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Human Rights don't apply here?

The emerging of informal refugee camps in Europe:

A case study research in Northern Italy

Author: Sebastian Benedikt

Supervisor:

Dr. Trinidad Lourdes Vicente Torrado

Dr. Encarnación La Spina

Abstract

Despite the closure of the Balkan route and the decrease of arrivals, the routes of refugees to Europe are still open with hundreds arriving every month. While boat crossings attract attention, silence prevails of what happens after the arrival. The enclosure of Europe and the reluctance of states to receive refugees and to grant fleeing people a legal status leave refugees stranded at European borders. The states of arrival are overstrained with the migratory influx and informal settlements emerge, offering shelter for thousands. The aim of this study was to understand the genesis of informal refugee camps and to link these to the multiple crises that branched out of the so-called refugee crisis. The emerging of informality was investigated through a qualitative research design, conducting ethnographic interviews with refugees in Brennero, Bolzano, Trento and Ventimiglia. The reasons for the arising of informal encampments are closely linked to the grounds why refugees strand in Italy. The congested reception system cannot cope with the high demand and forces refugees into informality, refugees 'drop-out' and 'step-out' of the reception system due to the lack of places and the deplorable living conditions. Refugees in informality face poor living conditions, being exposed to violence, criminality, repression and natural hazards. They show a high degree of mobility and vulnerability, suffering increasing marginalization. The institutional answer consists in systematic human rights violations, like the eviction of makeshift camps and forced transfers of refugees, resulting in a vicious circle of informality, homelessness and segregation. Italy appears to be the load-carrier, as the country is obliged to deal with the influx of migrants from North and South, taking over the responsibility of the entire EU, which is opting for necropolitics rather than burden-sharing.

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MEDU Medici per i Diritti Umani
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The picture on the cover page was taken by the author in the informal camp of Idomeni, Greece in 2016.

This work is dedicated to Ilse Benedikt

Preliminary note

Basic statistics hide the diversity of migrants and reasons for migrating. The discourse [...] focusing on “good” asylum seekers and “bad” migrants is misleading, because refugees and asylum seekers are both migrants. This discourse presents the risk of treating differently Sub-Saharaners from Near and Middle East newcomers, hinting at an ethnic classification between Africans who would lie and Arabs who give truth (Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 3)

Even if defined otherwise in international law, the term refugee in this work is referred to human beings who leave their countries of origin in search for refuge. As the individualistic approach of the refugee definition and determination according to the 1951 Convention and UNHCR already earmark, the decision about the status and the usage of the term refugee for a person is difficult and almost impossible to confer in a general way. The author of this thesis believes that every person seeking refuge outside of the territory of his/her state is to be seen as a refugee first of all and until the contrary is proven.

As migrants, asylum seekers, holders and seekers of international protection or subsidiary protection and refugees of different backgrounds inhabit informal settlements together, the terms refugee and migrant shall largely be used synonymously and as umbrella terms in this work.

Abbreviations

AHGO	Ad hoc Grassroots Organization
AIDA	Asylum Information Database
ASGI	Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull' Immigrazione
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CFDA	Coordination Française pour le droit de l'asile
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
EURODAC	European Dactyloscopy, European Fingerprint Database
FRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
FRONTEX	European Border and Coastguard Agency
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration

MEDU	Doctors for Human Rights (Medici per I Diritti Umani)
MSF	Doctors without Borders (Médecins sans Frontières)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	General Assembly of the United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIS	United Nations Information Service
SFH/OSAR	Swiss Refugee Council
SR	Special Rapporteur
TCN	Third Country National
TS	Transitional settlement

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INTRODUCTION

The epochal migration movement of 2015 constituted the so-called refugee crisis and was answered with security-oriented and anti-immigration policies by the EU. These led to the breakdown of the European border regime and the violation of legal provisions at national and international level. The controversial results are thousands of dead people in the Mediterranean, the strengthening of human trafficking and other criminal activities and the constitution of informal camps all around Europe (Kasperek & Schmidt-Sembdner, 2017, p. 175; Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 1).

Since the Balkan route was closed in 2016, thousands of refugees stranded on the rims of and inside Europe and informal sites such as Idomeni in Greece grew steadily (Yardley, 2016). However, these camps were closed down, their dwellers were transferred, and the Aegean passage was put under severe control (Marin, 2016, pp. 29, 34). The route from Libya to Italy became the main axis for refugees to Europe again (Pfaff, 2016, p. 6). The 58,000 arrivals (by July 2018) indicate that despite signing bilateral agreements, the flux of people reaching Europe in the search for safety is not petering out. Even though havens are being closed and rescue ships hindered to sail, there are still thousands of migrants reaching the Italian, Greek and Spanish shores. Compared to the previous years, the total numbers of arriving migrants are diminishing; the numbers of refugees that die or are missing after their departure are growing though. June 2018 has been the “deadliest June” in four years with 564 deaths only between North Africa and Sicily (Bachstein, 2018, p. 6). The public debate is lately focused on the situation in the Mediterranean, media covers search and rescue NGOs and the deadly accidents, but only few information is available of what happens *after the landing* (Pinelli, 2015, p. 12).

Considering the decreasing, but still high numbers of refugees that enter the EU on one hand, and the increasing number of states who deny to receive immigrants and who return them under Dublin to the states of arrival on the other, it must be questioned where these “unwanted” migrants go then. Here, Italy is of particular interest, bordering sea-wise with Libya and land-wise with Slovenia, Austria, Switzerland and France. In 2017 more than 119,000 migrants entered the state sea-wise and Italy is not capable of absorbing these high numbers. As the Italian reception system is suffering continuing demand and congestion, alternative informal housing solutions arise (MSF, 2016, pp. 3–4, 11–13; Paynter, 2018, p. 43;

SFH/OSAR, 2016, pp. 73–74). In 2017 at least 10,000 migrants were living in informality in Italy, outside the official reception system (MSF, 2018b, p. 1).

Informal camps as a consequence of migration are not a new phenomenon. Lebanon is a prominent example and informal housing, its implications and effects have been studied intensively during decades and refugees in Lebanon were declared an ‘over-researched’ population (Sanyal, 2017, p. 117; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2013, p. 494). Illegal encampments are not new in Europe either, but rather ‘under-researched’. Especially the informal encampments that are emerging as a consequence of the recent migration influx have barely been studied. Italy has a history with informal encampments, as the migrant worker camps in the south prove (Borri & Fontanari, 2015; Corrado, 2011, 2017; Piro & Sanò, 2017a). Research mainly focused on the informal camps in the South or the precarious situation in Rome (Corrado, 2011; Locatelli, Filippis, Barbieri, Mangano, & MEDU, 2018; Piro & Sanò, 2017b). MSF published two reports on the new role of informal settlements and the proliferation of the phenomenon in the entire country, based on research conducted in different irregular settlements (MSF, 2016, 2018b).

Besides MSF also other NGOs highlighted the diffusion of informal camps in Italy, drawing attention on informality (ASGI, Antenne Migranti, & Fondazione Alexander Langer Stiftung, 2017; Locatelli et al., 2018). The disclosure and investigation of informal livelihoods in other regions than the South, is relatively poor still and it is mainly NGOs, who publish about informal camps and the situation of migrants outside the reception structures. The north of Italy is a crucial point for transit migrants on their ways further into the EU and the area where migrants, returned from other EU states under Dublin reenter. So far, the topic is insufficiently taken into consideration and underrepresented in academia. Hence, it is of importance to shed light on the implications of migrants’ lives after the arrival and their situation in the Northern regions.

There is a need to further grasp the factors producing informality in order to address them. This thesis aims to understand *why* informal settlements emerge, which factors push or pull into informality and what the implications of a life in informality are. The literature on refugee camps and informal settlements shall be aligned to Northern Italy, being an actual but unknown region of informal settling.

The goal of the investigation was to understand informality from an insight point of view. Accordingly, a qualitative research design was chosen in order to explain the emerging of informality from the migrants’ perspective. In May and June 2018

ethnographic interviews were conducted with migrants in Brennero, Bolzano, Trento, and Ventimiglia. The scope of the work is limited to the northern regions, where informal camps are a rather recent phenomenon. The emerging and the link to the actual migratory situation in the EU were of particular interest. The study does not search solutions for the problems around informality or the congestion of the reception regime.

Previous to this research, the author of this thesis gained experience in informal camps in Europe (as a NGO staff member in 2016 for several months alongside refugees from Greece via the Balkans up to France and down to Sicily), and complemented his impressions and experiences during the preparation of this work. Subsequently the idea and motivation for this research derived not only from theoretical frameworks, but also from a strong personal interest.

In order to approach the multilayered issues of informal migrant camps, the thesis counts with a broad literature review, building the theoretical background for the empirical research. In chapter one, the so-called refugee crisis is examined and it shall be shown how the *ad hoc* crisis became a long-term emergency particularly due to political and legal deficiencies. In chapter two, refugee camps shall be studied from different points of view and the distinction between formal and informal settlements is analyzed. The third chapter relates informal camps to Europe and explains their emerging under the actual circumstances. The example of Italy is also introduced in the third chapter, bridging the empirical part of the thesis with the theoretical one. Hence, the fourth chapter presents the methodology of the case study and relates the research approach with the relevant theory. The results are presented in the fifth chapter and subsequently discussed and critically assessed in chapter six. Finally, the conclusion completes this thesis taking a look into the future of migrants and informal livelihoods in the EU.

1. The refugee crisis: from *ad hoc* to long-term emergency

The “refugee crisis” is not new and the number of people entering Europe decreased significantly. Trouble and misery disappeared from European train stations and borders, at least in the media. Migrants became rather invisible in Western states and only very occasionally the news remind us of the events that characterized the years 2015 and 2016. In order to look at what is left of this “crisis” or more importantly where it has gone, it is necessary to take a brief review to the background of this work.

1.1. Review *de facto*: a crisis of what?

Talking about refugees or crises, firstly it shall be stated that migration is nothing recent, not even in Europe, a continent that people mostly emigrated *from* during centuries. This trend changed, and there have been situations similar to the actual migration. When the Berlin wall fell in 1989, a domino effect started, tackling and eroding the communist block in the east. The flux of people towards Western Europe increased notably for the first time by then and peaked subsequently to the conflicts around collapsing Yugoslavia, bringing 500,000 asylum seekers to Europe every year until 1993 (Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 1).

In the following the so-called refugee crisis shall be examined, presenting the evolution of the issue by means of three different episodes that are characteristic the emerging of the multiple crises, leading into the outset of this thesis. Firstly, basic information and the incipience of the refugee flux shall be given. Secondly, the paralysis of Europe's politics due to the perplexity of the issue will be analyzed. Thirdly, the transition from a temporary to a permanent state of crises will be displayed.

1.1.1. Facts and figures

During the last four decades international migration quadrupled: from 77 millions to 244 millions and so did internal migration, forming one of the biggest proportions of migrants with 740 million. Since the beginning of the civil war in Syria in 2011, the movement of people has significantly risen. In 2014, the amount of refugees fleeing their countries reached a 20-year peak and in 2016, more people than ever were forcibly displaced worldwide (Ruthmann, 2015, p. 10; UNHCR, 2017a).

Besides the war in Syria, it is a mix of several international events and crises like the wars in Yemen and Sudan, the conflicts in the Middle East and the multilayered situations of uncertainty and misery in Africa and Asia, which directed new refugee flows towards Europe. These flight movements showed new patterns of migration, as people are not only escaping war, but also misery, poverty, scarcity or climate change. Not only men are fleeing, but also women, children and entire families, including the elderly. The age distribution and group structures are widely spread, as thousands of unaccompanied minors prove. The new patterns are fostered by other phenomena like push and pull factors and new ways of mobility. New media and possibilities of communication, the option of maintaining permanent contact with family and friends attract more people to leave. The system of trafficking and the ample network of smugglers facilitate getting underway. All these can be apprehended as pull factors, meanwhile political crises, wars and unemployment function as push factors (Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, p. 282; Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 4).¹

In 2016, more than 362,000 people crossed the Mediterranean to Europe, half of them from Northern Africa, and 1.2 million asylum applications were formulated. The registration procedures and the legal framework were not working well enough in order to hold precise account of the fleeing. In 2015 and 2016, there were lots of figures circling around reports and media, trying to abstract the migratory influx and demonstrating that refugees are difficult to quantify. In September 2015, after 800,000 arrivals in Europe, the Dublin regime was practically not followed anymore, proving to not be flexible enough to deal with the situation (European Parliament, 2017; UNHCR, 2017b; von Laffert, 2017, p. 5).

The term “refugee crisis” was established in the media and the public discourse (Dunz, 2016, p. 6; Simsa et al., 2016, p. 8). Migration is dominated by emergencies. Thousands of people who attempted to leave death and misery behind, died in the sea. In 2015 and 2016, at least 8793 people drowned or were missing. If safely arrived on the shores, the struggle continued and great numbers of migrants kept suffering on the borders of European countries (Dunz, 2016, p. 6; UNHCR, 2017b).

1.1.2. Political paralysis and European enclosure

The affected states were unable to deal with the sceneries emerging at their borders and humanitarian assistance was barely seen. NGOs and especially IGOs showed

¹ As a holistic description of push and pull factors would exceed this thesis, for further information see Gebrewold-Tochalo & Bloom (2016).

up late: states got lost looking for solutions, “solving” was defined as an equivalent of stopping refugees and political energies were put into actionist measures such as border controls (Kitching, Haavik, Tandstad, Zaman, & Darj, 2016, p. 10; Simsa et al., 2016). At the end of 2015, the state structures of several European countries, like Austria, appeared to be reaching their limits (Brickner, 2017, p. 16). At the same time international organizations could not answer the needs of the migrants anymore and independent volunteers, AHGOs and NGOs stepped in, delivering a huge part of the humanitarian help. The situation did not improve though; especially on the Greek islands the outreach of the crisis and the absence of official assistance became visible (Kitching et al., 2016, p. 16). The misery spread out on the mainland and the refugee crisis turned into a solidarity crisis, as stated by the High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi (UNIS, 2017).

Politicians all over Europe were trying to find solutions, but were overwhelmed of the multiple and complex aspects they had not anticipated. The atmosphere of perplexity and indecisiveness and the absence of a common strategy of burden sharing were used by populists and gave rise to right-wing parties in several states. Hesitation and disputes about duties and liabilities peaked when the Visegrad states (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia) closed their borders in the second half of 2015². All over a sudden, the hotspot system was installed in Greece and Italy, focusing on mainstreaming the diverging categories of migrants and on identify, register, fingerprint and/or return them. Soon the hotspots unveiled to work as sites of border control and return operations and not of shelter. Garelli and Tazzioli (2016, p. 8) even call the hotspot system a “detention infrastructure”. The hotspot approach became one of the symbols of the malfunctioning reception system on the European shores, where human rights violations are not exceptional (Marin, 2016, pp. 37–38; Neville, Sy, & Rigon, 2016).

The quest for a joined approach seemed to be buried when the Balkan route finally got closed. Thereafter thousands of migrants stranded where they were, some 60,000 in Greece alone (Kitching et al., 2016; Szymanski, 2017, p. 9) The solution that the EU offered ostensibly consisted in strengthening border surveillance and the externalization of migration control and hence of its borders, which culminated in the

² Later Slovakia and Hungary filed a suit against the Council of the European Union, claiming that the decision of the latter to help Italy and Greece to handle the influx of migrants through a relocation strategy of 120,000 refugees in one year was adopted albeit including errors of procedural nature, being based on inappropriate legal grounds and not a suitable answer to the refugee crisis. The action (supported by Poland) was dismissed in *Slovak Republic and Hungary v Council of the European Union* (Joined cases C-643/15 and C-647/15 ECJ) 6 September 2017.

EU-Turkey deal in March 2016. This deal can be declared unlawful, as it paved the way for several breaches of international law. The declaration *inter alia* includes violations of the principle of *Non-Refoulement* or of the Prohibition of Collective Expulsion (as enshrined in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the ECHR). Human rights violations, like the push-backs from the Greek islands to Turkey, were foreseen but outsourced from the EU to Turkey. The bracing of the “fortress Europe” reached a next level (González Vega, 2016, pp. 184–185; Marin, 2016, p. 29; Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 5,7).

The immurement reached the coasts and the sea, where new missions were launched to hinder the refugee dinghies from traversing. Marin (2016, p. 34) speaks of the “militarization of border control” due to the EU NAVFOR MED and NATO operations on the Turkish coast. The replacements of the rescue mission Mare Nostrum, the FRONTEX operations “Triton” or its renewed version “Themis” are not primarily in charge of rescuing, but fighting smuggle networks and private rescue operations, which were labeled as pull factors. Consequently the boat crossings dropped. This tendency was underlined as NGO rescue boats started to face increasing pressure in legal and physical matters. In the second half of 2017 several independent rescue teams suspended their Mediterranean operations as reports emerged of accords between Italy and Libya to stem migrant transits (Alfred, 2017; Bove, 2018, p. 19; Howden, 2017, p. 10).

1.1.3. The crises became permanent

The above-described encapsulation of Europe did not end migration movements, nor did it improve the situation of the ones that are already inside or at the frontiers of Europe. The conflicts, wars and problems making people flee, are still present, as the Afrin offensive or the attacks on civilians in Ghouta and the military response from Western states illustrate (Alfred, 2017; Brooks et al., 2018; Jabbour et al., 2018). Even though the number of arrivals decreased notably in 2017 and 2018, it is far too early to speak of an end of the crisis. The intended blockage of the passages towards Europe could not close the route; it just narrowed the mesh, leaving loopholes, which are still used. So far, in 2018 58,000 refugees arrived via the Mediterranean and 1477 already are missing or died (July 2018) (UNHCR, 2018e). Radoš Djurović from the Serbian NGO Asylum Protection Center argues that the Balkan route is not closed and tells the story of a group of Pakistanis, who made their way to Serbia where they are waiting to head north. He states that with money and smugglers, the West is still open (Münch, 2018, p. 8). Just as the Mediterranean, the

Balkans are not locked. Even though less NGOs are rescuing and more coast guards are patrolling, dinghies loaded with refugees still leave the African or Turkish shores aiming at European territories.

Apart from the ones arriving, there are thousands of migrants stranded all over Europe, trying to cross borders, to obtain asylum, to be reunited with their families, to be resettled or to be deported. In 2016, close to one million migrants were illegally present inside the EU, some already living here for years. Every second of them was ordered to leave the EU, but only half of them actually did, the rest is still around, in limbo, hiding and hoping. The ones deported to countries like Afghanistan often do not stay in their homelands and there is record of second or third flight intents (Avenarius, Heidtmann, & Kastner, 2018, p. 11). The others do not *become* refugees again, they *stay* refugees, not integrated or not even arrived at their destination. The refugee crisis became a long-term crisis: thousands of migrants are waiting under poor living conditions inside and around Europe. However, there is still no solution or agreement to be seen by European politicians, considering the very low number of only 20,000 resettled persons per year, and the unequal distribution of migrants in Europe (Marin, 2016, p. 31).

The reinforcement and the externalization of borders and their surveillance can be named as the main answers of the European states to the situation of crisis. The side effects of this approach and the “dereliction of duty” of European states produced conditions of crises themselves and transformed the *ad hoc* emergency into a long lasting crisis (Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, p. 289). 30,000 deaths in the Mediterranean between 2000 and 2015 and chaotic conditions in refugee camps from Syria to France stand for a crisis of solidarity and responsibility. Closed borders, the inability to find a common response to share the onus and the growing influence of populist and right wing parties herald a new era of political coldness in Europe. The failure of the European asylum system, the Schengen agreement and the Dublin regime constitute a crisis of the legal frameworks that were meant to deal with migration (Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 9). The consequences are manifold; one of them might be the suspension of migrants to hideous living conditions. Another might be the undue prolongation of the crisis itself, converting it into a long-term-emergency, but not the ending of the migration flow towards the West.

1.2. A brief review *de jure*: refugees and the international legal framework

In the migration discourse lots of different terms for fleeing subjects are used: the 'economic migrant', the 'asylum seeker' and the 'refugee' are just a few of them. Of this nomenclature, only few terms are legally defined. The following paragraphs neither aim to explain the different designations in a comprehensive way, nor to answer all the questions the wording leaves open, but it shall look into the crisis of the international legal framework.

International refugee law fills books, and more are to be written in the aftermath and the legal reappraisal of the crises Europe is facing. Hence, this excerpt shall relate the above-mentioned issues to international law and show their interconnections. When more of the long-term emergency shall be understood, it is indispensable to look at international refugee law, as it carries with it several complexities and is still a rather incomplete system (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 1). Even though the fundament of treaties, norms and regulations is vast; the legal refugee regime is facing one of its "most serious challenges ever" (Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, p. 298).

1.2.1. Refugees, migrants and the states' determination practice

Concerning this work, not too much emphasize shall be put on the different mechanisms and treaties, but in order to understand what a refugee is and how its protection is determined, three documents are of basic importance. Firstly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights laid the foundation and legal limits in 1948, granting everyone the right to life, liberty and security (Art. 3), the right to non-discriminatory treatment (Art. 2), the right to freedom of movement and to seek asylum (Art. 13 & 14), the equal protection of law (Art. 7), the prohibition of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Art. 5), and the prohibition of arbitrary arrest and detention (Art. 9) (United Nations, 1948). Secondly, the Geneva Convention of 1951, thirdly the two Covenants of 1966 (together with the Universal Declaration, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights form the Bill of human rights) and fourthly the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees that removed the temporal and geographical limits of the 1951 treaty.

Convention refugees are characterized by four elements:

1. being outside of their country of origin,

2. being unable to return and (or unwilling) to access the protection of that country,
3. possessing a well founded fear of persecution,
4. which is based on reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

(Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, pp. 36–37; UNHCR, 2010).

Assessing and determining whether an individual is granted a Convention refugee status or subsidiary protection is, even under ideal conditions, a very complex endeavor (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 133; Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 9). States limited the scope of the ‘refugee’ by introducing new terms (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 15). The need for protection and the vulnerability of people in flight have been underlined by the European Court of Human Rights³, the Commission on Human Rights and the SRs though (Den Heijer, 2013, p. 265; Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, p. 291). Accordingly, full protection is at least guaranteed for those with a well-founded fear of persecution. In light of the recent state practices even this must be seen critically though (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 33).

Momentarily, the flow of people is basically compound of ‘irregular’ and economic migrants, of beneficiaries of subsidiary protection and of (prospective) refugees (Marin, 2016, p. 30; Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 3). Despite the definitions of ‘the refugee’ and the rulings of the ECtHR granting the prevalence of basic human rights, such as the right to family life⁴, over state authority, or the notions of the SR on Human Rights for Migrants, it is not easy to determine and differ between refugees and migrants, as there is no concept of the latter in international law (Blake, 2004; Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, pp. 298, 281; Grant, 2011b, p. 31). When it comes to ‘irregular migrants’, it gets more turbid as this term is increasingly getting used but also lacks a corresponding legal definition. Migrants are categorized ‘irregular’ because they either do not have a visa or are ‘undocumented’, meaning that they travel without identity papers and hence ‘illegally’ (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 124; Guild, 2004).

³ For example in: *R.U. v Greece* (Application No. 2237/08 ECtHR), 7 September 2011; *L.M. and Others v Russia* (Applications Nos. 40081/14, 40088/14 and 40127/14 [2015] ECtHR), 15 October 2015; *E.A. v. Greece* (Application no. 74308/10 [2015] ECtHR), 30 July 2015; *Hirsi Jamaa and Others v Italy* (Application no. 27765/09 ECtHR), 23 February 2012.

⁴ Examples would be: *Z.H. and R.H. v Switzerland* (Application no. 60119/12 ECtHR), 8 December 2015 or *Tarakhel v Switzerland* (Application no. 29217/12 ECtHR), 4 November 2014.

A comprehensive list of cases and summaries can be found under: http://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/case-law-search?f%5B0%5D=field_keywords%3A196 and under: http://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/case-law-search?search_api_views_fulltext=right%20to%20family%20life&f%5B0%5D=type%3Aecrthr_case

The difference between migrants and undocumented migrants and their protection was included and enshrined in the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of 1990 (the UN Migrant Workers Convention). The protection does not work though and the vast set of rights granted irregular migrants is incoherent with other provisions regarding migrant workers. Many states consider undocumented migrants to be endowed with too many rights (Cholewinski & MacDonald, 2007, p. 13). Goodwin-Gill (2016a, p. 279) argues that irregular migration, as a concept of the late 20th century was invented by states and not by jurisprudence.⁵

The gap in the rights regime becomes obvious when passing to the term 'asylum', which is defined, but not granted under international law. There is a right to *leave* any country but there is no right to *enter* or to *stay* in another one, which is illegalized when done without permission. The further implications of asylum, like working in a country, or receiving education are also not recognized in the international framework (Goodwin-Gill, 2013, p. 654; Grant, 2011a, p. 57). There is protection for the individual in flight, if a well-founded fear of persecution can be proven, but there is no protection for every individual whose human rights have been violated. Actually the tendency to put this protection more in the background by complicating the access prevails. European states developed a meticulous way of discerning migrants according to their situations and classifying them into refugees, asylum seekers, entitled beneficiaries of the asylum system and migrants or 'simple migrants' (González Vega, 2016, pp. 154, 178). In 2007, Goodwin-Gill and McAdam already noted a "substantial growth of refugee determination procedures" (2007, p. 7). In order to preserve a certain leeway, the label 'refugee' was conferred less or replaced by terms such as 'quasi refugees', 'illegal immigrants', 'economic migrants', 'displaced persons', 'boat people', 'aliens', 'stowaways' or 'departees' (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 7).

At the same time, further strategies to prevent claims for protection at the borders are being developed by countries of destination (ibid. 2007, p. 50). These state practices are possible because firstly, although refugee law inhibits the *return*, it does not require states to *admit* refugees. Secondly, even though migrants have rights, there is no 'right to migrate'; and thirdly, the definitions of the legal framework are not suitable to recent migrations, as the actual refugees do not all qualify as such under the Geneva Convention (Grant, 2011a, p. 57; Wihtol de Wenden, 2017, p. 3). This

⁵ For more insights on the protection or under-protection of undocumented migration see as well Noll (2010a, 2010b).

reinforces the point made by Flusser (2013, p. 10) that compulsion and voluntariness are often hard to distinguish when it comes to migration, because all migrants suffer. Dembour and Kelly (2011, pp. 1, 8) reiterate that migrants, especially if deemed irregular, illegal, or undocumented face difficulties having their rights respected, they “routinely see their human rights violated”. International law actually presupposes states to respect and protect the human rights of those who are physically present in their country and/or under their jurisdiction, regardless of their legal status. However, this obligation is widely ignored, especially regarding the rights of irregular migrants (GCIM, 2005; Grant, 2011a, pp. 57–58).

1.2.2. Legal protection

Protection is primarily provided by UNHCR, which is a subsidiary organ of the UNGA operating globally in a wide treaty network. It was established in 1950 but put on shaky legs, as it operates on a permanent base, but just ‘until the problem is solved’ (Goodwin-Gill, 2016b, p. 679). The base is semi-permanent as it has a terminus, but one that seems to vanish. UNHCR acts as if the ‘problem’ of displacement would only be of a temporary nature – the opposite is the case, as the current crises prove. The UN agency works with its own refugee status, which is based on the definition of the Geneva Convention and protects people, who have left their country and can prove a well-founded fear of persecution on certain grounds (1); and who, after having trespassed an international border, can be defined to lack or to be unable to access protection of their country of origin (2) (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 32).

According to its mandate, the tasks may be divided in indirect activities, such as human rights promotion, and direct activities, such as interventions to protect basic refugee rights. UNHCR is further appointed with the following: safeguarding individuals by providing shelter, clean water, sanitation, health care, blankets, household goods, food; to offer advocacy; to help with transport and assistance for returnees; to make available income generating projects; and to assess the global needs during situations of crisis (UNHCR, 2018c).⁶ The SR on the Human Rights of Migrants also has a protection mandate. However, the remit is more of advocacy than of practical implementation. The Rapporteur is namely designated to examine the obstacles that inhibit full and effective protection of migrants’ rights. The tasks

⁶ This is a simplified representation of the role and mandate of UNHCR. For further information and precise description of the tasks please see Goodwin-Gil & McAdam (2007, p. 447 and chapter 8) and the UNHCR statute available under: <http://www.unhcr.org/4d944e589.pdf>

hereto are to gather information, make recommendations and promote the implementation of international law (Goodwin-Gill, 2016b, p. 683).

UNHCR is responsible for refugees, but also for others in 'similar situations'. The statute contains a contradiction as it categorizes refugees with a group or collective approach, but at the same time it supports a truly individualistic refugee definition, like the individual assessment of a well-founded fear of persecution. The latter is for most 'irregular' migrants hard to prove as they fled wars or conflicts which made life 'just' perilous in their home countries (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 133; Goodwin-Gill, 2016b, p. 682; Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2007, p. 23). For the ones that cannot be assigned to the existing definitions, there is no protection mechanism. In other words, unwanted, irregular, undocumented or illegal migrants, living outside the formal legal framework, e.g. in informal settlements, are excluded from the protection (Dembour & Kelly, 2011, p. 8; Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 134).

There is no international organization that takes responsibility for forced or voluntary migrants and no organization is working on overcoming this gap (despite NGOs, whose mandate is not part of international law). The continuous discussion and disparity concerning the responsibilities and duties of states and the mandate of UNHCR show the position states are gradually taking when it comes to assuming obligations towards migrants (Goodwin-Gill, 2016b, p. 682).

The UN institutional regime is also characterized by vagueness and imprecision, the protection of migrants is "unclear and inadequate" leaving space for situations of prolonged emergency (Grant, 2011b, p. 32). The lack of clarity, for Grant (2011b, p. 47) derives from the multitude of treaties and regimes for non-nationals (*i.e.* refugees, stateless persons, smuggled and trafficked migrants and migrant workers) that apply parallel but in isolation from each other and make protection not less but more difficult. Here Hannah Arendt's (1968, p. 279) observation that human rights *per se* protect very little, when the individual is outside of the protection of the state and hence a non-national, is worth invoking. In 1997 the CERD noted that there was a trend to make different categories of non-citizens that could carry with it racist implications, and the Committee was preoccupied that a growing categorization could lead to the total exclusion of persons, and their deprivation of fundamental rights (Grant, 2011b, p. 41).

1.2.3. Europe: lost in Dublin?

As the refugee crisis strongly affected the EU with the asylum system being heavily discussed, also a quick look shall be taken at the European asylum framework, on one hand mainly composed by the Dublin Regulation, on the other by the CEAS. The latter is a product of negotiations between the EU and its member states aiming to harmonize the standards of protection and asylum legislation in the different EU states, to enhance cooperation, solidarity and responsibility among EU states and between member states and non-EU states (European Commission, 2018). It is based on five directives:

1. The revised Asylum Procedures Directive
2. The revised Reception Conditions Directive
3. The revised Qualification Directive
4. The revised Dublin Regulation
5. The revised EURODAC Regulation

(European Commission & Directorate General for Home Affairs, 2014, p. 3).⁷

In 2016 a reformation of the CEAS was proposed that is currently under negotiation.⁸ Core of the revision is the amendment of the Dublin system, the proposal of the Dublin IV Regulation.⁹ The renewals were not available when this work was written.

Dublin and the CEAS could not cope with the situations pursuant to the occurrences of 2015 and 2016. The flux of migrants and the amount of asylum applications together with the situation of emergency and the absence of a joined approach of the European states put Dublin under a stress test it did not pass. In fact, the limitations and problems of the European immigration and asylum policy were unveiled and even the European Agenda on Migration could not bring improvements. Dublin did not foster access to protection, nor improve the asylum procedures. To the contrary, the asylum system collapsed due to bureaucratization and responsibility tossing, putting asylum seekers in peculiar situations. Many of them could never make their claim, or were hindered from doing so, because they could not access the country they aimed to reach, or were stuck in limbo, in many cases separated from their

⁷ For further insight into the CEAS please consult the CEAS factsheet, available under: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/docs/ceas-factsheets/ceas_factsheet_en.pdf

⁸ A brief overview can be obtained under: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/news/30-11-2017/ceas-reform-state-play-negotiations-dublin-iv-regulation>

⁹ See: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160504/dublin_reform_proposal_en.pdf

families or detained. Those who were authorized to formulate a claim are blocked as well, as the processing and recognizing of 'protection-worthiness' takes several months (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 8). Dublin basically abets human rights violations of migrants, especially of children, by separating families, and proved to have almost no impact on secondary movements (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015; Goodwin-Gill, 2016a, p. 284; UNHCR & ECRE, n.d.).

The aim of the Dublin Regulation to make an end to asylum seekers 'in orbit' was not reached. Migrants are still being moved from one state to another (e.g. through push-backs) and *refouled*, detained or stuck or trying to make their way as illegally presents (FRA, 2013; Goodwin-Gill, 2013, pp. 401–402; Grant, 2011a, p. 56). An inherent problem of the system is the tutelage of migrants, hindering them to ask for asylum in the country they want to, obliging them to make their claim in the country they first entered. This practice disenfranchises migrants from any right to formulate preferences, treating them as objects and not as subjects of law. Goodwin-Gill (2016a, p. 284) calls this approach dehumanizing, because refugees and migrants do have destination wishes and should maintain the opportunity to make individual choices, as reiterates Wihtol de Wenden (2017, p. 8).

The provisions of the CEAS and Dublin in fact could not be realized. Marin (2016, p. 36) calls Dublin a "good weather law", which was not appropriate to the bad weather situation of the refugee crisis. This is partly due to the differing legal bases or levels of implementation of the regulation in domestic law of the member states, which under Dublin are expected to offer equal treatment to asylum seekers. Therefore, neither the international, nor the European framework could demonstrate their functioning.

1.2.4. Refugee and migrant: a dichotomy with a future?

Finally, ending and starting with questions, it remains to look curiously and with hope to answers to the future. Despite the pending renewal of the CEAS, this year, the new Global Compact on Refugees shall follow up the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants of September 9th 2016, which already pointed in a promising direction, remembering states of their responsibilities and formulating the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). However, there are various uncertainties still and several parts might result in disadvantages for entire groups of migrants (Alfred, 2018). The four main goals of the CRRF are:

1. Ease pressure on countries that welcome and host refugees

2. Build self-reliance of refugees
 3. Expand access to resettlement in third countries and other complementary pathways
 4. Foster conditions that enable refugees voluntarily to return to their home countries
- (UNHCR, 2018a)

These objectives are even UNHCR-internally phrased in different ways and some sound less trust building than others. Point three for instance sometimes aims to “expand third country solutions”¹⁰, which, bearing in mind the relations between the EU and Turkey or the EU and Libya, *i.e.* especially Italy and Libya, cannot be interpreted as positive regarding human rights.

The Global Compact on Refugees will be based on the CRRF and frame

“practical measures [...] to enhance international cooperation in response to large movements of refugees and protracted refugee situations, and to ensure a more equitable and predictable sharing of the burden and responsibility for providing protection to refugees.” (UNHCR, 2018b)

Apart from that, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants was the starting point for the negotiations of another new document, the Global Compact for safe, orderly and regular Migration. This deed shall

“enhance coordination on international migration and present a framework for comprehensive international cooperation on migrants and human mobility” (UNHCR, 2018b)

The drafting of the two compacts runs totally separate, only UNHCR gives advice on particular issues in both unities. The separation, not only of the elaboration, but also of the content of the two compacts is of notable interest, as migrants and refugees again are not subject of the same paper. This indicates the tendency of the UN regarding status determination and treatment of refugees and migrants.

¹⁰ Compare: The aims indicated here: <http://www.unhcr.org/new-york-declaration-for-refugees-and-migrants.html> , with the list given here: <http://www.unhcr.org/comprehensive-refugee-response-framework-crrf.html>

2. Refugees and their camps between formality and informality

The migration movements created campsites from Syria to France, with some existing for years, like the large-scale camp in Jordan, Zaatari, others like the UNRWA camps and settlements of Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Lebanon, or the makeshift camps around Calais, for decades. Apparently they widely differ, some are formal and official, others emerge outside of the reception regimes, some are legal and some not; but *what* is a refugee camp in principle?

Feldman (2015, p. 246) opines that the questions concerning refugee camps are closely linked to the question of what refugees are. But as indicated above, this is not yet clear. Agier (2002, p. 322) states that inhabitants of camps are 'nameless'. Refugees or migrants in the camp are determined victims and of political nonexistence, which is partly induced by the humanitarian system and the camp setting itself. Camps produce a "*problématique* of identity", which goes in line with the definition problem observed in the last chapter (Agier, 2002, p. 322). It seems that knowing what a refugee is does not really answer the question of what a camp is. It rather appears that the uncertainties about both are intertwined. In order to give answers it is necessary to check the different points of view that tried to define refugee settlements. On one hand there is UNHCR, backed up by the international community and with its stance in international law, on the other there are philosophical, political and ethnographical approaches to the camp as a spatial construct of modern politics.

According to Corsellis and Vitale (2005, pp. 6–7), camps must be well planned and are of utmost importance in humanitarian crises. If the reception system does not work or is badly prepared, the numerous negative effects can have a destabilizing effect on the country or region of concern. When the refugee flux reached Europe, this could be noticed, with camps spreading across Turkey, the Greek islands and the Balkans. In 2016, due to the lack of accommodation and shelter possibilities, the hotspots, originally invented as posts of border control and pre-deportation stations, were assigned the additional function of migrant re-distribution and were used as 'normal' camps, offering a minimum level of protection (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 1). Camps grew stepwise and so did the hotspots; with Moria now being the second biggest 'city' on Lesbos (Avenarius et al., 2018, p. 12). As Diken and Laustsen (2005, pp. 17–18) predicted, the exceptional became the rule, in 2014 Bulley (2014, p. 3)

observed the normalization of spaces of encampment. During the refugee crisis, a 'campitalization' of Europe could be noted.

2.1. The camp: beyond definitions

The explanations of camps in standard works often refer to shelter. The respecting guidelines of the Sphere Handbook for instance are very much linked to shelter (Sphere Project, 2003, p. 208, 2011, p. 244, 2017, pp. 3–6 shelter and settlement standards). In the UNHCR Emergency Handbook, similar observations can be made. However, comparing the definitions of shelter and the *de facto* living conditions of refugees, it must be said that a camp is not automatically shelter and that people living in a camp might suffer the lack of shelter (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005, p. 15; UNHCR, 2000, p. 144, 2015). The shelter sector covers the needs of persons under the UNHCR mandate, but the needs of e.g. migrants, IDPs or asylum seekers are not well integrated in this regime. Corsellis and Vitale (2005, p. 10) call this ambit apart the transitional settlement sector. The term 'transitional settlement' already carries the notion of long-term settling situations, effects of prolonged emergencies and waiting zones outside society (Agier, 2002, p. 337). Refugee camps are humanitarian spaces, aiming to replicate the entire support system, where the international community tries to offer protection and relief in an enduring but temporary way. As shall be shown, this only applies in the first place (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005, p. 115; Edkins, 2000; Elden, 2009, pp. 57–59; Ramadan, 2013, p. 69).

To approach camps in a theoretical, scientific and multidisciplinary way, it is indispensable to look at philosophical or political reflections as well. Hannah Arendt (1943, 1973, p. 297f.) proposed refugees as the paradigm of a new historical conscience, as persons who have lost their right to have rights. For her, camps were deserts and she cited Nietzsche's phrase 'the desert is growing' to express her concerns about refugees' lives in camps, which are places of human differentiation or determination (Agier, 2002, p. 323; Arendt & Ludz, 2017).¹¹ This was further reflected by Augé (1992), who described camps as non-places (*non-lieux*) or even *hors-lieux*, places outside the normal, the foreseeable world (Agier, 2002, p. 323).

¹¹ It is important to mention that root of these reflections were the camps of the Nazis, which may be very different to the forms of camps this thesis aims to analyze. Concerning the temporal classifications of these theories, Ramadan(2013, p. 65) argues that now prison and detention camps may have returned, but that refugee camps never went away, hence their theorization is still actual.

For Agamben (1998) camps are indwelled by the *homo sacer*, an individual living outside, or being banned from the society, without any rights. In his philosophy the refugee and the camp are at the core of politics, both, space and body included by their actual and very exclusion of the *polis*. He argues that in modern legal and state systems, the suspension of the rule of law is fundamental in situations of exception and hence it can be inferred that this is the case in refugee camps (Agamben, 1998). There is no rule of law in camps, which are 'zones of indistinction' between norm and exception and between fact and law. The inhabitants of those zones are neither integrated in the judicial system nor enjoying legal protection, they are deprived of their political existence and legal personality and exposed to 'bare-life' (Agamben, 1998, p. 181; Ramadan, 2013, pp. 67–68). According to Agamben (1998), the role of refugee camps is to sustain life, but nothing more. Refugee camps are places of permanent exception, outside the legal framework, where 'bare-lives' are spent and where the "temporary suspension of the rule of law is given a permanent spatial arrangement" (Agamben, 1998, p. 169; Owens, 2009, p. 568; Ramadan, 2013, pp. 68, 70).

However, there are critical voices, claiming the inherent complexity of camp structures and the possibilities of political life. Arguing that the self-advocacy of refugees might be overlooked, Feldman (2015, pp. 247–251) puts that the people in a camp and the social interactions between them form the camp.¹² The space and the society are one: the 'camp-society' (Ramadan, 2013, pp. 68–70). Hence, the camp is also a place of community. Hyndman (2000, p. 137) reflects that the camp is not a self-identified community, but a community or rather a 'noncommunity' of the excluded. Bulley (2014, p. 6) affirms that camps might be communities, but not communities of voluntary participation and Agier (2002, p. 337) considers the camps' inhabitants as "undesirables", kept far and excluded from everything.

Ramadan (2013, p. 65) shows that camps are more than terrains of conflict or an instrument of international organizations and that it is crucial to analyze their spatiality in order to understand refugees' livelihoods. For him, refugee camps are provisional spaces in which refugees *may* receive relief and protection until a sustainable solution can be found to their situation. "Refugee camps are spaces of hospitality, identity, exception, insecurity and violence" (ibid. 2013, p. 65). The unpredictable circumstances oblige refugees to redefine their lives in the camp (Agier, 2002, p. 323; Bulley, 2014, pp. 4, 6).

¹² Feldman (2015, pp. 247–251) talks about the camp as a political and emotional space, an approach worth to look at, an in-depth analysis would exceed this work though.

To picture those “enforced colonies” (Bulley, 2014, p. 6), Feldman (2015, p. 247) explains that camps are places of refugee congregations and not the tent-sites one has in mind. Campsites may be necessary for the protection of refugees, but at the same time they may be counterproductive for the rehabilitation and inclusion of refugees (ibid. 2015, p. 247). This is partly because camps are likely to become permanent and to endure in their status of exemption, as Agier (2002, p. 321) showed with the example of refugee camps in Africa, or Martin (2015) with the refugee settlements in Lebanon.

The same tendency can be observed during the crises this work is focusing on. The living situations of refugees are becoming more permanent, as they try to gain ‘normal’ livelihoods, but at the same time living conditions do not improve. This mainly applies for groups that still live in camps, as well as the ones that have not yet made their way into the state system of some EU state. Out of the need to live more dignified, to construct something more than a camp, the campsites are increasingly being used to build up microcosms with makeshift houses, aiming to be a *home*. Improvised housing is accompanied by informal economies as it has been observed in the Calais ‘Jungle’, where churches, restaurants and shops were put down or in the hotspots where barbershops were opened. These developments and the repressive answers of the authorities prove and trigger their inability to govern the conditions of camps (Avenarius et al., 2018, p. 13; Feldman, 2015, p. 249; Sanyal, 2011).

Flusser (2013) observed that it is possible to change or even to lack a home or homeland (*Heimat*), but that one always and no matter where needs to *live* somewhere. He frames that living somewhere, having a home, is essential, even in the most marginalized or emergency like settings, as for example in wars. Without such space, information and reflection are suppressed and chaos prevails (Flusser, 2013, p. 27). Refugee camps however are zones of transit, supposed to be of temporariness, and despite all effort can never become a home, as Avenarius *et al.* opine (2018, p. 11).

What is a refugee camp after all? It seems to be a controversial construct of housing, maybe the *nomos* of our time, as Agamben (1998) used to call it, or the community structure of the 20th century, as Löfgren (2003, p. 245) named it. Clearly the camp is it all, the *Leitbegriff* of the last decades, now more present than ever, having thousands of migrants languishing their lives in the enforcement archipelagos on Europe’s external borders (Minca, 2015b).

Feldman (2015, pp. 250–251) concludes:

“Camps have been variously understood – by both humanitarians and refugees – as spaces of deprivation and of protection, as temporary and long-term, and as psychologically damaging and nurturing [...] They are spaces through which humanitarian actors and other official parties make judgments about refugees – their capacities, characters, and futures.”

2.2. Makeshift camps, illegal settlements, improvised accommodations

The above presented perceptions, reflections and explanations about camps are relatively general. Camps can be subdivided into various different sorts of settlements with discerning structures, characteristics, occurrence and prevalence. As mentioned, Arendt's theories might be mainly based on concentration, prison or detention camps. Agier derives his view from studies in African refugee camps, and more modern writings often analyze Lebanese or Jordanian camps. Accordingly the camp is a generic term deriving from barbed wire and enclosed camps, as the concentration and detention camps of the Second World War and its aftermath dominated the camp narrative and academic approach for decades (Minca, 2015b, p. 80; Netz, 2004).

There are camps, which are not fenced in and not characterized by barbed wire but by informality, legal abeyance and self-rule. Informality is beyond barbed wire camps and of particular interest in current migration. These campsites gained importance during the recent migration movements towards Europe. During the actual crises informal camps play an important role, when large but irregularly organized assemblages of migrants were shaping the images of borders, train stations, coastlines and motorways. One of the oldest examples is the 'Jungle' in Northern France, which appears as the epitome of the camp as studied and theorized by Agamben: a space of exemption and exclusion, where 'bare-lives' are defrayed (Millner, 2013, p. 88). Newer and bigger was the Idomeni camp with its neighboring settlements on the Greek-Macedonian (FYROM) border. In Idomeni one of the numerous informal camps alongside the Balkan route was located, but after the closing of the latter it became the embodiment of the crises, when thousands of refugees stranded there.¹³ In Europe there were different waves of formality and

¹³ Numbers vary, as there is no official census of the camp. Some sources speak of more than 8000, others of more than 10,000, 13,000 and even of 15,000 (Beznec, Speer, &

informality of camps. At first, the campsites cropped up in an informal and irregular way, mainly at strategic places such as border posts and border train stations. When these short-term settlements started to expand, they were made 'official' and turned into transit camps.¹⁴ Some camps were newly constructed; others reinforced and enlarged to provide basic humanitarian aid with the help of AHGOs, NGOs, INGOs and IGOs. Finally the formalization of the Balkan corridor was extended through the installation of special trains, taking migrants from border to border (Beznec, Speer, & Mitrović, 2016, pp. 20–21). After the closure of the route these camps were emptied and shut down. The tenants were brought to other camps, relocated, deported, granted asylum, and some moved into informality (Beznec et al., 2016, pp. 22–24; Mytilineou et al., 2017, p. 69).

Camps are randomized, contingent, in process and in a status of 'endured liminality', semi-formality and semi-legality or illegality. Ramadan stated (2013, pp. 73–74) that refugee camps are superficially similar to other unofficial settlements that lack legality. In the current crisis, this superficiality seems to vanish, as migrant camps are tending to become self-settlements and makeshift spaces of survival. It remains to substantiate this transition between formality and informality, trying to draw a line between official camps and illegal or irregular camps.

2.2.1. Towards a definition of informal settlements

Several terms are being used to describe the setting of informal housing of migrants or marginalized groups. There are different nouns for similar spaces, like camp, settlement or settling; as well as varying adjectives to describe the 'unofficiality', such as informal, irregular, illegal or makeshift. Beyond that there are other more precise terms used for specific settings that qualify as squat for instance. A camp might not be the very same thing as a settlement, but as refugee-housing ventures are also under constant change, the focus shall be laid on the phenomenon of makeshift temporary settlements, not on a precise analysis of the broad nomenclature. Even if only summed up, it remains to display what informal housing in campsite-situations means.

The OECD (1997) defines informal settlements as (1) areas where housing units have been built on land that the occupants have either no legal claim to, or occupy

Mitrović, 2016, p. 22; Kenny, 2016; K. Thomas, 2016; Yardley, 2016). This is due to the expansion of the camp, as the number of the ones entering Greece decreased slower as the amount of people leaving the country.

¹⁴ Transit camps were designed for short-term accommodation and services, while migrants waited for registration to continue their journey.

illegally; (2) unplanned settlements that are not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing).

Informal settlements and camps are often linked to urbanization processes and hence, the word 'slum' is used conterminously. Slums are characterized by the lack of basic services, substandard housing and inadequate structures, high population density and overcrowding, unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations, insecure tenure, poverty and social exclusion. Such settlements are composed by a heterogenic social structure, facing different but broad spectrums of vulnerability (McCallin, Scherer, & Duyne, 2013, p. 15; UN-HABITAT, 2003, pp. 9–11). Following this general approximation, UNECE discerns five types of informal settlements, indicating the multidimensionality of the concept:

1. Squatter settlements on public or private land;
2. Settlements for refugees and vulnerable people;
3. Upgraded squatter settlements;
4. Illegal suburban land subdivisions on legally owned private land, with illegal changing of land-use regulations, often on the urban fringe;
5. Overcrowded, dilapidated housing without adequate facilities in city centers or densely urbanized areas.

(Tsenkova, Potsiou, Badyina, & United Nations, 2009, p. 8)

As informal camps vary widely from one to another in terms of location, size, population and density, structure, services or access to humanitarian aid, exposure to violent acts and forced evictions, it must be clarified that it is major issue to analyze the concept as a whole. The encampments have many aspects in common though, but the above-mentioned factors of diversity and unevenness must not be forgotten during the analysis (Sanyal, 2017, p. 121). For this work, the irregular camps of migrants shall be scrutinized and the second type, 'settlements for refugees and vulnerable people' will be thematized.

Informal camps are mainly self-set up settlements, where migrants (or others) pose or occupy structures and buildings and not a public or private actor. These can be either rural self-settlements, urban self-settlements, or self-settled camps (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005, pp. 66, 74). For Agier (2002, p. 337) self-settlements of refugees and/or displaced persons are usually to be found in peripheral areas (either rural or urban) that are illegally occupied and of temporary character. Such settlements can be constituted of tents, collective shelters, (unfinished) constructions, garages, squats

and separate rooms (Habib et al., 2016, p. 1043). In the Lebanon Shelter Sector Strategy, an informal settlement was further defined as an

“unofficial group of temporary residential structures, often comprising of plastic-sheeting and timber structures [that] can be of any size from one to several hundred tents. Informal settlements may have some informal community-led management.” (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016)

MSF (2016, p. 8) differs between two types of informal settlements: the first type is usually open-air and populated with migrants recently having arrived to the country, waiting to access the reception and/or asylum system; the second one offers more protection and is comprised of unused or occupied buildings, containers, shacks or other makeshift accommodations. The informality of self-settlements can often be linked to the lack of official recognition due to the establishment in an unmanaged and unplanned way. Apart from recognition they also lack the conferment of a status of humanitarian emergency and need for protection. Hence the population of informal camps is barely receiving services, and if so, they come from NGOs instead of state actors (Sanyal, 2017, pp. 118, 123).

Are informal settlements of refugees and migrants even to be called camps? For Minca (2015a, p. 91) this is not very clear, as temporary settlements are often neither called camps by the inhabitants themselves, nor by the authorities. Their transient character, and their position as an antithesis to regular sites makes them “counter-camps” but not camps in their core sense. Informal migrant camps are closer to other informal structures that are abandoned from any state attention and they often fuse in blurred lines (Minca, 2015a, p. 91).

2.2.2. *Genesis and processes of informal camps*

To get a better understanding of the concept, it is necessary to examine the underlying processes that facilitate the emerging of informal camps. The focus shall lie on migrant settlements not on informal settlements in general. However, many aspects are interlinked, dependent upon each other and present in all kinds of informal settlements as the critical factors for the formation according to UNECE show: (1) vast influx of people into a certain area;¹⁵ (2) bad planning and administration or dysfunctional regulatory frameworks in place; (3) large refugee flows due to wars, natural disasters or other hazards; (4) poverty and the lack of housing (partly as a product of the proceeding issues) (Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. xv).

¹⁵ UNECE names only urban areas, but under the present circumstances and as indicated above, rural areas are as well destinations for the creation of informal settlements.

Informal camps are usually a product of the absence of humanitarian aid. The establishment and construction of such sites starts before aid organizations reach the field, informal settlements are formed to bridge severe lack of shelter in the first place (Nouredine et al., 2015, p. 47). Refugees or displaced groups tend to gather and open encampments for social reasons. Self-constructed shelter increases the feeling of safety and visibility and hence the possibility to receive external relief (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005, p. 115). The camps, built in situations of emergency, usually last longer than the (prolonged) status of crisis and create novel sociospatial forms like 'city-camps', squatter camps or slums in urban areas for instance (Agier, 2002, pp. 320–321; Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. 19).

This tendency can be observed with the example of the post-socialist and war migration flows in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and the Palestine refugee movements towards Lebanon. In Belgrade, 40% of the residential area consists in informal settlements that outlasted the status of emergency. In Albania's major cities 25% of the population is living in informal settlements, and in Macedonia's (FYROM) bigger cities 11% of the population is situated in irregular settlements (Tsenkova et al., 2009, pp. 19–20). More recent would be the migrant worker camps in Southern Italy or the 'Jungles' in Calais. In most cases the accommodations are not provided with average sanitation standards, many even lack access to running water. In the region, comparable settlements can also be found in rural areas, close to railway stations, industrial zones and elsewhere. The structure of these marginalized encampments is often temporary and fragile, as these settlements are exposed to forced evictions and their inhabitants are excluded from the societal structures outside the settlement (Davies & Isakjee, 2015; Dembour & Martin, 2011; IFC, 2006; Piro & Sanò, 2017b; Tsenkova et al., 2009, pp. 19–20). On a person-centered level, according to Darling (2014, p. 165), informality for individuals and groups represents the anonymity of their presence and the lacking of a recognition as 'guests' and therein the loss of name and identity, resulting in the denial of hospitality and a problematic status (Agier, 2002, p. 322). For MSF (2016, p. 8), inhabitants of informal settlements are (1) not present in any record, (2) not known in total numbers, (3) of evasive nature, due to the lack of housing titles and (4) highly flexible in terms of time and space.

Informality is a new role model of living, not only for migrants but also for other marginalized groups in times of immurement of wealthy regions. Calavita (2005, pp. 18–19) states that

“the flip-side of the secession of privileged elites is the further ghettoization not just of immigrants, but of the poor and near-poor, spatially and socially, as the ties of solidarity that once defined the welfare state unravel, and the ‘City of Walls’ rises up in its place”.

In informal settlements the mixture of migrants and poor nationals of the state, or other marginalized groups, such as minorities for instance, is presumable. The living circumstances are similar, especially in situations of endured temporality or emergency. Marginalized groups gather in homologous settlements in the outskirts, where poverty meets camps and migrants meet homeless and amalgamation is slowly taking place (Agier, 2002, p. 337).

Over time, social structures grow inside the camps and the inhabitants begin to self-organize microcosms imposing their own sense of spatiality to their humble spot (Agier, 2002, p. 322; Bulley, 2014, p. 20). The settlements can offer a certain degree of flexibility and opportunities to migrants, as they can participate in the camps’ informal economy. They can also leave the site and work or spend money outside, and regain responsibility and self-determination (Sanyal, 2017, p. 118). Contrary to official camps, informal settlements are products of the migrants’ needs and imagination. They are built to facilitate their lives, their abilities to move and to enhance their voices. Informal camps can also be sites of political action:

“the very existence of these camps as an enduring visible physical presence [...] turns their residents from a transparent unwanted population into people with a political demand.” (Katz, 2015, p. 85)

3. Informal camps in Europe

The ‘campitalization’, the diffusion of camps all over Europe was displayed as an occurrence of the refugee influx and the political crises of the past years. An inherent part of this phenomenon is the expansion of informality. The emergence of informality in Europe is not new though, considering that the Calais camps accrued in the 1980s (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 126). Over time, informal settlements gained more importance. In 2015 and 2016, irregular camps formed part of the political and geographical landscape; they were visible along the Balkan route and in the most affected states of the EU. After the number of arrivals diminished, it seemed that the camps were bailing as quick as they appeared and ‘normality’ returned. The word *seemed* is wisely chosen here though, as only some camps absconded – most vanished but keep persisting, some more, some less hidden, but all invisible to the political ‘post-crisis’ behavior. The amount of informal camps and the variety of makeshift shelters across Europe’s outer states is immense, starting in famous Calais, going to Italy and via the Balkan states towards Greece and Turkey. Informality plays a key role in the refugee situation and actually the “crisis” seems to continue out of sight (MSF, 2016, 2018b).

To classify, analyze and understand the (new) role of informal settlements in Europe, this chapter aims to give insights about the backgrounds of the emerging and enduring of informal camps, their populations and locations. In addition emphasize shall be drawn to Italy as this country, bordering sea-wise with Libya and land-wise with Europe’s showcase welfare states is of particular interest in this regard.

3.1. On the emerging of informality in the course of migration

To explore the emerging of informal camps in Europe, it helps to remember the critical factors for their formation presented in the last chapter. The four preconditions formulated by UNECE were all given. The first three, broad influx of people; bad planning and dysfunctional regulations; and large migratory movements due to wars are universal as they are of external nature and apply to entire Europe. The fourth, poverty and the lack of housing, is rather internal and may depend from country to country. The most affected states such as Italy also face problems regarding poverty or homelessness and a preexisting lack of migrant shelter (Calavita, 2005, p. 111; Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. xv).

3.1.1. Result of the European crisis response

“The closing of the informal Balkan route, in early 2016, had as a first consequence the creation of new unofficial camps and the growth of old ones” (Mytilineou et al., 2017, p. 69)

The emergence of informal camps and the coincidence with the UNECE preconditions have their base not only in the deficient European response to the refugee flows, but also in the general imperfection of the European migration law and the lack of adequate reception facilities. The impending risk of a shelter crisis and the need to enhance the amount of reception facilities was already stressed by UNHCR in 2014. The organization observed an excessive use of detention and sub-standard reception conditions, often not meeting the Reception Conditions Directive and thus even declarable as unlawful (UNHCR, 2014, pp. 12, 18–21). The claim was not heard and the scarcity of reception places correlated with other issues, such as the failure of the Dublin strategy. Instead of inhibiting secondary movements and migrant mobility, it resulted to produce the counter effect: the return and the relocation program kept people moving. The lack of reception centers could not be compensated and a shelter crisis was entrenched in Europe. The hotspot system proved to be unable to deal with ‘non-refugees’ or large-scale mixed-migration and provoked informality and the submerging into illegality (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, pp. 10–12; Neville et al., 2016, p. 40).

Greece and Italy play key roles in the reception, but were facing severe issues, already before the refugee influx in 2015. The Greek asylum and reception system was, in two different rulings, identified to have systematic deficiencies that could pose violations of fundamental rights.¹⁶ The reception situation worsened, especially for Italy and Greece, when the Balkan route closed. In May 2016 around 30,000 people got stuck in Greece and the country of transit became a country of stay. The response to the following high demand for shelter was characterized by improvisation. Makeshift accommodations, often in abandoned buildings and ex-industrial sites were the solution offered by the Greek government, turning informal locations into official camps (Dicker, 2017, p. 73). Italy was similarly affected, as the central Mediterranean route became the most frequented migration channel again (Pfaff, 2016, p. 6). The conditions in the hotspots, the reception centers and the

¹⁶ In *M.S.S. v. Belgium & Greece*, (Application no. 30696/09, ECtHR), 21 January 2011 and in *N. S. v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (Application no. C-411/10, CJEU) & *M. E. and Others v Refugee Applications Commissioner and Minister for Justice*, (Application no. C-493/10, CJEU), 21 December 2011.

emergency camps that were opened on the mainland did not improve over time, as a series of judgments of the ECtHR corroborates.¹⁷ In some cases they could not even reach the minimum standards of dignified living, neither in Greece nor in other states such as Italy (Mytilineou et al., 2017, pp. 20–21, 36, 41–42, 47; RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, p. 5; Sperber, 2018, p. 1469).¹⁸ In the states of first arrival, the needs could not and still cannot be met and even migrants who are formulating an asylum appeal face an impeded and delayed access to the reception system (MSF, 2016, p. 4).

Just as indicated by Nouredine et al. (2015, p. 47), informal camps in Europe are formed to overcome a gross lack of shelter. Many arriving migrants have no other choice than to pass into informality. They can either illegally rent houses in bad conditions, which are not officially rentable, apply for a further housing structure such as shelter for homeless, or move into an informal settlement. This set of possibilities applies for both, legal and illegal migrants, or beneficiaries of international protection and non-beneficiaries. Naturally the first option is only available for the more fortunate ones, as rents on the black market are often high, even for legally working immigrants (Calavita, 2005, pp. 111, 113). The second one poses a feasible option, if there were enough such institutions. Hence for many migrants abandoned or occupied buildings, factory halls, makeshift camps, or simply the streets are the universal housing ‘solution’. The living conditions are deplorable in all of those settings, characterized by overcrowding, debris and remoteness and under the permanent risk of eviction (RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, pp. 3, 15–16; The Greek Council for Refugees, 2015, p. 7).

3.1.2. Homeless under international protection: displaying the particular seriousness of the reception crisis

Beneficiaries of international protection are third country nationals (in the EU) or stateless persons, in the present case mainly migrants, who either qualify as Convention refugees or hold a status of subsidiary protection. As expound, the attainment of a status that would grant international protection is not easily achieved

¹⁷ The *M.S.S. v. Belgium & Greece* ruling can be seen as the base for several following decisions in cases such as: *S.G. v. Greece*, (Application no. 46558/12, ECtHR), 18 May 2017; *Amadou v. Greece*, (Application no. 37991/11 ECtHR), 4 February 2016 and *F.H. v. Greece*, (Application no. 78456/11), 31 July 2014.

¹⁸ See Neville et al. (2016, p. 17) for further reports about conditions in reception centers, official camps and hotspots and the reports of Melting Pot Europa:
<http://www.meltingpot.org/Situation-in-Sindos-Frakapor-military-camp-on-Friday-10th.html>
<http://www.meltingpot.org/Report-of-refugees-center-in-Greece-after-Idomeni-eviction.html>
<http://www.meltingpot.org/Contradictions-and-violations-of-human-rights-in-Pozzallo.html>

which connects to severe problems. Obtaining the title of international protection and is not the sample solution for migrants anymore.

The shortcomings of the reception system are of such gravity that actually no group of migrants can be assured shelter in a dignified way. International protection does not stand for safe and secure livelihoods in accommodations with access to food, water and services such as medical care or education. This is proven by the amount of beneficiaries that still face sordid living conditions, far away from the goods that their status would promise (MSF, 2016, pp. 4–5, 2018b, p. 31). Some states admit the apparent gap, trying to avoid their obligations under international law by issuing disclaimers, stating that international protection does not entail access to shelter, social benefits or the labor market, as it was the case in Greece for example (Hellenic Republic Asylum Service, 2015).

Generally, there are two scenarios of exclusion of the reception regime. The first one is the ‘drop-out’ of the system and the nonexistence of a follow-up institution that pushes into an accommodation void. After a legal status has been granted, the first reception system does not offer support anymore. People have to leave the institutions, as there is no normative framework regulating the duration of stay in every reception system (MSF, 2016, p. 5; RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, p. 14). The holders of international protection though are not obliged to leave the reception system in every case, some stay in the centers, but may leave at some point as the circumstances there are not bearable for a long time (RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, p. 3). This describes the second scenario, which amounts to a ‘step-out’. Due to the miserable living conditions, beneficiaries of international protection follow many other migrants out of the reception system, in an attempt to seek better livelihoods.

The access to and the enjoyment of the rights that safeguard migrants under international protection exist on paper, but not in practice. As a consequence, the beneficiaries of international protection face obstacles in accessing their rights and suffer from severe shortcomings in various fields, most importantly shelter, health care and education (RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, p. 10).

3.1.3. Informal camps as a result of state determination practice and illegalization

The cumbersome status determination practice is an integral part of the faulty European crisis response having a notable impact on the emergence of informal settlements. From September 2015 on, the predicament of the status determination

practice and the excessive demand of arrivals resulted in bafflement. The solution found by the EU consisted indirectly in *ad hoc* 'illegalizations' of those who could not be concussed as Convention refugees, subsidiary protected or beneficiaries of international protection. Criminalizations are even happening on a large scale, in cases of mass denials of asylum, of all nationals of one state or of entire regions (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 7). Mass refusals of newcomers are carried out with the hotspot approach and mainly have two variations: the refusal of entry decree or the immediate denial of asylum requests. After an issuance of one of these, migrants are "illegalized on the spot" and assigned to an expulsion order, which urges them to leave the country within one week (MSF, 2016, p. 6). Even though obliged to exit the territory, many illegalized migrants continue to stay as illegally present (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 41; Camera dei deputati, 2016; Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 7).

The people being expected to leave not only stay within the state because of their unwillingness to perform the outbound passage, but due to their virtual inability. Amnesty International (2016, p. 6) found out that many illegally present, albeit willing to exit, could not do so due to the lack of means and documentation. As a result they leave their place of abode, trying to disperse into another area. Informal camps remain their only possible refuge, as with a paper of due departure, they cannot access official sites anymore (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 42). The issuing of expulsion orders made the number of illegally present rise across Europe and hence the number of informal camps increased (MSF, 2016, p. 6).

3.1.4. Informal camps as a freedom of choice

As indicated, refugees or migrants move into informal settlements partly of their own accord. According to MSF (2016, p. 6), 33% of the beneficiaries of international protection left the reception system voluntarily in 2015. Makeshift camps represent a slight degree of freedom of choice, even though it must be remarked that the motivation to live in informality is presumably of an extrinsic nature, as the circumstances rather push than pull into illegal camps.

There are generally two reasons to pass into makeshift or improvised accommodations. Firstly, the avoidance of the abysmal living conditions in state camps. Secondly, migrants prefer to persevere in informality, because they are afraid of getting detained upon entering official camps (Nallu, 2017). A vast part of the second aspect is linked to the Dublin Regulation, the practice of forced allocation

even inside a country and the relocation system.¹⁹ Informal camps can be seen as a collateral effect of this practice. People who do not want to be moved, neither inside the country nor inside the EU, nor to their country of origin, escape the governmental centers. For them, being illegally present is the price to pay in order to stay in Europe (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 10). That means that many migrants either do not enter or voluntarily exit reception centers in order to not be identified and fingerprinted. Thereby the Dublin Regulation procedures are avoided and migrants might reach their country of destination without having left a trace in their state of first arrival (MSF, 2016, p. 4).²⁰

Apart from that it is very unlikely that migrants who are returned to their state of entrance, will encounter better living conditions than in the camps they were inhabiting before, as Dembour and Martin (2011, p. 134) and relevant case law of the ECtHR show.²¹ Relocation and returning under Dublin pose disenfranchisements of the freedom of choice and the right to freedom of movement (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 10). Informal settlements can therefore be seen as silent political acts, as underlying protests to the incapacitating practices of the EU in order to retain a free choice.

3.1.5. Informal camps and forced evictions

According to the general comment No. 7 (1997) on the right to adequate housing of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, forced evictions are

“the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection” (OHCHR & UN-HABITAT, 2014, p. 4).

Forced evictions of informal settlements are common in several states, especially those of first-arrival, Greece and Italy, but equally in France. Evicting the socially unwanted is not a very recent practice either, as records of evictions of Roma settlements show (Amnesty International, 2016, 2017c; Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 4; Kandyliis, 2015, pp. 829–830; Tazzioli & Garelli, 2018).²² Evictions often go hand in

¹⁹ For comprehensive information about the relocation and resettlement programs under Dublin see Neville et al. (2016, pp. 13–15).

²⁰ Another common practice to avoid fingerprinting is self-mutilation and the disguise of the fingerprint (Maani, 2018, pp. 98–99).

²¹ For example: *M.S.S. v. Belgium & Greece*, (Application no. 30696/09, ECtHR), 21 January 2011.

²² On forced evictions of Roma, Amnesty International offers several reports (2017c, 2017b, 2017a)

hand with site demolitions. The list of examples is long and reaches from Roma settlements to refugee camps in Greece, Italy or France, where the demolition of the Calais camp was widely noticed (Amnesty International, 2017c; Davies & Isakjee, 2015; Nallu, 2017). Destroying informal settlements appears to be an integral part of evicting them, carrying with it the deterioration of personal belongings.

The example of Northern France shows that forced evictions or destructions of camps produce the emerging of new makeshift settlements, often not far away from the former ones. Compulsory evacuations, demolitions and detainment have a long history in Calais, where at least since 2011, the police is cracking down on the migrant camps. Nevertheless since the 1990s these settlements are enduring and emerging (Davies & Isakjee, 2015, p. 93; Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 124).

Another negative effect is the fragmentation and increasing marginalization of settlements through their eviction. The inherent jeopardy of eviction and by this maybe even confinement, keeps migrants mobile and illegal settlements spreading. By disturbing informal systems of shelter they are kept alive as well. Kandylis (2015, p. 830) describes evictions as a method to disperse poverty and exclusion, stressing that desegregation through the dissolution of informal settlements at one place might become deep segregation through the emergence of new, and more marginalized sites, at another.

Forced evictions hence build a vicious circle, both for the dwellers of informal camps and the authorities, because they will encounter again on newly arising illegal sites. The prime example of this cycle is the destruction of the Pashtun 'Jungle' in Northern France in 2009. Apart from having their 'homes' demolished, the nearly 300 inhabitants (mainly unaccompanied minors) were arrested in detention centers in Southern France. Upon their release a few days later, many of them headed north again, and resettled around Calais, in the same detrimental conditions as before (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 141). It must be remarked that forced evictions are in fact unlawful. They breach directly and indirectly civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights and subsequently a stack of international legal instruments (OHCHR & UN-HABITAT, 2014, p. 6).

3.1.6. *Where: localizing informality*

The UNECE pattern of the five types and common locations of informal settlements apply equally to other regions. As explained, informal camps are to be found close to borders and official camps, *i.e.* strategically important points for migrants in transit.

On the Balkan route, informal camps could be spotted on the borders, train stations and in the cities. These settlements are often an example for temporary camps, used for migrants in transit that have become permanent (Melting Pot Europa, 2017). According to MSF (2016, p. 9), there are four sites, where informal settlements emerge:

Firstly, metropolitan areas where work and social inclusion can be found easier, and communities of the home countries might already be present, like the example of Beirut illustrated (Fawaz, 2017; Martin, 2015). Kandylis (2015, p. 821) observations on Athens show that the gathering of informal settlements on the rims of European cities, just as in Beirut, can lead to the emerging of 'ethnic ghettos'.

Secondly, as the reception system produces 'step-outs' and 'drop-outs', the areas around reception centers are also areas of informal settling. As refugees are either waiting to access the asylum system, not allocated further after exiting the facilities, or are in transit after having left or escaped the governmental centers; they gather close to the state camps, where the access to the system remains tangible. This applies especially for the surroundings of the Italian hotspots. Garelli and Tazzioli (2016, p. 2) speak of a reproduction of hotspots, the emerging of 'informal hotspots' around the official ones. Thirdly, former reception centers can be attractive places to settle. Migrants stay on the territory of abandoned reception centers, reusing their structures, but without access to any services (MSF, 2016, p. 9).

Fourthly, rural areas, where agriculture offers possibilities to earn money are attractive for the emerging of encampments. Especially in Italy, where irregular migrants pose a vast part of the farmworkers, informal settlements are often located close to agricultural areas (MSF, 2016, p. 9). As they lay in the countryside, these camps are well hidden and their existence is likely unknown (Melting Pot Europa, 2016).

Generally, and independent of their conditions and locations, informal settlements are sites of segregation and exclusion is a side-effect of the separation or even 'ghettoization'. Social inequalities not only grow but also become more visible through informal settlements, a tendency that Kandylis (2015, p. 822) observed in Greece, but that now also applies to other EU states, especially to Italy or France. Forced evictions are used to 'invisibilize' this increasing inequality. The resulting territorial marginalization puts migrants in a more vulnerable situation, as they have to restart in remote areas, further away from society, services, civil society and

working opportunities (Calavita, 2005, p. 117; Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 138; MSF, 2018b, p. 10).

3.2. The living conditions inside and around informal camps

Knowing where and under which circumstances informal settlements emerge, it remains to shed light on the living conditions. As this work already addressed several difficulties regarding life in informal camps, it must be anticipated that the set of issues is wide and literature shows that the complications producing 'bare-lives' are manifold. Migrants in a legal interstice and inhabiting informality are exposed to different issues; on one hand there are the deplorable living conditions, like the scarcity of water and food, the absence of electricity and the lack of protective shelter amongst others. On the other hand stand external effects, firstly and foremost the numerous forms of abuse that were highlighted by the SR on the human rights of migrants in 2005: Assaults, rape, death, labor exploitation, deportations, various forms of trafficking, racist attacks, unattainability of health care, suppression, discrimination and confinement are the umbrella terms of SR Bustamante's report (Economic and Social Council, 2005; Grant, 2011b, p. 45).

Many problems come along with the reasons for the originally emerging of informality, especially forced evictions, marginalization, remoteness and the lack of services or the complicated legal stance migrants generally possess. As displayed, the causes producing unofficial encampments are diverse and so are the implications of informality. The locations for makeshift camps differ a lot as well; each setting brings particular problems with it. Additionally, there is a huge personal dimension; the subjective problems and needs can only be unveiled by individual case assessment. However, there do exist typical patterns of problems connected to the living conditions in informality. The most common problems shall be examined briefly hereafter and some of the gravest shortcomings shall be displayed.

Bearing in mind the last sections, it is interesting to read the definitions of the key terms of transitional settlements presented by Corsellis and Vitale (2005, p. 11). Settlements are "covered living spaces providing a healthy, secure living environment with privacy and dignity" and shelter is defined as "a habitable covered living space, providing a secure, healthy living environment with privacy and dignity". It must be doubted that informal settlements meet these criteria.

Sanyal (2017, pp. 122–123) draws a picture of deplorable informal sites in Lebanon, whose dwellers depend on the aid of NGOs in order to cover their basic needs. The density and overcrowding of informal settlements function as a root cause for problems and dangers, says Feldman (2015, p. 246) referring to camps in the Middle East. Ramadan (2013, p. 67) supports these claims, displaying that informal camps are not protected, but demonized and permanently at risk of eviction and attack. In summary, he believes that law and state sovereignty are suspended and fractured in informal settlements. As a consequence, they are marginalized and overcrowded, forming poor places in unhealthy and filthy conditions (ibid., 2013, p. 67).

3.2.1. Food, water, shelter and the access to health care

The reports on Lebanon explaining the magnitude of problems in unofficial camps are prolific, and it tends to be neglected that also in Europe's makeshift sites the living conditions are rather poor. In Italy only half of the sites MSF was monitoring in 2016 had access to water or electricity (MSF, 2016, p. 1). Davies and Isakjee (2015, p. 93) observed the sanitation conditions of the Calais camp, where at the time of their study there was only one water point for the entire camp. A sanitation infrastructure simply did not exist, for which many inhabitants had to cook, eat, and defecate close to where they slept. These circumstances posed a threat to public health in the camp with illnesses spreading out. The severe scarcity of water was tragically unveiled in summer 2009, when a refugee drowned in the Calais harbor in trying to wash himself (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 124). Similar incidents have been noted in Italian informal settlements (MSF, 2016, p. 17).

Other disadvantages of newer makeshift camps, their "uninhabitability" and the ineptitude as shelter became obvious in winter (Dicker, 2017, p. 73). MSF (2016, p. 19) reported of deaths by cold in Italy due to the lack of heating, water and electricity. Calavita (2005, p. 110) observed that housing conditions have a remarkable influence on health conditions. The access to health services is precluded in informal settlements due to the isolation from society. Hence the shortage of health care and the poor salubriousness, distance all migrants even more from the society, where "homelessness or [...] substandard housing [are] a red flag of exclusion" (Calavita, 2005, p. 110). In Italy for example, the access to National Healthcare depends on the residential permit, which is difficult to obtain for beneficiaries of international protection living in informal settlements, and almost impossible to reach for undocumented migrants.

Informal settlements are generally not recognized as a humanitarian problem, as the sites are not officially conceived as refugee camps. The humanitarian assistance, delivered by NGOs or volunteers varies strongly between the campsites. In some places, there are significant help and services provided, others exist without any external aid (Sanyal, 2017, p. 123).

3.2.2. Labor exploitation

Labor exploitation is one of the biggest issues connected to the livelihoods in informality. The negative effects and the breaches of human rights in the field of migrant labor are vast and analyzing them properly would exceed this section by far. However, labor exploitation cannot be ignored when speaking about the implications of migrants' lives in informality.

Habitants of informal settlements mostly have either lost their jobs or are jobless. In Italy, three quarters of the dwellers of informal camps do not have any working occupation (MSF, 2016, p. 13). Thus, migrants are depending upon informal economical systems, like the emerging of an informal market inside the camp or on illegal labor outside. Often migrants reside where they work, usually in abandoned buildings or unused halls and shacks. Informal camps emerge next to the working area, sometimes because employers offer accommodation for work (Miller, 2016; Piro & Sanò, 2017a, 2017b). Working conditions for illegally employed migrants are far away from European standards and pose breaches of international and domestic labor law. The vulnerability and the desperate situations of irregular migrants make them easy to exploit for employers (Grant, 2011b, p. 42). Another fact that reinforces segregation and otherness is that migrants generally work under circumstances that would not be accepted by the local working class. Hence the distance between migrants and society grows, putting appropriate housing, access to health care and other services further away (Calavita, 2005, p. 165). Human rights violations, substandard working conditions or paltry wages are unlikely to be reported by the victims, as they are afraid of any contact with authorities, violence, eviction and deportation. In addition irregular migrants are mostly lacking the means to fight for their rights (Dembour & Kelly, 2011, p. 9; Grant, 2011b, p. 42; Weissbrodt, 2003, para.4).

The living conditions in informality are especially peculiar for vulnerable groups, firstly and foremost for children. Child labor plays a particular role. In 2017 in Italy, one out of four registered unaccompanied minors left the reception system in order to proceed to their destination countries or to make their own livelihood out of the

official centers. The calculation is based on the number of registered children (around 13,000 in 2017). Due to the overcrowded reception centers, the number of undocumented unaccompanied minors living in informality can be only be estimated. Many children cannot find a place in a reception facility even if they want to enter (ASGI et al., 2017; Sinchetto & Vitobello, 2017, pp. 9, 17). Accordingly kids end up in the streets, being easy targets for child labor and trafficking with only little perspective to education. As research in Lebanon indicates, child labor and the shortage of education could become the biggest and one of the most negative effects of informal settlements and informal economies (inter alia: Ammar, 2016; Heidenreich, 2016; Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016; Melting Pot Europa, 2016; Myers, Theytaz-Bergman, & Terre des Hommes, 2017; REACH, 2014).

3.3. The example of Italy

To get a further understanding of the emergence and existence of informal settlements in the European context it is helpful to take a closer look to one of the most affected countries inside the EU. In this work special attention shall be drawn on Italy, which for decades has been in the center of Europe's immigration. The main instrument regulating immigration since 2002 is the *legge* Bossi-Fini (legge 30 luglio 2002, n. 189). The highly controversial law foresees prolonged detentions of illegal migrants and aims to strictly regulate labor immigration. Even though it appears to enhance illegal migration and informality, the law was not yet amended, despite several attempts. The tough legislation was reinforced through the Pacchetto Sicurezza (15/07/2009 n° 94, G.U. 24/07/2009) in 2011, which opened the way for the Identification and Expulsion Centers (CIE), and the Decreto Minniti-Orlando (legge n. 46/2017, GU n.40 17/03/2017) in 2017 (di Muzio, 2012).

In 2015 and 2016, the number of refugees arriving in Italy was peaking, especially after the closure of the Balkan route. In 2017 it diminished while the number of asylum applications rose. In 2018 another intensification of migrant flows can be recorded, with 18,000 arrivals so far (July 2018). The newcomers are mainly of African origin, with Tunisia, Eritrea, Nigeria and Sudan being the most common nationalities (Heidenreich, 2016, p. 6; MSF, 2018b, p. 3; UNHCR, 2018d).

The steadily growing number of migrants inside the country, has a growing number of informal settlements as a direct result (MSF, 2018b, p. 1). As evidence shows, the reception system is not capable of answering appropriately to the demand. The hotspots happened to become the standard procedure and point of contact for most

migrants, and hence the scope of the hotspot mandate is widely exceeded (Bove, 2018, p. 25). The hotspots might help to organize the migration flows first-off, but at the same time they are places of human rights violations and disenfranchisement, because of their “inextricable link to relocation and failure to properly deal with people coming from non-qualifying countries” (Neville et al., 2016, p. 40).²³ Italy was the first country to open hotspots and even served as a role model for Greece. Since 2017 five hotspots, Lampedusa, Messina, Trapani, Taranto and Pozzallo have been installed (Neville et al., 2016, pp. 37–40). In March 2018 two of them were temporarily closed, because different organizations stressed the inhuman detention conditions. Apart from that, cases of undue prolongation, contract and procurement irregularities were detected by the Italian Anti-Corruption agency (Bove, 2018, p. 24).

Although once renowned as a role model, Italy faces the same problems as Greece. The reception and asylum system does not manage to catch up with the migratory influx. The number of places in the reception system increased a little, but the asylum applications turnover rate did not expedite. The average time until an asylum file is processed is close to ten months. Besides, the Italian system has extra issues to solve, as more migrants are being sent back from other EU states to Italy under the Dublin Regulation. In addition, as the relocation plan turned out to be inoperable, the pressure on the Italian reception system cannot ease either (MSF, 2016, p. 3, 2018b, p. 3).

Excuse: the Italian reception system

The *sistema di accoglienza* is divided into four parts (CPSA, CDA/CARA, CAS, SPRAR), which can be subdivided into facilities of first and second grade reception.

The First Aid Reception Centers, CPSA, are sites of arrival, where migrants are usually registered by photo. Basic services such as a medical aid and food are provided. The maximum duration of stay in the CPSA are 72 hours. The hotspots are part of the CPSA structure.

The CDA and CARA are reception centers and centers for asylum seekers, Governmental First Reception Centers. In these facilities, identifications are conducted and asylum requests may be formulated. The maximum stay in a CDA is restricted to a few days. In the CARA, asylum seekers can stay up to 35 days.

²³ Not qualified for the issuance of a protection status, *i.e.* African countries

The facilities of second level reception are called SPRAR. These centers are for migrants who are requesting or who already obtain a status of international protection. Here migrants are supposed to live meanwhile their asylum applications are being processed, which means that migrants who apply for asylum in Italy are allowed to enter and inhabit the SPRAR facilities. Even if foreseen by law, this mechanism does not function, as many migrants stay out of the SPRAR or have to wait months to get in.

CAS, Extraordinary and Temporary Reception Centers complement the second grade centers and are used to enhance the amount of reception places available, in both, first and second level reception. The CDA and CARA centers will become part of the CAS structure.

Finally, there are the CIE, the Centers of Identification and Expulsion, where migrants are detained. Inside the CIE, illegally arrived migrants, migrants who do not apply for international protection or who do not qualify to be granted protection, migrants without a permit of stay, with an expulsion order or a rejection decree are held.

(Bove, 2018, pp. 69–71; MSF, 2016, pp. 3–6, 2018b, p. 3,4; w2eu, 2016, pp. 19–21)

The regular returns are complemented by irregular and in fact unlawful push-backs of migrants from France, Switzerland and Austria. The returns result from the systematic border controls carried out by Italy's neighboring states. These contradict the Schengen agreement (which allows controls at internal borders just under temporary and exceptional circumstances) and the right to freedom of movement. Finally, considering the living conditions in informal camps and reception facilities in Italy, there might even be a violation of the principle of *Non-Refoulement* and thus also of Art. 3 ECHR, as it was ruled in the ECtHR cases against Greece cited before (Bove, 2018, p. 15; Castelli Gattinara, 2017, p. 327; MSF, 2018b, p. 4).²⁴ Taking into account the *Khlaifia and Others v. Italy* case, in which reception conditions in Italy were declared acceptable, Goldenziel (2018, p. 7) speaks of an “erosion of rights guaranteed by the ECHR”. On the contrary, by temporarily shutting down the Lampedusa hotspot, the Italian authorities reacted to the claims made by ASGI and

²⁴ The cases referred to are all rulings against Greece, meanwhile by now there is no such ECtHR decision against reception conditions in Italy yet. In fact in *Khlaifia and Others v. Italy* (App. no. 16483/12, ECtHR, 15 December 2016) claims regarding the reception conditions were dismissed and legitimized with reference to the situation of emergency. However, almost two years later, things have not improved. Apart from that the ruling was indeed of importance for migrants in Italy as it emphasized their right to challenge detention and expulsion (Goldenziel, 2018).

forestalled potential judicial proceedings (ASGI, 2018). An additional issue is the involvement of organized crime in the accommodation of refugees. In May 2017 it was uncovered that one of the biggest regular camps, the Sant'Anna center in Southern Italy was unofficially led by the mafia but officially subsidized by the EU (Castelli Gattinara, 2017, pp. 326–327; Reuther & Müller-Meiningen, 2018, p. 3).

The *ad hoc* illegalization practices also play a role in the depriving circumstances around the Italian reception system, where they are even supplemented by repeated repulses of asylum claims by the police, which function like renewals of the limbo and reissuances of dismissals of entry to the reception system (MSF, 2016, p. 9).

The constant strain of the reception system paves the way into informality. Italy has no accommodation plan for those returned by another state under the Dublin Regulation, so all returnees are de facto obliged to stay put in informal camps (MSF, 2016, p. 12). Those stranded at the borders in the country and outside the reception centers do not face any other possibility than to move into unofficial camps. In early 2018, there were more than 10,000 migrants, refugees, holders and seekers of international protection living in informality, excluded from health care and access to basic needs (Bove, 2018, p. 14; MSF, 2016, 2018b, p. 1). Migrants stay in informal settlements for an average timeframe of 18 months and are living in the country for about six years already (MSF, 2016, pp. 12–13).

Informal settlements in Italy are not a new phenomenon. The south, especially Calabria, Puglia and Sicily has a history with migrants living in large informal settlements, often called 'ghetto'. The agricultural sector, is attracting migrants ever since. In the 1980s, migrants from Eastern or Southeastern Europe and Roma started coming to Italy for seasonal work. Nowadays a modern form of labor exploitation is established in Southern Italy, where migrants (mainly of African origin) pick fruits for two Euros a day. They indwell informal settlings and tent villages (*tendopoli*), such as the 'gran ghetto' in Rignano (Borri & Fontanari, 2015; Corrado, 2011, p. 191; Cristaldini, 2015, p. 127; Dines, 2018, p. 37; MSF, 2018b). Labor exploitation plays a very important role and immigrants "find a very different reception in the labor market than in the housing market" (Calavita, 2005, p. 111). This applies to different forms of illegal work, but essentially the agricultural and prostitution sector are kept up by migrants (Koch, 2018, p. 9).

Albeit there are regions with a higher prevalence of informal settlements, they are a countrywide phenomenon. Makeshift camps in abandoned buildings set on in Sicily and Calabria and can be found in Puglia and Foggia. In Rome, informal migrant

housing takes place in squats and occupied buildings, as well as in unofficial tent camps, like the Baobab camp in the center of the city. Up north there are settlements around Padua and Bologna and finally, on the borders with France in Ventimiglia, with Switzerland in Como and Bardonecchia, with Austria in Brennero and with Slovenia in Trieste and Gorizia (MSF, 2016, 2018b).²⁵

Informal settlements in Italy can mainly be divided into two different clusters. Firstly there are camps, often open-air, being used by recently arrived migrants who are waiting to access the reception system or the asylum proceedings. Secondly, more elaborated settlements, composed of buildings, containers, sheds and tents indwelled by migrants who never entered or left the reception and asylum system (Bove, 2018, p. 14; MSF, 2016, p. 8).

Forced evictions have been a common practice for years and since the amendment of the law on urban security (Law no. 48/2017)²⁶ in 2017, legal grounds of evictions and interventions have been reinforced, and an increasing number of evictions are performed (MSF, 2018b, p. 10).²⁷ Evictions are often connected with forced relocations or forced transfers and confinement. After forced evacuations in Ventimiglia and Como, the dwellers were deported to the hotspot of Taranto (Tazzioli & Garelli, 2018, p. 1). This practice unveils another function allocated to the hotspots, namely the redistribution or the re-detainment of migrants, who were living in informality. As examples in France unveiled (e.g. the eviction of the Pashtun 'Jungle'), detention may pose a barrier, but once migrants manage to get out, they start heading north again, towards the borders and implicitly towards informality. Moving north and getting deported south became a cycle and practically a cat-and-mouse game between refugees and the police. Interviews with migrants in the Como/Ventimiglia area evinced that 17% of the sample had been brought to Taranto before, some up to five times (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 141; MSF, 2018b, pp. 4, 14; Tazzioli & Garelli, 2018, pp. 1–2).

Homelessness and restlessness seem to be attached to migrants' lives. In 2005, a study revealed that 50% of the homeless in Milan were immigrants and 70% of the immigrants in Italy were not living in 'normal' housing conditions (Calavita, 2005, p.

²⁵ For a more complete list of informal settlements in Italy, their typology and further information, see MSF (2018b, pp. 36–37).

²⁶ Conversione in legge, con modificazioni, del decreto-legge 20 febbraio 2017, n. 14, recante disposizioni urgenti in materia di sicurezza delle città'. (17G00060) (GU Serie Generale n.93 del 21-04-2017).

²⁷ A record of recent evictions can be found *ibid.*

111).²⁸ Access to regular housing poses a big problem in Italy, pushing migrants, regardless of their legal status into informality. It seems that, after having crossed many countries, one of the hardest borders is the attainment of dignified shelter, of proper and legal housing (Borri & Fontanari, 2015; Calavita, 2005, p. 116).

Furthermore Italy is facing profound problems in the aftermath of its economical crisis and in an epoch of political uncertainty. The migration situation and the dispersal of informal camps qualify to be of the most difficult issues. In order to improve the situation, in October 2017, around three years after its promulgation, the National Integration Plan for persons entitled to international protection was enacted for a two-year period. The document is of a generic character, providing guidelines and recommendations to regions and municipalities. The shortcomings regarding housing and informality are mentioned as the Plan suggests delivering aid to beneficiaries of international protection who leave the reception system, supporting public housing and adopting programs to help people to step out of informal settlements and conceptualizing specific social measures to respond to informal settlements. The marginalization shall be overcome through integration and access to services (Ministry of the Interior, 2017, pp. 27–28; MSF, 2016, p. 5, 2018b, pp. 6–7).

The continuing implementation of the Plan and the changes it may bring are obscure though, as this depends on politics and administration. The future of Italy's migration situation is very much linked to the new government, as refugees were a key issue in the election campaigns and the strengthening of populist and far right movements are another matter the country has to deal with (Faggioli, 2018, p. 10).

²⁸ 'normal' housing conditions were defined as having a fixed address, meeting safety standards and other regulations (Calavita, 2005, p. 112).

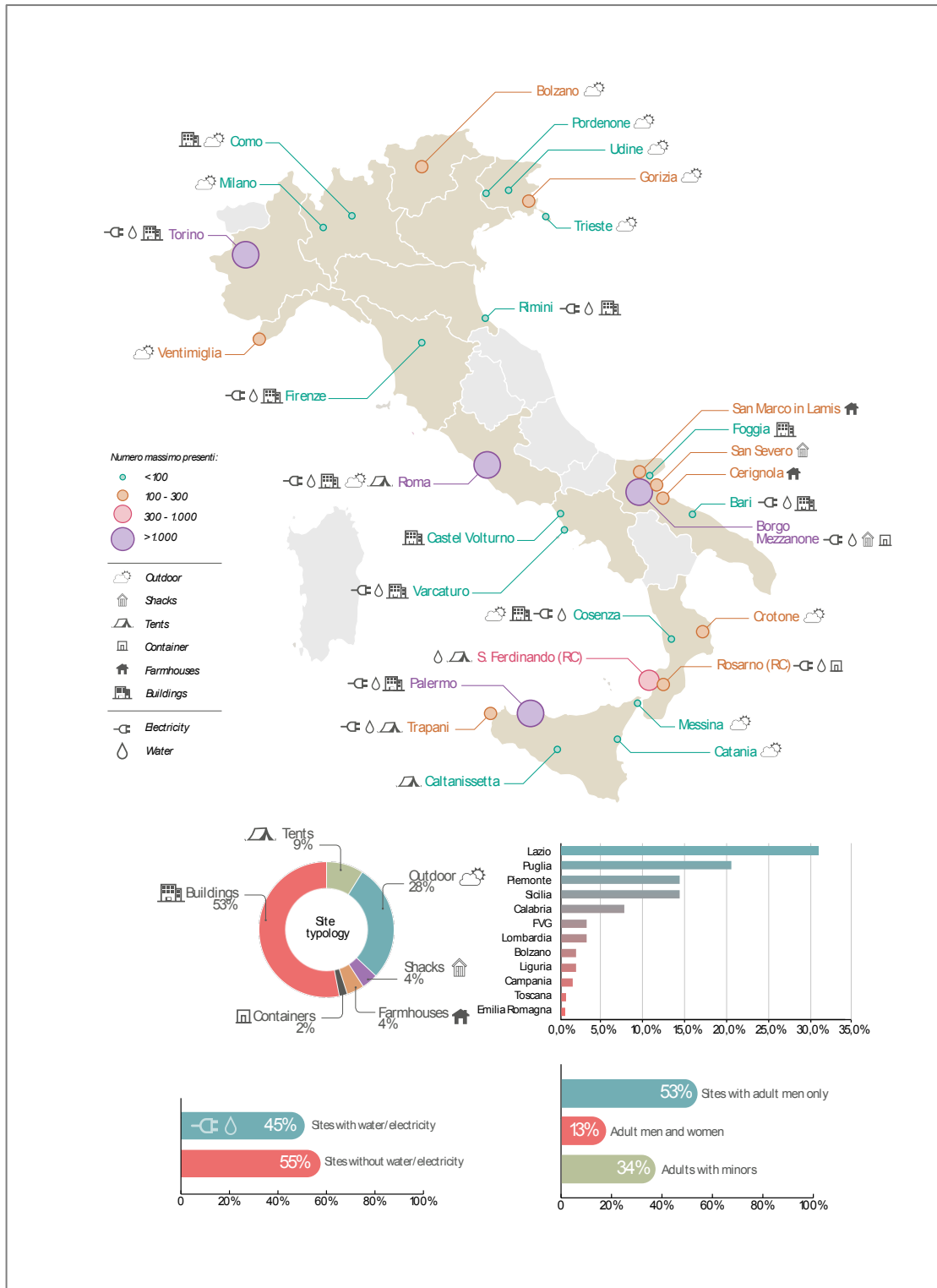


Figure 1: Map of informal settlements in Italy by MSF (2018b, p. 37)

4. Methodology: empirical field research

When changes of entrenched social living environments, like the migratory movements and its effect of living in informality shall be analyzed, it is crucial to choose a research strategy that delivers precise descriptions and that represents the opinion of the affected subjects (Flick, Kardorff, & Steinke, 2015, p. 17). In order to elucidate the living realities of migrants and to draw a comprehensive picture of informal settlements, it was opted for a qualitative research approach. Quantitative methods might have produced a broader data set, but only a qualitative strategy enables to get an in-depth and particular depiction of the situation, as primarily qualitative data allows to analyze and explore complex social phenomena (Bailey, 2008, p. 128; Flick et al., 2015, p. 17; Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 4 [14]).

“Qualitative methods are often used when the field of research is yet not well understood or unknown and aim at generating new hypotheses and theories.” (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 12 [47])

Migrants who are or were living outside the reception system and their appraisals are the focus of this investigation. To catch their situation, the reasons for the emerging of informality and the implications of a life outside the reception system, the author decided to conduct single and group interviews with migrants according to guidelines posed by Häder (2010, p. 192) and Grey (2009) and making use of the ethnographic interview approach of Spradley (1979).

The focus for the research derived from the literature of relevant articles, studies, reports, books and other academic writings. The findings of the various authors were interpreted in the theoretical part of this thesis and analyzed during the research process. The literature was composed of a variety of primary and secondary sources. The main source of information pose academic writings, these were complemented with reports of NGOs and IGOs and finally the range was completed with articles of relevant media such as newspapers. The research builds on the literature review. On that basis it aims to analyze a societal phenomenon, namely the emerging of informal settlements, observed on the example of Northern Italy. Accordingly, theoretical background knowledge was merged with a specific question of interest. The use of theory and an investigation on a specific topic combines both, inductive and deductive practice and is typical for problem-oriented qualitative research (Lamnek & Krell, 2016, p. 345; Mayring, 2008a, p. 70).

4.1. The case study: field research in Italy

It was opted to do a field trip instead of analyzing literature or interviewing experts, because the livelihoods of migrants, of the “crisis people” are an inherent part of the thesis. An insight view seemed to be inevitable to be able to report about informality in a neutral but comprehensive way (Soukup, Lamb, Sevdalis, & Green, 2017, p. 59). Case studies can investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between context and phenomenon are not clearly evident (Gray, 2009, p. 147). Goals of this work were to better understand the context of informality and its surrounding factors and to gain a more holistic perspective that would enable to review and analyze information and even future developments in the field in a profound way. For this, fieldwork presents many advantages, as it is used to answer questions in environments that have not been studied before or had only marginal contact with academia. Knowledge appears where previously little information existed and future perspectives or research questions may derive. Apart from that, ethnographic research can help to comprehend and determine complex systems, such as informal camps for instance, by identifying stakeholders and their role in a certain system and discover issues and associated factors (Soukup et al., 2017, p. 59).

Migrants, who are or were living in informal settlements should be in the center of the investigation, in order to generate scientific value by producing “knowledge from below” (Fontanari, 2016, p. 74). The research was designed to integrate the voice of the dwellers of informal settlements, to explore their point of views and motives. The idea was to dig into the *why* of informality, taking into consideration the *how*, *who* and *where*:

Why do informal settlements appear and emerge in Northern Italy now?

Why do migrants live in unofficial sites? *Why* do they move there, what role does free will play, what are the shortcomings of the system – what are the push and pull factors of informal settlements and what are the implications of a life in informality?

Are informal settlements in Northern Italy a consequence of the turbid stance of refugees when it comes to international law?

These were the questions guiding the research process. As indicated by Kohlbacher (2005, p. 8 [29]), the aim of case studies is to uncover patterns, determine meanings and further construct conclusions on which theory can be built.

4.2. Focus on Northern Italy

The Italian territory is ground of informal camps, from the very south up to the alpine north. For this investigation it was decided to concentrate on the northern parts of the country and giving insights about new types of informal housing, rather than to draw an unclear picture about the entire country, mixing and merging camps of different geneses and populations.

The northern regions, where migrants gather and indwell informal camps can be divided into three parts: east (Gorizia/Trieste), center-north (Brennero/Bolzano/Trento) and west (Ventimiglia). Ventimiglia, is a crucial point for refugees in Italy, as border crossings towards France are undertaken there. The biggest informal settlement, below the main bridge of Ventimiglia, was evicted in April 2018, shortly before the research was conducted. The eviction and its consequences were considered particularly interesting for this work. The center-north region is used for border crossings to Austria and has not been in the center of migration research in Italy until now. Apart from that, the author was invited to join a conference in Trento of the groups and AHGOs that are working with the migrants in Northern Italy. Being border regions, Ventimiglia and Brennero/Bolzano/Trento are areas where refugees strand and endure while attempting to get through the constant border controls or to access the reception system. Where migrants get stuck excluded from the reception regime, there is also an increase of informal settlements (MSF, 2016, p. 8, 2018b, pp. 14, 18; Tazzioli & Garelli, 2018, p. 11).²⁹

The investigation took place in the last week of May and first week of June in 2018. The investigation was conducted in multi-sited research fields, in Brennero, Bolzano, Trento and Ventimiglia. The chosen approach followed the multi-sited ethnography strategy, which deemed to be an appropriate technique to do research with migrants in informal livelihoods in Italy, as it was used in relevant previous studies (Borri &

²⁹ In the center-north region homelessness of migrants and informal settlements became a serious issue after the adoption of the *Circolare Critelli*, a guideline regarding the access to the reception system of migrants and also of families and vulnerable groups. The bulletin *de facto* orders the exclusion of the reception centers of those, who already found or could have obtained a place in a reception facility in another state or in any other place in Italy; and if they could have benefited from the right to apply for international protection (ASGI, Antenne Migranti, & Fondazione Alexander Langer Stiftung, 2017, p. 15; MSF, 2018b, p. 18).

Fontanari, 2015; Fontanari, 2016; Piro & Sanò, 2017a). The included regions differ widely from one another, even if they are only some hundreds of kilometers away from each other. Thereof a flexible and open approach to the research sites and subjects was evinced in order to capture the variety of information in the different settings (Häder, 2010, p. 261).

“Grasping [...] the social practices of migrant subjects to autonomously move and live requires a methodology that allows to consider the geographical spaces and societies not statically but dynamically” (Fontanari, 2016, p. 51).

4.3. Group and individual (ethnographic) interviews

It was decided to take an open approach towards the field research situation, as the, circumstances were changing even in the very same sites. The research focus lied on interviews, which were conducted with individuals and groups of migrants. The amount of interviewees varied between the settings, with continuously having one interviewer. All conversations, single and group interviews, followed a problem-centered approach, giving priority to the experiences and assessments of the migrants (Häder, 2010, p. 192; Lamnek & Krell, 2016, p. 345).

Thomas (2016, pp. 191–192) points out that group interviews are especially popular when the behavior of the entire group is of particular interest. In the underlying case, togetherness plays an important role. Informal camps are group settlements in most cases, as a feeling of security derives from the group structure. Accordingly, problems like miserable living conditions, exclusion, marginalization or evictions affect all group members similarly. The advantages of group interviews being able to display opinions and attitudes towards complex issues or even tabooed topics were highlighted by Flick (2002, p. 168), recommending to make use of the dynamics and openness of group conversations. Bohnsack (2010, p. 215) emphasized that these dynamics would integrate members into the interview, developing mutual reference. He further argued that the group opinion could be considered as a common position that leads groups of people to certain actions (such as undocumented migrants to live in informal settlements, or to leave the reception system). Another positive aspect is that groups auto-control their statements, as distinct, extreme or untrue comments get detected and screened out of the group. Hence the positions usually inhere a high degree of truth and objectivity (Flick, 2002, p. 169; Patton, 1990, pp. 335–336).

It is important to emphasize that the chosen method is a form of interview and should not be confounded with group discussions. The aim is neither to find solutions for a problem, nor to take decisions that would lead to a solution, but to gather profound insights through an interview approach (Patton, 1990, p. 335).

The “dialogical exchange between the observer and the observed”, leaving time and space for the assessments of the individual situations of the migrants were the goal of the research (Fontanari, 2016, p. 50). Pursuing this was not a simple task, openness turned out to be one of the most important values during the study. Another important attitude was carefulness and respect, as it was generally difficult to approach the target groups and to establish a contact. The creation of a formal interview setting resulted in a decreasing will to answer questions, to express individual opinions and to share personal stories. Spradley (1979, pp. 58–59) described strategies to overcome such issues. One group interview could be conducted in a more formal way, while two other official interview appointments did not take place, as the interviewees did not show up. The establishment of a contact and the building of trust were preconditions for every interview. This enhances the outcome for the researcher, as the interviewees feel comfortable and expose more information that might touch upon sensitive topics (Häder, 2010, p. 189). Bearing possible complications in mind, group interviews offer a great advantage, as the chance of not getting responses at all is reduced to a minimum (Gray, 2009, p. 388).

The interviews were not recorded, firstly and foremost because many interviewees showed indignation having their voices, stories and opinions stored. Hence it was decided to not have a separating object (a device) between the interviewees and the researcher. The drafting of conversation protocols directly after the conversations was the chosen approach to grasp the interviews (Gray, 2009, p. 373).

There is the need to interrogate and reflect upon the role of the research for the thesis. As it derives from theory and the findings of preexisting researches (conducted by MSF for example), the empirical part obtains a complementing role and is in proportion to the resources available (Baker & Edwards, 2012, p. 3). It shall not review previous studies, but add an extra value to these works and question or reinforce the claims made by others. The average amount of 20 interviews for a Master thesis was used as a precept, conducting six individual and four group interviews, reaching a total of 19 interviewed persons (Baker & Edwards, 2012, p. 5). It remains to state that rather quality than quantity was prosecuted. The study aims to

demonstrate richness, complexity and detail, obtained within the general circumstances of the field work (Baker & Edwards, 2012, p. 5).

4.4. The Interviewees: sampling and ethical issues

The major part of the interviewed persons was of African origin. The biographies and arrival dates to Europe varied, whereas the actual individual situations were comparable, depending on the location. In Ventimiglia most migrants were trying to cross the border, while in Trento or Bolzano most of them had the intention to stay and to establish a 'formal' livelihood. It shall be remarked that the research subjects, even if composed of different sub-groups, were all part of a marginalized and particularly vulnerable moiety of migrants.

The field research was undertaken during Ramadan, an important aspect to take into consideration when working with a mostly Muslim target group. The fact that many of the interviewees were only eating at night and resting during the day (temperatures of around 30°C were not unusual) made the search for and the approximation of migrants in informality difficult, as they were hiding in remote areas in order to not be disturbed.

Data security played a key role during the establishment of contacts. Firstly, the researcher has to take the responsibility to safeguard personal data and information in order not to put the interviewees under pressure and potentially cause harm (Gray, 2009, p. 188). Secondly, the interviewer has to inform the informants about the research project and their role as participants as well as their right to withdrawal from the interview (Thomas, 2016, p. 93). The interviewees had the possibility to deny the answer and to stop the conversation whenever they considered the situation as possibly harmful for them. Trust and respect were crucial for the visits of informal camps. The author intended to maintain a respectful distance to the personal spaces and 'homes' of the migrants. Only very few informal sites were actually accessed.

The selection of the interviewees took place on an *ad hoc* basis, as there was no possibility of conducting a screening in advance. The first contact points on-site were usually NGOs or activist groups that showed the respective area and gave insights to the current situation. These groups also established the contact with migrants and facilitated the mutual acceptance and openness. Once in touch with the target group, the snowball sampling method (SSM) proved its practicality in finding research subjects (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). With this method one interviewee connects the

researcher to another possible research subject. This technique is especially favorable under circumstances where standard contacting is not possible or made difficult, like during the underlying case study (Cohen & Arieli, 2011, p. 424).

The conversations were held in five different languages (English, German, Spanish, Italian and French). Some interviews could not be conducted, as there was no translator available. The author tried to keep the distance to the interviewees as short as possible and aimed to avoid intermediaries (like translators, third persons, recorders).

The age distribution was widely spread, as minors as well as men of around 50 years were included in the research. The gender distribution in contrary was not well split as no woman could be interviewed. This is due to the general absence or unattainability of migrant women living in informal settlements, and to the fact that by using SSM with men, the possibility of getting in contact with women is reduced.

4.5. The drafting and usage of an interview guideline

The interview setting was similar to the ethnographic interview described by Flick (2002, p. 141). The interviews were taking place *ad hoc* and in different kinds of settings. All of them were conducted face-to-face and in an open, semi-structured and unstandardized way. The interviewer had a prepared list of questions and issues, but not all of them were to be covered in each interview setting. Basis for the conversation manual were the prior identified factors producing informal settling. The most important aspects that should be emphasized were the personal reasons to live in informality, the implications of informal livelihoods as well as the conditions of the informal compared to the official sites.

The order of the topics was not prescribed, the succession of questions varied, depending on the interview situation. The idea was that the interviewees could speak freely, touching upon the issues of the guideline or not. In the case of the latter, the researcher tried to receive further information by inquiring. Open and semi-structured interviews offered the best framing as they allow the interviewees to expand their answers, involving personal aspects. As the research objective was to display the situation and their implications for the affected group, their individual or common patterns of decision that led into informality were the core interest. The aim was to understand the behavior and the decisions of the interviewees. Hence, the inquiry situation was comparable to a narration, but the researcher took an active role

following a semi-structured guideline. The friendly conversation narrative for sensitive interviews, procedure rules for ethnographic interviews launched by Spradley (1979, pp. 55–59) were taken as a guiding principle during the investigation (Häder, 2010, p. 265). The average duration including group and individual interviews was of 20 minutes. The effective time talking was shorter though, as breaks (to think, search for words or pause) or interruptions (to greet and converse with people passing by, to get coffee etc.) were usual.

4.6. The analytical approach

Basis for the analysis of the material were the protocols of each conversation. The handwritten schemes were transcribed and digitalized into protocols. The latter were analyzed through the qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (inter alia: 2000, 2003, 2008b), a technique that enables the researcher to analyze the protocols of communicative processes in a systematic way. The open interviews were analyzed methodically and theory-based (Mayring, 2008b, p. 114; Steinke, 2003, p. 468).

One of the main advantages of the qualitative content analysis is that it is “strictly controlled methodologically” and that it analyzes the material stepwise (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 13 [53]). For the transformation of data into a set structure, the compilation of a category system is crucial (Mayring, 2000, pp. 3, 9). The aim of the application of the category system is to extract the relevant information out of the interviews. The category system works like a filter through which the protocols are scanned and segmented into analytical fragments. The matching text passages are allocated to the corresponding categories through a coding strategy (Mayring, 2000, p. 5). The text components were then paraphrased, generalized in order to abstract the content, and finally reduced to a bullet point (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 16 [57]; Lamnek & Krell, 2016, p. 488). The results obtained with this method were collected and further interpreted in the upcoming chapters.

For the creation of the aspects of interpretation the inductive and the deductive category development approaches were followed (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 18 [61], 19 [64, 65]; Mayring, 2000, p. 3 [11], 4 [14]). For the deductive approach, the theoretical background of the research was assessed in order to transfer the relevant issues into categories. Apart from that, the interview guideline was utilized as a base for the drafting of the categories. Together the proceedings led to a list of titles, issues and questions. As a next step, umbrella terms were deduced from the collection. Hence

the listed titles or categories were further assigned to the umbrella terms. Then sub-categories were built on the basis of the list and in correspondence with the main categories. These deductive categories and sub-categories derived from the theory and the guideline, their drafting was a “theory guided procedure” (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 13 [53]). This approach was complemented by the inductive creation of categories and subcategories directly out of the research material as described by Kohlbacher (2005, p. 18 [61]; University of Trier, 2002, p. 6).

Table 1: Category system and coding rules

Category	Coding rules and subcategories
Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements	Statements and reasons regarding the emerging of informal settlements, or the factors that originate a life in informal settlements.
	Subcategory 1: Reasons for coming to Italy
	Accounts about decisions or happenings that made the person come to Italy.
	Subcategory 2: Freedom of choice
Migrants' lives	Expressions about decisions that led into informal settlements.
	Subcategory 3: Forced evictions
	Experiences and statements regarding forced evictions (interrelation with category three)
	Implications of a life as a migrant in Italy. Comments about personal aspects, motives, decisions, and future perspectives.
Issues inside informal settlements	Subcategory 1: Mobility
	Statements regarding mobility in Europe.
Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities	Subcategory 2: Needs
	Expressions about necessities or wishes.
Issues inside informal settlements	Assessments and statements about the problems, shortcomings and hazards in informal camps.
Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities	Opinions about the reception regime, the conditions inside the reception centers and statements regarding asylum applications or contact with the police in general.

The rule- and theory- based approach and the systematic, transparent processing of the material makes the analysis reproducible to a certain extent (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 15 [55]; Steinke, 2003, p. 474). The aim of the qualitative content analysis is to

create a system through which different people analyzing the same material would obtain the same results (Mayring, 2003, p. 471). Kohlbacher (2005, p. 21 [67]) highlights reliability and reproducibility when different coders obtain the same results or when the analysis reaches the same results under different circumstances. The category system is its crucial element, guaranteeing its accordance with the quality criteria of empirical research. Especially traceability and transparency suggest reliability (Mayring, 2008a, p. 114; Steinke, 2003, p. 324).

5. Results: migrants and informality in Northern Italy between force and necessity

In the following, the results of the empirical research in Northern Italy shall be presented and interpreted. When the information presented derives from some interviews in particular or when an interviewee is directly cited, a quotation system devised by the author is used. The author changed the names of the interviewees in order to guarantee their anonymity and abbreviations are used for quoting the conversations. IV01 refers to the interview one, and the numbers after the colon indicate the line number of the respective statement. For example (IV03: 26) makes reference to the interview number three, line 26. When no particular line but a general idea or reoccurring aspect of an interview is cited, no line number is added. The interview protocols and analyses can be found in the annex.

5.1. About the emerging of informal settlements

As it is the people and their stories, who shape places and in order to set out the reasons for the emerging of informal encampments, a brief look shall be taken at the migrants who live or have lived in informality or as homeless in Northern Italy. Interestingly most of the interviewees have been in Europe for more than one year and half of the total amount of them even for more than two years. Only three migrants interviewed in Ventimiglia had just arrived. The interview partners were either from African states such as Morocco, Algeria, Ivory Coast and Sudan or from Asian states like Pakistan and Afghanistan. The majority of them were Sudanese, followed by Afghans. Despite being inside the EU for some time, most of them had only recently arrived in Italy.

5.1.1. Reasons for coming to Italy

Two tendencies or main reasons for coming to Italy and with it two main directions or entry points into Italy could be identified. Firstly, there are migrants arriving in the south and travelling through Italy in order to cross the border and get further north to their destinations. This pattern could be observed in the interviews four, six and seven. Refugees entering Italy in the south are mainly from Sub-Saharan states and want to get to Northern Europe, but as crossing the border is rather complicated, they usually strand in the northern border areas such as Ventimiglia or Bolzano (IV04; IV06).

Secondly, there is a new pattern of migrants entering Italy in the north, coming back from other EU countries, like the interviewees of conversations one, two, three, five, eight, nine and ten. Migrants exposed to an informal living situation in the north often pose a high degree of mobility as they (re-) entered Italy from a state further away from where they originally come from. The reasons for this inverted flight movements are generally threefold.

The first reason is pending deportations out of other EU states that issue a negative asylum decision. This happened for example to the group of Afghans interviewed in IV03. They all had been living, working or studying in Germany, Austria or Sweden for more than two years until their asylum applications had been denied and their deportations back to Afghanistan had been ordered. They eloped the pending deportations and flew from EU states, and in this way from Afghanistan for the second time, towards Italy (IV03). Hossam (IV05), who should be deported to Pakistan, also undertook this inverted flight movement. All of them applied for asylum in Italy after their arrival and are now waiting for a decision.

Apart from pending deportations to their states of origin, the second reason for coming to Italy is returns to Italy from other EU member states according to Dublin. In interviews eight, nine and ten the men made it to their destinations but were brought back to Italy, as their fingerprints of the EURODAC system were registered in Italy (IV08; IV09; IV10). Saqib (IV08: 2-5) explained that he was returned from the Netherlands even though he is a minor. The third reason for coming to Italy, making inverted or circular migratory movements is work or a better perspective (IV01; IV02; IV08). These interviewees pose a very high degree of mobility as they have been in and around the EU for years, like Shaqir (IV08) or Asil (IV02). Hani (IV01) did not want to say how long he has been in Europe for, but he indicated that he had been to countries like Spain, Austria and France. Shaqir and Asil were around Europe or Italy mainly for work. Asil came back to Italy because it was the only place where he was able to find work. "Germany is a jail, you have where to live, but cannot work, you cannot get out. In Italy I have to sleep on the streets, but at least I can work" (IV02: 17-18).

It must be remarked that in the research the two groups were regionally split. In Ventimiglia there were mainly 'Dublinos' who had been returned from France or other states (IV08; IV09, IV10). In the central-north area there were mainly migrants who entered via Austria, fleeing their deportations back to Afghanistan or Pakistan (IV03; IV05). Mobility plays a key role in all of their stories. The epitome of each migration

movement is of course mobility, as refugees cross the Near and Middle East, the Balkans or Africa and eventually Europe to find peace. However, this initial, and already high degree of mobility does not end after entering the EU. As shown recently, if deportations are pending, migrants flee anew and if the Dublin Regulation is applied, migrants return to states they already crossed during their flight. Inside Italy the requirement of migrants' mobility is also high. For the group of Afghans interviewed in Bolzano it was difficult to find a city, *i.e.* a *questura* (police station) that would take their asylum application and they had to try in different cities before coming to Bolzano (IV03: 54-58, 63-68, 112-116). For migrant workers, like Asil (IV02) and Shaqir (IV08) finding a place to work depends on mobility, which can be both, internationally and inside Italy (IV08: 2).

5.1.2. Reasons for the emerging of informality and homelessness

Mobility is connected with informality and the reasons for coming to Italy can often be linked to the reasons for the emerging of informal settlements or livelihoods, as Hani indicated (IV01: 7-8). During the 18 months he was in Europe, he has barely been staying in reception centers. The constant mobility migrants find themselves in comes along with a constant readjustment of their personal situation. Being on the move means to arrive to new and unknown places and to be on one's own repeatedly. The interviews revealed a certain degree of disorientation and helplessness especially after entering new settings, cities or states. Train stations are often the first shelter of migrants in transit. Once they have to leave the latter, they keep on travelling or move to the streets, the parks, or below the bridges (IV03: 64-68). These are the 'easiest' options until something better is found or until the access to any kind of reception facility is understood, especially for migrants *fuori quota*, as these do not get in contact with authorities automatically, like migrants arriving in Sicily do.³⁰ The group of Afghans (IV03) all slept under the bridge until they managed to access the emergency shelter Emergenza Freddo they are now in. However, refugees who are 'inside quota' also start to move independently, as described by Abushakar, who left the hotspot in the south and made his way up north, where he slept in a park until he was found in desolate conditions and brought to a private emergency accommodation (IV04: 6-14). Just like Abushakar or the Afghan group,

³⁰ *Fuori quota* are refugees who do not arrive by boat, but in an 'unofficial' or 'independent' way. The migrants coming down from Northern Europe are all *fuori quota* and hence very likely to inhabit informal sites (ASGI et al., 2017, p. 8).

after some time outside, migrants often manage to get into some kind of reception facility.³¹

Once in a reception facility however, the issues producing homelessness and the emerging of informality do not disappear. In the regions under observation, emergency shelters, like *Emergenza Freddo* in Bolzano or temporary reception centers like in Ventimiglia were the contact points of homeless refugees. Emergency shelters are usually winter facilities for homeless, also being used by migrants, as they form part of the homeless population nowadays, which includes conflicts and problems as explained in IV03 (97-99):

“the emergency camp is not only for refugees, it is also for other people, so there are many people who are sick, who are drug addicts or who drink too much alcohol [...] but there is no place just for refugees”.

Normally these shelters are only open in winter, which pushes migrants back on the streets in the summer. This spring though *Emergenza Freddo* did not close and continued to be open during the field trip. Other reception facilities of first accommodation are CDA, or CARA, where migrants can stay for a limited period of time. Hossam for instance had to leave the center in Trento after one month and was aware of the fact that he would become homeless afterwards. He was already planning his life outside when the interview took place: “I am not going to sleep under the bridges, but in the park” (IV05: 22-24). There he would wait for a place in a SPRAR and the notification from the police regarding his asylum application (IV05: 20-21). Another option would be to move directly into a SPRAR or another long-term accommodation like a CAS. However, these facilities are often full,

“for us there is a reception accommodation [but] they say waiting waiting waiting, there is no free place” (IV03: 92-96).

Especially SPRAR is only for asylum seekers, but not all of the migrants want to ask for asylum or even can (IV08: 2-3). Those who have not filed an asylum application or whose claims were rejected cannot enter facilities for asylum seekers and consequently they have to either stay outside or go to a CAS, when there is one available. An issue apart is that migrants who were previously convicted of criminal acts are not allowed to enter reception facilities, such as the temporary center in Ventimiglia (IV06: 11-14). First and foremost the intention is to keep these places

³¹ As the interviewees did never precise which type of facility they were talking about, reception facility or reception center stays for all different types and includes private or public emergency facilities such as shelters for homeless as they are used for migrants as well.

safe, but the downside is that migrants with criminal record are pushed into informality, which actually further inhibits their re-socialization.

Yet there is another aspect or mechanism producing informality, namely the free will or the individual choice of migrants to stay out of the reception system. As indicated in chapter three, freedom of choice in fact plays a key role in migrants' decisions, which could also be observed during the research. Staying out of the reception system can have different motives. The most important one however are the conditions inside the accommodation facilities. The conversations showed that the problem of inadequate conditions affects the entire reception regime. It starts at the arrival, in the CPSAs and hotspots. Abushakar for instance claimed that he had left the official camp because there was no water (IV04: 18-20). The emergency shelters, like Emergenza Freddo, are not satisfactory either. The rooms are small and the facilities are overcrowded. Up to 20 men have to share one room, which produces noise and buries privacy (IV03: 27, 43-46). Another problem is the prevalence of contagious diseases (IV03: 25-26, 83-88). Amir (IV03: 90-91) complained about the poor hygienic conditions despite the high level of contagion. In temporary reception centers, *e.g.* CAS, the issue continues. In Ventimiglia, where a temporary shelter (Roja camp) is outside of town, Said (IV10: 6-9) told that he prefers to stay under the bridge because the reception center was not good for him. Abdel left the very same center after two weeks because the conditions were too bad. Shaqir agrees and tells that "beds are small, the bathrooms are dirty and there is not enough food" (IV06: 5-6; IV08: 8).

Another reason why migrants prefer to sleep under bridges or in the streets is their aim to cross borders and make their way to northern countries. A Sudanese man explained in Ventimiglia he did not want to stay in a reception facility because he wanted to cross (IV09: 14-18). Indeed the Roja camp in Ventimiglia is some kilometers away from the border, the train station and the village, where refugees and traffickers meet.

In general it became evident that the reception regime poses a huge problem for migrants in Northern Italy. To illustrate the shortcomings and issues inside and around official shelter facilities, a composition of strong statements and comments captured during the research shall display how migrants see the reception system:

"The rooms are too crowded and too noisy and everyone is sick (IV03: 25-26). The rooms are very very small, they are made for only four to five persons, but 20, 25 or 18 people sleep there. Everybody is sick and everyone of the police or the

Caritas know it. Everyone has a piece of paper from the hospital stating that he is sick. But in the room all sleep together and so even the healthy persons get sick. The worst thing is the sickness!" (IV03: 84-88).

"From eight to eight we have to leave the camp – where do we go? We don't have a place" (IV03: 40-44).

In the emergency shelter in Bolzano, inhabitants have to exit during the day, which makes life more complicated:

"People need a place to study and to sleep peacefully. We have no place."(IV03: 39-40). "Where can we study Italian? [...] To not have a place is very difficult."

They keep repeating that it is very hard for them to be outside the entire day (IV03: 73-74).

"Trop mal dans le camp", too bad in the camp is Abushakar's answer why he left the reception center in the south of Italy and lived in a park in Bolzano (IV04: 18-20).

Shaqir is living with a friend of his in Ventimiglia, as the conditions in the camp are really bad:

"the beds are small, the bathrooms are dirty and there is not enough food. The people have to go to food distributions to have enough to eat. Many migrants prefer to sleep outside than to go to the camp" (IV08: 7-11).

Finally it becomes clearer that informality and homelessness of migrants in Northern Italy is partly a result of the desolate reception system and at the same time a result of EU legislation, in particular the Dublin Regulation and the law enforcement through deportations of individual states. Deportations and returns produce an inverted flight movement, keeping migrants on the run while their way is paved along informality. The emerging high degree of mobility produces homelessness and disorientation, migrants strand in Italy, where they face problems to get into the reception system. If they manage to enter, they are likely to leave again either because the conditions are deplorable and not favoring their personal situation, or because they extend the maximum duration of stay.

5.2. In and around informal settlements: issues

"The life in Italy's streets is difficult; there are no human rights in Italy." (IV03: 128)

Reception centers and informal settlements both seem to shape migrants' lives in the north of Italy, as before and after (different) reception facilities often lies an epoch of informality. It was investigated under what conditions migrants live and they described their livelihoods in unofficial and official camps. The conditions in the reception centers are so bad that refugees 'step-out' into informality. The conditions outside shall be emphasized in the following, aiming to understand what the implications of lives in informality are and what problems homeless migrants face. The results shall be presented divided into two sections. Firstly the living conditions and shortcomings in general and secondly, issues linked to police repression and forced evictions.

Despite the fact that the living conditions in the reception centers are often too bad to bear, the circumstances in informal settlements or "under the bridge are not good either" and problems (*mushkila*) prevail (IV10: 10-11). Naturally one big issue is the absence of proper shelter and protection. The people sleeping beneath the bridges, in parks or in the streets are exposed to wind and weather, especially the cold brought suffering for migrants, Abushakar slept outside even in winter (IV03: 36-37; IV04: 8-9). As bridges generally cross rivers, the people sleeping underneath are living next to the water. The alpine region of Bolzano gets a lot of melt water and consequently the levels rise, bringing the ice-cold floods closer to the mattresses of the migrants. Hence, humidity is a big issue: "Always outside, always wet" (IV03: 117-118). The humidity and the exposure to weather produce health risks and sickness is omnipresent.

"Under the bridge we get sick as well anyway, there, everything is dirty. When it rains, the river comes up, everyone [is] afraid, when we sleep and the water comes up. When it rains, everything gets wet, clothing, shoes..." (IV03: 104-106).

These problems are further enhanced by the lack of hygiene services. The improvised encampments below bridges or in parks do not offer any sanitation and in Bolzano the migrants can only shower or wash their clothes once a week in the Caritas station (IV03: 23-24, 117-118). However, there is no external aid provider that would offer medical care or other services, coming to the informal settlements (IV03: 136-137).

What migrants living in informality miss, whether it is in the streets or in a train station, are places of retreat in order to recover, to relax and to preserve some privacy (IV03: 111-112). The lack of personal space stands in contrast to the problem of loneliness and hiding, Said spoke about (IV10: 10-12). Another aspect that can be

linked to the lack of a personal, safe space is criminality and the absence of security. One of the interviewed groups emphasized their fear of violent acts and of getting robbed under the bridge. Especially at night, violent confrontations are taking place and migrants are afraid of getting thieved, assaulted or injured (IV03: 130-133). At the same time they do understand why migrants start to wrangle and to nick. As no one has or gets any money, some just steal as a last resort. They feel that without a camp, there was no way to get pocket money. (IV03: 134-135). The criminality emerging out of informality is not kept at bay by the police though. The interviewees in Bolzano complained about the ignorance of the authorities: "The police doesn't want to know about the bridge" (IV03: 129-130). They claim that if there were fights or other problems, the police would not come and help. The group tells the story of a knife attack that was observed by the police without reacting (IV03: 128-133).

There is mistrust and fear towards the police, not only during the flight but also in informality (IV03: 60-62). Issues related to authorities are the second big set of problems a life in informality holds. As indicated previously, there is a great margin of arbitrariness when it comes to editing asylum applications, but also inside the settling, or underneath the bridges, police despotism plays a key role. In the interviews in Bolzano and in Ventimiglia forced evictions and the fear of harassments, especially of deportations were a recurring problem.

Especially in Ventimiglia, where the main informal camp had been evicted shortly before the field research, a pervasive fear of forced evictions was noted. Abdel stated that the situation for migrants in Ventimiglia was very difficult after the eviction (IV06: 15-16). "Before under the bridge it was better, it was somehow self-determined and they were nearby and together", claims Shaqir (IV08: 12-13). After that it was rather turbid, as not even the professionals working there really knew where all the migrants had gone (Field notes, 07 June 2018). Shaqir (IV08: 13-15), who was not living under the bridge, explained that the dwellers had disappeared after the eviction. He believes that they either moved to a camp, or crossed the border to France or had been deported south. Abdel (IV06: 15-19) explained that after the eviction everyone was very afraid of being deported and hence hiding. He confirms the rumor of police buses that circle around by night, catching migrants who sleep outside and deporting them south. Said, who lived under the bridge, has to hide now, as he wants to stay outside of a reception facility. For him the police is a big problem and he is afraid of the night deportations (IV10: 13-15). The trust in authorities is low, as many of them have made bad experiences, especially those who have been returned to Italy under Dublin. Saqib for example was returned from

the Netherlands despite being a minor (IV08: 2-5). When trying to file an asylum application many encountered reluctance on part of the authorities to take and process their request (e.g. Afghan group, IV03). These actions can quasi be seen as harassments, which are not only taking place in form of evictions. Under the bridge in Bolzano, the police appeared just to turn off the light for instance and Fahim was expelled from the train station in Milano, just because he did not have a ticket (IV03: 108-109, 112-113).

Evictions result in marginalization and anxiety, as refugees have to hide and disappear in order to evade their deportation back to the south of Italy. Thus, they are another factor producing mobility and informality.

Exposure to weather and criminal actions and the lack of privacy or safe spaces to shelter produce anxiety and segregation as well. Poverty is a general issue, promoting the criminalization of migrants. All interviewees silently agreed that they were living in plight, but it seems that the longer a person lives outside, the more the concerns shift. Said, who is living informally for a long period of time for instance, barely talked and if so, about deportations, police or loneliness and his anxiety, caution and suspect was palpable (IV10). Others, like the Afghans in Bolzano, who were not all in the streets anymore and who had arrived four weeks before the interview, complained more about their actual living situation. One of the Sudanese men in Ventimiglia highlighted that the life in the streets is hard, but that it becomes even harder to readapt, after having been in another EU country such as Germany for example (IV09: 19-21).

5.3. How things could change: stating the needs

If one is asked to recount his personal situation and if the latter is rather dissatisfying, the person will mention needs and make demands, which could improve the living perspectives of the affected person. The necessities arise out of the living conditions and hence out of the shortcomings and problems set out above.

Abushakar claimed: "I am an adult with needs, like love, to wash or to speak", but in his situation these cannot be fulfilled (IV04: 21-22). Better living conditions with a proper accommodation, social contacts and in a hygienic environment are wishes that emerge in informality and in reception centers. The most basic needs do not seem to be covered, especially in Ventimiglia. In two interviews the need for food

was brought forward, as the alimentation was not sufficient, not even for those staying in the reception center (IV08: 7-8; IV09: 2-3).

Health care or the provision of medical support, as one the most basic conditions for adequate living, was only mentioned in one interview and of a dialogue partner who actually was critically ill and in need of medical treatment. The others were of good health, they did not ask for medical aid, but rather for hygiene in order to decrease the contagion risk to others (IV03). When it comes to legal advice, only in two cases it was mentioned on the side. A lawyer assists Saqib (IV08) who was returned to Italy as a minor now; and Hani (IV01), accused of criminal acts, was taken to a lawyer in Bolzano after he was taken out of the train in Brennero and sent back to Milano by the authorities. Legal and medical aid only comes up, when an urgent need appears in form of a problem or danger, until then migrants are aware of their peculiar situation but not in want of such support.

The five Afghans in Bolzano particularly highlighted their search for tranquility, privacy and a quiet place, as it is the precondition for studying (IV03: 100-102). Learning the language is crucial for them, it is “the most important thing” (IV03: 73). They are aware of the fact that having knowledge of Italian is necessary to find a place to work.

“People need a place to study and to sleep peacefully. We have no place. Where can we study Italian? We don’t have a course. From eight to eight we have to leave the camp – where do we go? We don’t have a place...” (IV03: 39-41)

Hossam (IV05: 27-30) states that learning Italian for him is key, as his big goal is to find a job. For him a place to work and receive money is even more important than having a proper place to stay, as a flat or something else will come once he has earned some money. In the end, learning Italian and finding a workplace for them also means to integrate and to build a future with a perspective in Italy, to escape the life under bridges: “work is the most important, with work we can get out of this. Work is all we need.” (IV02: 26-27).

6. Discussion and assessment of the results

In order to understand how informal encampments emerge as a result of the refugee movements in Europe, it was taken a closer look to Northern Italy, a region in the epicenter of various crises connected to migration. The aim of the investigation was to show insights about lives in informality. It was of particular interest to explain why or how informal camps emerge and to shed light on the very reasons for their existence. To gain an insight view of informality, migrants were chosen as interview partners. The personal decisions, motives and choices where to live and under which circumstances and the push and pull factors of informality were in the center of the investigation.

The emerging of informality in Northern Italy is connected to several issues, which correlate between each other. Firstly, it became clear that the reasons to enter Italy and the patterns of migration and mobility play a key role in the formation of irregular housing. Secondly, the emerging of informal settlements depends on the reception system; it was discovered to be a side-effect, a concealed but integral part of the reception regime. The congested and deficient system produces informality and many migrants voluntarily 'step-out' in order to evade the inhuman conditions of official accommodations. Thirdly, as the livelihoods and implications of informality were investigated, it turned out that the conditions are similar to those in the reception centers and pose serious threats to migrants' lives. Fourthly, the situation and the informal encampments in Northern Italy were not found to be like they were estimated previously. In fact, homelessness prevails over settlements and it must be scrutinized whether it is even possible to speak of informal settlements taking the current definitions of camps and informal settlements into account.

The results shall be further discussed and put in line with other recent studies and reports. The aim is to critically reflect and interpret the obtained results and assess the internal and external validity of the investigation (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 19–21 [66–67]).

6.1. Explanation of the results

The results are divided into the four main findings indicated above, each of them being reflected separately. The findings will be explained, interpreted and put into relation with relevant literature in order to assess and compare the results. The ones containing a higher degree of novelty will be explained in further detail.

6.1.1. The reasons for the emerging of informal settlements are directly linked to the reasons for coming to Italy

The aim of the research was to find out why migrants move to informal camps and which factors were pushing them into the latter. The conversations were composed by the personal stories of the interviewees and it became evident that their backgrounds and migration histories play an important role in the genesis of informality. The reasons for entering or not exiting Italy are very much linked to the underlying grounds of informality.

In the first place coming to Italy is the flight from war or other hazards to personal integrity, security and life. Right now this applies generally to Sub-Saharan Africans who disembark in the south and pass the northern regions in order to cross to France or Austria. They undertake a south-north movement. These refugees are in a stage of transit, mainly in Ventimiglia, trying to leave Italy. As they encounter closed borders, the migrants strand in Northern Italy for an indefinite amount of time (IV04; IV06; IV07). They either stay in reception centers, or in the streets, parks and underneath bridges.

Especially interesting were the less expected but predominant remaining motives. The second one is characterized as well by the flight from war or other threats taking place in countries of origin, but runs in an inverted direction: north-south. In fact it is the escape from pending deportations back to Afghanistan or Pakistan ordered in other EU states, like Austria, Germany or Sweden (IV03; IV05). The third motive cannot be distinguished by a voluntary entry, but by forced returns to Italy under the Dublin Regulation from other EU states (IV08, IV09, IV10). The second and third groups together are the subjects of what was called an inverted flight movement in the previous chapter. These refugees enter Italy from the northern borders and get stuck, just like the ones coming from the south, in the focal points Ventimiglia or the central-north Brennero/Bolzano/Trento.

This inverted flight movement was not expected, especially not the patterns showed by migrants whose protection applications were rejected and who obtained a deportation notification instead. Avenarius et al. (2018, p. 11) reported about refugees who had been deported to Afghanistan after their applications were denied in Germany and who restarted their flight towards Europe. When the article was published the interviewees of Avenarius were currently stuck in Lesbos. This report indicates the role second flight attempts might play in migration's future, but it does not refer to the deportation-evading strategies of migrants that was observed in

Northern Italy now. It is considered highly important to shed light on this new, intra-European flight movements, as it unveils the long-term effects of state determination practices and the 'safe-state-of-origin' narrative used in Germany to justify deportations to Afghanistan. The issuing of deportation orders may make migrants leave, not to their states of origin though, but other EU states such as Italy. In 2017, MSF (2018b, p. 18) took record of migrants in Bolzano whose requests for international protection had been denied in Austria or Germany and carefully mentioned the emergence of an inverted flight pattern, without giving it a name though.

Returns under Dublin, especially from France to Italy, are not a new phenomenon. They are based on the Chambéry bilateral readmission agreement, which was already signed in 1997 (ASGI, 2015). MSF (2018b, p. 3) highlights the increasing number of returns and emphasizes the failure of the Relocation Programme, which is not taking any weight from Italy's shoulders. In the first half of 2018, around 11,000 refugees have been returned to Italy (Rüb, 2018, p. 3). Garelli and Tazzioli (2016, p. 10) blame the returns to keep migrants on the move and highlight the disenfranchising effect of this practices, making the abodes of migrants not subject to personal decisions anymore but to a European law enforcement program.

Brekke and Brochmann (2015, p. 160) indicate that the Dublin Regulation is one of the root causes for endured limbo and for the continuous mobility. Their interviewees found themselves in between unbearable living conditions in Italy and the fear of being returned after having crossed to another state. They further bring up a rather controversial aspect regarding returns to countries of first entry. Referring to the ECtHR decisions, declaring returns to Greece as unlawful, they pick up the situation in Italy, as *Tarakhel v. Switzerland* already opened the gate to similar judgments. The authors see another threat to the Dublin Regime, if returns to both states, Italy and Greece, would be classified as breaches of international law, as this would amount to issuing '*carte blanche*' to migrants to go and make their claims wherever they please. By implication this would suspend the current practice of disenfranchisement Garelli and Tazzioli (2016, p. 10) are charging.

Refugees who do not come from the south encounter a difficult situation of reception in Italy as they come *fuori quota*. After their arrival they try to file another asylum claim, which is often hindered by police and exclusive legislation that keeps them on the run, in search of a *questura* that would take their application, and a facility to host them (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 8). During the search migrants are exposed to a

precarious shelter situation and sleep in train stations or outside (IV03; IV05; IV04). The migrants interviewed for this thesis showed a high degree of mobility and of constant reorientation. Endured search and circulation produce disorientation and helplessness – other factors pushing into informality. Upon arrival migrants do not know where else to refuge than in informal settlements (IV03; IV04). This was also ascertained by Brekke and Brochmann (2015, p. 159) whose research unveiled a higher vulnerability of newly arrived migrants as they were running the risk of “ending up in a particular precarious situation”.

The investigations of migrant mobility inside Europe led Borri and Fontanari (2015, p. 201) to similar results as the ones presented in the previous chapter. Some of their interviewees were returned from Germany and were waiting for a place in the reception system and to have their asylum applications processed. In their results they postulate “precarious livelihoods and regular circular movements” (ibid. 2015, p. 203) and conclude declaring mobility as misappropriate normality for transit migrants in Europe instead of sedentariness (Borri & Fontanari, 2015, p. 209).

Paynter (2018, p. 41) discusses the situation of transit migrants and stresses the absence of any correspondence to the term in international law, which discloses grounds for their difficult status. Transit *per se* refers to mobility as it describes the very movement of crossing. Paynter (2018, pp. 43–44) states that transit migrants are difficult to quantify or to define as the term applies to many undocumented or irregular migrants, to expatriated people that have not yet reached their destinations and “live in an ongoing state of non-arrival” due to the “increased surveillance of national borders”.

Kasperek and Schmidt-Sempdner (2017, p. 184) elucidate that the European approach towards migration and asylum, foremost the Dublin regime, not only produces a highly mobile migrant population, but also a highly segregated and excluded population at the same time. Returns and deportations from one state to another combined with individual border crossings (often in the opposite direction) result in mobility, disorientation and marginalization. Thus it is logical that migrants try to evade this regime (2017, p. 184).

6.1.2. Informal settlements as an inherent part of the reception system and the significance of free will

To understand the emerging and the enduring existence of informality and its link to the reception crisis in Italy it is unavoidable to include the reception system in the set

of issues to be questioned. Almost all of the interviewed persons had been in contact with the *sistema di accoglienza* in some way. Entering into the reception system is a common goal, as migrants hope to encounter better living situations there. Almost all of the interviewees accessed some kind of reception facility. Before entering a reception center, migrants defray their time in the streets, in precarious, yet informal livelihoods.

However, the results showed that this precariousness does not necessarily come to an end after getting in a reception facility. Only five of nineteen interviewees did not complain about their living situation in a reception center (IV02; IV05; IV07). It must be added though that these were either staying in an official accommodation only for a few days (IV07) or had abandoned the system years ago (IV02). The issues encountered by the informants inside the centers are diverse and consider various ambits. A huge set of problems is connected to the usage of improvised reception solutions, such as winter shelters for homeless. These facilities are only open in the winter, which obliges refugees to move back to the streets in summer, as explained in IV03 and by Fontanari (2016, p. 302). Apart from that they are overcrowded and impose deplorable living conditions on their inhabitants. Twenty persons share rooms made for five, the sanitation installations are insufficient and the risk of contagion is extremely high (IV03: 84-88). The housing of migrants in homeless shelters is not a new strategy of the authorities and there are several difficulties related to this practice (Calavita, 2005, pp. 111–113). Inadequate living conditions seem to be omnipresent throughout the country and the system. The claims against reception centers did only pertain to homeless facilities. CPSA, hotspots and CAS wait with similar deficiencies: overcrowding, lack of privacy, minimal standard of hygiene and sanitation, health risks and shortage of food and water (IV03, IV04; IV06; IV08; IV10).

These conditions were pointed out by a broad spectrum of researchers and NGOs, but seemingly no major improvements were made so far (MSF, 2016, p. 4, 2018b; RSA & Pro Asyl, 2017, pp. 3, 15; Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. xv). Brekke and Brochmann (2015, p. 152) observed that the conditions of reception facilities in Italy vary greatly but in the end they offer a similar image than the underlying results: leaking water, breaking doors, rubbish and dirt, insects and humidity.

Yet there is another issue concerning the reception system: centers like CDA or CARA only allow migrants to stay for a limited period of time, which pushes migrants into the streets after that time limit expired (IV05). Normally, after reaching the time

limit and/or obtaining a status of protection, migrants are supposed to move into a facility of second grade reception. However, long-term accommodations are also overcrowded (IV05; IV03). SFH/OSAR observed an identical situation (2016, p. 44): after being obliged to leave a CAS, migrants end up in the streets as their follow-up housing is not granted due to the limited capacities. The claim of SFH/OSAR (2016, p. 45) that the Italian reception system is based on the assumption that migrants must look after themselves is strongly supported by the results of this thesis. A common pattern of movement, especially in the central-northern region is of changing from informality into a reception center and back into informality until a place in a follow-up facility is vacant (IV03; IV05), or as Fontanari (2016, p. 308) calls it “from illegal to legal and the way back”.

This explained scenario is only applicable for migrants who ask for asylum in Italy, those who do not, *e.g.* because they plan to go to another country, cannot enter any second grade or asylum seeker accommodation (SPRAR or CARA). They either defray in informality, in CAS or in emergency shelters. SFH/OSAR (2016, p. 10) reach the conclusion that the deplorable living conditions and the shortage of capacities in the reception system produce informality. Paynter (2018, p. 41) states it even clearer, with the shortcomings pushing “thousands of migrants into homelessness every year”.

Besides these ‘drop-outs’, there are ‘step-outs’ of the reception system as well. Factors such as the living conditions work as pulling factors into informality. Having seen these settings and suffered from the scarcities, migrants decide to exit or not even enter the reception centers (IV03; IV08; IV10). The freedom of choice was already described and it was deduced from previous studies conducted by MSF (2016, p. 6). For refugees, a life in informality can safeguard a slight level of individuality and self-determination. Outside of the reception facilities they seek better living conditions and other advantages, such as being closer to borders (IV09; Paynter, 2018, p. 43). Garelli and Tazzioli (2016, p. 10) and Nallu (2017) stressed the importance of conserving the individual choice and highlighted the fear of not being able to leave Italy upon entering into the reception system. The director of the Roja camp in Ventimiglia affirms this, stating that many of the inhabitants leave after one week, continuing their flight aiming to enter France (Rüb, 2018, p. 3).

Kasperek and Schmidt-Sempdner (2017, p. 184) anticipated these ‘step-out’ movements: circumventing the consequences of an irregular and legally unclear status, *i.e.* of being a subject of the law enforcement of European authorities, can

only lead to informality and to hide in settlements outside of the official system, which is inevitably attached to the determination of a legal status.

In the report on International Protection in Italy 2017, Giovanetti et al. (2017, pp. 9–14) conclude slightly different. The document only focuses on asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection, who are inside the reception system and ignores migrants who are not in the system. The report draws a better picture of the *sistema di accoglienza* that indeed improved in terms of quantity, as the total amount of places increased significantly over the last years (SFH/OSAR, 2016, p. 73). The positive image however is not underpinned, as the report solely considers figures regarding the quantity of the reception regime and not the quality of the latter. This document is not adequate to frame a counter-argument to the findings presented here. It aims to shed light on the positive aspects of a reception regime that is actually eroded by defects. This whitewash becomes apparent when figures collected by SFH/OSAR are considered as well. The Swiss Refugee Council found out that only the places in first grade reception centers were augmented, but not the ones in second grade centers, being the ones that really lack (SFH/OSAR, 2016, p. 74). In Bolzano for example there is no SPRAR (ASGI et al., 2017, p. 9).

It must be concluded that the Italian reception system is neither coherent nor comprehensive and the access is, even though guaranteed *de jure*, not ensured *de facto*. Italy does not offer complete and gapless reception and does not comply with its duties under international law (ASGI et al., 2017, p. 9; SFH/OSAR, 2016, p. 11). The situation encountered in Northern Italy and the analysis of the material in light of other studies lead to the assumption that the reception regime is not only incomplete and defective, but also calculating with informal settlements providing shelter to migrants who ‘drop’- or ‘step-out’ of the system. This strategy forces migrants into homelessness and produces precariousness. Informal settlements are yet an invisible but inherent part of the reception system.

6.1.3. Life in informality between misery and repression

Knowing about the emerging of informality it remains to discuss the implications of a life outside the reception system. Especially as the latter waits with unbearable conditions it must be questioned whether informal settlements offer any improvement besides the conservation of a personal freedom of choice. The investigation unveiled that the conditions outside the reception regime were problematic due to the high degree of vulnerability.

There is a set of issues connected to the general circumstances of homelessness, such as the lack of shelter and privacy, of food and water and the exposure to weather, cold and natural hazards (IV03; IV04; IV09; IV10). The alarming conditions under which migrants live and the impact of these to the physical and psychological wellbeing, as well as the struggle to access any services, have been highlighted repeatedly, especially by MSF (2018a, p. 13, 2018b, pp. 10–12, 15–16, 27). The living conditions have a strong influence on the health of the migrants, this conclusion was reached by Calavita (2005, p. 110) and SFH/OSAR (2016, p. 55):

“health, social and legal problems are interrelated [...] people who spend their whole day hunting down the next meal and the next place to sleep have no time to address their mental health”. (SFH/OSAR, 2016, p. 55)

The other big set of issues is connected to external factors and stakeholders, firstly and foremost the authorities that systematically exacerbate the life in informality. The informants described the disregard of police forces when they were asked for help in situations of danger, such as violent attacks and assaults. Criminality is not tackled, as long as it takes place out of sight (IV03).

As previously emphasized, forced evictions, arrests, deportations and forced internal transfers impede the actual perception of a freedom of choice. Particularly Ventimiglia is a “hotspot” for evictions and repression and transfers. Various interviewees mentioned such repressions (IV06, IV08, IV10). The documentations from MSF (2018b, p. 14) and Tazzioli and Garelli (2018, p. 13) about forced transfers of homeless migrants from Ventimiglia to hotspots in the south were confirmed by the interviewees (IV06; IV08; IV10). This reminds strongly of the practice of French authorities in Calais, who deported the dwellers of the Pashtun ‘Jungle’ to Southern France after its eviction (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 141).

The consequences of the evictions, in the central-northern area and in Ventimiglia, are rather identical: constant fear and a feeling of helplessness and being subjected to arbitrariness. Forced evictions produce segregation. The sites are closed down, made inaccessible and afterwards under constant surveillance. The inhabitants cannot return and have to find alternative solutions, where moving into a reception facility is only one (IV06). Another is to disappear, either across the border, or to more remote and hidden sites (IV06; IV08; IV10). Thus, marginalization is the first effect of forced evictions and transfers (Calavita, 2005, p. 117; Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 138; MSF, 2018b, p. 10).

To establish a link to the previously discussed findings, it must be remarked that evictions and repression not only result in marginalization, they also enhance the mobility of migrants. According to Garelli and Tazioli (2016, p. 12), forced transfers aim to inhibit secondary movements and decrease the mobility of migrants, but the opposite is the case.

Forced interferences, aiming to destroy informal settlements, actually produce them. As the reception center is not the only shelter option, evicted migrants move into informality. Even if they move into a reception facility, the likelihood of dropping-out again is very high and subsequently the reversion to informality (Fontanari, 2016, p. 302). This circle of re-emergence of informal camps after evictions was also observed in Calais (Davies & Isakjee, 2015, p. 93; Dembour & Martin, 2011, pp. 124, 141).

6.1.4. Are there even informal settlements in Northern Italy?

During the research process it became unclear, whether the informal sites used by migrants in Northern Italy would even fall under the definitions of informal camps of chapter two – whether they could be called informal settlements at all.

Usually the sites where refugees find shelter in the north are parks, bridges or simply the streets and sometimes abandoned buildings. Some of these spots hardly match with the definitions of informal settlements examined in the second chapter. UNECE differs five types of informal settlings and only the second type, 'settlements for refugees and vulnerable people' includes the housing situation of migrants in Northern Italy due to its wide and vague header (Tsenkova et al., 2009, p. 8). The other four types propose a higher degree of infrastructure that could not be observed. MSF (2016, p. 8) distinguishes two types and solely the first, 'open-air sites with migrants who recently arrived and who are waiting to enter the reception and asylum system' could be identified in the area under research. However, not only migrants who had just arrived were living in such sites. The informal settlements as defined can surely be found in Italy, for instance the camps and squats in Rome, or the *ghetti* and settlings of migrant workers in the south. The settlings in the north are not even called camp or home by the people inhabiting them (IV06; IV10; IV06), which confirms Minca (2015a, p. 91) who stated that informal sites can not be called 'camp' when they are not named as such by their dwellers either (IV02; IV05; IV06; IV08; IV09).

In the north it must be thought about homelessness or of informal settlements in their simplest stages. The encampments are traceable but often invisible at first. If known where, it is possible to locate leftovers like rubbish or mattresses but nothing that would remind of a camp. There are no tents, no wooden structures, not even tarps or plastic sheeting – objects that are mentioned in most definitions or descriptions of informal settlements (Habib et al., 2016, p. 1043; Ramadan, 2013, p. 74; UNHCR Lebanon, 2016).

Taking into account that MSF included several of the northern sites in their reports on informal camps actually proves that they are also covered by the MSF definition of informal settlements and as indicated above, the UNECE definition is wide enough in order to expand it to the situation observed. The encampments in Northern Italy seem to give a new meaning to Agambé's (1998) 'bare-life' narrative, they are the initial of 'bare-life', namely homelessness.

6.2. Limitations

A case study research not solely offers advantages; it also carries inherent limitations with it, which in combination with other limiting factors impose weaknesses on this thesis. The most evident set of problems derives from the chosen methodology and research approach. Due to the limited scope, timeframe and resources it was opted to perform a slimmed case study research. Hence, the underlying investigation was not a "heterogeneous activity covering a range of research methods and techniques" (Hartley, 2004, p. 332). Indeed it was facing a full variety of evidence but not characterized of mixed methods as it is usually done (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 7 [24]).

Conducting the interviews turned out to be very complex. The experiences made underpin Cohen's and Arieli's opinion (2011, p. 425) that in an environment of marginality, mistrust and fear the connection between the research subjects and the researcher are difficult to establish, which might also limit the openness of the conversations and the objectivity of the observations. In order not to risk the thin base of trust that could be built, the interviews were not recorded. The lack of a record and a literal transcript of the spoken word pose a weakness of the study and reduce the transparency.

Apart from that the limited amount of questions that can be asked under the encountered circumstances possibly limit the scope of conclusions able to be made (Patton, 1990, pp. 335–336). The enormous language barriers additionally governed

the number of issues that could be discussed with the migrants. Another fact impairing the research and its findings is the gender distribution of the research subjects. The interviewees and the 'audiences' were exclusively men. It must be remarked that in none of the visited areas the researcher could find women. A similar issue was faced by the researchers of MSF in Ventimiglia who interviewed about 300 individuals, only three percent of whose were female (MSF, 2018a, p. 1).

Informal settlements are sites of transition and the collected data is definitely not randomly reproducible. Change is permanently occurring internally through the high degree of mobility; and externally through modifications like forced evictions. The observations cannot be made in the very same sites, of the very same persons and circumstances again.

These concerns lead to the question of the generalizability of the results. The ethnographic study was conducted in a limited setting and the results cannot be generalized to other regions (Kohlbacher, 2005, p. 21 [69]). Thomas (2016, p. 23) recollected that case studies cannot produce generalizable results, even though they may seem to do so. However, the findings derive from multiple research subjects that, due to their high degree of mobility and their varying personal backgrounds, represent wide parts of migrants in Northern Italy. The aim of the research cannot be to deduce statements and apply them to other populations. "Case studies are [only] generalizable to theoretical propositions", but an analytical generalization of theory is feasible (Yin, 1994, p. 10).

Finally, it remains to critically look at the position of the researcher and its role of being a 'white German man' in the setting of informal refugee camps. If informal settlements can be viewed as 'islands', than the concern invoked by King (2009, p. 55), of the "outsiders looking in" shall be stressed. Islands are microcosms of a high degree of exclusion, similar to migrant settlements and often the very spaces where migration gets visible (King, 2009). The condition of looking in imposes an invisible but noticeable barrier to the study. Apart from that it must not be forgotten that the background, the biases and attitudes of the author, produced by peer groups and prior experiences in refugee camps, will always influence the decision on which topics to pick and how to analyze them (Bailey, 2008, p. 127; Häder, 2010, p. 189).

6.3. Deductive summary and recommendations

Some of the key findings of this work confirm existing knowledge, as the studies of Kandylis (2015), Fontanari and Borri (2015), MSF (2016, 2018a, 2018b), Corrado (2011, 2017), and Kandylis (2015) (just to mention a few) show. Neither informal settlements, nor homelessness, nor the high degree of mobility and marginalization, nor the precarious living conditions and the exposure to repression are new phenomena connected to migration in Italy and Europe. What can be demonstrated with this work though, is that these phenomena are not decreasing, they are only ostensibly diminishing. In fact, migrants in informality are disappearing or becoming invisible due to evictions and the destruction of makeshift camps or due to the encapsulation of Europe and the closing of the flight routes. In total the above-mentioned phenomena are increasing as a consequence of the multiple crises the EU and Italy are facing (or rather ignoring) now.

Migrants who have been living in makeshift camps across Italy before are living in the streets now. Homelessness is not literally included in the definitions of informal camps but it seems that, in comparison to a few years or months before, homelessness is prevailing. A mattress or a carton under a tree or under a bridge is an informal settlement now and there is a need to broaden and concretize the definition in order to shed light on the alarming situation in Italy's streets and to establish a protection for migrants in informality.

The interviews were conducted with both: migrants who are living in informality and migrants who are living in reception facilities and had been living outside before. It remains to interrogate, what the real differences are between staying in a reception center and staying in the streets. The answer must be for sure many, but the research unveiled that those who are homeless file similar complains than the ones living in a reception center. The circumstances and surroundings are naturally different, but in both settings there are scarcities: of food, hygiene, privacy, a place to study, a cozy room, a comfortable bed and so on. In both settings the dwellers are looking for something better, a promising place in a SPRAR, or at least a place in a reception center. Once they changed the bed beneath the bridge for one in an overcrowded reception center they realize that life is deplorable there as well. Circular movements between informality and reception system could be observed during the research, with migrants 'stepping-in' and 'dropping-out' of the system repeatedly until they finally become homeless, in limbo for a follow-up

accommodation. These patterns of movement amount to a spiral of informality, further aggravated by the high degree of mobility and leading to a vicious circle.

Sanyal (2017, p. 118) asked how “informal settlements inhabit the grey space of legitimacy” and what they would mean for the future of refugee politics and humanitarian governance; these questions are well put, as even now, after decades of informal camps in Europe they are not easy to answer. Bearing in mind the current migratory situation in Europe and the influx to Italy, it seems that informal settlements are the mirror of politics and governance treating refugees as beings of a grey space, living a shadowy existence, accommodated in reception facilities that do not comply with their legal obligations.

The future of refugee politics is getting visible, as far-right parties are gaining influence and even the German center-social-democratic government is planning to build transit camps of immediate asylum denials and push-backs, which are not in line with EU law (Chase, 2018). This case study and the history of informal migrant settlements indicate that the latter are an attempt of refugees to escape the grey space and to live near the societies.

Many of the presented findings are happening invisibly but it is of great significance to shed light on them. By no means it is solely the duty of NGOs to illuminate this grey space, but all the more of academia. Here, many disciplines shall be invited to include the implications, conditions and consequences of informal migrant living in their agendas. Albeit carrying with it the semblance of a socio-legal topic, many more fields were touched upon in this research. Articles of lawyers, sociologists, political scientists and geographers were complemented with the works of architects, urban planners, physicians, social workers, psychologists and educational scientists. There is a great need for research and there are many open questions remaining. Of special interest would be the relation between informality and integration, between informality and criminality or to further trace the free-will narrative. A big set of uncertainties remains, regarding the future developments of the inverted flight movement that was described. What will happen if the asylum applications of these refugees will be denied in Italy as well? How is Italy going to answer the influx of migrants from the north? However, for future investigations more time should be available in order to conduct mixed-method ethnography and to build a strong relation of trust with the informants, to be able to monitor the ‘barer-lives’ from the inside, an aspiration that in its entirety might never be reached though.

To end this chapter, some recommendations deduced from the results shall be presented. During the field trip and as indicated by the findings, no changes or developments after the implementation of the National Integration Plan could be observed. It remains to hope that the integration of its provisions will be pursued in the future. If the reception system would be improved and enlarged, a huge change would occur, both inside and outside the facilities. A more dignified living in the reception centers would result in less 'step-outs' and better health. The further augmentation of places would guarantee a follow-up reception and inhibit the backlash into informality after having left the first grade facilities.

Migrants living in informal settlements need access to health care; the lack of medical support and the lack of food and water should be tackled immediately. Besides, it is crucial to provide education and legal work, as this would foster integration by itself. In the course of capacitating migrants, arising illegal economies could be suppressed and the criminalization of migrants in informality impeded. If they have to steal in order to survive, to where does this lead?

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

In Italy around 10,000 migrants live in informality. Informal settlements appear to be the future refuge as the reception system is overloaded and in desolate condition. The answer to informality is damnation though, with evictions being a common practice, forcing vulnerable groups in even more perilous environments. Looking at Northern Italy, it becomes clear that informal settlements are forms of spatial segregation where 'barer-lives' are lived, away from services and society and where refugees are pushed to exclusion rather than empowered to integration.

"The categorization of human beings as 'irregular migrants' appears to justify, at least in the official political discourse, denying these human beings access to health and a chance to settle" (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 125)

According to Weissbrodt (2003), the core issue for migrants in informality is the lack of a legal status. The illegality makes migrants vulnerable targets for a set of issues. Firstly and foremost, issues of external nature, such as exploitation, abuse or repressions. The internal issues, *i.e.* the living conditions, can be seen as a result of legal irregularity, because undocumented migrants often cannot choose where to live, they are pushed into degrading livelihoods in informal settlements. For Weissbrodt (2003) physical and psychological violence and the gap between the rights migrants should have and their realities are provoked by the situation of legal irregularity (Grant, 2011b, p. 42). There is a 'dysbalance' between migrants' livelihoods, the rights they are theoretically enabled to claim and the usability of these rights, which is not given (Sinchetto & Vitobello, 2017, p. 11).

The access to and the enjoyment of the rights that safeguard migrants are therefore only existing on paper and it seems that even the written existence is vanishing, taking into account the lack of access to information, health care and legal advice. There is an

"ethnic rupture between the rule of law as officially advertised in liberal societies and life as it is actually lived by our fellow human beings [in informality]." (Dembour & Martin, 2011, p. 145)

The enforcement of EU law, of returns under Dublin provokes the disappearing of migrants from national territory and their reappearance in Northern Italy. The deportations from Germany, Austria or Sweden to Pakistan or Afghanistan produce an inverted flight movement, an intra-European refugee route towards Northern Italy,

where they strand in limbo. These circumstances produce a high degree of mobility that further uproot migrants and rule out integration. The consequences are vulnerability, poverty, poor health, exploitation, criminalization and the emerging of informality and homelessness in Northern Italy. The congestion of the Italian reception system and the subsequent emergence of informal settlements are not solely an Italian, but a problem of the entire EU. The solution strategy towards informal housing seems to count on self-regulation and problem-relocation through forced evictions, producing constant mobility and a vicious circle of informality. Considering the living conditions, inside and outside reception systems in Italy, it must be stressed that these could amount to a violation of Art. 3 ECHR. Returns under Dublin and push-backs to Italy would then pose a violation of international law (SFH/OSAR, 2016, p. 11). Following the results of this study, it can be affirmed that “there are no human rights in Italy” (IV03: 128), or at least that they do not apply for migrants, neither in the reception system, nor outside in the streets.

The current political developments in Europe, the reluctant status determination practices bury any possible improvements for the migrants interviewed for this work. Looking at the propagation of populism in the EU and the national solo runs based on enclosure, unilateralism and duty dereliction, it must be doubted that the four main goals of the CRRF or the GCR that were presented in second chapter will ever be reached.

The absence of state aid and goodwill and the fact of abandonment, look away or even violent interference by public authorities, put the inhabitants of informal camps in a position of endured suffer. It seems that their ‘bare-lives’ are becoming ‘barer’, exposed to ‘bare-death’ on guilt of political neglect. Davies and Isakjee (2015, p. 94) stress the notion of the violence of ‘letting-die’, introduced by Mbembe’s (2003) theory of necropolitics, relating to human beings not actively being killed, but suffering a violent abandonment, forced to live “shortened and limited lives” as put by Li (2010, p. 68). In the EU necropolitics are proliferating and not only in the blood-soaked Mediterranean, but as well on dry land. The practice of ‘letting-die’, of exposing human beings to violent ignorance is omnipresent in Northern Italy. The migrant, who was found dead in a stream in Ventimiglia shortly after this case study, prove the proliferation of necropolitics (Rüb, 2018, p. 3).

So far, Italy seems to be paying the bill, having refugee influx from the north and the south. The question is for how long the new Italian government will play the scapegoat for the European crises. In summer 2018 the Italian government started to

externalize the reception of refugees to the Mediterranean, when vessels with rescued refugees were not allowed to enter Italian harbors anymore. The externalization was consubstantial with the inverted flight pattern, handing responsibility over from Northern to Southern Europe. Italy is taking the next step, leaving solidarity, responsibility and the rule of law floating shipwrecked in the Mediterranean.

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ANNEX

Annex A: Interview Guideline

Interview guideline: Field research Master Thesis Sebastian Benedikt

Introduction:

Getting to know each other; presentation of the research project, the research interest and the researcher; privacy and data issues; no harm through participation

Presentation of interviewee?

Background:

For how long in Italy/since when?

Why here now?

Where do you live/sleep/stay at the moment (and why)?

Where do you go?

Informality:

Do/Have you lived in informal camp? Official camp?

How was/is life in reception facility? Comparision?

What are the reasons? Why do you live in informal camp?

What does it mean to live in informal settling?

Implications, issues, problems

Contact with authorities

Needs

Annex B: Interview Protocols

Interview 01: Conversation with Hani, Brennero train station, 31 May 2018

Language: French

- 1 Hani comes from Morocco and entered Europe 1,5 years ago via Spain. Since then
- 2 and after exiting Spain he has been to Italy, Austria and France. He has filed no
- 3 asylum application anywhere yet, but his destination would be France.

- 4 *Il n'ya rien en Italy, niente in Italia!* In Italy there was nothing he says. He is supposed
- 5 to stay in Milano, where he is obliged to present himself at the police station every
- 6 day, but was heading to Austria, when the Police took him of the train.

- 7 In the 18 months around Western Europe, he has not been living in a reception
- 8 facility for long and indicates that informal camps were always on his way.

Interview 02: Conversation with Asil, 'The Bridge' Bolzano, 31 May 2018

Language: English

1 I visit the informal settlement under 'The Bridge' in Bolzano together with F. The site
2 is located under one of the bridges right outside the city center, close to the central
3 station. According to F. it is one of the biggest bridges-settlings in Bolzano. Some
4 months ago several bridges were evicted and their access closed with concrete or
5 barbed wire. Since then, 'The Bridge' is one of the last bridges under which migrants
6 live. It was also visited by MSF for the 'fuori campo' research project, however, by
7 then many more people used to sleep here. Now there are still around 10
8 mattresses, but according to F. less people come here.

9 When we enter the site, only four guys are sitting around on the floor, one of them,
10 Asil, accepts to talk to me and to answer some questions. I present my research and
11 myself, he reacts friendly, but reluctant and only F.'s invitation to speak to me makes
12 him a little more confident. Still, it is difficult to build a fluid conversation, as he is a
13 little loath and afraid of exposing too much.

14 Asil is in Europe already for many years, he was in Germany before he came to Italy,
15 he speaks several languages and asks whether I would prefer to talk in English,
16 German, Italian or French. We opt for English.

17 *Germany is a jail, you have where to live, but cannot work, you cannot get out (of the*
18 *reception facility). In Italy I have to sleep on the streets, but at least I can work.*

19 Asil moved to Emergenza Freddo some days before our talk, so he is not sleeping
20 outside anymore. He has no work at the moment, but had job in a 'Chinese shop'
21 here in the north before. The work was not very good, as he had to do ten to twelve
22 hours per day to earn *some Euros*.

23 In his point of view the situation in the reception center was ok, and it was better to
24 live there than in the streets. He points out however, that this (his assessment) was
25 some years ago. Before he was mainly around Rome, but now he plans to stay in the
26 north in order to find a job, as work for him is essential. *No work... work is the most*
27 *important, with work we can get out of this. Work is all we need.*

Interview 03: Group Interview with 5 Afghan men, in a park in Bolzano, 1 June 2018,
15:15-16:30

Language: German

1 I got to know this group of young Afghan men the day before and after establishing a
2 friendly contact, I asked them to do a group interview. They agreed and we fixed a
3 time for the next day. They were all very open to do this interview, even though
4 uncertain about what it really was all about and some of them still with doubts and
5 reluctance. All of them are in Europe for some years already and were living in
6 another country then Italy before. The language that three of them speak well is
7 German, their Italian and English are limited, so we decide to use German, although
8 two of them, who had been living in Sweden do not speak German. In the beginning,
9 it was tried to translate, but during the interview they stay quieter, than the others. It
10 is unclear however, whether they do not want to join the conversation proactively, or
11 whether it is solely a language barrier. It seems though, that they had been
12 convinced to be part of the interview by their friends, as they appear distanced and
13 taciturn.

14 To start of we make brief introduction round.

15 IA1 came to Europe in 2015, it took him two months from Afghanistan via the Balkan
16 route and during that time he always used informal camps. He came to Italy one
17 month ago, before he was living in Austria.

18 IA2 as well used the Balkan route and he crossed Austria, Germany and Denmark to
19 get to Sweden where he arrived in 2015. He stayed there for around two and a half
20 years, and came to Italy one month ago. In Sweden he went to school and learned
21 the language.

22 IA3 arrived as well in 2015 via the Balkans, his trip was complicated, as the *boat was*
23 *too full*. He spent three years in Austria and 25 days in Italy now. He slept outside for
24 15 or 20 days and claims the bad living conditions (only once per week shower).
25 After he moved to Emergenza Freddo. He is not very happy with it either, as the
26 rooms were too crowded and noisy. Apart from that everyone was sick there, he tells.
27 He spends his days outside of the facility, as during the daytime there is no space.
28 He wants a space to study, a *good place*. He says that everything was difficult for
29 him and the others living in Emergenza Freddo, especially during their flight, as they

Interview 04: Conversation with Abushakar, Schutzhütte Bolzano, 1 June 2018

Language: French

1 Abushakar is from Sub-Saharan Africa; he came to Italy in January 2018, after
2 travelling two years through Africa up to Libya. His initial plan was to go to Germany,
3 but he got stuck in Bolzano. Upon arrival he was registered in Catania and managed
4 to arrive in northern Italy within only two days. For unknown/untold reasons he
5 stopped in Bolzano and stayed here.

6 He slept in the park for more than two weeks in mid winter and was basically on his
7 own. Only after a further question he mentions that he had some contact with other
8 Africans. The live in the park was hard he admits, especially the cold: *pas de plaisir*
9 *de vivre là*.

10 In February, he was approached by a researcher who convinced him to ask for
11 shelter in Schutzhütte. Schutzhütte is an emergency shelter for vulnerable, or sick
12 migrants, the normal duration of stay is around one week, until the individual situation
13 improves or follow-up support is granted. A. stays in the facility since February, due
14 to his very fragile psychological status.

15 It is very difficult to establish a fluid conversation with him, as he almost never talks
16 about his personal situation. Another challenge is the language barrier, as he speaks
17 a strong accent and my French is not the best either.

18 A. shares few information about the official camp he stayed (only for a few nights)
19 before he came here. He says there was no water and that it was just too bad to stay
20 there, *trop mal dans le camp*.

21 A. claims that he is an adult with needs, like work, love, to wash, to speak etc.
22 However, these needs cannot be fulfilled. His head is blocked, he states, it is difficult
23 to live with the things he has seen, they spin around his mind and don't let him sleep
24 or relax. He sees a psychiatrist regularly and takes strong medication. He almost
25 never leaves the house.

26 Every evening he studies Italian, because he wants to work and states that he needs
27 to learn Italian in order to find work.

Interview 05: Conversation with Hossam, Park Trento (OEF), 3 June

Language: German

1 I met Hossam by coincidence, looking for a Pakistani Sara presented to me. As I
2 couldn't find the guy, I approached one of the men sitting on the benches in the
3 shade of the park where the OEF took place. Hossam at first did not look very keen
4 to get randomly approached, but as I ask him for the Pakistani man, the ice was
5 broken. Hossam is from Pakistan as well and his face turns friendly very quick. He
6 smiled for the entire conversation. I present my self and the research and the
7 interview takes off.

8 H. came to Germany in 2015 via Iran, Turkey, Greece, Hungary etc. He lived in a
9 reception center in Munich for two years and filed an asylum request. As he could not
10 find a job he left the city after 2 years. In Münster he worked in a Pakistani-owned
11 pizza place and stayed in an reception center as well. After almost three years in
12 Germany his asylum application was rejected and his deportation to Pakistan was
13 pending. He decided to leave Germany, went to France and headed south until
14 Milano. He did not stay there though, but went to Trento as they told him that the
15 situation there would be better for migrants.

16 H. arrived in Trento and found shelter in the Caritas center, where he is now for
17 almost one month. In the upcoming days he has to leave. He registered at the police
18 station and asked for asylum, so soon he will get his documents of 'asylum seeker'.
19 [He did not mention a direct relation between the invitation to the *questura* and the
20 obligation of exiting the Caritas center]. He is now waiting for a place in the reception
21 system, but is quite confident to get in soon.

22 H. is totally aware that in only a few days he will be without shelter and living in the
23 streets. By now, the park next to the river and to some dwelled bridges is his next
24 'bed'. *I am not going to sleep under the bridges, but in the park.*

25 H. complained neither about the conditions in the Caritas house nor in the German
26 facilities. So far he has never stayed in any Italian reception center before.

27 As next steps he would like to learn Italian in order to pursue his second goal, to find
28 a job. H. said that finding a place to work, receiving money is more important to him

Interview 06: Conversation with Abdel, Eufemia Ventimiglia, 07 June

Language: French (and some Spanish as Maria, a Spanish volunteer joins the conversation)

- 1 Abdel is in Italy since one and a half years and as far as I understood, he always
2 lived in Ventimiglia. He comes from Sub-Saharan Africa and it took him several years
3 to make his way to Italy, as he stayed for two years in Libya and had to try twice to
4 cross the sea. With his second intent he made it to Sicily, where he was registered at
5 a hotspot. From there he came to Ventimiglia by bus and moved into the official
6 camp Roja outside of Ventimiglia. However, as the conditions were very bad, he left
7 the reception facility after around two weeks.
- 8 As he decided to ask for asylum in Italy, he could move into the reception center for
9 asylum seekers in the village of Ventimiglia. The conditions there are better than in
10 the Roja camp.
- 11 A. states that he has never lived in the streets. He explains that mainly migrants in
12 transit, who arrive recently, were living outside, or migrants who are not allowed to
13 stay in the camps. Those who were not allowed to enter are often migrants involved
14 in drug-selling or other criminal intrigues.
- 15 A. goes on and tells that the situation here in Ventimiglia is very difficult now, after
16 the eviction of the bridge. The police catch migrants who sleep outside now; *the*
17 *buses catch the people who sleep outside*. He makes me understand that it is very
18 difficult to meet and to talk to people who are living outside, as they are afraid,
19 careful and annoyed of questions.

Interview 07: Group Conversation with Adan, Yasser, Said; Ventimiglia near the bridge 07 June; 19:20-19:30

Language: English

1 The three men were hanging out between the bridge and the railway crossings of the
2 street in Ventimiglia, close to Eufemia. I approach them carefully, bearing in mind
3 what I got told before about the migrants being reluctant to questions and afraid of
4 exposing themselves and their stories. They react friendly and we try to
5 communicate in English.

6 All of them are from Sudan and crossed the Mediterranean from Libya by boat to
7 Sicily, where they arrived some two weeks ago. From Sicily they were brought to
8 different camps, some to Milano, other to Torino, but all came to Ventimiglia to keep
9 on their journey to France and then somewhere else maybe. In Italy they have
10 always stayed in official camps and here they are in the Roja camp.

11 They are currently waiting for the food distribution to start, as it is Ramadan they only
12 eat after 9pm. In general they seem nor reluctant to talk nor annoyed to me, they
13 appear rather confident but aware of their situation though.

14 They do not have anything to say about the conditions in their camp, but I must
15 remind that they just arrived there.

Interview 08: Group Conversation with Shaqir, Saqib; in a Café in Ventimiglia 07 June; 19:45-20:00

Language: Italian

- 1 This conversation is with two men, whose ages differ widely. Shaqir is around 50
2 years old and he was working all around Italy for the last ten years he his from
3 Algeria and says that he did never want to apply for asylum in Italy. Saqib is a minor
4 that was not registered as such and subsequently deported from the Netherlands
5 back to Italy under Dublin (fingerprints in Italy). He stays in an official camp now but
6 plans to cross again.
- 7 Shaqir is living with a friend of his, as the conditions in the camp are really bad: *the*
8 *beds are small, the bathrooms are dirty and there is not enough food*. The people
9 have to go to food distributions in order to have enough to eat, he states. Apart from
10 that he explains, that many migrants preferred to sleep outside than to go to the
11 camp.
- 12 *Before under the bridge it was better*, it was somehow self-determined and they were
13 nearby and together, he claims. They have disappeared now thus, they moved either
14 to the camp, or crossed to France, or have been deported south. *Poor people, how*
15 *can you deport them south, after all what they have been through...*
- 16 Saqib left the after having a coffee with us, he doesn't speak proper Italian or English
17 and did not really join our conversation.

Interview 09: Group Conversation with Sudanese men; at the Food Distribution
Ventimiglia 07 June; 21:00-21:30

Language: English, some German

1 The conversation took place during the evening food distribution of some
2 independent volunteers in Ventimiglia. The meals given out for many migrants are
3 the only nutrition they consume, due to the epoch of Ramadan. Hence the parking
4 where the volunteers distribute their delicious and rich meals is crowded. I met some
5 Sudanese men I already got to know and one of them presents me two friends of his
6 and we share the dinner. While eating, they (but mostly only one of them) tell their
7 story.

8 Two of the men have been to Germany and were deported to Italy under Dublin
9 recently. They had been to Germany for several months and are now back to Italy,
10 where their fingerprints were taken for the first time in the EU. They arrived in Milano
11 and came to Ventimiglia with the aim to cross again.

12 One of them really shows the need to talk and to have someone listening. He
13 articulates himself in broken English mixed with broken German and it is not easy to
14 follow. He has been to Ventimiglia in 2017 when he crossed to France for the first
15 time. By then he used to sleep under the bridge and he did not want to stay in the
16 camp, because he *wanted to cross*. It seems that he was afraid of not making it to
17 France, or that he simply wanted to be near the border in order to be able to cross at
18 the right moment, instead of living in a camp far away.

19 He reports that the conditions under the bridge were bad. It is very hard to sleep in
20 the streets he tells, after having been in a camp or after having been to Germany. *It*
21 *is very very hard to sleep in the streets.*

Interview 10: Conversation with Said, Eufemia Ventimiglia, 07 June; 23:30-23:40

Language: English

1 Said and I are washing the dishes together in the basement of Eufemia. He is a very
2 shy and reluctant guy but very friendly and nice. Said is 25 years old and lives in the
3 streets for quite some time already. However, it is nothing he likes to talk about, and
4 only helping him with the dishes breaks the ice a little.

5 Before S. was brought back to Italy under Dublin, he was staying in France. Now he
6 wants to cross again. He does not want to go to the camp and therefor he is sleeping
7 under the bridge. The particular reasons for him to stay outside are unclear to me, as
8 he does not want speak about them further. *It is not good for me* is his answer to my
9 question why was not staying there.

10 However, *under the bridge not good* either and he is even alone there. Of course he
11 does not share the exact place where he usually hides. *Mushkilla* his live in the
12 streets.

13 Touching upon the issues and implications of this live he only says *Police big*
14 *problem* and sort of affirms the rumors of policemen who take migrants that sleep
15 outside.

16 In the end it gets more and more difficult to talk to him, to keep up even a
17 conversation about other topics, as he is not willing to talk anymore.

Annex C: Interview Paraphrases

Interview 01: Hani

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
				Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements
1	7-8	In 18 months H. was not living in reception centers for long time, but mainly in informal camps.	Hani mainly dwelled informal camps in Europe	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,5 years in Europe, mainly in informality • disappointed with Italy
2	4	In Italy there is nothing	Disappointed with Italy	
				Issues inside informal settlements
				Reception system and asylum procedure

Interview 02: Asil

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	3-6	Several informal settlements under different bridges were evicted and their access closed	Evictions of several informal camps and capping their access	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements Forced evictions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced evictions of various camps Access capped
2	14-15	Asil is in Europe for years, has been to different countries and speaks several languages	Asil is in Europe for years and has been living in various countries.	
3	18	In Italy Asil has to sleep on the streets, but finds work unlike other states such as Germany	Homeless in Italy	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many years in Europe, speaks various languages Homelessness in Italy accepted as finding a job prevails Unemployment or exploitation Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moving around Europe, working and learning languages Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to find work in order to leave informal settlements
4	20-22	Workless at the moment, but had a job previously where he got paid only a few Euros for a ten hours work day	Conditions of employment very bad, exhaustive hours with minimal salary	
5	36-27	Wants to stay in the North to find a job, work is essential for Asil and a way out of informality	crucial importance of work for migrants in informality	
				Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exposure to forced evictions Marginalization
6	3-6	Several informal settlements under different bridges were evicted and their access closed	Evictions of several informal camps and capping their access	
7	23-25	Some years ago, the reception center was okay and better than to live in the streets	Conditions in reception facilities were better than in informal settlements outside	Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reception facility better than informal settlements
8	3-6	Several informal settlements under different	Evictions of several informal camps and	

		bridges were evicted and their access closed	capping their access	Authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forced evictions of various camps • Access capped

Interview 03: Group of Afghan men: Amir, Babrak, Daoud, Fahim, Hafiz

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	34-35	Fahim's asylum application was denied and hence he came to Italy just as the others	Denial of asylum in other countries and going to Italy in consequence	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Denial of access to reception center • Reluctance and unprocessed asylum applications • Aimlessness after arrival • Hygienic conditions of reception center • Overcrowded reception centers (SPRAR) • Constant mobility
2	48-49	They all came to Italy to evade their pending deportations	Pending deportations as reason to go to Italy	
3	65-66	He was sent to a reception facility but could not enter and stayed outside instead	As he could not enter he reception center, he slept outside	
4	62-68	Fahim moved from Milano to Pisa and back to Milano, from where he finally went to Bolzano, in order to have his asylum application processed	Reluctance of police to process asylum applications keeps migrants on the move and in the streets	
5	77-80	Fahim thought that he would be put in a detention center in Austria and came to Italy	Fear of detention as a reason to go to Italy and for inter-state mobility	Reasons for coming to Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pending deportations • Denial of asylum elsewhere Forced evictions
6	80-82	After arriving in Italy he stayed outside for some weeks until he moved to Emergenza Freddo	After his arrival he slept in informal settlements for the first weeks	
7	90-91	For Amir the main problem in the emergency center is the sickness and the risk of contagion that is why he prefers to stay outside	The hygienic conditions of the reception center as a reasons to opt for informal settlements	
8	94-96	They know that they are supposed to have a place in a SPRAR, but they are still waiting for it as there is no space	No free places in SPRAR keeps them in informal settlements	
10	110	In Milano and Bologna they slept in train stations	Mobility as a reason for emerging of informal camps	
12	115-116	The reception center was full and he got rejected and	Full reception facilities push migrants into	

		told to stay outside	informality	
13	5-6	All five are in Europe for years already and were living in different countries	All five are in Europe for years	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living in EU since 2015 • Informal camps were used during flight over Balkan route and upon arrival in Italy (aimlessness) • Sleeping in informality for the first weeks and then emergency shelter • Informal camp usually = under bridges • It was not expected to sleep on the streets • Live in informality produces criminality Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flight from Afghanistan to Austria/Sweden • Mobility as a prerequisite to find where to do an asylum application (due to reluctance of police) Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quiet place and tranquility • Privacy • Learn Italian • Occupation • Work
14	15-17	Amir travelled two months along the Balkan route and lived in informal camps	Informal camps were used on the Balkan route	
15	18-21	Babrak used the Balkan route and crossed also western Europe to get to Sweden	Crossing the Balkans and Western Europe to get to Sweden	
16	15-46	All of the five came in 2015 via the Balkan route	Arrival in 2015 through the Balkan route	
17	23-24	Daoud slept outside for 15-20 days	Daoud slept 15-20 days in informal settlements	
18	28	Daoud wants a good place to study	Need for a quiet place to study	
19	36	Fahim arrived to Italy four weeks ago and always slept under bridges	He is in Italy since four weeks and sleeps under bridges	
20	39-40	People need a place to study and sleep and they do not have one.	Need for a place to sleep and study	
21	40	They don't have an Italian course	Need to find an Italian course	
22	40-41	They have to leave the emergency shelter during the day and do not know where to go instead	Need to find a place of comfort and an occupation	
23	54-58	Moving around in northern Italy to find a place to apply for asylum	Mobility as a prerequisite to find a questura to make an asylum application	
24	60-62	Fahim needed several attempts to cross the border to Italy and he was afraid of the high police presence and of getting deported	Constant fear of the police while crossing the borders	

25	62-68	Fahim moved from Milano to Pisa and back to Milano, from where he finally went to Bolzano, in order to have his asylum application processed	Reluctancy of police to process asylum applications keeps migrants on the move between north Italian cities	
26	72-73	He wants to learn Italian and believes it is of utmost importance now	Need to learn the language	
27	75-76	Before they came to Italy they did not know that they would have to stay in the streets but they realized it	They did not expect to sleep in the streets in Italy	
28	100-102	Sitting around and doing nothing will not work for too long for them, they want to study and to have a place	Need to have a private place and to learn Italian	
29	110	In Milano and Bologna they slept in train stations	Mobility as a reason for emerging of informal camps	
30	126-127	They want to learn Italian, but all the courses are full, they want a quiet place to study in order to get a job	Need for language course, a place to study and a job	
31	134-135	The migrants who live outside the reception and asylum system do not have money and some steal as a last resort	Live in informality produces criminality	
32	37	He could feel the cold under the bridges	Settlings under the bridge exposed to the cold	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad living conditions • Exposure to weather and cold • River comes up to camp • Humidity • No privacy • No showers or hygiene • Sickness as an effect of the living conditions • No NGO or official support inside informal settlements • Police does not assist in case of dangers (fights e.g.)
33	23-24	Daoud slept outside for 15-20 days and complains the bad conditions, he could only shower once a week	Bad living conditions, especially lack of showers	
34	104-106	The conditions under the bridge in Bolzano are bad and people get sick as well as everything is dirty and the rivers comes up and moistens the personal	Under the bridge people get sick because everything is dirty and wet as the river comes up on rainy days; everyone is afraid	

		belongings and frightens the dwellers		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police harassment • Fear and exposure to criminality • 'No human rights in informality'
35	111-112	In Milano train station there was not much space and it was wet	Humidity and lack of space as returning issues	
36	117-118	Always outside, wet and without a shower	Humidity and lack of hygiene in informal settlements	
37	128	The live in the streets is difficult, there are no human rights in Italy	No human rights apply in informality	
38	128-133	The police does not come and help in the case of fight or other problems under the bridge in Bolzano, the police does not even react in the case of severe injuries as happened during a fight with a knife	The police does not assist migrants in informal settlements in case of fights	
39	130-133	At night fights are taking place and migrants are afraid of getting robbed, assaulted or injured in informal settlement	Fear and vulnerability as migrants are exposed to violent fights and stealing in informal settlements	
40	136-137	There is no organization coming to the bridge and offering any service or support there	No assistance or services in informal settlements	
	108-109	The police turned off the light under the bridge but did not evict	No eviction but turning off lights as harassment	
	60-62	Fahim needed several attempts to cross the border to Italy and he was afraid of the high police presence and of getting deported	Constant fear of the police while crossing the borders	
41	25-26	Daoud is not very happy with the conditions of the emergency center either,	Conditions in emergency shelter bad with crowded and noisy rooms and a	
				Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities

		as the rooms are too crowded and noisy and everyone is sick	many sick persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad conditions in emergency shelter • Overcrowded emergency shelter • No privacy in reception center • Obligation to leave the center during the day • The emergency shelter is not made for long-term accommodation • Homeless shelter used for migrants • Reception centers full • Diseases as main problem in emergency center • Risk of infections <p>Authorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reluctance to process asylum applications • Require an address in order to process for asylum
42	27	Stays outside during the day due to the overcrowding	Lack of space	
43	37-39	Fahim moved into an emergency shelter but is unhappy as it is crowded and noisy and he cannot find tranquility	Emergency shelter too noisy and crowded	
44	42-43	Obligation to leave the emergency shelter during the day	Obligation to leave the emergency shelter during the day	
45	42-43	No place to study inside the emergency shelter	No place to study	
46	43-44	Conditions in Emergenza Freddo are very bad as 20 men have to share one room	The rooms of the emergency shelter are overcrowded and the conditions very bad	
47	54-58	Police reluctant to process asylum application	Police reluctant to process asylum application	
48	62-65	Fahim tried to apply for asylum in Milano twice but his requests were not processed and he was sent to reception facility instead	Police refused to process asylum application twice	
49	65-66	He was sent to a reception facility but could not enter and stayed outside instead	As he could not enter the reception center, he slept outside	
50	62-68	Fahim moved from Milano to Pisa and back to Milano, from where he finally went to Bolzano, in order to have his asylum application processed	Reluctancy of police to process asylum applications keeps migrants on the move and in the streets	
51	73-74	It is very hard for them be outside the entire day	It is very hard for them be outside the entire day	
52	83-88	Report about the conditions in Emergenza Freddo: the small rooms	The conditions in Emergenza Freddo are bad, the rooms are	

		made for five persons are used by around 20. A lot of people are sick but still share rooms with others, accordingly everyone is getting ill	extremely overcrowded and the risk of infection is high	
53	86-88	For Amir the main problem in the emergency center is the sickness and the risk of contagion	Diseases as main problem in emergency center	
54	92-94	The emergency shelter is actually only for winters and not made for long-term accommodation	The emergency shelter is not made for long-term accommodation	
55	94-96	They know that they are supposed to have a place in a SPRAR, but they are still waiting for it as there is no space	No free places in SPRAR keeps them in Emergenza camp	
56	97-99	As Emergenza Freddo is emergency center for all kind of homeless, the migrants share the place with drug addicts and alcoholics	Migrants share the same shelter as other homeless	
57	113-116	The police send migrants to reception centers, because it only takes fingerprints and processes asylum applications when migrants present an address. The reception center was full and he got rejected and told to stay outside	Police requires an address for asylum applications, as reception centers are full, migrants cannot present the required address	
58	115-116	The reception center was full and he got rejected and told to stay outside	Reception facilities full	
59	118-120	They can only shower and do laundry once per week and this fosters the risk of contagion	Hygienic shortcomings in emergency facility	
60	127	All the courses they go are	Lack of language courses	

		full		
61	128-133	The police does not come and help in the case of fight or other problems under the bridge in Bolzano, the police does not even react in the case of severe injuries	The police do not assist migrants in informal settlements in case of fights or other problems	
	112-113	Fahim was sent away from the train statin because he did not have a ticket	Without a ticket Fahim was expelled from the train station	

Interview 04: Abushakar

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	6-12	After his arrival in winter, he slept in the park for more than two weeks until he was brought to an emergency shelter by a researcher	Sleeping outside after arrival in Bolzano as he did not know where to go	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disorientation and helplessness after arrival Conditions in CPSA/reception center too bad
2	18-20	A. left the official camp after few days as there was no water and the conditions were too bad to stay	A. left the first reception center because there was no water and the conditions were too bad	
3	1-3	A. came to Italy in 2018, he travelled two years through Africa and wanted to go to Germany but he got stuck in Bolzano	A. came to Italy in 2018 with the idea to go to Germany, but he got stuck in Bolzano	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arrival in 2018 Aim: Germany, got stuck in Bolzano Sleeping outside in winter
4	6-7	After his arrival in winter, he slept in the park for more than two weeks	Sleeping outside even in winter	
5	21-22	A. is an adult with needs like work, love, hygiene, communication but these needs are unfulfilled	A. needs social contacts and exchange, love, hygienic living conditions and work	Mobility Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work Language/education Social contacts Good living conditions empowerment Medical/psychological support
6	22-25	For A. it is difficult to live with the pictures of what he has seen during his flight and he has to see a psychiatrist to get medication	A. suffers of severe psychological problems and needs psychiatric support and medication	
7	26-27	A. studies Italian in order to find work	Need of education, work and empowerment	
8	6-7	After his arrival in winter, he slept in the park for more than two weeks	Sleeping outside even in winter	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sleeping outside in winter Exposure to cold & weather
9	8-9	The live in the park was hard, especially because of	Exposure to the cold made live in informality hard	

		the cold		
10	18-20	A. left the official camp after few days as there was no water and the conditions were too bad to stay	A. left the first reception center because there was no water and the conditions were too bad	Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conditions in CPSA very bad (no water)

Interview 05: Hossam

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	11-14	After three years in Germany his asylum application was denied and his deportation was pending, accordingly he fled to Italy via France	H. left Germany and fled to Italy via France to evade his deportation	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expiration of maximum duration of stay in reception center (CARA?) • Homelessness as the effect of notification of deportation
2	16-17	In Trento H. found shelter in a Caritas emergency shelter, he has to leave the center after one month	H. found shelter in a emergency center but has to leave now	
3	22-24	H. knows that after leaving the emergency shelter he will have to stay on the streets	H. is aware of the fact that he is homeless now	
4	8-10	H. came to Europe in 2015 via the Balkan route and filed an asylum request in Germany, where he lived and works for almost three years	H. took the Balkan route and applied for asylum in Germany, where he worked and lived for three years	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worked and lived in Germany • Denial of asylum in Germany • Homeless in Italy Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High degree of mobility/inverted flight route in order to evade deportation Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work as highest goal • Language course
5	11-14	After three years in Germany his asylum application was denied and his deportation was pending, accordingly he fled to Italy via France	H. left Germany and fled to Italy via France to evade his deportation	
6	22-24	H. knows that after leaving the emergency shelter he will have to stay on the streets	H. is aware of the fact that he is homeless now	
7	22-25	H. plans to move to the park next to the river and to sleep there	H. prepares his live in informality an already knows where he wants to stay	
8	27-28	H. wants to learn Italian to be able to find a job	Need to learn Italian and to find work	
9	28-30	For H. having a job and receiving money is more important than having	For H. work and money is more important than a	

		place to stay	place to stay	
				Issues inside informal settlements
10	20-21	H. is waiting for a place in the reception center as he has to move out of emergency shelter	H. is waiting for a place in the reception center	Reception system, asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awaiting a place in reception center (SPRAR) • Conditions in CARA/emergency shelter were not criticized
11	25-26	H. does not complain about the emergency shelter	Conditions in emergency shelter were not complained	

Interview 06: Abdel

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	5-6	Abdel moved into a temporary reception center in Ventimiglia but left it after two weeks due to the bad conditions	Left temporary reception center on his own account because of the bad conditions	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad conditions in reception center • Transit migrants prefer to stay outside or cannot enter reception facilities • Involvement in criminal actions • Fear of deportation Forced evictions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalization after eviction Freedom of choice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left reception center due to bad conditions
2	11-14	A. states that mainly migrants in transit, recently arrived or migrants involved in criminal intrigues stay in informal settlements as they are not allowed to enter the reception centers	Mainly migrants in transit, recently arrived or criminal migrants stay in informal settlements, they cannot enter the reception centers	
3	15-16	A. says the situation for migrants in informal settlements in Ventimiglia is very difficult after the eviction of the bridge	The eviction of the bridge made live even harder for migrants in informality	
4	17-19	The people who stay outside are very careful and hide as they are afraid	Fear of deportation or arrest makes people in informal camps hide and produces marginalization	
5	1-6	Abdel travelled several years through Africa and had to cross the sea twice to get to Sicily, from there he went further to Ventimiglia. He is in Italy for 1,5 years	A.'s flight took several years and attempts, he is in Italy for 1,5 years and shows high degree of mobility	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalization Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High degree of mobility during and after flight from Africa Needs
6	17-19	The people who stay outside are very careful and hide as they are afraid	Fear of deportation or arrest makes people in informal camps hide	
7	15-16	A. says the situation for migrants in informal settlements in Ventimiglia is very difficult after the eviction of the bridge	The eviction of the bridge made live even harder for migrants in informality	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalization • Forced evictions • Fear of deportation

8	17-19	The people who stay outside are very careful and hide as they are afraid	Fear of deportation or arrest makes people in informal camps hide	
9	5-6	Abdel moved into a temporary reception center in Ventimiglia but left it after two weeks due to the bad conditions	Bad conditions in temporary reception center in Ventimiglia	Reception system and asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad conditions in temporary reception center Ventimiglia (CAS) • Better conditions in SPRAR • Reception system only for migrants not previously convicted Authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrests and deportations of migrants in the streets
10	8-10	After applying for asylum in Italy he was allowed to move into a reception facility for asylum seekers where the conditions are better	Conditions in the SPRAR are better	
11	11-14	A. states that mainly migrants in transit, recently arrived or migrants involved in criminal intrigues stay in informal settlements as they are not allowed to enter the reception centers	Reception centers only open for migrants who are not criminal or previously convicted	
12	15-16	A. says the situation for migrants in informal settlements in Ventimiglia is very difficult after the eviction of the bridge	The eviction of the bridge made life even harder for migrants in informality	
13	16-17	The police picks up migrants who sleep outside	Arresting of migrants in new informal settlements	

Interview 07: Adan, Yaseer, Said

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
				Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements
1	6-10	All the three came from Africa to Sicily two weeks ago, since then they moved from south to north and west in order to cross the border	High degree of mobility: crossing Africa, Mediterranean and Italy	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High degree of mobility during flight
				Issues inside informal settlements
				Reception system and asylum procedure

Interview 08: Shaqir, Saqib

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	2-4	Saqib is a minor and has recently been deported from the Netherlands back to Italy under Dublin	Saqib has been deported from Netherlands to Italy under Dublin despite being a minor	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of choice • Bad conditions in reception center Reasons for coming to Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deportation under Dublin from other EU state • Work Forced evictions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalization through eviction • Deportations upon eviction • More migrants in reception center after eviction • Eviction as a motive to cross the border and to hide
2	9-10	Shaqir states that many migrants rather stay outside than in the reception facility due to bad living conditions there	Bad conditions in reception center make migrants move to informal settlements	
3	11-13	Before the forced eviction of the bridge, the live in informality was better, migrants were together etc. now they disappeared, moved to camps, crossed the border or have been deported	The eviction of the bridge made migrants disappear	
4	1-2	Shaqir is 50 years old and moving around working in Italy since ten years	Shaqir is in Italy as amigrant worker since ten years	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For 10 years in Italy as a migrant worker Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High degree of mobility as a migrant worker Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal advice to avoid deportations of minors • Good accommodation • Food
5	2-5	Saqib is a minor and has recently been deported from the Netherlands back to Italy under Dublin and he plans to cross again	Saqib has been deported from Netherlands to Italy under Dublin despite being a minor, plans to cross	
6	6-8	Shaqir is living with a friend as the conditions in the reception center are too bad: the bathrooms are dirty, the beds are too small and there is a lack of food; migrants need additional food distribution	Need for better accommodation and especially need for food	
7	11-13	Before the forced eviction of the bridge, the live in informality was better, migrants were together etc. now they disappeared,	The eviction of the bridge made migrants disappear; migrants in informal camp exposed to repression and eviction	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerability and exposure to repression • Eviction and marginalization

		moved to camps, crossed the border or have been deported		
8	2-4	Saqib is a minor and has recently been deported from the Netherlands back to Italy under Dublin	Saqib has been deported from Netherlands to Italy under Dublin despite being a minor	Reception system and asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad conditions in reception center: dirty bathrooms, small beds, lack of food Authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deportations of minors (non Italian authorities)
9	6-8	Shaqir is living with a friend as the conditions in the reception center are too bad: the bathrooms are dirty, the beds are too small and there is a lack of food	Conditions in the reception center are too bad to live there: dirty bathrooms, small beds, lack of food	
10	11-13	Before the forced eviction of the bridge, the live in informality was better, migrants were together etc. now they disappeared, moved to camps, crossed the border or have been deported	The eviction of the bridge made migrants disappear	

Interview 09: Sudanese Group

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	8-11	Two of the group have been to Germany and have been deported to Italy under Dublin, their aim is to cross again	Deportation under Dublin as reason to come to Italy	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aim to cross the border Proximity of informal camp to border Free choice Reasons for coming to Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deportation under Dublin from other EU state Forced evictions
2	14-18	In 2017, one if them has been to Ventimiglia before, and opted to sleep under the bridge in order to be closer to the border	Preferable to sleep in informal settlement as it closer to the border than reception center	
3	2-3	The private food distribution is the only nutrition during Ramadan	No food provided by authorities or official sites in the late evening	Migrants' lives Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mobility through Dublin (once to Germany, back to Italy and around Italy, trying to cross to France etc.) Needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious-friendly food provision Need for food
4	8-11	Two of the group have been to Germany and have been deported to Italy under Dublin, their aim is to cross again	Deportation under Dublin produces mobility	
5	19-21	The conditions under the bridge were bad, it very hard to sleep in the streets, especially after having been to Germany already	The conditions in informal settlements are bad, especially when the dwellers had been living in another EU state before	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad conditions Hard to adjust after having lived in another EU state
6	14-18	In 2017, one if them has been to Ventimiglia before, and opted to sleep under the bridge in order to be closer to the border	Reception center unattractive as it is far from the border	Reception system and asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reception center too far from the border

Interview 10: Said

Nr.	Line	Paraphrase	Generalization	Reduction
1	5	Said was brought back to Italy under Dublin	Deportation under Dublin as a reason to come to Italy	Reasons for the emerging of informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free choice: better than reception center Reasons for coming to Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deportation under Dublin from other EU state Forced evictions
2	6-7	Said does not want to live in the reception center and prefers to stay under the bridge	Prefers to sleep in informal settlement than in reception center	
3	2-3	Said is 25 years old and in the streets for a long time	Said is in informality for a longer period of time	Migrants' lives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lives in informality since long period of time Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dublin system provokes mobility Needs
4	5	Said was brought back to Italy under Dublin	Deportation under Dublin produces mobility	
5	10-12	The conditions under the bridge are not good for Said and he has to hide and stays alone	The conditions in informal settlements are not good, he is alone and hides	Issues inside informal settlements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bad living conditions Loneliness & segregation Marginalization Fear of arrest and deportation
6	11-12	Live in the streets is problematic	Live in the streets is problematic	
7	13-15	The police is a big problem for him and he is afraid of getting caught and deported south	Live in informality is connected to a fear of police, arrest and deportation	
8	8-9	The reception center is not good for Said	Reception center not good enough	Reception system and asylum procedure and authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reception facility not good for him Authorities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fear of arrest and deportation
9	13-15	The police is a big problem for him and he is afraid of getting caught and deported south	Live in informality is connected to a fear of police, arrest and deportation	

