstract ‘we’ of nationhood’s imagined community encompasses them.” What he calls for is thus a similar approach that the region is trying to apply, a “pluralism which does not divide the population into mutually exclusive groups” (Eriksen, 1997). In order to adopt this approach however, one ought to, as Parekh highlights, overcome the contradictory meaning of *unity*:

“When we say that a multicultural society requires a strong sense of unity, we mean that its members should have a strong sense of mutual commitment and common belonging... When we say that strong unity can undermine diversity, we mean that if a multicultural society insisted on a uniform and comprehensive national culture as the basis of its unity, it would leave little space for diversity. If we can show, as indeed we can, that the multicultural society can foster a strong sense of unity (in the sense of a strong sense of mutual commitment and belonging) without requiring a shared comprehensive national culture, the paradox disappears.”

Thus, what is required is a united society, in which diversity is incorporated. In Parekh words, “such a multicultural society is united but not unified, displays unity without uniformity [and] shares a common sense of belonging [while] accommodate[ing] a wide range of diversity” (Parekh, 1998).

4.1.3 Self-autonomy versus welfare dependency

The System for the Protection of Asylum-seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) was created under law no. 189 of 2002 and consists of a network of local authorities that set up and run reception projects for people forced to migrate. It draws, within the limits of available resources, upon the National Fund for asylum policies and services managed

⁵ The other two being the difficulties of coming to terms with culture and the monolithic ideology of social engineering.

by the Interior Ministry and included in State Budget legislation. At a local level, local authorities, with the valued support of the third and public sector, such as the educational bodies ENAIP and CPIA, guarantee an *integrated* reception that goes well beyond the mere provision of board and lodging, but includes orientation measures, legal and social assistance as well as the development of personalized programmes for the socio-economic integration of individuals. The main objective is to take responsibility for those individuals accepted into the scheme and to provide them with personalized programmes to help them reacquire self-autonomy. The SPRAR project thus opposes the humanitarian approach where the refugee is seen as a ‘beneficiary’, an action that often leads to segregation from the wider urban community. Instead, it aims to stimulate self-awareness, autonomy and inclusion of refugees through individualized and targeted programmes. Interviewee 3 who works at Lai-momo, one of the co-operative societies that has coordinated the SPRAR project in Bologna since 2014, points out how the approach they use consists of providing support for individuals and groups of people through promoting their empowerment, that is to say an increase in their power or capacity to actively control their own lives and take part in community activities.

In partnership with the social co-operative Abantu, Lai-momo runs the transition service towards accommodation autonomy in the Bologna province, dedicated to the asylum seekers who are leaving the structured reception. The project’s goal is to guide these individuals towards economic and accommodation independence, in order to allow them to finally live without the need of any sort of reception and public support. In particular, the activity focuses on the specialized support aimed at helping them to enter the labour market through the research of traineeships in local enterprises, financial literacy and family financial management courses, training in searching and managing an accommodation, and information and orientation about the correct access to the territorial services. The project’s strength is shown by the high personalization of the assistance to every member of the group, which is divided into steps with less support at each one until independence is achieved, thereby avoiding ‘clientification’, that is to say welfare dependency.

SPRAR is not only considered as a flagship by the Italian authorities, but also as a good practice at the European level. As interviewee 2 highlights:

“Ten years ago we were one of the least experienced countries on this issue, which also explains the lack of expertise in the field. Still today it is a bet to

encounter competent persons. Nevertheless, we have gradually developed this excellent system of reception, which has increased from offering 5000 places in 2012 to 20.000 places at the time of speaking. In 2016 it is predicted to be able to offer around 32.000 places.”

According to the director of the Central Service of the SPRAR system, Daniela Di Capua⁶, it was the so-called ‘North African Emergency’ in 2011, which paradoxically laid the foundation of SPRAR and turned it into the point of reference when it comes to reception matters. The way the ‘emergency’ was handled, was heavily criticized to be too basic and merely limited to food and accommodation – a way that today contradicts what SPRAR stands for, that is to say an integrated reception, which with a whole range of other services, than only board and lodging, enables the person to rebuild his or her life and become in charge of it. Thus, in the middle of 2012, the Home Office established a national round table with participants as the Home Office, the Department of Integration, the Department of Labour, representatives of the Regions, Provinces and Municipalities, and the UNHCR as an external participant. This coordination body represented the first attempt to share responsibilities and operational decisions between different levels of government regarding the reception policies.

The national round table put forward two proposals. The first proposal concerned the commitment to maintain the way undertaken until then and to create one single reception system, with SPRAR as its core element. This single system was unique in the sense that reception and integration were to be seen as stages of the same process and open to all asylum seekers entitled to international protection. The second proposal was consequential and consisted in strengthening SPRAR’s capacity by moving beyond CARA. A possible alternative to CARA was identified in the establishment of so-called ‘hubs’, namely first reception centers, spread across the entire national territory, preferably organized regionally, small-sized, and intended for short periods of stay. This proposal also referred to the launch of regional round tables to complement the national one. As of today, parts of these proposals have been realized. This includes the increase in SPRAR’s overall accommodation capacity, although still considered limited. Because despite being a very good practice, it is far from sufficient to cover all the existing needs, especially if one considers that the

⁶ In a separate interview conducted by the association *Asilo in Europa*: <http://asiloineuropa.blogspot.it/2014/03/the-future-of-italian-reception-system.html>

turnover rate within the SPRAR structures is not particularly high, meaning that SPRAR is still not *the* Italian reception system but only constitutes a bigger part of the system. The percentage of the ‘lucky ones’ who will find a place in a SPRAR project, compared with the ‘unlucky ones’ who will not, thus largely depends on the influxes of asylum seekers and on the turnover rate within the SPRAR.

Aside from the lack of resources and in turn the limited capacity to let everyone take part of the project without risking the quality of it, the main difficulty lies in the fact that not all regions are immediately willing to be an active part of these regional round tables, not to mention their (un)willingness to receive a permanent collective centre in their territory. Furthermore, as mentioned, many non-governmental organizations that run, in collaboration with the municipalities, the newly approved projects lack the necessary expertise in the field, making it difficult to make sure that all the new SPRAR projects keep their high standards. Nevertheless, work towards this optic is already taking place. For example, the prefectures nowadays issue public notices to verify that the people that welcome refugees really can provide expertise in the field. As interviewee 2 points out, it should therefore no longer be possible that asylum seekers are for example hosted by “a random hotel who knows nothing but running a hotel,” but there should always be a trained association or co-operative in the field that can offer and guarantee professional guidance and activities through intercultural mediators. The interviewee emphasizes how this announcement is “an important instrument of transparency”, meaning that the regions are trying to hold on to a criterion that is no longer merely money-based, but also puts emphasis on the quality. “We still have not arrived to completely ensure this, but I am optimistic, because I see that the system is slowly moving towards a qualitative direction” he concludes.

4.2 Emerging recommendations

4.2.1 Enabling capacity building tools

Interviewee 1, does not underestimate the role diaspora communities, family networks and voluntary groups play in integration processes, but nevertheless, points out that they cannot and should not replace the responsibilities of the public institutions, which are limited to basic needs rather than social and professional integration:

“Today in Italy there still does not exist any procedures that provide an evaluation of the migrants' professional potentiality, knowledge and skills, and that addresses them following a competency framework.”

Interviewee 4, who works at a public institution, agrees that such kind of skills assessment should exist but does not: “We have not arrived to that point yet even though we should have” she claims. According to interviewee 1 there is a need for resources that can enable this kind of actions and instruments. Therefore, “the next chapter would be to figure out how to make this happen” he says and adds that “one solution would be to put aside a part of the resources provided by the European funds” for this purpose.

Some of these potential funds, provided by the European Commission, could be the European Social Fund (ESF), the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Asylum seekers and refugees, are explicitly mentioned in the ESF Regulation⁷ as one of the target groups that may receive support by the ESF with a view to facilitate their social inclusion and integration into the labour market. Third-country nationals can therefore fully benefit from support if they are able to participate in the labour market. In the case of asylum seekers, and in accordance with Article 15 of Directive 2013/33/EU, this would be once they acquire the status of refugee, or at the latest 9 months after they apply for it. Periods vary among Member States and shortening them falls under national competence. However, in accordance with Article 16, asylum seekers may also receive some support from the ESF before having access to the labour market. This applies to, amongst others measures, vocational training when allowed by the national legislation.

The ESF has an overall volume of €86.4 billion from the EU budget, complemented by national contributions. A minimum of 20% is allocated to social inclusion. Typically, specific support to these vulnerable groups would fall under the poverty and social inclusion objective, for which the current allocation is around €21 billion. However, support to asylum seekers and refugees may also be envisaged under the other objectives of the ESF Regulation.

Whereas the ESF is the most adequate financial instrument of support to

⁷ European Commission, “Support to asylum seekers under the European Social Fund and the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived”

continue the integration process of asylum seekers and refugees, with a view notably to facilitate their integration into the labour market, the newly established AMIF plays a major role in the first stages of the integration process. Furthermore, the ERDF complements the ESF in supporting the integration process of asylum seekers and refugees. It can finance measures in several fields, such as for example business start-ups. Coordination between ESF, ERDF and AMIF is crucial in order to reinforce synergies. This requires close collaboration between the relevant stakeholders.

4.2.2 Breaking the silence

Interviewee 2 emphasizes how the processes of integration are not spontaneous, nor natural, but ought to be helped along the way. In this context, he highlights how there especially is one symbolic aspect that is underestimated, namely the communicative one:

“How a phenomenon becomes represented is very important...for years we have tried to improve the communication in order to make it provide a more adequate picture. Nevertheless, the communication channels still depict the immigrant as a social or security issue. If we only succeed in having a communication that talks about immigration as a resource or challenge... Basically we don't tell the reality by asking the migrants about *their* point of view, even in our most open newspapers we hardly find an article written by so-called migrants. This is worrying since we are obviously failing to cover the migrants' opinions and perceptions as well. It is a crucial matter, which puts into question the way of building information and calls into action a more adequate and comprehensive picture.”

The same interviewee goes on adding:

“If you go and speak with the immigrants themselves, they tell you that they chose Italy or Europe because they were seeking for a land of freedom, with great culture, where they could express their potential - but why do have to let a migrant telling you this? When they tell me these things, they break the economic paradigm, because they clearly did not come here just to earn more in terms of money. Unfortunately however, these things are never said or heard and this is the reason why we are in a paradigm of social issues, because we do not have a correct representation. When I read things like 'the migrants

are young and robust' I feel bad, don't they have the right as well to get sick or grow old? Will we make them return as soon as they get older? We must be very careful to not accustom the public opinion to this kind of justification."

In other words, combatting fear, which in turn is based on ignorance, with justification is wrong. The migrants' right to be in Italy, or any other place they migrate to, should not be based on "as long as they contribute." While it is true that by working they contribute in economic and demographic terms, their right to be somewhere should not be based on this kind of justification. Thus, what is first and foremost required is a change of public mentality through accurate communication tools that are based on true knowledge and that avoid scapegoating migrants for every public issue or, on the contrary, justifying their stay by accustoming the public opinion to their benefits. This can only be achieved through a communication that leaves space for an open *dialogue* and acknowledges migrants as active communication agents who participate directly in the public debate that regards them. This leads to another emerging recommendation, namely the issue of political participation. As interviewee 2 points out:

"Today we have almost 4,000,000 adult migrants, whereas two million and a half work and by thus produce income, that is to say 10% of the GDP, but who do not have any political presence. This is one of the most silent issues, which nobody talks about since that would require all the municipalities, small and big ones, to change the focus on that segment of the population. Besides offering an extraordinary opportunity for those talents with migrant origin who do not yet have any citizenship and thereby no possibility whatsoever to affect their lives, giving the right to vote would require a change in the mentality of those who handle the communication."

A separate interview⁸ with Francois Crepeau⁹, clues this argument by underlining that the fact that the population does not know anything about migrants' issues, is mainly because migrants do not talk or participate in the public debate: "Migration policies have always been adopted without an input from migrants and the sad reality is, political parties know their popularity will not increase in elections if they treat migrants better" Crepeau claims and goes on adding that he cannot picture

⁸ Conducted by the advocacy campaign *Migrants Matter* on January 10, 2014: <http://migrants-matter.blogspot.it/2014/03/migrants-and-fantasy-of-threat-migrants.html>

⁹ United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Migrants

any sustainable improvement until migrants are able to access legal remedies that empowers them legally and enables them to have a voice that can be heard.

The deprivation of the migrant's right to have something to say, resembles Giorgio Agamben's concept of 'nuda vita', that is to say the 'bare life'. Agamben used the Latin term 'homo sacer' from Roman law to personify this condition of depoliticized body. The 'homo sacer' is someone who has been stripped of membership in society and thereby of his or her rights. His or her persona is thus reduced from a complete political being to a simple biological or natural body, stripped of all rights (Agamben, 1998). Agamben's philosophy was originally inspired by Hannah Arendt's enlightening essay *We Refugees* where Hannah addressed the abstract nakedness of being reduced to solely a member of *homo sapiens*. According to Arendt, such a person, who is without a political status and a legal personality, is expelled from the public sphere of equality since human rights are only protected through civil rights, which in turn can only be claimed by someone who is regarded as a national. For Arendt this was a paradoxical situation, which in other words meant that being excluded from a political community is to be excluded from the sphere to have rights, that is to say "the right to have rights" (Arendt, 1943).

5. The voices of the migrants: Narratives about frustrations and aspirations

According to Shahram Khosravi, narratives about lived experiences "help us to explore abstract concepts of policy and law and translate them into cultural terms grounded in everyday life." Furthermore, as he points out, "focusing on the individual also draws attention to the *implementation* of policy and law, which produces different insights from focusing narrowly on legislation and formal documents per se." Moreover, as he continues adding, "stories reveal the interaction between agency and structure in the migratory experiences. They offer a human portrait of [migrants]." Nevertheless, Khosravi is careful to underline that this does not mean that the storyteller possesses the only authentic approach, but that "the witness's narrative is only one of many, albeit one less heard" (Khosravi, 2010, pp. 5-6).

5.1 Narrator A's story: "All I wanted was a little bit of peace of mind"

Narrator A used to work in the business sector, but left Burkina Faso due to despair after the loss of his mother. He arrived to Italy alone with a visa 16 years ago during 2000, when he was 27 years old. After the visa expired, he remained in Italy as a so-called 'clandestine' for nearly 7 years since his attempt to transfer in into a regular work permit did not go as smooth as he had expected.

Initially A wanted to go to Germany, but his cousin, who was already in Italy, convinced him to come to him in Naples. Unfortunately however, once in Naples, he got fooled and received a false work permit from his future employer in Pavia:

"I discovered that it was false when I later went to work at a panel company in Pavia. One day there was a security control, and when they checked my documents they told me that they were illegal and wanted to send me back to Burkina Faso."

Somehow however, A ended up in Foggia where he once again was fooled by being promised to receive a work permit from an employer in the agricultural business if he worked for him the equivalent of 1.600 euros. With no other choice, he decided to accept this offer and started to work for 20 euros a day from 7 am in the morning until 2 am the next morning. In other words, in order to be able to pay off his so-called 'debt', he had to work for free, 19 hours a day, for 80 days under inhuman circumstances where sometimes even the most basic necessities were not allowed:

"I remember one day when one of us, a Romanian girl, was going to fetch some water for everyone. However, she was not allowed, but was ordered to immediately go back to work and not waste any time."

With no legal documents, nor enough money to be able to rent a house, A had to live in his boss's abandoned house, which he shared with 17 other people. Thus, even here the circumstances were inhuman. Furthermore, according to A, the house was full of rats and snakes and had no electricity or warm water whatsoever, making it uninhabitable.

In 2002, after almost 2 years and just as it seemed like things couldn't get any worse, A was suddenly accused for being a drug dealer based upon groundless reasons:

"The prefect of Foggia sent a letter to my boss accusing me for selling drugs under the Penal Code 380-381."

Due to this, the boss refused to pay him his accumulated salary of around 3,000 euros, and since he did not have any documents he could not turn to the police. However, A was lucky, just as he was losing all of his hope, an angel appeared in his life under the guise of a social assistant:

“If it wasn’t for her, I wouldn’t have been here, she helped me during my hardest times, such as when I needed a lawyer or when I was sick and could not turn to any doctor because I was ‘illegal’.”

Thus, through this social assistant, A was fortunately appointed a lawyer who could defend his case. The legal process was a very difficult and long one, during which A’s son also was born, leading to its own complications. Nevertheless, after 7 years as a ‘clandestine’, and 5 years of a never-ending process where he had to defend his innocence, he finally received his documents and became ‘legalized’.

After this episode, A opened a new chapter in his life. He moved to one of his relatives in Forlì and found work in a fixture company where he still works today:

“I feel good there, I receive my paychecks every month and I can finally pay my rent and sleep in peace. I like this job because it is not physically hard. All I wanted was a little bit of peace of mind. The work has an important part in this.”

A tells me how happy he is that he resisted all the hardship and did not give up the idea of a safer and better life:

“When I think back to those times when I suffered and worked endlessly without being paid, I thank god for not having given up, for not having run to another place to hide. I have friends who weren’t as lucky and had to choose that kind of path, and they for sure cannot sleep at night with a peace of mind.”

When asking A if he now that he is ‘legal’ is considering in moving to another place or if he is happy with the little bit of peace of mind that he has finally managed to receive here, he replies:

“For now I’m fine here in Italy, but I might move when I receive my citizenship in the future, or when at least my son has received it. It all depends on him, I live for him now.”

He continues:

“I have told him the story of my life, which I never want him to experience.

I will do anything I can to help him out. I want to give him what my parents weren't able to offer me because they simply couldn't: At home in Burkina Faso I never had the chance to go to school, there wasn't any school, and if there was, the opportunity to go there was only offered to a couple of families.”

A's response to my question echoes what has already been mentioned, about the fact that many people who migrate tend to set aside their aspirations and reserve them for their children by sacrificing their own being. By asking for nothing more than a little bit of peace of mind, A signals that he has come to terms with his deprivation of the capacity to aspire for more than that.

A moreover affirms how esteem is sometimes at stake through the interplay between migration and parenthood:

“My son sometimes asks me: ‘What is written here dad?’ To which I sadly respond ‘Daddy does not know’ I am ashamed because of this. Luckily his mother, who is from Bulgaria, is much better than me in Italian.”

Nevertheless, A is trying to overcome this language barrier through CPIA, the adult education centre through which we meet:

“I enrolled here as soon as I arrived to Forli. It's a good school that helps many people like me to get a sort of ‘second chance’.”

Thus, despite his deprivation, A feels like the centre is giving him the possibility to aspire once again, even though he never actually had the chance to do it before:

“It makes me believe that I am still capable of doing many things, even if physically I am no longer able to do all the previous hard work in the south which left me with a broken back and numbness in several of my fingers.”

A shows me his hardworking hands which could tell me the story on their own. A looks sad and disappointed when he tells me that there seems to be a certain expectation that people with darker skin are supposed to work harder than their white coworkers:

“At my current work, they assume that I have to work harder and more because of my skin colour.”

Unfortunately however this is not the only place where A has encountered prejudice and discrimination. He goes on telling me how he encounters it on a daily basis in other public places as well:

“If I go to a restaurant with my family, the people at the restaurant stare at me in a weird way as if I do not belong there. People here don’t seem to be as used to see coloured people sitting next to them and eat as to let’s say Germany for example. I know this because my cousin who is married with a German is not treated this way. The mentality is different there.”

A tells me how he moreover has encountered a more physical kind of discrimination:

“I’ve had cars passing me by with their drivers spitting towards me and I’ve had friends who have had eggs thrown at them, and what’s funny is that these things do not even happen where I come from, that is to say the ‘third world’.”

A gives me a perplexed smile and tells me how he did not expect Italy to be this way and how he sometimes misses Burkina Faso:

“I have not gone there for 3 years. I think about this a lot. But I have to be here in order to send money to those that are still there. My sister is sick.”

He continues by adding that what is even more disturbing, besides the ‘black’ and ‘white’ division, is that there paradoxically does not seem to exist any diversity among the ‘blacks’:

“People are not able to distinguish between a black man and another, they consider us as all the same no matter what, even though Africa is a great continent, not a country.”

The argument suddenly changes into Europe, about how Europe is just as big and different, not to mention in its response to migration management, and about how migration has created a certain threat to Europe as a whole:

“Migrants are treated differently depending on where they end up. In some places they are treated well, even get paid rather than pay as I did. However, the circumstances are even worse now than they used to be everywhere. Before, the overall mentality used to be ‘when there is place for one, there is place for two, and when there is place for two, there is also place for three’, whereas now we are suddenly considered ‘too many’. This is the reason why they give us so little now. In Italy they claim: ‘How can we take in more when there is not even enough of work for *us*?’ Before there were place for everyone, now only for the Italians.”

5.2 Narrator B's story: "I left, to seek for a place where I was free to express myself"

Narrator B is 24 years old and arrived in Italy 7 years ago, at the age of 17, when he had just finished the first year of his degree in Economics and Commerce. Although he made the journey alone, he was not completely alone on his arrival since he had his father¹⁰ already here in Italy waiting for him. Nevertheless, 3 years after B's arrival, his father got fired and had to abandon B once again, this time alone in Italy rather than in Egypt with the rest of the family, for another work in France.

B did not know that his undergone studies in Egypt would not become recognized in Italy. Once arrived however, he realized that transferring and completing his degree in Italy was not possible, since the two systems are too different, and that the only way to get his undergone studies recognized here were for him to go back and finish the remaining part of his degree there and then come back to get it validated.

However, for B this was never really an option since, if he went back he would be obligated to undergo military service for at least 2 years, before he could get back to his studies, thereby creating further "waste of time and energy".

B tells me how he thinks that the laws sometimes complicate things further rather than trying to solve them, and how he therefore, left with no other choice, let go of his undertaken studies and started from the beginning by enrolling himself into another degree¹¹ at the University of Bologna in Italy. Nevertheless, due to his poor Italian language skills, unsure future and the high tuition fees, which he considered as a "heavy burden" on his father, B eventually decided to drop out. Instead, he enrolled himself into CPIA, through which he started to study Italian, computer science and solar energy technology, and which was followed by an internship:

"This step of my life marks an important moment. I was introduced to the world of work through the internship. It enabled me to have my very first work experience and make myself an idea of the working world."

As soon as B finished his studies and internship he started to look for work "because it is the most important thing" and finally found work in the solar panel

¹⁰ B's father arrived in Italy in the 60's for work and had remained there ever since. He only went to Egypt 2 months a year. Although it was difficult for B growing up like this, he feels like his mother has made up for the father's absence in his life.

¹¹ Engineering.

industry. Unfortunately however, the economic crisis hit this sector as well, which in turn had to cut down on its workers, one of them being B due to the ‘last in first out’ policy. Luckily though, after 4 months spent at home, B found work as an administrator in a social cooperative where he instead of solar panels, has gotten the chance to work closely with elderly people and refugees:

“I really enjoy the human aspect of this kind of work, which touches issues that are very timely indeed. Moreover, it has given me the opportunity to learn things that I didn’t know before. The encounter with so many different people has made me reflect upon the fact that there are other people out there like me, but with their own tragic stories.”

He goes on adding how many people take for granted that all stories are the same and that most people who migrate are so-called ‘economic migrants’, but how that definitely was not his reason for leaving his country:

“It was rather the fundamentalist system, which did not allow anyone to be or think differently. I just couldn’t live in that kind of system. I felt unhappy and unsatisfied. This is why I left, to seek for a place where I was free to express myself.”

Nevertheless, B acknowledges how hard it was at first when he arrived to Italy. How he nonetheless the obtained freedom felt frustrated, not so much in terms of bureaucracy¹² but rather when it came to the language barrier, which in turn affected his sense of autonomy:

“Since English is not that widespread in Italy yet, I always had to call somebody to come and help me to translate whenever I had to go somewhere.”

Notwithstanding this obstacle, B did not let himself become discouraged:

“Eventually things might change, but in the beginning it’s really hard to keep up the hope and motivation. I remember that I used to cry out of frustration because I thought to myself that this was not the kind of life that I had imagined. After a while however, when I realized that language was the key, and that by thus it was the language that I had to overcome in order to regain my autonomy, I became motivated and started to study hard and practice every moment I could find, even though I was very shy.”

¹² Having his father already there, B did not encounter any big trouble with his permit to stay in Italy.

Shortly thereafter, the results started to speak, literally, for themselves, and B started to gain back his lost self-esteem. B is quick in adding however how he thinks that his young age had to something with his quick language acquisition and adaption to his new life in general.

B continues telling me how he, even though he could not continue with his previous studies, feels satisfied with his current situation because in the end he still studied something that he was interested about. Moreover, he tells me how he feels that he can apply the skills that he acquired through his studies to his current position in different and indirect ways, and how he therefore regards his studies as a tool that, just like the language, enable him to develop his capacity further to reach other aspirations which he was not even aware of having. B stresses how since work means *stability*, employment is the first and foremost thing for a migrant, and how his aspiration therefore had not been anything more than obtaining “just that”, and to maybe be able to create his own family in the future.

Speaking about family, B tells me how he hopes that his brother one day will be able to come as well, but how he unfortunately does not dare to hope the same for his mother and sister. He is nevertheless glad that they at least can come and visit him occasionally. One can tell that B is caught between a nostalgia for home, which represents the past, and a loathing for the future:

“I haven’t been in Egypt since I arrived here due to the mandatory military service that is awaiting me there as soon as I go back. Sometimes I miss it though, not to mention for the sake of my family who is still there, but then, when I am following the news, I remember why I left it. Although though my life is still quite ambiguous here, I know that life would be much more difficult there, I try to be realistic. Thus, ultimately, I feel that I made the right choice to leave, even if I sometimes have to remind myself.”

B tells me how the circumstances in Egypt has gotten worse ever since he left it and how his friends back home are desperate to leave Egypt as well now. B can relate to their desperation. His first-hand experience of longing for a better life has made him sympathize with other migrants and refugees who feel like they are forced to leave their country in order to survive, literally and metaphorically speaking. His view and solution of the so-called refugee crisis is therefore more *human*:

“I look at the current ‘crisis’ from a human perspective. The people who have come here are not dangerous, but they have rather escaped from it [danger].

They ran away from a life that could simply no longer be called a life. Refugees, asylum seekers, migrants – whatever they are called – have and are living through bad *human caused* experiences. One has to depart from this fact and point of view and understand that we are *all* called into action in order to find ways that put a stop to these experiences. Integration is the key, but one has to remember that it is a *two-way* process, which regards not only the migrants but *also* the Italians. Therefore, one has to also try to change the mentality of the Italians. Because if not, the migrant will feel excluded from the community, and to me that would be the *real crisis*. Unfortunately however, I never hear the media talk about integration as much as they do about ‘crisis’ and ‘emergency’. I never hear about what is being done for the migrants, besides giving them some money and a place to sleep or some food to eat. Don’t get me wrong, I am not saying that these actions are not appreciated; all I’m saying is that they are not enough. One cannot leave the newly arrived in that state forever, after a couple of months they too want and must live, make a living and feel alive.”

B continues:

“My advice is therefore to create some more concrete projects for these people, who and if they are ready to integrate, that enable them to have the tools that are required to create a meaningful life in their own hands. For example, in my case, it is my work that has offered me a sense of meaningfulness in life. But how can one who does not speak the language or do not know anything about the system of his or her new country find work?”

Furthermore, B points out how these tools could contribute to a change of mentality among the citizens:

“Italy has welcomed many so-called low-skilled people, while the rest of Europe has rather welcomed high-skilled people. This has created a sort of ‘problem’ because the Italians now think that all the immigrants are the same, that is to say low-skilled people. Knowing the host language, besides the making you autonomous part, serves to communicate and ruin this paradigm, because often I find that it is only enough for people to speak to each other in order to change their minds.”

B tells me how he ever since he can master the language, feels the urge to communicate in order to combat prejudice and misinformation:

“I always feel that I have to prove that I am not like the stereotype. But at the end, if you are only 1 out of 10, you cannot ruin the society’s paradigm of a migrant, because people unfortunately tend to generalize, not to mention the media who has a key role in this. Nevertheless, I do it anyway. Whenever I hear something that is purely based on prejudice regarding migrants, I speak up and tell him or her to do some more research about it. It is easy to find information in the world of today through all the technology that exists. Unfortunately however this is also the case when it comes to the accessibility of misleading information.”

5.3 Narrator C’s story: “I came for love”

Narrator C is 27 years old and arrived one year ago from Cuba. He has not returned ever since, but will return soon for a visit. His story differs to the other stories in the sense that he did not migrate out of misery, or in the hope for a better life, but rather for love.

C misses Cuba since he feels alone here. Another factor that fuels his nostalgia for Cuba is the loss of his autonomy. Speaking Spanish and having attended an Italian course before his arrival, enables him to manage the Italian language more or less on his own. Nevertheless, he feels dependent on his Italian wife in terms of money, since he still have not been able to find any stable job: “I still have not been able to say ‘I work here’, I still worry everyday.”

C is registered at a job agency that calls him occasionally on a short notice whenever the company that he works for through them is in need of people that can offer so-called low-skilled work, such as moving or uploading their goods. C tells me how he does not feel that he have been able to "climb" yet, or move forward or grow as a person: “I am still who I was, I still haven't been able to develop my skills.”

In Cuba C studied at the University for 3 months until he abandoned it for work at a pharmaceutical company. This is something that C nowadays regrets:

“When you do not hold a degree and your previous high school studies are not recognized, it is difficult to plan ahead and set high aspirations. Instead, you have to live at the moment and content yourself with any kind of job you get offered.”

Nevertheless, C could consider doing a course to enhance his skills or restudy to at least regain his high school diploma, but the problem is for him, as for many others, the time and money:

“There is no time to study while working, and there is no possibility to do it without working either since I would need an income in order to be able to live autonomously while attending them and not become depending on my wife’s money. My only option is therefore to first put aside some money and then do a course. At the same time, not having a stable job makes it difficult to save.”

C tells me how his dream would be to work in the field of mechanic and repair technologies one day, but how that is something that requires prior experience and studies and how he by thus, due to the ‘catch-22’ issues mentioned above, have difficulty to fulfil. He tells me that he once tried to resolve his dilemma through a paid internship, set by the Italian ‘Youth Guarantee’¹³ application, but how that unfortunately was a failure since the grant of around 400 Euros a month was insufficient.

C tells me how he thinks that another factor, besides the lack of prior experience and a recognized diploma that affects his stable job-hunting, is the fact that he is a foreigner: “I think that many turn me down due to this very fact. I always have to prove that I am trustworthy person nonetheless.”

Having to prove that he is “trustworthy” and “different”, compared to other migrants is something C struggles with everyday. Being married to an Italian, he did not encounter any bureaucracy when applying for his residence permit. He did however encounter some discrimination during the application:

“At the first glance they didn’t even listen to me, they took for granted that I was ‘just another immigrant’ who had come here out of misery or to take over their jobs. The option that I was here for love seemed to not exist for them.”

C has also encountered this kind of treatment during medical visits. Moreover, he claims that people always take it for granted that he is from Africa because of his dark skin: “I always have to confirm that I am from Cuba.” Nevertheless, despite all the prejudice and mistrust that C has to deal with in his daily life, he does not let himself become discouraged: “I try to remember that there is always one who is worse off than me. For example, I have a friend, who also comes from Cuba and who

¹³ Garanzia Giovani.

not only cannot find a job, but also has a pregnant wife he has to provide for and take care for.”

However, this does not mean that C accepts this kind of treatment or behaviour, but he strongly believes that they ought to be overcome. He indicates the “us” and “them” mentality as the root problem, which tends to include and exclude people by categorizing them:

“I still do not feel as I am part of a community. There still an ‘us’ and ‘them’ where I take part of the ‘them’ category. It feels like even if I obtain an Italian citizenship one day, I will never be able to become part of the “us” category. Maybe for a part of the population you can become part of the ‘us’ through justification, that is to say when they see that you are working and paying your taxes, but for the other main part you will always be considered as one of “those” who took over “our” jobs. Even though in the end, ironically, we mainly do those jobs that the Italians neglect.”

C tells me how he thinks that the solution to this kind of mentality is *empathy*; to remember that we all in this world together and how we therefore always must put ourselves in the other’s shoes instead of creating distance and borders. He takes the current refugee ‘crisis’ as an example:

“My story differs from their stories. I was lucky. I arrived in another, less complicated way. However, this does not stop me to put myself in their clothes. They fled from a war, I did not; I came for love. But, if there would have been a war in my country, I also would have fled to a safer place, any person would do that. We are all human beings at the end. We have to remember that and not think about only ourselves and our own welfare and well-being.”

5.4 Narrator D’s story: “I had to leave”

Narrator D is 23 years old and comes from Bangladesh where he used live a good life until his father got sick in cancer and the circumstances around him suddenly turned complicated. He arrived in Italy during 2010 through his uncle’s help and have only returned once since then. His mum and his three siblings are still there.

Although D was not forced into emigration, he felt that he “had to”:

“I could have remained, but since I was the eldest of my siblings, I felt that I had a sort of responsibility to do something, and that I could do it better abroad.”

He tells me how his dad was against his decision to leave:

“He wanted me to stay and continue with my studies since I did quite well at school. Nevertheless, I left and he died, two years after my arrival.”

He goes on telling me that what saddens him the most is the fact that he could not attend his funeral since he during that time was still in the bureaucratic process of obtaining his residence permit:

“I had not imagined that the process would have been *that* time-consuming and complicated. In the end however, it was my minor age of 17 years that saved me and allowed me to stay. Had I been just one year older, things would have been much more complicated.”

The first two years of D’s new life were very difficult. Being a minor he had to live in a foster home, which he did not enjoy so much due the big age difference that occurred between him and the other children who were much younger. He felt alone. Moreover, he thinks that the foster home workers were too strict:

“I could not go out after school, not even for a walk, even though I always behaved well. Neither could I call my family back home any time that I missed them, but I had to respect specific times during the day were calls were allowed. There were too many rules. I felt like a prisoner”

While D was one of the oldest at the foster home, he was one of the youngest at CPIA where he had to restudy to obtain his lower secondary school (middle school) certificate. Once finished he went on with a professional training course at the technical institute with the aim to become a mechanical fitter:

“I felt like I had too many thoughts in my head to go on with the ordinary lyceum, and therefore chose a less theoretical path. Because nevertheless I had a great desire to learn, I felt motivated and paid indeed a lot of attention in class and during the internship that was integrated within the course. I think that this is the reason why I got to remain afterwards as an employee.”

D tells me how happy he is with the job that he got through the internship:

“I feel like it enables me to use the skills and abilities that lies in my brain and that makes me feel good about myself.”

He tells me how this feeling has gotten him to change his mind about Italy:

“At the beginning I did not like Italy, I felt like I had made a mistake by coming here, but now, the more that I go ahead, the more I feel grateful for the opportunity and possibilities that it has offered me through CPIA.”

The possibilities makes D feel like he has a choice to follow his growing aspiration:

“In the future I might go on with a professional chef course if I manage to find one that offers evening classes for those who work during the day like me.”

CONCLUSION

6. Conclusion

The aim of this research has been to explore *how* the migrants' attempt to create a meaningful life is met and *what* their genuine capacities to aspire are by investigating the interrelated challenges that lie ahead of this attempt and some of the best practices that contribute to it. The argument has been that migrants are *human beings* with aspirations like anyone else who if enabled their capacity to aspire will, besides *automatically* contributing to their host country or country of origin, also be able to contribute to their own wellbeing by creating a personal sense of meaningfulness that goes beyond those economic benefits.

In other words, the paper has argued against the belief that migrants want to be parasites and to not make themselves useful by pointing out that they in reality have the ambition to *do, make* and *be*, and therefore, as further stressed by narrator B, the *need* "to live, make a living and feel alive" (p. 31). Furthermore it has highlighted how migrants rather than being passive seek *recognition*, meaning a right to have a say and to vote and a wish to make their many voices and perspectives heard and seen, not to mention about matters that regard them.

Thus, the essential actions that emerge from this study are first of all to break the occurring silence and, secondly, the need to enable so-called capacity building tools. As far as it goes with the latter one, CPIA is a great example of that kind of tool. By offering its students free education, which is the main force capable of increasing the creative capacity of a human, it enables their possibility and opportunity to aspire and as a result to gain autonomy and confidence. For example, A feels like it makes him believe that it is not too late and that he is still capable of doing many things (p. 26) while B regards his studies as a tool that just like the language, enable him to develop his capacity further to reach other aspirations which he was not even aware of having (p. 30). In addition, D points out how it has made him find a job where he feels like he actually can make use his skills and abilities and how that makes him feel good about himself. Moreover, he claims how it makes him feel like he has a choice to follow other aspirations (p. 35). CPIA has thereby functioned as a kind of 'conversion factor' which has not only provided 'commodities' but also converted them into capabilities to reach valuable 'functionings' and choices.

What the narrators' stories further revealed and confirmed was *diversity*. Their knowledge and experiences were all diverse, meaning that, as a consequence, their outlooks and adaptations to reach their aspirations also differed. This was also the case when it came to their reason for migration and aspirations per se. While all of them aspired stability through employment to begin with, their values (goals and preferences) were different, as also highlighted below. This fact clearly implies why it is important to consider human diversity also in diversity, and therefore why a sort of assessment that also identifies the individual needs besides the basic ones, is necessary.

The risk that the host country runs if it overlooks these kinds of measures and considerations are phenomena such as 'brain waste' and 'clientification' and thereby also the loss of self-esteem. As also demonstrated by C, feeling useless or doing things that one considers meaningless, decreases motivation and self-esteem. To quote Sen once again, "deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation [eventually] and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change...", which describes the case of A (p. 10). Although he feels like he has finally gotten the chance to aspire through CPIA, he has come to terms with his deprivation of opportunities and possibilities since early life and thus mainly set aside his aspirations for his son.

Nevertheless, none of these measures would matter if one did not also work on the other emerging issues. The need to break the silence through political and legal empowerment could not be more necessary than now. Otherwise the prevailing system and bureaucracy will consequently continue to produce more ignorance and more illegality. For example, the prejudice and mistrust that C have to combat against on a daily basis would not be necessary and the circumstances that A had to live in as a 'clandestine' for almost 7 years would not have happened if the overall system would have been diverse, that is to say more open-minded and more including. This is why it of utmost importance to continue to promote *awareness*, and not just justification, in order to break the ignorance and get out of the economic paradigm. Because, even though the paper's intention was not to distinguish between the different terminologies that has been given to categorize different kinds of migration, but rather wanted to emphasize the human in *any* kind of migrant, it should be noted that the major part of the migrants in this study did not leave their countries in order to earn more in terms of money. While A came for peace, B came for freedom and C

came for love, hence the relevance to consider diversity.

Thus, as previously mentioned through Parekh, people need to get the chance to “interrogate each other” so that different ideas and values that do not necessarily go down well in the new society can be put to test through dialogue, negotiation and understanding, hence the value of language (p. 14). Because, as also emphasized by B, integration is a *two-way* process, which regards not only the migrants but *also* the rest of the population. As already pointed out by Parekh and Eriksen, it calls for mutual accommodation in an inclusive society that also fosters a multicultural one with “a strong sense of unity (in the sense of a strong sense of mutual commitment and belonging) without requiring a shared comprehensive national culture” and without dividing “the population into mutually exclusive groups” (p. 16).

The paper insists that policy makers and other professionals working with integration issues, both inside and outside of Emilia-Romagna and Italy, take these points into account in order to not repeat previously made mistakes, which mainly has led to social exclusion of an already vulnerable group of people. As mentioned at the beginning, the current ‘refugee crisis’ might still be in a so-called emergency phase, where priority is mainly given to reception rather than integration. Nevertheless, in development terms, after emergency comes recovery and reconstruction. This is why it is important to react now in order to be able to avoid the real crisis that is already lurking around the corner, namely social exclusion.

7. References

7.1 Literature

- Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Appadurai, A. (2004) *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*. In Vijayendra, R., Walton, M. (eds.). *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Arendt, H. (1943) *We Refugees*, In *Menorah Journal*. Vol. 31. New York: Intercollegiate Menorah Association.
- Brubaker, R. (2004) *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Byrne-Armstrong, H. (2001). *Whose show is it? The contradictions of collaboration*. In Byrne Armstrong, H., Higgs, J., Horsfall, D. (eds.). *Critical Moments in Qualitative Research*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Carrino, L. (2015) *Migrazioni, retorica e buone pratiche*. In Abrahamsson, S. (ed) *Educazione Interculturale, Conflitti, Dialoghi e Progetti nella Globalizzazione*. Trento: Edizioni Centro Studi Erickson.
- Castles, S. (2012) *Understanding the Relationship between Methodology and Methods*. In Vargas-Silva, C. (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Delgado-Wise, R. and Márquez Covarrubias, H. (2012) *Contemporary Migration seen from the perspective of Political Economy: Theoretical and Methodological Elements*. In Vargas-Silva, C. (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Eriksen, T. H. (1997) *Mechanisms of exclusion and controversies on integration. Notes on the Scandinavian minority situations*. Paper presented at the 10th European Meeting of Cultural Journals, Copenhagen, October, 1996. [online] Available from: <http://hyllanderiksen.net/Exclusion.html>
- Eriksen, T. H. (2007) *Complexity in Social and Cultural Integration: Some Analytical Dimensions*. In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 6. London: Routledge.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2015) *The Meaning of 'We'*. In Kivisto, P., Kraus, P. A. (eds.) *The Challenge of Minority Integration: Politics and Policies in the Nordic Nations*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Farahani, F. (2010) *On Being an Insider and/or Outsider – a Diasporic Researcher's Catch-22*. In Naidoo, L. (ed.) *Education without Borders, Diversity in a Cosmopolitan Society*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Hansen, P. (2016) Anyone for Refugee Keynesianism? EU Migration Crises in Times of Fiscal Austerity. Paper presented at the 23rd International Conference of Europeanists: *Resilient Europe?* Philadelphia, April, 2016.

Kamali, M. (1997) Distorted Integration. Clientization of Immigrants in Sweden. In Uppsala Multiethnic Papers, Vol. 41. Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University.

Khosravi, S. (2010) 'Illegal' Traveller: An Auto-Ethnography of borders. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Nader, L. (1972) Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up. In Hymes, D. (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Nussbaum, M. (1988) Nature, Functioning and Capability: Aristotle on Political Distribution. In *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*, Suppl. Vol. 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (1992) Human Functioning and Social Justice. In Defense of Aristotelian Essentialism. In *Political Theory*, Vol. 20, No. 2. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Nussbaum, M., Sen, A. (1993) Capability and Well-being. In Nussbaum, M., Sen, A. (eds.) *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Parekh, B. (1998) A Commitment to Pluralism. [online] Available at: <http://kvc.minbuza.nl/uk/archive/commentary/parekh.html>

Parekh, B. (2000) Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory. London: Macmillan.

Sen, A. (1980) Equality of What? In McMurrin, S. (ed.), *Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sen, A. (1992) *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf.

Sen, A. (2008) The Economics of Happiness and Capability. In Bruni, L., Comim, F., Pugno, M. (eds.) *Capabilities and Happiness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

7.2 Reports and documents

Emilia-Romagna Region (2014) 2014-2016 Three-year programme for social integration of foreign citizens: Towards an Intercultural Community. [online] Available at: <http://sociale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/immigrati-e-stranieri/temi/norme/towards-an-intercultural>

EU (European Commission) (2015) Support to asylum seekers under the European Social Fund and the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived. [online] Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/BlobServlet?docId=14499&langId=en>

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2014) Global Trends Report 2014: World at War. [online] Available at: <http://unhcr.org/556725e69.html>

7.3 Interviews

7.3.1 Stakeholders

Interviewee 1: Regional secretary for the national trade union CGIL Emilia-Romagna, Bologna. Date and place of interview: 2015-10-13, Bologna.

Interviewee 2: Responsible for immigration matters at the unit for reception and social integration policies, Emilia-Romagna Region, Bologna. Date and place of interview: 2015-10-28, Bologna.

Interviewee 3: Responsible for the social sector at the co-operative society Lai-momo, Sasso Marconi. Date and place of interview: 2015-11-05, Sasso Marconi.

Interviewee 4: Officer at the unit for professional training, Emilia-Romagna Region, Bologna. Date and place of interview: 2015-11-12, Bologna.

Interviewee 5: Councillor/Responsible for security and immigration matters at the Municipality of Ravenna, Ravenna. Date and place of interview: 2015-11-25, Ravenna.

7.3.2 Migrants

Narrator A: 43 years old male who emigrated from Burkina Faso to Italy 16 years ago. Date and place of interview: 2016-03-22, Forli.

Narrator B: 24 years old male who emigrated from Egypt to Italy 7 years ago. Date and place of interview: 2016-03-22, Forli.

Narrator C: 27 years old male who emigrated from Cuba to Italy 1 year ago. Date and place of interview: 2016-03-23, Forli.

Narrator D: 23 years old male who emigrated from Bangladesh to Italy 6 years ago. Date and place of interview: 2016-04-13, Forli.