

# Global villages.

## Citizenship, asylum and hospitality in southern Italy



Wageningen University and Research  
Department of Environmental Sciences  
Cultural Geography Chair Group

Master: Tourism, Leisure and Environment  
GEO-80436

Pedro Antonio Perrone  
Registration number 581112648090  
Examining team  
Supervisor: Dr. Martijn Duineveld  
Examiner: Prof. Dr. V.R. René van der Duim

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## SUMMARY

Decades of political, social and economic conflicts in Africa and Middle East, have produced a constantly growing flow of asylum seekers looking for refuge in Europe and Italy. The central Mediterranean is currently a main route and Italy a main point of entrance. For some rural communities in southern Italy, the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers has been an opportunity to reactivate their declining towns, depopulated as consequence of their own emigration process.

Immigration flows have produced a social, cultural and ethnic diversity that is compelling EU, national and local governments to question governance systems and traditional concepts of citizenship, which is increasingly being regarded more as practices of becoming claim-making subjects, than referred to a legal status. To deal with the arrival of asylum seekers, the Italian government set up an 'integrated hospitality' program, supported by regional and local governments and civil society organizations. The program provides independent housing, language classes, information, assistance and advice for socio-economical insertion.

The scientific objective of this research is to explore how refugees, asylum seekers and original residents practice citizenship in Italian rural villages, through their participation in the integrated hospitality program. The thesis studies the social practices and local discourses that shape participation of asylum seekers and native residents in the integrated hospitality program, in order to learn what new citizen roles emerge from participation. Rather than providing a neutral space in which citizens represent themselves, participation creates citizens and citizenship. In my theoretical model, asylum seekers, refugees and native residents are changed through their participation in the hospitality program, influencing each other. In turn, the emerging subjects participate in new, different ways, thus fostering a mutual process of change between the actors and the program.

Most local residents in the case study – natives and asylum seekers- perform citizenship by complying with the roles that national and local authorities assign to them. They are, in general, 'active citizens' enacting a script, according to a position assigned by the program, which is locally represented by the local government and the social organizations that provide hospitality services. There are also residents who are changed, from the original position as opposed citizens-non citizens, to common views on concerns and expectations about the process in which they are involved. Citizens and noncitizens alike can be assimilated in the process and become supportive, claim for other different spaces of participation or be disruptive and question the system, usually with the aim of improving it. From the opposite positions that they are originally assigned, they all share common spaces of interest, concern and hopes.

**Keywords:** citizenship, participation, asylum, refuge, hospitality, migration, governance, Italy, Calabria, Riace,

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Decades of political, social and economic conflicts in Africa and Middle East, have produced a constantly growing flow of asylum seekers looking for refuge in Europe. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines asylum seeker as someone fleeing from persecution or conflict, seeking for international protection under the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees. When his/her claim is approved, the asylum seeker becomes a refugee.

According to UNHCR, Europe is 'living through a maritime refugee crisis of historic proportions' (Albahari, 2015, p.1) and the European Commission refers to the situation as the "largest global humanitarian crisis" of our time (ECHO 2015, 1 in Holmes 2016, p. 12). The central Mediterranean is currently the main route for asylum seekers entering Europe, making the situation specially critical for southern European countries, like Italy and Greece (EPSC, 2017). Arrival of immigrants in the area is not new though, since the late 1980's and after a long history of emigration, southern European countries became also a destination for immigrants, producing a social, cultural and ethnic diversity that is compelling local societies 'to question their national identity and their concept of citizenship (Fonseca, 2002, p. 136), which has gained importance in the current situation.

The 'crisis' has put pressure on cultural and social institutions for the EU, regional and local governments and for society in general. For some rural communities in southern Italy, the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers has also been an opportunity to reactivate their declining towns, depopulated as consequence of their own emigration process. In those small rural villages, regardless of the temporary or permanent nature of their presence, refugees and asylum seekers represent a challenge for local governance, as the newly arrived 'bring about a definition of new forms of democracy and new spaces of citizenship for the older and newer residents' (Elia 2013, p. 67).

To deal with the increasing arrival of asylum seekers, the Italian government set up an 'integrated hospitality' program, supported by regional and local governments and civil society organizations. In this thesis I research how asylum seekers and native residents practice citizenship, through their participation in the local hospitality program in rural villages in southern Italy. Learning about how the social actors participate in the program is important, because of the implications that participation has for citizenship, understood as 'a claim to be accepted as full members of the society' (Marshall, 1950 in Bloemraad et al., 2008, p. 157).

In the following section I present the background and problem statement of the thesis, followed by the research objectives, research questions and an overview of the subsequent chapters.

### 1.1. Citizenship

Citizenship has been defined as 'a form of membership in a political and geographic community' (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p154). Currently the terms citizenship and nationality are regarded as legal-technical synonymous but, while both define a legal state-membership, citizenship is enacted in the national realm and nationality operates in the international interstate dimension (Sassen 2002). 'The legal status entails the specifics of whom the state recognizes as a citizen and the formal basis for the rights and responsibilities of the individual in relation to the state'(Sassen 2002 p. 6). With the development of administrative structures, 'state and citizenship became necessarily combined to form effective

technologies of government'. (Isin 2002 p6). The state frequently links and promotes citizenship as embedded with nationalism.

Since its origins and throughout history, citizenship has been an exclusionary privilege in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and class (Pocock 1995, Magnette 2005, Smith 1997, Yuval-Davis 1997 in Bloemraad 2008). As a western institution, citizenship originated in the Athenian city-state as a male-only membership participatory model, which excluded women, slaves, individuals without property and newcomers (Aristotle 1992, Dynneson 2001, Heater 2004, Pocock 1995 in Bloemraad 2008). In the Roman empire, citizenship evolved as a juridical concept, implying the legal status of citizenship as subject to a state (Dynneson 2001 in Bloemraad 2008). Originally connected to the city, citizen reflects the idea of someone being 'cultivated' in a city, thus achieving rights and culture differentiated from those in the countryside. (Isin 2002). The Enlightenment incorporated concepts of contract and consent, 'opening the way to liberalism's language of individual rights, a central part of contemporary citizenship'. (Bloemraad 2008, p. 155).

The birth of modern citizenship is related to the nation-state, involving rights and obligations delivered by the government to the individuals. Citizenship rights include civil, social and political rights, whose recognition varies among states. According to Isin (2002), Marx claimed that citizenship was 'a smoke screen that masked economic exploitation' (p. 6). Instead, Isin (2002, p 7) considers that, rather than belonging to the 'ruling class', citizenship emerged in contemporary politics, 'as fundamental to rights discourse and to oppositional movements'.

The notion of European citizenship, incorporates a tension within a nation-state granted citizenship, marked by free movement. For European citizenship internal mobilities are an agent of integration, with external mobilities defining its limit, an excess that needs 'to be controlled or kept at a distance'. (Aradau et al., 2010, p.14). Deportation practices enact territorial citizenship and the differences -cultural, racial, ethnic- that divide citizens from those who are not (Berman 2003 in Aradau et al., 2010). Koopmans (2004 in Garcia 2006, p. 760) claims that citizenship regimes conform a 'political opportunity structure that shapes migrant identities and their pattern of organization and political participation'.

Social, political and economic struggles of recognition and redistribution have been articulated around citizenship (Isin 2002). Citizenship, has become 'increasingly defined as practices of becoming claim-making subjects in and through various sites and scales' (Isin, 2008 in Isin, 2013, p. 16). This approach pays less attention to the legal rules and emphasizes 'norms, practices, meanings, and identities'. (Isin, 2002, p. 4). Academic debates also question the state, through the investigation of practices that are used for articulating claims and forming subjectivities (Benhabib, 2004; Soysal, 1994 in Isin 2013). These debates differentiate between formal and substantive citizenship, and consider the last one a precondition for the other (Isin, 2013).

Because of the historical links between the nation-state and citizenship social and political rights, it has been considered that the rights of refugees and other vulnerable groups -e.g. aboriginals, stateless, children- are better covered by human rights (Isin, 2002). The problem that arises is that human rights cannot always or easily be guaranteed. Lacking a 'political community' or 'global state' with world jurisdiction that can enforce those rights over national legislation. 'it is difficult to see how human rights legislation can have authority over the legal rights of citizens of legitimate states. (Isin, 2002, p 7). Opening spaces for native residents and asylum seekers to practice citizenship, even without a legal membership status supporting it, copes with the limitations of humanitarian rights approaches.

Arendt (1985 in Pupavac, 2008, p. 281) considers that 'human rights failed to protect people when they lost their citizenship rights because the stateless could not enforce any claims in a world of states...to enforce a claim, you need to belong to a political community, but the majority of the world's refugees are not political refugees and cannot easily claim membership of a political community in exile'. According to Agamben (1998 in Zemblyas, 2010), the lack of criticism over the exclusion of humanitarianism from politics, thus the treatment of asylum seekers as bare life, shows some type of connivance between the humanitarian sector and the power it is supposed to face. Examples cited are the neutrality of the Red Cross and the apoliticism of UNHCR. Pupavac (2008, p. 282) indicates that 'Empowering those who are powerless through recognizing human rights has a strong moral appeal, but this does not resolve the inherent problem of how the powerless realize these rights'

Citizenship 'evokes notions of national identity, sovereignty, and state control, but these relationships are challenged by the scope and diversity of international migration.' (Bloemraad, 2008, p. 153). The idea of a legal state-membership is currently challenged by globalization and migration, questioning mainly its state centered/controlled notion. Migration has stimulated the debate about the state as the source of rights, visualizing a personhood-based, cosmopolitan, postnational citizenship (Bloemraad, 2008). The weakening of the state as source of citizenship 'produces the possibility for new forms of power and politics at the subnational level'(Sassen, 2002 p. 18). As migration is questioning the nation-state as the source of citizenship rights, the new type of citizenship is seen more as based in the fact of being a person, and not necessarily linked to membership to one particular nation-state. (Bloemraad, 2008). Sassen (2002, p. 6) considers that global cities are partly denationalized spaces that allow 'a partial reinvention of citizenship'. In fact, most of these changes in citizenship seem to concentrate in big cities, but they can also occur and become evident in smaller cities or villages, as the ones involved in this research.

I argue that, in spite of lacking political rights, asylum seekers and refugees practice citizenship through their social practices in their places of resettlement. In the following section I present information about the current 'refugee crisis' in the central Mediterranean and how some rural villages in southern Italy are dealing with it.

## **1.2. Refugee Crisis, hospitality and rural re-population in southern Italy**

According to the UNHCR Report on the Mediterranean Situation, there were 362.753 sea arrivals in Europe in 2016. The figures for 2017, until august 11th, account for approximately 2420 people estimated dead or missing at sea and 118,523 arrivals, of which 97,459 entered Europe via Italy. Among those arriving in Europe, nearly 20% are children, 10% women and the rest men. In spite of media and political discourses about the 'crisis', Marconi (2015) considers that for Italy, the arrival of immigrants is not an emergency anymore, but a structural part of society, as immigrants already represent approximately 8% of the total resident population (Marconi, 2015).

During 2015 and 2016, irregular migrations flows into Europe significantly grew via Turkey, Greece and the Western Balkans. This route was closed down after an agreement between EU and Turkey and the Central Mediterranean route grew back in importance, as the main way for irregularly entering Europe. Embarking ports in the area are mainly in Lybia, last African stop for complex routes that usually include Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali (AFIC, 2017).

The reasons for the increasing numbers of refugees arriving in Europe are manifold, they are related to the wars in Syria and Iraq, as well as with political upheavals in countries such as Afghanistan, Eritrea and



elsewhere. There are also people escaping from precarious economic or social conditions and those looking for family reunification (UNHCR, 2017). Besides the search for international protection, migration from West Africa is also encouraged by false expectations about how life in Europe might be like, as 'migrants increasingly use social media platforms to present their migration experience as a success story' (AFIC, 2017, p. 34). AFIC Report (2017) shows an increase on flows from West and Central African countries, namely Nigeria, the Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Senegal and Mali.

To control the movement of immigrants around Italy, the state counts on different types of 'hospitality' centres for registration and reception, which function as 'social technologies that discipline space and the movement of people' (Malkki, 2002, p. 353), controlling time, space and mobilities of the asylum seekers. While these centres allow an organized way to provide humanitarian assistance for refugees and caring of basic needs, there is not much space for democracy, as refugees officially do not have a way to make heard their political voices. However, the response to the refugee crisis is not just about saving lives, but also about the sustained attention for 'the social and political dimension of the lives being rescued'. (Albahari 2015, p.2).

Besides the previously mentioned state reception centres, there are the 'integrated hospitality' centers which are part of a national network of local governments and civil society organizations, that has been gaining importance in Italy for nearly twenty years, as an alternative way to manage the settlement of asylum seekers. Rather than 'concentrating' people, this system relies on a model of diffuse hospitality scattered all over the country. Besides covering basic needs for asylum seekers, the system provides for them independent housing, language classes, information, assistance and advice for socio-economical insertion. Besides providing humanitarian assistance, this system is aimed to make up for the lack of social inclusion and for the suspension of citizen rights of asylum seekers (Elia, 2013). With or without citizen rights, the encounter between the local hosts and the newly arrived produces cultural, social and political interactions that bring about new types of relations, which demand new governance arrangements or the adjustment of old ones.

Some municipalities participating in the 'integrated hospitality' program are located in Calabria region-southern Italy. Here, native residents have been emigrating from the area for more than a century. A trend that reached dramatic proportions after second world war (Pinilla, 2008) and has produced depopulation, economic decline and the abandonment of agricultural lands and cultural heritage (Ammirato, 2014). To revert that process, local governments and social organizations currently provide hospitality services and social assistance for refugees and asylum seekers. In some cases, the arrival of asylum seekers has already reversed local decline and has favoured the restoration of houses in historical centres, local commerce has been reactivated, work places have been created and local schools have been able to remain open. (Elia, 2013).

It has already been observed that the resettlement of foreign immigrants can be beneficial for them and for the rural communities with declining population and aging problems that host them (Collantes et al., 2010 in Bayona et al., 2013). However, there is a lack of research focused on how the newly arrived practice citizenship in their host communities. Furthermore, most scientific research about refugees' settlement and integration, focuses mainly in cities and metropolitan areas, while the phenomenon in small villages has obtained less attention (Marconi, 2015).

I am interested in learning how refugees, asylum seekers and original residents, practice citizenship in their new host communities in southern Italy. The research seems especially relevant, considering the growing number of small rural communities in Italy that, as a consequence of the arrival of refugees, are facing

“rapid transition from a taken for granted cultural uniformity to an unexpected multiplication of differences” (Marconi, 2015, p.32). Studying refugee participation in rural villages might be useful for future policy making and planning in small villages, but it can also provide useful information for similar processes in bigger cities.

### 1.3. Research goal and research questions

The scientific objective of this study is to explore how local residents -natives and newly arrived- practice citizenship in Italian rural villages, through their participation in the integrated hospitality program for asylum seekers and refugees. In this study I look at citizenship as ‘a claim to be accepted as full members of the society’ (Marshall, 1950 in Bloemraad et al., 2008, p. 157) and I focus on the social practices of the local residents, to study their enactment of citizenship.

The research questions leading this thesis are

- What social practices and local discourses shape participation of local residents, in the integrated hospitality program for asylum seekers and refugees in southern Italy.
- What new citizen roles emerge from the participation of local residents -native and newly arrived- in the integrated hospitality program for refugees and asylum seekers?

Learning about the participation of hosts and refugees in the local hospitality program of rural villages in southern Italy, helps to understand how refugees enact the process of becoming citizens again and how their others -the original residents- are involved in the process.

In the next chapter, a literature review for the thesis is presented in order to situate my research within current debates on citizenship participation, and its relation with asylum, hospitality and governance. Chapter three contains the theoretical framework. Methodology and methods for data collection and analysis are included in chapter four, chapter five introduces the context and main characteristics of the case study. Chapter six presents the main findings from the research, chapter seven discusses the findings and presents conclusions of the study.

## 2. ASYLUM, HOSPITALITY, GOVERNANCE AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION

In this chapter I will first present some background information about the social actors involved in the study: asylum seekers and refugees. Then two institutions that influence and shape the process of resettlement of immigrants and the way in which citizenship is performed in their new communities: asylum and hospitality. Finally, I present different concepts of governance and its relation with citizenship participation.

### 2.1. Asylum seekers and refugees

*The two foundational subjects for membership in the modern nation state, the citizen and the alien, are undergoing significant changes in the current moment (Sassen, 2002, p. 4)*

United Nations considers people fleeing from war or persecution (asylum seekers) to be refugees, even if they have not yet received official asylum. Economic migrants instead, have left their country looking for economic gain (Park, 2015). The term migrant is frequently used as representing refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants, creating legal and practical confusion (Holmes, 2016). The crisis currently affecting Europe is a process that involves asylum seekers and economic migrants alike (Park, 2015).

The figure of the refugee as object of social scientific knowledge, emerged after second world war and it was closely related to the process of the camp system (Malkki, 1995). Beyond official definitions, as Malkki (2002, p. 358) explains, the term refugee 'functions socially in complex ways. Its meaning as an experiential category can differ radically from context to context'. Legal-technical procedures establish categories like asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants, whose particular conditions also define their access to specific types of rights, creating a certain 'hierarchy of deservingness' (Holmes, 2016, p. 18). Economic migrants for instance, who are considered to have made a free choice of leaving their countries, are considered as 'less deserving' than those who escape from war or political persecution.

Apart from legal and technical aspects, the way in which refugees and asylum seekers are socially perceived, is strongly influenced by media and political discourses, which commonly frame refugees and other migrants as either victims, or as a threaten for Europe and the democratic system. Imaging refugees and asylum seekers between fear and compassion, other aspects of their situation are kept out of sight, like those related to the geopolitical reasons behind their stories. It is considered that 'their visibility as a symbol of fearism and invisibility as citizens depend on each other' (Zembylas, 2010, p. 34). Native residents also tend to be simplistically considered as being either supportive of migrants or intolerant nationalists (Zembylas, 2010). According to ECSP (2017), most of the migrants crossing the Mediterranean are not officially asylum seekers, as approximately 70% come from countries 'not suffering from violent conflicts or oppressive Regimes' (p.5). In the area of study for this thesis, there is a mixed presence of asylum seekers, economic migrants and settled refugees.

### 2.2. Asylum and hospitality

*Absolute hospitality allows for violence..... In welcoming the guest, the self is interrupted (Westmoreland, 2008, p 6).*

Arrival of immigrants in southern Italy is not a new phenomenon and the region has a long standing tradition of hospitality for visitors and asylum seekers. In this section I present some background information about Asylum and hospitality, two ancient Greek and Latin institutions which share a close history, frame the process of resettlement and shape the way in which asylum seekers and refugees practice citizenship in the area of study.

In ancient Greece, asylum was a refuge and sanctuary outside of the city, a place to host different types of individuals in need of shelter and based on 'the sacred right to protection...independent of the refugees' condition and on the ambivalence of hospitality, always in danger of hostility' (Fassin, 2013, p.5). The tradition defined a practice that continued well until the twentieth century. Even though the right of asylum was not included in national legislations, it was provided for individuals persecuted for political reasons. Problems started when the number of those persecuted were too big to be handled by an 'unofficial' practice (Arendt, 1951 in Fassin, 2013).

Contemporary asylum is sharply marked by the involvement of thousands or even millions of asylum seekers. Besides the significant change in the number of asylum seekers, another difference with the classical Greek institution, is that asylum is not controlled by cities anymore, but by national states. The creation of UNHCR was accompanied by a legal framework aimed to deal with the two mentioned aspects (Fassin, 2013). An important feature of contemporary asylum is that 'in the south are the refugees; in the north the asylum seekers' (Fassin, 2013, p 7), unveiling a different regime. While in the south a refugee is believed without prior evaluation, in the north he/she has to be assessed to prove it (Fassin, 2013).

According to Fassin (2013), there has not been a meaningful demographic change in asylum applicants in Europe since the late seventies. There has been though, a change in the perception of the public. From the sympathetic attitude aroused by migrants of the cold war and the victims of South American and Southeast Asia dictatorships, to a growing hostility, specially towards economic migrants. An important institutional change in recent years, has been the 'intimization of asylum', which incorporates gender and sexual issues to be considered as claims for refuge. In spite of being an ancient institution, asylum remains as 'a precarious construct in which questions of legitimacy—and of "truth"—continually shift' (Fassin, 2013 in Holmes 2016, p 17).

In ancient Greece, hospitality was considered as a right of the foreigner and related to the law (Westmoreland, 2008 ). Etymologically, hospitality derives from *hospes*, the guest, which in turn comes from *hostis*, the enemy, showing a common origin for hospitality and hostility. Both applied to the stranger, who can be regarded in a positive or negative way, discerning strangers, potential guests from foreigners, non-citizens. (Benveniste, 1969 in Fassin, 2013).

Derrida (2005) considers that absolute hospitality is unlimited, is not constrained within the boundaries of laws and concepts and it does not produce obligation or payment, 'absolute hospitality involves neither the governance of duty nor the payment of debt' (Westmoreland, 2008, p.3), while conditional hospitality includes rights, duties and obligations. Hospitality officially provided for asylum seekers in Europe is certainly conditional, but in some cases it is provided 'beyond any institutionalized reception obligation' (Elia, 2013, p. 65), including individuals who are excluded from the official reception program.

For Derrida (2000), the conflict between universal and conditional hospitality, goes parallel to the conflict between the law of hospitality and the laws of hospitality. The law is meant to be unconditional, totally open to anyone 'without contract or pact' (Brown, 2020, p.311), but it becomes subordinate to its legal condition and 'perverted' by it. 'The law of hospitality requires the laws so as to not be abstract' (Derrida,

2000 in Westmoreland, 2008, p. 8). This tension is evident in the concept of cosmopolitanism, which offers unconditional hospitality, but needs restrictions to make it possible (Brown, 2010). Westmoreland (2008, p. 8) asks 'Do the laws transgress the law of hospitality? Does the law of hospitality demand a transgression of the laws?'.

In spite of the nature of universal hospitality, Derrida considers that there is no hospitality "without sovereignty of oneself over one's home, but since there is also no hospitality without finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering . . . and doing violence." (Derrida, 2000 in Westmoreland 2008, p. 6). Derrida claims that 'There can be no law or formula, no categorical imperative, to ensure that hospitality does not cross into hostility' (Naas, 2005 in Brown, 2010, p.316).

Exploring the way in which hosts and immigrants participate in the 'integrated hospitality' program, brings the opportunity to learn how citizenship practices can help dealing with the inherently conflictive nature of asylum and hospitality.

### 2.3. Governance

*Governance is the taking of collectively binding decisions for a community in a community, by governmental and other actors (Van Assche et al., 2015, p. 1)*

Governance has been considered as 'a process by which citizens collectively solve their problems and meet society's needs, using government as an instrument' (OECD, 2001 in Garcia, 2006, p.750) or 'the creation, execution, and implementation of activities backed by the shared goals of citizens and organizations, who may or may not have formal authority and policing power' (Rosenau, 1992 in Bingham, 2005, p 548). Governance is also regarded as 'a negotiation mechanism for formulating and implementing policy that actively seeks the involvement of stakeholders and civil society organizations, besides government bodies and experts'(Garcia, 2006 p. 745).

Governance is about "any coordinated attempt to govern a reality, but also about the way in which societies makes sense of reality" (Duineveld et al., 2009 in Van Assche et al., 2015, p.2), it includes various formal and informal institutions at different levels, coordinating interactions and the use and distribution of resources (Van Assche et al., 2015). Governance is said to construct 'the reality it governs' (Van Assche, 2015, p. 2), in a mutual construction with the objects and subjects of governance, all constantly evolving (Van Assche et al., 2015).

Expressly or implicitly, a common aspect to all definitions of governance is the importance they give to participation as a democratic practice, to achieve the involvement of those affected by the governance process. Garcia (2006) considers that democratic governance should be preferred to other types of governance, as these ones may lead to weak accountability and be detrimental to citizenship. Though 'no model of governance is perfect' (Van Assche et al., 2014a, p. 1). Democratic governance requires 'the mobilization of social groups, institutions, private and public actors forming alliances and engaging in collective projects in order to adapt to economic global changes (Le Gale's, 2000 in Garcia, 2006, p. 750). It has been considered that participation in governance is important, because it 'can enhance learning processes, improve the quality of decisions, contribute to empowerment, or promote democratic citizenship' (Innes and Booher 1999, Owens 2000, Cornwall 2002, Stringer et al. 2006, Ballard et al. 2008, Fernandez-Gimenez et al. 2008, Kuper et al. 2009 in Turnhout et al, 2010).

Multilevel governance refers to the inclusion of participants at local, national, sub-national and supranational levels. Local governance is discussed alongside the concepts of regional, urban and local citizenship (Garcia, 2006) or rural citizenship (Woods, 2006). Local and regional forms of citizenship develop as a result of citizens' demands or of local institutions' innovative practices, in order to maintain or create social entitlements and they require an open public sphere for participation and contestation (Garcia, 2006). The concept of public sphere refers to 'an open political field in which no person is excluded and in which all issues can be debated (Crowley et al., 2001 in Garcia, 2006, p. 752). Somers (in Garcia, 2006, p. 752) has shown that, historically, the opportunities offered by the local social environment allow citizen formation, 'thus the different modes of local governance in combination with local community practices resulted in diverse forms of 'appropriation'. Citizen's Participation and contestation in contemporary European urban environments, are inserted in a multilevel governance institutional context, which can limit effective participation but also open opportunities for social action, aimed for the development of citizen rights (Garcia, 2006).

Regional and local governments have increasingly been involved in the design and implementation of social policies and management of public services (Garcia, 2006). In such cases, the role of the state has been aimed to enable and improve the competitiveness of declining cities and regions, that are threatened by loss of comparative advantages, in order to provide 'new opportunities for social and political participation in cities in the context of multilevel governance' (Garcia, 2006, p. 747). When performed at local scale, within community life, citizenship is commonly defined through customs and practices (Woods, 2006, p. 458).

The arrival of immigrants in Europe and their integration, are challenging institutional and cultural frames and social policies, which contributes to the appearance of new forms of local governance (Garcia, 2006), as occurring in some southern Italy rural villages, that have become active participants in the multilevel governance system of the hospitality program.

In the following section I refer to the importance of participation for citizenship practices.

#### 2.4. Citizenship participation

*formal membership in the nation-state is increasingly neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for substantive citizenship (Holston et al., 1999, p. 190).*

Citizenship is considered to encompass four dimensions: legal status, rights, participation and a sense of belonging. The four dimensions can correlate each other or be in conflict among them. (Bloemraad et al., 2008). This is made evident, for instance, by the fact that legal citizenship does not effectively produce equal rights for people of different social groups, within a single nation-state (Sassen, 2002) or by the allocation of social rights in some countries, for people who do not have a legal national status (Bloemraad et al., 2008).

There have been some changes in citizenship as a formal institution, creating tension between the concepts of citizenship and participation and that of 'citizenship as legal status, with or without accompanying rights and obligations'. (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p. 155). As the nation-state is being questioned as source of citizenship, political participation 'is increasingly seen as an individual right and, in some cases, a human right that should be detached from legal status' (Brysk & Shafir 2004, Hayduk 2006

in Bloemraad et al., 2008, p 156). In practice, citizenship is increasingly considered as independent of a legal status and more as related to rights and participation (Holston, 1999).

Participation, as an active dimension of citizenship, 'refers to the various ways in which individuals take part in the management of collective affairs of a given political community' (Bauböck, 2006, p. 84). Participation is also understood as 'a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs, and environments that affect them' (Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, & Wandersman 1984, p. 339 in Jordan et al, 2013, p.5), or 'the inclusion of local voices in the policy and decision-making process' (Van Assche et al., 2011, p. 3). Kesby (2007, p. 2814) considers that 'even when participation is 'done properly, 'deeply', and is driven by participants themselves, it will nevertheless always already constitute a form of power', and those with structural power are usually concerned of not being able to control the results of participatory processes (Ashby, 2003; Hayward et al., 2004 in Lawrence, 2006). Some perspectives that look at participation as a technique of control over the locals, focus on 'the negative power effects of participation' (Cooke and Kothari, 2001 in Kesby, 2007, p 2816).

Participation in political sciences refers widely to 'citizenship rights and democracy' (Habermas, 1989 in Doná, 2007, p. 211 ). While citizen participation is usually framed within political governance, it is necessary to stress other types of participation, especially 'those related to economic wellbeing and social inclusion, that underpin people's capacity to act as citizens' (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p. 162). According to Kesby (2007, p 2814), 'participation must be recognized as a form of power but...can also be seen as a resource for human agency'.

Participation and its consequences for policy and planning, have been an important topic since the late 1960's (Lawrence, 2006). As Schlozman remarks (2005, p.2) 'the messages conveyed through citizen participation are essential to democratic governance'. After focusing mainly on matters related with types and methodologies of participation, the academic debate moved onwards to study the effects of participation.

When studying the participation of immigrants in the receiving communities, it is necessary to think beyond traditional notions of participation in political governance and look further to other modes, specially 'those related to economic wellbeing and social inclusion, that underpin people's capacity to act as citizens' (Bloemraad, 2008, p. 162). Access to employment, compliance with taxes regulations, family life and social activities, that make people part of the community where they live, can be considered as a form of citizenship participation which is enacted, in spite of the absence of a legal residence permit (Carens 1987, Coll 2004, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Leitner&Ehrkamp 2003, Rosaldo 1997 in Bloemraad, 2008). Without political rights, asylum seekers express their agency through their social practices, as a way to exert citizenship and participate in local governance (Isin, 2013).

In the following chapter, the theoretical framework for this research is presented.

### 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Following a post-structuralist approach, this thesis endorses 'the idea of a social, discursive, construction of reality' (Van Assche et al., 2014b, p.2), where 'everything is contingent' (Van Assche et al., 2014b, p. 7). This approach sets a direction to explore how actors in southern Italy are transformed through their participation in the local hospitality program. I will look at participation through the social practices of the local residents, to understand how those practices transform them, from an original configuration as immigrants-native residents into new, different types of citizens. To identify citizenship practices in this study, I will use and adapt some concepts from theory of social practices and performance theory. Hereafter I present the concept of and relations between social practices, discursive practices and performativity, which will guide my analysis.

#### 3.1. Citizenship practices

*The notion of practice itself seems rather hard to define. On a concrete level, practice may alternately refer to a way of doing, performance, customs and habits, or rehearsal. (van der Arend et al., 2011, p. 172).*

Citizenship includes 'practices of making citizens' (Isin, 2013, p. 17), which can be social, political, cultural or symbolic. Citizenship practices are controlled and supported by norms and values of prevailing institutional structures (Garcia, 2006). The practices are 'mediated by reflexive processes, with citizens reinterpreting the basis of their collective life in new ways that correspond to their evolving needs and ideals' (Bellamy, 2001 in Garcia, 2006, p.747). Practice-based approaches stress the making of citizens through institutional or individual practices that change existing rights. In these approaches, citizenship is regarded as 'a set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural), which define a person as a competent member of society' (Turner, 1993 in Aradau et al., 2010, p. 18).

Beyond citizenship-making practices, acts of citizenship explore the limits for the re-creation of citizenship, politically contesting the institutional order through performances that may be or not be institutionalized or legal (Aradau et al., 2010). Acts of citizenship are 'creative breaks' that show how 'subjects become citizens as claimants of justice, rights and responsibilities' (Isin, 2013, p. 18). Acts of citizenship question or disrupt the law, so creating new subjects without previous visibility (Isin, 2013). Claims of rights and protests enacted by refugees and asylum seekers are considered examples of acts of citizenship (McNevin, 2006; Nyers 2006, 2008; Squire 2009 in Aradau, 2010).

In my research, citizenship practices are studied through the social practices of the actors, using concepts from Theory of Social Practices, which belongs to the group of Cultural theories. They are based on a particular form of understanding action and social order, by referring to 'symbolic structures of meaning' (Reckwitz, 2002, p 244). Cultural theories are heuristic devices and frameworks for empirical research, which act as vocabularies defined by empirical 'facts', allowing us to make (and exclude other) empirical statements. A benefit of cultural theories lies on bringing about symbolic and cognitive realms and how they give meaning to the social world.

Practice theory helps in the analysis of the connections between bodily and mental routines and the use of objects. It takes mind, texts and conversation away from the centre of discussion and make body movements, things, practical knowledge and routine, the centre of its reflections. Practice theory treats practices as the 'smallest unit' of social analysis (Reckwitz, 2002).

Practices are understood as 'a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a



background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249). Practices may include or not include interactions and they look at the 'way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). For practice theory, routinization is inherent to social structure.

Practices have a pattern composed by unique actions. All the elements are attached and interconnected, in such a way that each one does not encompass the whole meaning of the practice. The individual (body and mind) is the carrier of the pattern, which also contains 'ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). The practice can be understood not only by the carrier, but also by observers, at least by those who share a similar culture.

Practices, as recurrent body performances and site of mental activities, also represent some particular type of knowledge, aims and emotions. For practices, knowledge is a particular way to understand the world and includes a comprehension of objects (abstract or not), humans and the self. Such understanding is culturally-historically specific to the practice. For some practices, objects used in a certain way may be just as important as body and mind performances. When objects are involved, subject-object relation has the same level of importance as subject-subject relations, and objects also become the place of the social (Reckwitz, 2002).

The 'agent' of social practices is the performance of the practices, and the individual acts as the sole point of crossing of the bodily and mental routines that constitute the practice. Practices may be performed by a single agent, with or without objects and ruptures occur as crises of routines, to which the agent is confronted (Reckwitz, 2002).

### 3.2. Discursive practices

To understand social practices in this research I also study local prevailing discourses -governmental or otherwise-, as they 'have a performative effect on citizens' initiatives, which adapt themselves, anticipate on what is expected from them and act strategically towards these discourses' (van Dam et al., 2015, p. 163). To identify local discourses I will use and adapt the concept of 'discursive practices' from theory of social practices.

Discursive practices adopt different forms through which the world is 'meaningfully constructed in language or in other sign-systems' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 254). They include interconnected routinized body or mental activities and objects. They are a type of practice in which participants routinely ascribe meanings to objects or ideas, which are turned into 'signs' to understand other objects or ideas, or to do something, influencing other practices and discourses. Discursive practices contain 'a routinized, non-subjective way of understanding' (Reckwitz 2002, p.255).

### 3.3. Participation as performative practice

*Performativity is an effect of discourse, and every social reality is the result of performativity (Van Dam et al., 2015, p. 166)*

Rather than providing a neutral space in which citizens represent themselves, participation creates citizens and citizenship, which is not an a priori given but is constructed in interaction in the context of participation (Turnhout et al., 2010, p. 12). Participation frequently contributes to re-construct predefined points of view and, in many cases, success will depend on how much the participants divert from what they were originally supposed to do (Turnhout et al., 2010). In that sense, participation 'offers

opportunities to build citizenship, and creates spaces for renegotiation and reinterpretation' (Nuijten 1992, Goodwin 1998 in Turnhout et al., 2010, p.11). It is considered that 'New roles and concepts for 'citizens' emerge all the time and once created and internalized, they can have an impact on existing governance discourses and practices (Van Dam et al., 2015, p. 166).

Communities are commonly considered as a unity, without paying much attention to the differences within, but participation is not equally accessible for all members of a community. Opportunities to participate are influenced and limited by the knowledge and skills of the participants, as well as by the interests that they represent. Limited pre-determined alternatives looking for legitimation, are frequently presented to the participants, also constraining their scopes of action.

Van Assche et al. (2015, p.14) claim that 'more than notions of legitimacy, of right and wrong, of deliberation or even democracy, performativity seems the basic concept to understand participation in governance'. Performativity is understood as 'the process of making facts, things or subjects appear as true, as real' (Beunen, Van Assche, & Duineveld, 2013; Bialasiewicz et al., 2007; Butler, 1997; Hajer, 2006; MacKenzie, Muniesa, & Siu, 2007; Rose, 2002; Turnhout, Van Bommel, & Aarts, 2010 in van Dam et al., 2015, p. 166). Participation as performative practice is not about specifically defined roles, but a space for creation of different types of citizens, it 'emphasizes that identities, knowledge, interests, and needs are not represented but shaped, articulated, and constructed in the participation process itself' (Turnhout et al., 2010, p. 11).

In this research, refugees, asylum seekers and native residents in rural villages represent 'vehicles of power in a net-like organization' (Doná, 2007, p. 224), whose participation in the local hospitality program, transforms themselves and the networks. In a Foucauldian perspective, they produce 'power/knowledge interactions that both serve and create actors' (Allen, 1991; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Sharp and Richardson, 2001; Flyvbjerg, 2002; Hajer and Versteeg, 2005 in Van Assche et al., 2011, p. 5). According to Van Dam (2015) identities are not chosen, but actors are induced to perform it, influenced by the individual thinking and also by those surrounding the actors, as well as by the assumptions of what is considered relevant in the particular social context.

Participation is always limited by the restrictions, assumptions and expectations that it involves, they define the field and practices of participation (Turnhout et al., 2010). Restrictions are about who can be involved and the spaces open for debate, assumptions refer to the topics concerned, expectations correspond to the anticipated results and to how participants are supposed to act. Specific restrictions, assumptions and expectations within a certain context, produce particular types of citizen involvement and performances. As a result of participation, Turnhout et al. (2010) considered six categories of -intended and unintended- forms of citizens involvement (table 1), which fluctuate between creativity, passivity and entrenchment. These categories do not exclude each other and are 'best regarded as articulations resulting from context-specific interactions and practices' (Turnhout et al., 2010, p. 11). Participants may switch positions, producing different interactions, which 'create power relations, institutions, or more general discourse which can influence the behavior of actors' (van Assche et al., 2015, p. 6).

citizen involvement types	profiles
Interest representing citizens	stakeholders, specific interest groups
Entrenched citizens	uncompromising, inflexible attitude
Assimilated citizens	committed to achieving results
Disappointed citizens	distrust, resentment
Disinterested citizens	lack of interest, apathy
Creative citizens	innovators, challenge takers

*Table 1 Citizen involvement types, based on Turnhout 2010*

Besides asylum seekers and native residents directly involved in the ‘integrated hospitality’ program in southern Italy depopulated villages, new actors appear and participate in the hospitality program, like the media, NGO’s, researchers and holiday visitors. All of them participate with demands from and expectations on the program, influencing practices, relations and discourses. Thus contributing to new opportunities for participation, to enact citizenship and to the creation of new subjects. Learning about local participation of residents in rural villages that welcome refugees, offers an insight into different forms of inclusion and exclusion for the original residents and for the newly arrived.

In my theoretical model, asylum seekers, refugees and native residents are changed through their participation in the hospitality program, influencing each other. In turn, the emerging subjects participate in new, different ways, thus fostering a mutual process of change between the actors and the program. I will use the ‘citizen involvement types’ described in this chapter, to identify the emerging subjects. Participation is focused on the social practices of the original residents and the asylum seekers, as a way to exert citizenship.

In the following chapter I present the methodology used for the research.

#### 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This thesis is a qualitative research, aimed to study how local residents -original inhabitants and newly arrived- enact citizenship through participation in the local hospitality program for refugees, and how participation changes the actors into new subjects, according to different categories of citizen involvement types. Participation is analysed through local discourses and social practices, to identify corresponding restrictions, assumptions and expectations in the participation process. According to Doná (2007, p. 212), refugees can be involved in forced migration research as objects, subjects, social actors or participants and co-researchers. In this research refugees participate as social actors, as they 'inform the content of the research process, not simply as respondents to pre-determined questions but as informants knowledgeable about their experiences' (Doná, 2007, p. 212). As social actors, refugees have had an influence in the direction of the research process. The same approach has been applied with native local citizens.

The thesis is based on a case study, which exemplifies the general context required for the research. The selected case corresponds to a small rural village that was facing depopulation and decline for a long time. The village has now become place of settlement for refugees and asylum seekers and, thanks to that process, the population has grown, abandoned houses have been recovered, social life and local economy have been reactivated. The village is Riace, whose "Riace model" is considered as an emblematic representation of the Italian integrated hospitality program for refugees.

##### 4.1. Data collection

Literature review was based on internet search. Information processed includes scientific and empirical data (journals, technical reports, on-line newspapers, etc.). Initial review was focused on refugee studies, migration, governance, policy making, citizenship, participation, performativity, tourism planning and the selected case study. In a second phase, almost parallel to the first one, the search was centred in asylum, hospitality, effects of emigration, depopulation and rural migration in southern Italy.

A field trip was part of the research process, I stayed for two months in the area of study. Research was focused in Riace but, in order to contrast information, included activities in the adjacent villages of Stignano and Camini, which are also involved in the hospitality program. During my stay, I surveilled radio, newspapers and online news, looking for information about the current 'maritime crisis' and the refugee reception program in the area. Printed books about the 'Riace model' locally available, were also consulted for additional data.

Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews and observation. The process included a total of 43 semi-structured interviews (5 with local authorities-3 city mayors, 1 vice mayor, 1 councilman- 5 representatives of civil organizations, 16 native residents, 12 asylum seekers and 5 visitors). List of informants was initially based on a selection from the first literature review. During the trip the list was adapted, according to new information and opportunities available on site. Except for the local authorities, all the other interviewees were randomly chosen in the main squares and bus stops of Riace and the adjacent villages of Camini and Stignano. The only criteria to choose them was that they looked foreigners and they were available for talking. Participant observation was performed for approximately 12 hours, mostly in Riace old town during daytime.

For the interviews, I followed a general topic list (see appendix 1), which was meant to induce the interviewees to talk about local social practices, their knowledge of and participation in the hospitality program, their experiences and expectations. With local authorities and civil organizations, the interviews also covered the operational system of the hospitality program. I did notes from all interviews, three of them were also recorded, and main aspects of the interviews were transcribed. Interviews with native residents were held in Italian, with refugees and asylum seekers in English, French and Italian, and with visitors in English, Italian and Spanish. Data collection took place in Riace, Stignano and Camini during april and may 2017.

#### **4.2. Data analysis**

Selected secondary data (internet articles, videos, documentaries, websites) was classified by topic in descriptive categories (see list of sources in appendix 2), and filed in excel sheets, including relevant information (quotations) from some of the sources. This information was later used to contrast the primary data obtained during the field trip.

Transcribed primary data was read, main information was selected and filed in excel sheets, classified by participant (list of interviews in appendix 3). I looked for commonalities or otherwise relevant aspects in relation to the hospitality program and the theoretical categories of local discourses, social practices, limits to participation (restrictions, assumptions and expectations of the participants). The results were contrasted with the secondary data originally processed and used to answer the first research question. The findings were discussed in relation to the theoretical framework and this information was then used to identify common practices corresponding to the emerging citizen roles, in order to answer the second research questions.

#### **4.3. Researcher position**

I have tried to look at the process from inside, to see it 'as a local', including a dual perspective as asylum seeker and as native resident, according to the initial role of the actors in the research. During the process, I felt involved in the stories from both sides, I was curious and sometimes touched by their accounts. After the field trip I worked on 'detachment', to look at the data as an outsider, as objectively as possible, in order to create my own account of the stories.

#### **4.4. Limitations of the study**

Among the interviewees, there was a low representation of women refugees, mainly for two reasons: most of local refugees are men and women were usually less available for spontaneous interviews. I stayed in Riace Marina and used the bus regularly, to move between Riace Marina and Riace Superiore, (where there is more opportunity for public social interaction). This restricted my time to the local bus schedules and limited my work time in the old village (and nearby towns) to daytime. In another way, this situation turned to be a good opportunity to make contact with the locals, mainly refugees and asylum seekers, whom I met at the bus stops and during the bus rides. African accents sometimes were difficult for me to understand, causing some delay during interviews.

In the following chapter, the case study is presented.

## 5. INTRODUCING THE CASE STUDY

The selected case of study is Riace, a rural village whose pioneering way to manage the arrival of refugees, contributed to shape a national system of reception and is a referent for many other communities, especially in Italy but also abroad. The village is geographically and socially located in a crossroads of emigration and immigration in Calabria region, southern Italy. After losing population for decades (see table 2), Riace has now been welcoming refugees for nearly twenty years, in an innovative program that has had strong community participation and support, has reversed the depopulation process, reactivated local economy and encouraged restoration of abandoned houses in the historical centre. In this village “the practice of welcoming refugees has had a countering effect on the phenomenon of social degradation which previously seemed Irreversible” (Elia, 2013, p. 62). The ‘spontaneous acts of welcome by the local population’ (Elia, 2013, p. 61), which took place in Riace in the late 90’s, as well as a previous pilot project in the nearby village of Badolato, later inspired the creation of the Italian Protection System for asylum seekers and refugees.

	Riace	Camini	Stignano
<b>1921</b>	2.469	1293	2158
<b>1961</b>	2.048	1144	2109
<b>1981</b>	1.668	959	1571
<b>2001</b>	1.610	736	1373
<b>2011</b>	1.874	715	1340
2016	2.345	810	1350

*Table 2 ISTAT Statistics at december 31st each year, adapted from Tuttitalia*

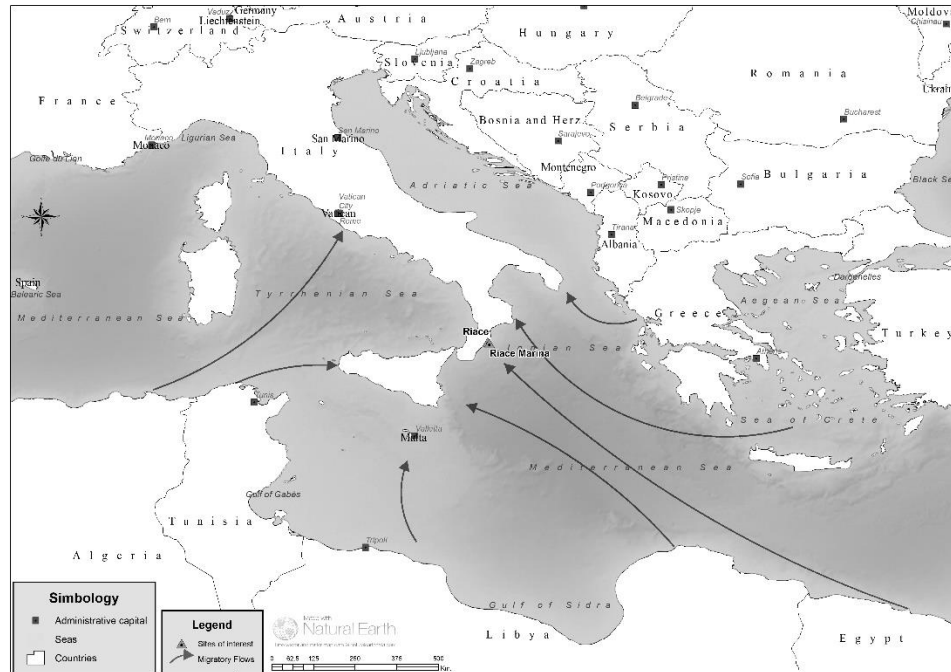
Riace started receiving asylum seekers in 1998, using empty houses that emigrants had left behind in the village. Some of the local inhabitants saw the arrival of refugees as an opportunity to revitalize the village and, since it started, “the participative movement managed to take form and diffuse itself among Riace citizens” (Cossetta et al., 2013, p. 13). Because of its particular dual condition as an emigration point, now receiving immigration flows, Riace has been considered as an example of thinking and practicing ‘generative participation’, which is based on the critical acknowledgement of the needs of the self and the others, creating firm ties between individuals and context (Cossetta et al., 2013). Riace has already inspired other local experiences, challenging the prevailing image of refugees as problematic (Elia, 2013). In this section, the general context of the case study and most relevant aspects of its current situation are presented.

### 5.1. The south, the mountains, the sea and the bronzes of Riace

Riace is located in Calabria region, on the Ionian coast in the province of Reggio Calabria. It is part of an area known as La Locride, on the scenic ‘Costa dei Gelsomini’ (Coast of jasmines). at the southernmost part of continental Italy (figure 1). Calabria has been considered as an “in between land” in the Mediterranean basin, with strong influence of criminal organizations (Elia 2013, p. 59). Southern Italy in general, has been regarded as ‘backward and picturesque...troubling and fascinating borderland between

Europe and its others' (Moe, 2002, p.1). A northern military, writing to Count Cavour about the south in 1860, said simply: "This is not Italy! This is Africa" (Carteggi di Camillo Cavour: La liberazione del Mezzogiorno in Moe, 2002, p. 2).

*Figure 1 Riace, Cental Mediterranean migration flows, adapted from UNHCR*



The towns on the Ionian coast, as many others in southern Italy, have a century old history of emigration towards America and, since the 1950s, towards the industrial north of Italy and northern European countries. The migration process has only deepened socio economic differences, between the North and the South (Elia, 2013). The region has an agroecological tradition of latifundium and poverty, a subsistence economy. Many people have migrated and Riace natives are spread all over Italy and the world. Main concentrations of natives from Riace are found in Santena-Torino and Buenos Aires-Argentina, but also in Canada or Australia. After second world war, there was an economic boom, but people continued to leave from the area. During the 60's, 70's and 80's, while Italy was among the most industrialized countries in the world, the south was being depopulated, providing raw material and people for the industries in the north.

Like other villages in the region, Riace has two distinct inhabited areas. The historical center, 'il borgo antico' (the old village), also known as 'Riace Superiore' is located on the hills, (7 kms. from the coast, 300 m.a.s.l.) and a coastal area, 'Riace Marina', where the landscape has been ravaged by disordered urban growth. That chaotic urbanization, frequent along the Ionian coast, is considered to be a demonstration of 'the hegemony of organized crime's territorial nomination' (Elia, 2013, p.61). The main municipality building and the historical centre are located in the old town. The coastal area is a summer destination for some Italian and European visitors.

Riace was featured in the international news in 1972, when two bronze Greek statues of warriors, now known as 'Bronzi di Riace' (Riace Bronzes) were discovered under the sea off Riace Marina. At the time, the discovery attracted international attention of the media, the public, scientific and political authorities



and created big expectations in the village about what this exposure may bring to the community, in terms of business and economic development. Not much happened though, the bronzes were taken elsewhere and are now on exhibit at the Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia in Reggio Calabria. But they are clearly remembered by the local population, commemorated in signs, sculptures and social memories in the town. The arrival of the Bronzes, coming from the sea, is related in the local imaginary to that of the patron saints Cosimo and Damiano, whom also came from the sea, according to the local legend.

## 5.2. Asylum and hospitality in Riace

From the sea also arrived in 1998, a group of 300 Kurdish asylum seekers, who were allowed to make use of abandoned local houses. At the time There were 1600 residents in Riace, with only 600 actually living there (Elia, 2013). “The wind has brought us a special cargo, and who are we to turn it away,” said about it Domenico Lucano, at the time a schoolteacher ‘reasoning that the refugees were simply following in the footsteps of Greeks, Arabs, Normans and other past visitors’ (UNHCR, 2010). Mr. Lucano organized the first reception for the asylum seekers and in 1999 he created the association “Città futura”. The purpose of the association was to deal with the arrangements for restoration and opening of the abandoned houses, along with the recovery of ancient crafts (glass, ceramics, weaving, embroidery). The initial idea was that of a ‘Villaggio Solidale’ (solidarity village), aimed to host a certain type of responsible tourists and refugees. The new organization contacted the owners of the empty houses, beginning with those who were living overseas. A rent contract was proposed with a symbolic payment and the restoration process started. Some houses were then made available for tourists and some for migrants (Cosetta, 2013).

All of these efforts were intended to “fill in the voids”, to bring about presences in order to “overcome to the sense of resignation and social oblivion that often dominates in contexts and realities like Riace.” (interview with Domenico Lucano, Mayor of Riace in Cosetta, 2013, p. 13). The process also had to surmount ‘political-institutional obstacles and a social fragmentation fuelled by organized crime (the ‘ndrangheta) which did not hesitate to send unmistakable hostile signals to members’ (Cosetta, 2013, p.13). Some of the initiatives related to the arrival of refugees include educational arrangements for children, reactivation of local businesses and opening of new shops. Community participation renovated trust in effective action, it produced a small rise in the local economy and foreign visitors started to arrive (Cosetta et al, 2013).

In 2001, Riace was among the first group of municipalities that joined the PNA (Piano Nazionale d’asilo- National Asylum Plan) of the Ministry of the Interior. Since 2001, the municipality of Riace receives ministerial and European financial aid, to cover expenses involved in the reception of refugees. Domenico Lucano became mayor of Riace in 2004, he assumed this position as representative of an ‘antagonist left’, whose interests ‘were different from traditional politics’ (personal interview with mayor Lucano). At the moment the mayor is running his third and last period as head of the ‘Comune’ (municipality).

When he first became mayor of Riace, Mr. Lucano was then able to work for the formal institutionalization of the hospitality process in the village. Since then, the municipality has participated in the calls of the National Refugee System and has officially compromised to refugee reception (Cosetta, 2013). Among other initiatives, the local association introduced the use of a ‘bonus’, a sort of local banknote convertible to euro, which the migrants use in many shops in the village. Thanks to the presence of asylum seekers, work places were created for social operators and the refugees’ children helped the elementary schools in the village, to attain the minimum number of students required to remain open (Elia, 2013).



The number of inhabitants of Riace passed from 1610 in 2001, to 2345 in 2016 (Tuttitalia, ISTAT statistics,). In 2010 (Maciel), refugees were already estimated to represent almost a quarter of the local population (Maciel, 2010) and, in 2013, there were 47 social operators working in the village, 15 of whom were refugees, working as part of the project run by Città Futura association and Riace municipal council. (Elia, 2013). In the neighbouring villages, Camini currently has 810 residents, the main association hires approximately 30 operators and provides hospitality for 113 guests. Stignano, has a population of 1350 inhabitants and has set a limit of 75 guests, in order to keep a certain balance with the native residents (interview with Francesco Candi, mayor). It is important to mention that in Italy 41.5% of foreigners live in communities of less than 20.000 inhabitants (IFEL-ANCI, 2014 in Marconi, 2015). The raising number of foreigners residing in small villages, present different challenges from those of the big cities and demands revision of the integration models currently in use.

The hospitality shown to refugee families by the people of Riace and other villages in the province of Reggio Calabria, has led to slowing down the depopulation phenomenon brought about by the constant flow of young people towards regional urban centers and the cities of central and northern Italy. Riace is known today as a village that has managed to solve, through hospitality, not so much the refugee problem, but that of continuing to exist, of not disappearing due to decades of emigration and depopulation, and to rethink of itself as a territory open to new citizens (Pezzoni, 2016).

### 5.3. Asylum seekers in Italy and the hospitality system

Asylum seekers arrive in Italy after a long trip that, for many, can be traced back to Senegal, Ghana or some other African or Asian country, until their arrival in Libya. That first part of the trip is characterized by complex, heterogeneous connections that include people smugglers and traffickers, as well as legal and illegal suppliers of accommodation and transportation services, among others. That part of the trip may last approximately one month. To successfully cross the Mediterranean from Libya to Italy, may take for some people as long as a year and several attempts. Once within Italian jurisdiction, state officials and international humanitarian organizations take leading roles, providing emergency assistance and provisional shelter in first aid-temporary reception centres, before being transferred to one of the reception centers that the state has available. These centres operate under camp-inspired regimes that restrict the space and mobility of the asylum seekers and the main ones are: centri di primo soccorso e accoglienza (first aid and reception center -Cpsa), centri di accoglienza (reception center -Cda), centri di accoglienza per richiedenti asilo (reception center for asylum seekers -Cara) and centri di identificazione ed espulsione (Center for identification and expulsion -Cie).

A different type of hospitality regime was put in practice when, in 2001 the Ministry of Interior, the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) and the UNHCR agreed to develop a 'Programma nazionale asilo' (National Program of Asylum), which started the first public system of integrated hospitality for the reception of asylum seekers and refugees, widespread all over the Italian territory and parallel to the national state system. Currently known as SPRAR (Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati- Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), the program builds upon previous experiences like that of Riace and other local organizations from the area. The program is formed by networks of local governments and civil society organizations and supported by the national government. The corresponding law in 2002, institutionalized the process and defined a coordinating system. As of July 2017, the SPRAR supported 768 projects with 664 local leading organizations and managed 31.313 guests. (SPRAR website).

The Ministry of Interior provides funds for local governments that present projects of 'integrated hospitality', aimed to the reception of refugees and asylum seekers. The program follows a logic of multilevel governance, participation is volunteer and the projects should involve civil society organizations for the implementation of the process. The projects are evaluated by representatives of the ANCI, the Unione delle province d'Italia (Italy Provinces Union-UPI), UNHCR and a regional government representative. When the projects are approved and funds are assigned, the state sends the money periodically to the municipality, which is then transferred to the associations, in order to pay the service providers and distribute allowances for the guests.

To form an association, three people (president, vice president, secretary) are required to register at the official 'Agenzia Delle Entrate', showing they have the capacity to provide the required services. Associations are assigned funds according to the number of people they handle: budget is € 35 per person/day, though special programs like those related to minors receive additional funds. That amount includes a monthly allowance of € 250 for the asylum seeker plus the costs of housing, food, language lessons, social operators, transport, medical assistance, and other related services that have to be provided by the local association.

Besides the state reception centres and the organizations officially linked to the SPRAR, there are also first aid reception centers operated by volunteers, with some support of regional or local governments. Immigrants come here right after disembarking in Italy and they are supposed to stay not more than 48 hours, waiting for space at a welcome center. But many may end up staying six months or more.

Migrants arriving in Italy are initially received in first aid centres for a short period of time, that should not exceed 3 weeks. The ministry of interior controls what is available and assigns a place, depending on availability and capacity of the receiving organizations. Whether the person ends up in communal buildings of the national system, with more strict camp-type regimes, or in a private -sometimes shared-house in a reception center as Riace, seems to be a matter of luck, as some interviewees mentioned. Guests remain in the 'project' between 6 months and 2 years, depending on their specific case. During that time, they should obtain identification documents and process their residence permit, which could also be denied. When obtained, the permit is valid for 2 years and the bearer is expected to get a job during that time, if not the permit may not be renewed. Besides the SPRAR, Riace is also a member of other formal and informal networks, like the Borghi Autentici d'Italia (Antique towns of Italy), the Rete de Comuni Solidali (RECOSOL-Network of solidary municipalities) and the informal networks that link the community with emigrated residents, now residing somewhere else in Italy or abroad.

#### 5.4. the spotlight

Riace remains an emblematic case among the communities currently involved in the SPRAR. The process of the small rural villages, voluntarily welcoming refugees in spite of their own problems of depopulation and decline, whose hospitality for refugees encouraged the recovering of abandoned houses and activated the local economy, caught the attention of the media and has been extensively covered, mainly as a success story. With the media coverage, a new sort of 'solidarity tourism' was attracted.

The story of the hospitality program in Riace received international exposure in 2010 when Domenico Lucano, mayor of Riace, was assigned a third place in the World Mayor Project, including a special mention 'for compassion and courage' (Maciel 2010). Also in 2010, a 3d short film, *Il Volo* (the flight), featuring

the towns of Riace and Badolato, was presented with the sponsoring of Calabria Region and UNHCR (UNHCR, 2010). In 2011, the Calabrian Council for Social Policy presented the “Riace model” at the «SaviAV event– Social inclusion and vocational integration of Asylum seekers and Victims of human trafficking-», which was organized by the German Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The model was presented ‘as a practice for the recovery of rural areas, due to the refugee presence in the territory’ (Elia 2013, p.65).

In 2016 mayor Lucano was selected as one of the ‘world’s greatest leaders’ by Fortune magazine. The information supporting the choice states that ‘Though his pro-refugee stance has pitted him against the mafia and the state, Lucano’s model is being studied and adopted as Europe’s refugee crisis crests’ (Fortune 2016). All this recognition of the work made in Riace, has international exposure for the village, and has also increased the numbers of visitors.

Governance in small rural villages welcoming refugees is a challenge that calls increasing attention among the public for different reasons, mainly as a creative response to the refugee ‘crisis’ and even as a tourist attraction. As activities grow, refugees and native residents get involved in new commercial opportunities and social contacts, creating new types of interactions and producing new opportunities for refugees and locals to practice citizenship. At the same time, many internal and external problems, weaknesses and dependencies remain. Some years ago, mayor Lucano stated “A long time will pass before this process can be made structural [...] within a broader context, the Italian one” (Cosetta 2013, p. 14). In the meantime, the local networks created around the ‘integrated hospitality’ program in Riace continue to grow.

The case of Riace is used to exemplify how asylum seekers and native residents perform citizenship, through their participation in the local hospitality program. In the next chapter, the main findings of the research are presented.

## 6. FINDINGS

In this section I answer my first research question. According to the theoretical framework, I studied the participation of the actors in the hospitality program, through their social practices and local discourses, as expressed by themselves and as observed by myself. The findings will be presented in four groups: first those related to the way in which the hospitality program operates, then a selection of local discourses that shape participation in the program, the practices of the social actors and finally the restrictions for participation. In the following chapter, the findings will be discussed in order to answer the second research question.

- What social practices and local discourses shape participation of local residents, in the integrated hospitality program for asylum seekers and refugees in southern Italy?.

### 6.1. The hospitality program

In the SPRAR welcome centres, asylum seekers and refugees' families stay together, adult guests live alone or share a house, minors normally share a place where an adult looks after them. During this phase the local government, 'il comune' (municipality), is an important link that connects the individuals with national and international organizations in charge of processing the asylum request and provide economic assistance. Asylum seekers usually remain in a SPRAR project between one and two years. During that time they receive humanitarian, social and economic assistance and have the opportunity to get in contact with the local community, through their interactions and social practices. Asylum seekers in the SPRAR welcome centres benefit from community settings that are favourable for spontaneous social interaction.

National and local civil society organizations, namely 'associations' or 'cooperatives', mediate between the local municipality and the asylum seekers. These organizations are in charge of hiring the staff and obtaining the necessary equipment to provide the hospitality services and assistance, which includes housing, food, Italian language classes, health care and legal assistance, among others. To provide these services, the associations hire 'operators', usually young people from the area and sometimes refugees who have completed their projects and are able to work. The associations and cooperatives make circulate economic flows, receiving the funds which arrive from the state through the local government and distributing them. Funds are used to provide monthly allowances for the asylum seekers and to comply with obligations achieved with the social operators and other service providers.

Seems like vertical connections of local associations (local government and asylum seekers) are more fluid than the horizontal ones among them, as it was difficult for me to get together members of different associations, for a general discussion of their roles in the program. In each village, there is usually one social organization that has a stronger presence, shown by the number of guests that they manage, and the infrastructure that supports them. In Riace it is 'Associazione Citta Futura', which has been active for nearly twenty years and was created by a group of young people that included the current mayor, then a school teacher. 'Cita Futura', was originally created to restore abandoned houses and offer 'diffuse hospitality' and 'ecosolidary tourism' for tourists and for asylum seekers. The project later evolved towards the hospitality program specifically aimed for refugees. The association also started and currently runs the 'botteghe artigiane' (handcraft workshops and display shops) that are an important feature and emblematic representations of the 'Riace model', around which work opportunities, touristic visits and media coverage occur. In the nearby town of Camini, the main local organization is 'Eurocoop' cooperative, which is currently restoring some houses for the use of asylum seekers and others specifically

for tourists. 'Eurocoop' is also developing a local network of workshops, aimed to recover antique handcrafts, exhibit products and provide working skills for asylum seekers.

Social organizations involved in the arrival and hospitality for refugees, are at the centre of national political debates. In the case of the international NGO's operating in the Mediterranean, some have been accused of having direct connections with people smugglers in Libya and of encouraging the arrival of asylum seekers in Europe. The national associations providing hospitality are also objects of critique, as they are considered to be an opportunity of business for politicians and organized crime. Recently, one state reception centre was intervened by the police, as the organization in charge of managing it was found to be infiltrated by a mafia group.

According to the information provided by asylum seekers and members of the local civil associations, a recurrent problem in the hospitality program is the delay from the central government in transferring funds to the municipality, which causes inconvenience to the local government, associations and asylum seekers alike. A representative of a local association mentioned not having received a salary for approximately six months. Another source of tensions in the local hospitality program is related to the housing facilities, which sometimes do not comply with required standards, as expressed by some asylum seekers and media reports.

## **6.2. Local discourses**

In this section I present a selection local issues that function as important local discourses and seem to have an influence in everyday life of the residents of Riace and nearby villages, shaping the participation of natives and asylum seekers in the hospitality program

### **6.2.1. The bronzes of Riace**

In the early 70's, the two magnificent Greek bronze statues that were rescued from the waters off Riace Marina became known internationally as 'the bronzes of Riace'. The event brought attention from national and international media to the village. At the time, the community saw in this an opportunity for changing conditions of poverty and abandonment. In spite of the international exposure nothing happened, as the bronzes were taken elsewhere and the building aimed to host them, remained empty and abandoned for many years, until it was used for a local school. The bronzes departed but became a permanent presence in Riace, as a truncated possibility in the past, but also as a possibility for the future. Forty five years later, the bronzes are still present in political discourses, social memories, conversations, signs and public ornament, turned into a symbol of persistence for the native population. In the local imaginary, the arrival of the bronzes, coming from the sea, is somehow related to the mythical arrival of the local patron saints and to the arrival of the refugees, acting as a sign of hospitality towards the foreigners.

### **6.2.2. Hospitality and abandoned houses**

Current political and social discourses in Riace and nearby villages, are strongly structured around the hospitality policy for refugees. Since the beginning of the hospitality program, local discourses ascribed to the abandoned houses a potential meaning, beyond that of living spaces, and turned them into an

opportunity for changing social-economic conditions in the community. Somehow playing the role that the famous bronzes were some time expected to play.

The presence and availability of abandoned houses in the historical centre of Riace is what made possible the existence of the local hospitality program. The houses became a central focus of attention and were turned into a moving force, that produced strong community support and engagement. The new meaning ascribed to the houses re-connected the village with its emigrated population and produced a new regional visibility that would later expand from regional, to national and international spaces. The hospitality discourse and the meaning ascribed to the houses, spontaneous and informal at the beginning, was later turned into an NGO policy and finally inserted into the local government as an official policy, when the current mayor first took office in 2004, becoming an important part of the official discourse .

The new meaning assigned to the old town and its abandoned houses, remains to be a strong political discourse in Riace and the nearby villages. Restoration processes currently taking place in the old centres of Riace, Camini and Stignano, preparing houses for asylum seekers and for tourists, pay special attention and respect to the traditional structures, recovering ‘all the antique material that is possible to recover’ (G. Alfarano, mayor of Camini, personal interview).

### **6.2.3. Lack of work**

Abandoned houses in the historical centres of Riace and nearby towns, are the physical evidence of a long standing emigration process caused mainly by lack of work, which is another important part of the political and social discourses in the area of study. Riace mayor was a migrant himself for 15 years and many of the current residents also migrated at some point in their lives, as stated by the mayor and some of the native residents. Concerns related to the lack of work and young people leaving the area, were strongly remarked by the mayors of Riace, Stignano and Camini, as well as by native residents and asylum seekers. The lack of work acts as a source of concern that all share and is also, for some native residents, a reason to question the presence of refugees. Furthermore, lack of work is considered by many as one of the main weaknesses and threatens to the hospitality program and, specifically, to the ‘Riace model’. An Italian resident of Riace mentioned her two daughters living away from the village, because of the lack of jobs and questioned ‘there is not enough work even for us, what will the refugees do?’. Similar comments were heard several times during interviews and conversations in the area, like ‘Riace model is not sustainable. There is not work for locals, can there be work for refugees?’. Or ‘there are opportunities in agriculture and touristic services, but refugees are not being trained for that. There can’t be integration without work integration’.

The problem of lack of work in the area has yet another perspective. Besides being a reason of common concern and a critique to the presence of refugees, it is also one of the main arguments for local governments and social organizations to emphasize the benefits of the hospitality policy, in terms of its proved potential for economic reactivation and repopulation. Some locals have been able to stay in the area, working as social operators or in the workshops. For the representative of a local association in Camini, ‘thanks to the hospitality program the village was reborn, some houses have been restored, economy has improved. Hospitality has become a very important resource for our community. We have refugees that finished the project, got their papers and stayed working here in the village’

Different from Riace, In Camini there is a strong approach towards creating work skills, ‘whether they decide to stay or to go, we want them to have a profession’ said the mayor (Giuseppe Alfarano, personal

interview). Some of the workshops include building construction and restoration, painting, woodcrafts, cooking, agriculture, iron works, sewing, bakery and soap making. Besides sharing some common concerns and practices related to the hospitality program, seems like the three adjoining municipalities face independently and differently, the search of job creation and further economic opportunities.

#### 6.2.4. Religion

Though not directly involved at the moment with the hospitality program, local catholic church has a strong presence and influential discourse in Riace and nearby towns. The church is specially strong among native citizens, with low participation of migrants, whose main religion is Islam. Migrants get together for their prayers in the old village and also in bigger meetings in the nearby town of Caulonia. Besides several churches scattered all over the territory, the catholic church also has a regional web of important saints, miracles, festivities and trails that attract pilgrims from outside and mobilize people from the area as well. The main religious celebrations in Riace are those of the patron saints Cosme and Demiano, one in May and the biggest one in September, which becomes like a big fair of ethnic inclusion, not only for asylum seekers but also for some other excluded groups like gypsies and Roma people.

I participated in two religious events that took place during the field trip: Easter Friday procession and the first celebration of the local saints. In the first case there was a very small participation of asylum seekers, who were -most of the time- respectful spectators watching from their houses, as the parade passed by. During the second event, there were not asylum seekers present, but the speech of the parish priest was supportive of the 'human tragedy' of the refugees. As expressed during a ceremony when flowers were sent to the sea, 'to our brothers who took off to the sea looking for work and a new life, but found dead instead'

Religion is also a fertile terrain for local debate about the hospitality program, as some native residents consider that not enough attention is paid to the recovery of religious buildings, claiming that local administration 'only cares for migrants and money'. In another aspect, the church has also been addressed as being favoured by criminal organizations, with religious parades stopping for prayers in front of the house of church-supportive 'ndrangheta leaders. A custom that has been forbidden by local authorities, as referred by local residents.

#### 6.2.5. Media

Usually trapped in the dichotomy between fear and compassion, the media has in Riace a challenge to re-create its discourses. As one would expect, media plays an important role in constructing and promoting the image of the Riace model, mainly as a success story, towards the world and towards the local population. Critical voices are included sometimes in the productions, but their main focus is usually the restored houses in the old town, the local workshops and some long time settled refugees, who have become strong representations of the success of the program and iconic characters for the cameras.

Many videos have been produced for Italian and international news, documentaries and films are easily available in the internet. Among the most famous is the docufiction 'il volo', produced with sponsoring of Calabria regional government and UNHCR and inspired by the experiences of Badolato and Riace. When Riace mayor participates in some important, televised meeting, a screen may be set out in the local piazza so that the community can follow the event, which is usually reproduced and shared afterwards in



individual cell phones. During the time of data collection for this thesis, a film crew from Italian television was preparing to start shooting for a series about the life of the mayor, interpreted by a popular Italian actor whose programs usually attract 'millions of viewers'. Media attention is not restricted to Riace, but expands to the nearby town of Stignano and Camini, among others in the region, whose experiences have also been covered by national, regional and international media.

#### 6.2.6. Tourism

Solidarity tourism plays an important role in the local hospitality networks. Even though it is not formally institutionalized as a specific area of control, operation or promotion in Riace or the nearby towns, it has strong historical and actual presence. At the moment, there are no information points or trained guides receiving visitors in the area and there is a limited availability of accommodation for visitors, but tourism is happening. The activity seems to be gaining importance, expanding the hospitality program in different ways and opening new opportunities and questions about the evolution of Riace model as a space of inclusion for refugees and native residents.

While tourism is a present phenomenon and holds a promise of future for the area, for Riace it is also an important part of the past, inserted in social memories and discourses related to the beginning of the hospitality project. As mentioned before, soon after the first group of kurds arrived on the coast of Riace Marina, the team of young people from the village that founded 'Citta Futura', the current mayor included, restored the abandoned houses in order to create a 'paese albergo' (hostel village), with an offer of 'diffuse hospitality' and 'ecosolidary tourism'. They got financial support from the 'Banca Etica' (Ethical Bank) and, according to the locals, the project was quite successful for some years. International visitors arrived to Riace, mainly from northern Europe, looking for the calm peasant life, to get involved in agricultural activities and have a 'territorial experience'. Later, the need of housing for asylum seekers left less space for visitors in the old town and the solidary tourists stopped coming (though I am not able to precise which one happened first, if the ecosolidary tourism was exhausted already or if it was the presence of migrants and their increasing demand for houses that forced the change, as some locals claim). Afterwards, the hostel village became instead a 'villaggio globale' (global village), as some locals like to call Riace. Some argue that, in a different way, migrants bring more money to the area than former visitors did (between € 3-4million per year, according to a local empiric estimation). Someone put it this way 'it turned out to be that migrants were better business than tourism'.

For some years, tourism in Riace was again focused on coastal summer visitors in Riace marina. Until the hospitality program itself brought again international attention over the village and, as a consequence, a new tourist flow started and is currently going on, bringing new types of visitors (some people refer to them as a new type of solidary tourists). It is now common to see in Riace groups of Italian students, European families, researchers, filmmakers, journalists and more recently cruise ship passengers, mainly north Americans docking in the nearby town of Roccella Ionica. They all arrive interested in learning more about the "Riace Model".

Most visitors come attracted by something they call 'the environment', 'how these new inhabitants live here' or 'to see how it works'. Student groups normally follow a defined route, receive local guiding by the municipality officers and spend some free time in the town. Independent visitors usually move around on their own, using app's and making questions to the locals, who sometimes act as spontaneous tour guides. Visitors see the work of the refugees and talk to them in the workshops. When there are asylum seekers in the 'piazza' or the park, it is common to see visitors approach them for conversation or



photographs. After the visit, a usual comment among Italian visitors referred to the differences they found between Riace and their hometowns, in what concerns to the independent living conditions of the refugees. Some of the comments were 'it's a beautiful sensation to see this friendly, smiling people', 'it is beautiful and calm'. A visitor was caught by the image of an Italian lady babysitting for a refugee's child.

While most people concede that the hospitality program attracts visitors all year round, some say that the new visitors come for one day visits and leave little income in the village. The sole exception would be those involved in filming projects, who usually stay longer. Instead, traditional family visitors or holidaymakers may not be so enthusiastic or able to spend long holidays in the area, as some tourist facilities in Riace Marina are fully or partly used for asylum seekers.

At the moment, there are in Riace at least two projects -at initial stage- to restore houses and turn them into hostels, one in the old town and the other one in the Marina. In nearby Camini, the municipality and the main cooperative are actively working on restoring houses for specific touristic purposes, setting up a small restaurant and other tourism related facilities. 'it is an opportunity to create work spaces for the locals and for the refugees' said the mayor of Camini.

### 6.3. Citizen participation

*What is important is not only that citizenship is a legal status but that it also involves practices of making citizens -social, political, cultural and symbolic (Isin, 2013, p17)*

In this section I analyze the participation of local residents in the hospitality program through their social practices. In this research social practices are understood as connections between bodily and mental routines and the use of objects (Reckwitz, 2002). I will first present the practices involving specific objects, then those of asylum seekers and natives, using when possible their own voices. If possible or necessary, I also include their mutual perceptions and my own observations about their practices. Finally I will briefly present some 'mixed' spaces for social practices.

#### 6.3.1. Practices and objects

For some practices, the way in which certain objects are used, may be just as important as body and mind performances (Reckwitz, 2002). During my field trip, I identified four types of objects, that play important roles in the practices taking place within the hospitality program: local banknotes, mobile phones, flowerpots and printed numbers.

An object that has proved to be extremely useful and also source of conflicts and symbol of acceptance or denial in Riace is the 'local currency' or 'bonus', printed by local associations and given to refugees, so that they can buy products in some local shops. Each association prints their own banknotes and they are aimed to temporarily solve the problem caused by long delays in receiving funds from the central government. When funds are finally transferred from the state, shop owners convert the local banknotes to 'real' money. The banknotes are colorful prints that feature iconic characters, such as 'che' Guevara or Mahatma Gandhi. The long time taken by the state to allocate funds, makes it difficult -or impossible- for some small businesses to keep accepting the banknotes, which sometimes is interpreted as lack of support for the hospitality program. There are also some businesses that patiently await until the money arrives, and are thus considered as 'more supportive' to the program. While being a helpful tool, the banknotes

also contribute to mark a difference among the native residents and shop-owners: the supportive ones and those who are not.

In modern interactions, social practices and relationships, the mobile phone is a protagonist and in Riace it is no exception. Asylum seekers use it frequently in open spaces, where they spend much of their waiting time. Cell phones keep them in contact with friends and relatives in their home country and abroad, and are useful for many other purposes. During my interviews, I found that the cell phone as used by the refugees, seems to have an aesthetic effect that stimulates rejection among those native Italians who are more critic to the hospitality program. Perhaps it does not seem compatible with their state-of-need or with how they are expected to look and behave. While this kind of comment was not a central point in any critique, it was frequently a remark added to any other central argument. Some recognized it as a more generalized symbol, not limited to asylum seekers, saying 'some people have integrated, others not. It's like the Italians, some like to work, some don't, others just hang around having beer and using their cell phones'.

In several places in Riace Superiore and Riace Marina, there are little ships made of cement. They are painted in diverse colours and each one has a name that corresponds to the different countries from which asylum seekers have arrived to Riace. They have become iconic representations of the hospitality program and are used mainly as flowerpots, though sometimes they remain empty or are used as trash bins. Outside a house where some associations have their offices, I found that some of the ships were broken, pieces and flowers scattered on the floor. This had been caused by an asylum seeker who was screaming and complaining for the delay in the arrival of his documents and money. In this case, the ship-shaped ornamental flowerpots, from signs of hospitality were usefully transformed in an instrument to express dissatisfaction and demands.

A few times I heard from asylum seekers the narration of their travels across Africa and the Mediterranean crossing. It is hard not to feel touched but, sometimes I also wondered if some stories could be made up, rehearsals for the moment when the stories have to be told to the authorities that will decide about residence permits. I did not feel any doubt about the veracity of the stories, when I encountered three Nigerian guys in a CPSA, who had arrived a couple of days before. Their eyes looked tired, sad and shocked and they only showed some relief when they showed me the printed paper with the number they had been assigned in the reception centre. They have to carry it with them all the time. At the moment they did not have any documents, but the printed numbers seemed to provide them with some type of confidence and security.

### **6.3.2. Refugees and asylum seekers practices**

As mentioned before, it seems to be a matter of luck for asylum seekers whether they are assigned to a big reception centre of the national system, with common facilities and more restrictions, or to Riace or a similar village in the SPRAR, where they will be hosted in private or shared but independent spaces, with more freedom of movement and assistance. Apart from the already settled refugees, there are mainly two types of immigrants in Riace, some who have recently disembarked in the area and those who come assigned from a CARA. They all wait for their process and documents to be cleared, which may take between 6 months and 2 years (sometimes they could also be denied, during that time or at the end). There are also refugees who are part of special programs, like those aimed for nationals of Bangladesh, women from Mali or the resettlement of Syrian families.

For most asylum seekers Riace is a transit point, another necessary stop on the long trip that brought them across Africa and the Mediterranean, on their way to northern Italy and Europe. They want to go north, where there are more work opportunities and sometimes there are relatives and friends. In many cases, Riace or the nearby villages do not fit the image they have of Europe, 'it is a small town, I am bored. If at least I could work' are expressions I frequently heard. Hereafter I briefly present some individual experiences and comments, that describe the practices of asylum seekers in Riace.

Bah comes from Gambia and he wants to go north, to Germany or Finland. He shares an apartment in Riace Marina with another Gambian and 2 guys from Guinea Bissau. He has an ID so he can move within Italy, but he cannot work. He has been in Riace for two months and receives Italian classes, which is his only regular activity. He does not know how much longer he will be there, 'we are in a project, you know?' he says. This is a phrase that I heard several times and it seems to mark a permanent uncertainty about administrative procedures, but also about where or when will be the next stage of their trips. Bah thinks that in a big city he would be able to learn Italian faster, by practicing. He is a mechanic and thinks he could work and learn the language at the same time. He mentioned feeling excluded in certain social activities that involve Italians and asylum seekers in Riace. He was very aware of the importance of the presence of asylum seekers in the area, as a means to create work opportunities for the local residents.

Daniel is from Ghana and is a member of the cooperative in charge of garbage collection in Riace Superiore. His two children were born in Riace and he feels well in the program and in the village. He is very popular in town and with the media. Local Italians say that Daniel is the only migrant who not only learned how to speak Italian, but also the Calabrian dialect.

Raua is from Somalia and works in one of the workshops in Riace. She feels happy for having a stable job after two years of not having one. She has been working there for 2 years now (one year in the 'project' and one year as a regular job). She lived in Libya for 20 years so she already spoke Italian before coming to Riace. She has been six years in Riace and never went anywhere far from the village. Her three children have travelled within Italy (with school trips) but she has not. She is satisfied of her role in the hospitality program.

In nearby Camini I met Daniele from Nigeria. It took him a couple of months to arrive in Italy (of which one month in a prison in Libya) and has been in Camini for three months. He has not had delays in receiving the money he is assigned. He is comfortable and grateful, but he does not do much. He goes to Italian classes, plays football and waits.

Assan is from Senegal, he is now settled in Camini after being rejected in several parts in Europe. He finished the 'project' and now works mainly as a construction worker (sometimes he is also an actor for cultural events in town). He keeps busy with his daily work restoring houses, he was 'adopted' by a local family and has become some sort of a local icon of how things can work well.

A guy from Bangladesh seems quite relaxed in Stignano, he has been there for three months. He says they treat him well, but he is bored. It is a small city and there is not work available. He can't go to work anywhere else in Italy until the 'project' ends and gets his documents.

Many refugees feel satisfied and grateful for being in Riace and other villages, especially those who have been there for a longer time and are somehow inserted in the local work opportunities created by the

hospitality program. I was surprised to find that satisfaction and gratitude was not the case for all the newly arrived.

During one of my first days in Riace, I attended a classroom and chatted with a group of six young guys from Senegal that were receiving their first lessons of Italian. They had arrived two weeks before and most seemed in good mood and communicative. Taking Italian classes is their only activity at the moment. When asked about how long they will be taking these classes (3 daily hours, Monday through Friday), their teachers answered the usual 'until the project ends'. During another visit to the town, one month later, I found that only two of them were still there. Three had to be moved somewhere else, because of fights among them, and one had left, no one knowing where he went. 'It happens sometimes, they just go'.

A guy from Senegal who has been in Riace for 2 months, said his only activity is learning Italian and sometimes he plays football. He feels bored. He mentioned 'Migrants here receive less than what they are supposed to. They have to take it or they have to go'. A guy from Mali sits outside the office of a local association. He has been in Riace for 2 years and has not received any money for 5 months, neither gets any news about his documents. He can't buy anything, he cannot go anywhere and he can't work. He mentioned that he has to pay a lawyer to go on with his documents. At the moment he gets home and food, but he can't do anything else. Playing football at the school field is his only activity. 'without papers you can't work, if they find you, you can go to jail'.

A refugee who would soon depart Riace after three years living there, complained about the common administrative problems with documents and having to wait months to get paid. After usual critiques about differences between the south and the north (of Italy and of Europe as well), one of his statements was 'here you cannot disagree or you are left out of the project (whether as a local or as a refugee)'.

In a double interview with a guy from Cote d'Ivoire and another from Togo, they said they both had been in Riace for approximately one year, assigned to two different associations and they were not satisfied with their participation in the hospitality program. They finished classes the previous summer and after that, for some reason, classes did not restart for them. They wait for their documents but do not have any news and 'there is no one to ask', except for the people in the association, but they do not know much either. They are also late receiving their money, they have the 'local money' from the association, which is accepted in some shops, but they cannot use it for the bus or in another town. They complained that they do not receive any training. One of them is also a mechanic and says he could work, but he is not allowed. The other mentions that in other towns 'all migrants work'. They feel they cannot talk about these problems, they could be expelled. 'It all spins around one person and one association' one complained, and added 'this is worse than Africa'. They play football sometimes and wait, they do not do much more.

A guy from Bangladesh lives in Riace and works as kitchen assistant in a restaurant in Siderno (half hour from Riace). He found the job by himself. He feels well in Riace: 'some people have big expectations' he said, 'I am OK'.

Statements presented in this section are aimed to provide an idea of the practices of asylum seekers and refugees as participants in the hospitality program, in order to understand the types of involvement they have.

### 6.3.3. Practices of native residents

As with asylum seekers, there is not a uniform opinion among native residents, about their participation in the hospitality program. Their feelings can be anywhere between pride and rejection. Also here, the position is certainly influenced by how the actor is related to the program. Among those more critical, they frequently included the assertion 'I am not a racist, but...' followed by their reasons for criticism. There seems to be fear that any type of critique might be perceived as nationalist, anti-immigrant or intolerant. All of the interviewees live in Riace and are natives from Riace or from nearby towns. Some of them had emigrated, mainly for work reasons, and returned mainly for reasons related to family relationships.

People who live or work in the old centre tend to be more positive about their participation in the program and the benefits it has brought, in terms of repopulation and reactivation of some economic activities. 'if it wasn't for the refugees, there would not be anyone here. It was so sad to walk in town, empty houses, windows battering in the wind'. A common critique from native residents, about the opportunities for participation in the hospitality program is the -already mentioned- limited work available in the area, which brings to other points like 'There is no work, people is just hanging around playing with their cell phones'. Some say that that the municipality should pay more attention to opportunities in agricultural activities and touristic services. But refugees 'are not even being trained for that and also lack cultural integration activities'.

Some Italian feel unease about the growing number of refugees in town. One of the interviewees said 'at the beginning it was OK, then it is like it grew too much, too many people. Some of them become aggressive and violent, break things'. Another described 'it is like when someone enters in your house and there is no more space left'. Or even 'Now it is too much, it seems to be too much business related, too much politics'. In Riace Marina, with a strong coastal tourism orientation, some people feel neglected by the municipal administration for the benefit of the hospitality program. They say that, while Riace Superiore has good lighting and is being nicely restored, there is no improvement in Marina. 'There is no 'lungo mare' (waterfront), no train service, no tourist information, no concerts, no cultural activities, not a library and not even an adequate church'. Finally, the use of a local B&B and other tourist apartments as residences for asylum seekers, is seen like giving up on coastal tourism as a project for the future.

A resident of Riace Marina remarks also a different type of social interactions between Riace Marina and those in Riace Superiore by saying 'people are different, in Riace Marina people is more distant, in Riace Superiore you can socialize with people in the 'piazza''. A final comment by a native citizen was 'I hope that the Riace model can continue, but in a more ordered way. Nearby towns try to imitate, but for me the model of Riace is inimitable'.

### 6.3.4. Sharing spaces

Some places and events are important spaces for interaction, social practices, inclusion and/or integration for those participating in the hospitality program. Here I present some of them, as observed or informed during the field trip.

As mentioned by some interviewees, the central 'piazza' in Riace Superiore is the prime social space, where Italians, asylum seekers and all type of visitors can meet and socialize. Here is common to see mixed groups of Italians and refugees. In the piazza, as well as in other areas of the village, mixed groups are

more frequently seen among young people and children than among adults. The coffee bar adjacent to the main piazza also plays an important role for intense social interaction. Here Alessio acts as host, not only of the bar, but of the village itself, receiving natives, asylum seekers and visitors alike. Other coffee bars in town are also preferred places to socialize and meet with the locals, including the city mayor. When walking around Riace, it is not uncommon to find the mayor sitting outside a house, chatting with natives and/or asylum seekers, which provides a feeling of close-direct democratic communication.

The already mentioned celebrations of the patron saints of Riace in September are important spaces for the encounter of natives and new residents. So are football tournaments organized by the local associations. While playing football is a preferred social activity, during my observations in town I only saw non-mixed groups playing, but I was told they also frequently mix. During the summer, in Camini there is a gastronomic event which attracts visitors from all over Calabria.

Talking about spaces and opportunities for integration and inclusion, a native resident said that 'they should adjust to us', while others consider that there is not much difference to worry about, 'some do better than others, it is more like indifference, people is just there, separated in their own groups locals/migrants'. But many complain that 'there is not work integration'. At the end of the 'projects' less than 5% of the migrants stay in Riace (personal estimation of an interviewee), almost all go somewhere else looking for a job. And while the project lasts, they do not need to work, as they receive living expenses and facilities. In Riace, formal integration activities seem to be limited to the fact of 'being there in a global village and taking Italian classes'. An important space of integration is certainly the local maternity school, which currently has a total of 26 kids, including 13 migrant-descendants.

#### 6.4. Limits to participation

*The important question is not whether participation is exclusive, selective, and restricted, but how it is. Which types of exclusion are achieved' (Turnhout, 2010, p. 4).*

From the start, processes of participation are limited by assumptions, restrictions and expectations that participants have to comply or sometimes contest. Those limitations can have at least two different perspectives: The point of view of those in charge of the process of participation, and the point of view of those (each one) invited to participate. In my analysis I will keep in sight both perspectives (while recognizing that the latter is not just one, but multiple perspectives).

According to my theoretical framework, assumptions refer to the definition of the topic to be dealt with, in the process of participation. What is at stake is usually defined in a way that other issues, considered irrelevant or inconvenient, are left outside. For those participating in the hospitality program in Riace, the issue is defined mainly by the legal framework related to the SPRAR, shaped by migration and humanitarian rights. The issue is about providing hospitality services and social assistance for asylum seekers, as granted by the Italian constitution and the laws, to be provided with the human and logistic support of local governments and civil organizations. This focus leaves out any other issues, like political rights or productivity, as main aspects of concern.

As stated in the theory framing this research, restrictions of participation are related to the selection of who is involved, who is supposed to have a saying in different governance levels. It also refers to the spaces available for negotiation over the topic at stake and to the type and size of changes that can be addressed. The hospitality program in Riace is open for all residents to participate, though in different grades. Asylum seekers are involved as recipients of the program, but those who have completed the project can also

become social operators. Among native residents, those directly involved in the direction of civil associations providing the services, can have direct access to the local government, while others in different levels – the social operators or those who do not participate directly in the program- do not seem to have a voice and keep a more ‘passive’ participation. In what concerns to the space for negotiation, it seems to be very limited, as the legal framework supporting the SPRAR also defines the coordinating structure of the hospitality program, which determines the way and the level in which hosts and guests can be involved in the process. The hospitality system allocates power from the state to the local government, to be distributed to the social organizations, which are in charge of the implementation of the program, but according to the data obtained during the research, there does not seem to be a space open for debate or negotiations of possible changes, even for those actively or directly involved in the program.

The theoretical framework considers that expectations refer to the anticipated results of participation. They are the reason, the objective for which the participants are involved in the process, usually the solution of an specific problem. In the hospitality program, there are at least two main, sometimes complementary, objectives officially mobilizing participation for the local government and the social operators, one goal is to assist asylum seekers in their settlement process and the other is related to the social-economic reactivation of the village. The objectives for asylum seekers, are mostly aimed to successfully complete a process that solves their legal situation and getting documents that allow them to work and/or to continue north in the search of job opportunities.

Expectations also refer to the anticipated behavior of the participants, of themselves and among them. A certain type of conduct is assigned to the actors, who are not expected to leave that role. In the hospitality program, it is commonly expected that the hosts act like hosts-tolerant citizens and the refugees act as refugees -subjects without rights-. In that sense, expectations of the participants are very much related to the provision of hospitality services from solidary citizens to non-citizens in need.

## 7. DISCUSSION

Using a case study, I explored the way in which local residents perform citizenship, in communities that host asylum seekers. As asylum seekers officially do not have political rights or voices (Turner, 2016), I chose to explore their performance of citizenship, through their social participation and that of their hosts. Their relations are shaped by the constraints between citizenship, asylum and hospitality. In my research, asylum seekers and original residents -*the citizen and the foreigner*- are both social actors, informing the content and influencing the direction of the research process. In this chapter the findings will be discussed in order to address the second research question.

A relevant contextual aspect in the case study is the presence of two sides of migration. Emigration with its corresponding sequels and immigration with corresponding needs. Depopulation and abandonment fuelled by emigration on one side, on the other the need of living spaces and social services for those arriving. These two conditions allowed to develop a process of hospitality for refugees, with strong society participation and support. The case study -Riace- was selected for its pioneering and long standing hospitality policy, which started before the village officially became part of the National Protection System for Asylum Seekers and refugees (SPRAR).

Information obtained in and about Riace was complemented and contrasted with additional data collected in two neighboring villages -Camini and Stignano- that more recently got involved in the hospitality program. In the three villages, the program has strong social support and has already encouraged restoration of abandoned houses, repopulation and economic reactivation (as already observed in Elia 2013). It is clear that in all the cases, the decision to welcome refugees (and the community support that that decision obtained) had as much to do with a compassionate attitude, as with the own necessity of reactivating the social and economic activities in the town

Different from camp-inspired reception centres in Italy or elsewhere, the SPRAR offer independent housing and space for social interaction that facilitates citizenship practices, even without formally having citizenship rights. This type of space enhances the possibilities to strengthen opportunities for asylum seekers to integrate, independently from their legal status or political rights. The SPRAR transfers power and functions from the state to the local government, which then passes some responsibilities to social organizations, in order to provide 'integrated hospitality'. Hereafter I discuss the general operation of the hospitality program, local discourses and social practices and the conditions to participation, then the second research question will be answered.

### 7.1. The hospitality program

The hospitality program operates as a multilevel governance system, involving national, regional and local governments, civil society, international and supranational organizations. The hospitality program also connects Riace with its emigrated citizens, with researchers and sellers of tourist services, among other international links. The hospitality program takes place in a region with strong presence of organized crime (Elia 2013). Actors, institutions and rules in the hospitality program are constantly changing and shaping each other. Perhaps the area with slower changes is the formal institutional system, which many times falls short on timely responses for the evolving social needs in the program.

As a model of democracy, the hospitality program of the SPRAR corresponds to a 'civil society regime' (Van Assche et al., 2014a), in which the involvement of society is made through civil organizations. In the



study case, the civil organizations are represented by the ‘associations’ or ‘cooperatives’, which have an important economic impact in the area, and act as a link between the individuals-asylum seekers and native residents, local authorities and the national systems of migration and hospitality. In civil society regimes, the individuals are represented through organizations and, in that way, the organizations are expected to reflect ‘a fair representation of all people and ideas in the community’ (Van Assche et al., 2014a, p4), though in practice, a part of the community is left out of representation.

There are some risks associated to the civil society regime as a form of governance coordination, one of them is the interference of particular interests in debates about community wellbeing. It has been considered that when ‘non- profits know the way, there is no reason to assume that business will not find the way’ (Van Assche et al., 2014a, p.4). This is perhaps the risk that was addressed by one of the interviewed city mayors, when he mentioned that they preferred to keep a certain limit in the number of refugees they receive, in order to ensure quality and avoid the hospitality program ‘to be perceived as a business’. That risk is also a concern for some local residents -asylum seekers and native Italians alike-, as they mentioned ‘there is too much politics, too much business involved’. The risk has also been made evident by media reports about the infiltration of criminal organization in the management of refugee reception centers (Catania live news, 14 may 2017).

In spite of many differences with the state managed centres for the reception of refugees, those which are part of the SPRAR also present a strong presence of ‘the Empire of Humanitarianism’(Fassin, 2013), as the system operates mainly within the scope of humanitarian rights, while little changes are currently perceived or proposed, with respect to the entitlement of political rights for refugees. In the past, there have been some unsuccessful attempts to promote political rights for asylum seekers in the region (Sasso, 2012), but that does not seem to be a priority at the moment.

## 7.2. Local discourses

Researching the hospitality networks in Riace and nearby towns, I found some local discourses that play an important function creating links between actors, organizations and institutions. The main discourses are constructed around the Greek sculptures known as the bronzes of Riace, the hospitality policy, the lack of work, religion, the media perception of the Riace model and tourism as past experience and its current potential.

The Greek bronzes found off the coast of Riace Marina, became a symbol of resistance and permanence for the native population of the village. They seem to represent a permanent promise, as their presence in public ornaments remarks their physical absence from the village and yet a strong presence in conversations and social memories.

Hospitality for asylum seekers has been an important part of social discourses in Riace for a long time and, for nearly twenty years now it has been turned into official policy and put at the centre of political debates, a situation common also for many nearby villages. Recently the hospitality discourse is being reviewed, incorporating new criteria that is reshaping local discourses about the local hospitality policy. Three main aspects were mentioned by interviewees: quality, productivity and demographic balance.

Work, or more precisely the lack of, is another important discourse incorporated in social practices, influencing positions and expectations. The lack of work goes parallel to the hospitality discourse, questioning it, as a weak point in the model, but also as one of the main reasons to keep it going. The issue

has already been a topic of concern for Riace mayor, as he is aware that 'many of the jobs held by refugees are dependent on the financial support provided by the State and associations like his own' (Impakter 2016). It is also an important topic of discussion for other local governments and residents - Italians and asylum seekers alike-. As a local resident put it, 'there can't be integration without work integration'. The problem was anticipated by the founders of the SPRAR, as mentioned by Elia (2013, p. 64) 'In order to be completely feasible, this project requires a stabilisation process to be defined, which principally works in the areas of integration at work and the project beneficiary's autonomy within a year'. The lack of work causes doubts in young refugees, who see a contradiction between their situation in Riace, to that of other asylum seekers, who are victims of foreign labour exploitation in neighbouring agricultural plains (Medici Senza Frontiere 2007 in Elia, 2013). Debate about work opportunities and productivity, seems to be trapped in the creation of direct work spaces related to the program, through the hiring of operators or workshops staff, but some local governments are trying to encourage tourism, agricultural development through providing working skills for the asylum seekers and refugees.

Catholic church has a strong influence among native residents of Riace. Its official discourse is supportive but distant of the hospitality program. Religious practices are an important part of the native residents lives, not only in a spiritual way but as a social space. In some cases, the centuries old compassion and charity discourse of the catholic church, has also been considered as a possible explanation for the 'high degree of acceptance of refugees' in Riace (Impakter, 2016). At the same time, the catholic church is a space for questioning the balance between local 'traditional' values and those promoted by the hospitality policy, which is perceived when comparisons are made by locals, between the official support provided by local authorities to the hospitality program and the little attention they say is being provided to local religious heritage.

The usual polarization of the media discourse over refugees, 'between fear and compassion' is challenged by cases as Riace. In most of the audio visual material produced by Italian and international media about the hospitality program in the area, the success story is largely supported by the use of iconic places and characters of the village, while the critical aspects commonly refer to the lack of work. In few cases, more critical voices are also included in the productions.

Solidary tourism is also part of local discourses, acting as a source of common memories and cohesion, based on the services once promoted and operated by 'Cita Futura' that were displaced by the hospitality program for refugees. Tourism is also creating expectations for the future, thanks to the new type of visitors who come attracted by the hospitality program itself. Tourism frequently serves as a means of comparison, relating its (past and current) economic impact in the area, to that of the hospitality program. It is not clear though, how much tourism actually represents for the local economy. The opportunities that tourism can bring for the future of the village is a source of current discussion and uncertainty, especially for the residents of Riace Marina, who feel that the priority given to the hospitality program for refugees, has left behind other issues related to the development of tourism in the coastal area.

### 7.3. Citizenship practices

Participation can function as a technique of control over the locals, but also as a space for 'rights claiming'(Kesby 2007). As mentioned by Isin (2002), participation in citizenship also involves citizen-making practices, which can be social, political, cultural or symbolic. Asylum seekers officially do not have political voices, so I have studied citizen participation through the social practices of refugees, asylum seekers, and natives, sometimes involving objects or things to which a special meaning is assigned.

### 7.3.1. Practices and objects

Different social theories assert the importance of objects in the making of social practices (Latour, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002). Among the objects that shape some social practices in Riace, I identified the locally printed banknotes, mobile phones, flowerpots from the public ornaments and printed registration numbers given to recently arrived asylum seekers. Most of the practices involving these objects are related to practices of 'active citizens' (Isin, 2013), in the sense that they reproduce a certain script, like the current use of restored houses or local banknotes.

The use of cellular phone by asylum seekers seems to have an important aesthetic effect that produces rejection among some native residents. Perhaps perceived as a sign of independence, not compatible with their state of need. They are probably expected to 'act-as-refugees...to have entirely incorporated the language and the body posture normally attributed...to individuals deserving the refugee status' (Minca, 2017, p. 36). The use of cellular phones by migrants in Italy has been researched, from the perspective of the importance they have as a way to reduce their anxieties and daily life problems, 'Positioned outside the Italian citizen-state nexus, migrants use mobile phones to manage the uncertainty of their lives and to achieve some form of ontological security.' (Harney, 2013, p.2). Maybe the meaning migrants give to their use of mobile phones might explain the way in which the practice is perceived by native residents.

The incident with the flowerpots can be considered as an activist citizen's practice, or an 'act of citizenship' (Isin 2013), as it disrupts the law and contests the institutional order through an illegal practice that gives visibility to the subject (Aradau 2010). The case certainly does not correspond with the docility usually expected from beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance (Malkki, 2002). The act was a rupture, occurring as a crises of routines to which the agent was confronted (Reckwitz, 2002). Through acts of citizenship, 'subjects whose agency is often overlooked, make visible their claims and in so doing enact themselves as political subjects' (Aradau, 2010, p. 22). Chatterjee (in Moulin, 2007) states that while the citizens can usually assume that they will be heard, refugees require a 'strategy of interruption' to express their political voices. Looked in retrospective, the use of the abandoned houses and the introduction of the local bank notes, in their initial states, were also acts of citizenship, as they had to overcome regulations and norms in order to challenge the status, ascribing new meaning to certain objects.

### 7.3.2. Refugees and asylum seekers

As expressed by Malkki (2002), the term refugee has a context-dependent meaning that varies according to social-cultural-geographical conditions. Formally, the terms 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' tend to be used interchangeably, also to address economic migrants and a wide variety of other subjectivities and needs. As actors In this research, they all represent 'vehicles of power' (Doná, 2007), constantly re-creating their roles while participating in the hospitality program, through practices and interactions. All those categories constitute a 'hierarchy of deservingness' as identified by Holmes (2016). That hierarchy can be seen not only in the legal-technical differences between asylum seekers and economic migrants, but also in the existence of restrictions or preferences to grant refuge according to nationalities, age, gender, etc.

As in any other reception center, refugees in Riace do not have political rights. They are 'removed from the political realm' (Agamben, 1998 in Holmes, 2016, p. 20). It is a matter of luck that an asylum seeker is sent to a village in the 'integrated hospitality' program and not to a reception centre with communal facilities and stricter regimes. In the SPRAR reception centres, refugees become part of a community and

can experience a citizen-like life supported by social interaction. Most of the asylum seekers in Riace consider the village -and Italy- as a transit point in their trip towards northern cities/countries.

Without political rights, asylum seekers express their agency through their social practices, which play as political voices, as a way to exert citizenship and open a way for participation in local governance. The main social practices for asylum seekers in Riace and nearby villages are constrained to attending Italian classes, playing football and waiting. In that way, they perform as 'active citizens' following a script that they have been assigned. They seem to be experiencing what Minca (2017, p. 32) calls 'an excess of time that holds them immobile, or unable to move beyond their current situation'. When an asylum seeker stops attending classes, abandons the village or claims for rights, that person is creating a new script, reshaping citizen roles and the hospitality program.

Many guests resent the long time taken to process their asylum requests and the delay in the arrival of their monthly allowances. They also resent lacking a work permit and the lack of work itself in the area. They face uncertainty in respect to the evolution of their future. 'I don't know, I am in a project' was the usual answer when asked about their time of stay in Riace. Some also refer to a regime of control, where 'Migrants receive less than what they are supposed to. They have to take it or they have to go'. This may be contested by other expressions like 'some people have big expectations, I am OK'

### 7.3.3. The native residents

Native residents in communities receiving refugees, frequently are reduced to the dichotomy supportive/nationalist (Zemblyas, 2010). In my research I found that there are other nuances involved. I am not able to say if the usual assertion 'I am not a racist, but...' reflected a sincere opinion or was more used as a defensive argument, but it is clear that some native residents fear or feel uncomfortable, of being framed as opposed or intolerant to the hospitality program. After all, it is common 'to dismiss tensions between locals and asylum seekers as arising from intolerance'. (McGhee, 2005 in Pupavac, 2008, p 277).

Native residents complain on minor incidents of refugees -among refugees- that make the locals uncomfortable. Some people expressed concern that the hospitality program grows too much, with expressions like 'Now it is too much business related, too much politics' or also 'it is like when someone enters in your house and there is not more space left'. Or those feeling segregated in Riace Marina, maybe fearing the warning of Derrida (2000 in Westmoreland, 2008, p. 7) 'So it is indeed the master, the one who invites, the inviting host, who becomes the hostage...'. When thinking about how the locals participate in the process, seems convenient to reflect on this remark (Strang, 2010, p. 602) 'communities struggle if things are changing very quickly and there is a sense of losing an established identity before new meanings are negotiated'. In Riace native residents seem to be needing spaces for the negotiation of the new meanings.

### 7.3.4. Sharing spaces

Spaces for integrative practices are available in the area, especially in the old town where the 'piazza', coffee bars and even the streets are appropriate for social interaction. Organized events during the summer and some traditional celebrations, like religious festivities, also increase the offer of common spaces. However, there is a lack of (more regular) cultural integration activities, that promote and facilitate interactions, not only between the native residents and the newly arrived but also between original

residents from Riace Marina and those in Riace Superiore. At the moment the hospitality program in Riace, counts mainly on the opportunities for integration created by the fact of 'being there in a global village and taking Italian classes'.

#### **7.4. Restrictions to participation**

Learning about local participation in rural villages that welcome refugees, offers an insight into different forms of inclusion and exclusion for the original residents and for the newly arrived. From the start, participation structures and restricts citizen involvement through assumptions, restrictions and expectations that influence the process. The final results very much depend on how the participants adhere or contest those limits (Turnhout, 2010).

For the hospitality program in Riace, the assumptions about the topic at stake are related to the provision of hospitality services and social assistance for asylum seekers, according to the Italian law and regulations, leaving out any other issues, as main aspect of concern. Restrictions limit the way in which participants act and express their political voices. Refugees participate as beneficiaries of the program, but can also become social operators, once their refugee procedures have been completed, obtaining a voice at a higher governance level, where some native residents also participate as social operators. Those who represent the civil associations act at an even higher level, with direct access to the local government, while those who are not directly involved in the hospitality program, have a limited way to express their opinions, mostly as outsiders. In all cases, there is a limited space for negotiation for the residents, as the hospitality program operates according to the competences and systems determined by its legal framework. Expectations are related to the different objectives that participants pursue in the hospitality program. General expectations in Riace are mainly related to assisting asylum seekers in their process of resettlement and to the socio-economic reactivation of the village. There are also expectations about the behaviour of the natives as tolerant hosts and the asylum seekers as 'subjects in waiting'.

## 8. CONCLUSION

Learning about the practices of participation among hosts and refugees in the hospitality program for refugees in small rural villages of southern Italy, helps to understand how refugees enact the process of becoming citizens again and how original residents are involved in the process. I have studied the participation of asylum seekers and native residents through their social practices and local discourses, as a means of citizen participation. According to the findings and discussion previously presented, hereafter I answer the second research question and present proposals for future research and recommendations.

- What new citizen roles emerge from the participation of local residents -native and newly arrived- in the hospitality program for refugees and asylum seekers, in southern Italian rural villages?

New roles emerge from participation, transforming refugees, asylum seekers and native residents into new subjects. According to Isin (2013, p.18), 'the enactment of citizenship is paradoxical because it is dialogical', which refers to the realization of citizenship as needing the realization of the others, to mark differences. Enacting citizenship creates 'selves and others defined in relation to each other'. Local residents and asylum seekers enact citizenship differentiating one another and among themselves, producing new categories of citizens, that they both create and share.

Here I explore how participation in the hospitality program changes the participants, presenting different groups of emerging subjects, resulting from their participation. The subjects perform in different ways from those originally assigned to their initial roles, as native residents and asylum seekers or citizens-non citizens, and influence in new ways the development of the program. I found some 'active' citizens (following the script) and few 'activist' citizens (writing-enacting new scripts). For a closer look to those roles, I use the categorization proposed by Turnout (2010), which considered six types of citizen involvement: interest representing, entrenched, assimilated, disappointed, disinterested and creative citizens. From these six groups, I found four of those categories to be applicable in this research. They correspond to stakeholders, assimilated, disappointed and creative citizens. I did not find subjects who would fit as entrenched citizens or disinterested citizens. These categories are not static and do not exclude each other, as the actors frequently perform different roles. The new roles open possibilities to change actors, discourses and institutions.

In the 'interest representing' group, the actors perform as stakeholders from a specific filiation. Asylum seekers, refugees and native Italians represent their particular, sometimes opposed, interests as determined by their own restrictions, assumptions and expectations. They play the official roles as citizens-non citizens, to which they are supposed to adhere throughout the process of participation in the hospitality program. In this group I include an apparently large part of the local residents playing as 'active citizens' who regularly reproduce their expected roles in their social practices. Here are the asylum seekers attending Italian lessons, socializing in the 'piazza', playing football and patiently waiting for their money and documents to arrive. There are also those Italian residents who perform as tolerant, supportive hosts. However, their practices take some of them away from the initial stakeholder-representing practices, to other different categories.

The 'assimilated citizens' are committed to achieving results. Here we have Italian residents and refugees, committed with the objectives of the hospitality program. Active citizens who are strongly supporting the regular workflow of the system. In this category I find mainly people who are inserted in the work market and business opportunities that the hospitality program brings about.

Among disappointed citizens, there is distrust and resentment. Here are refugees and native citizens together again. Those who resent the way in which they participate, but yet do not generate a rupture with the status quo. There are refugees who express unease for the administrative delays in assigning their allowances and processing their residence permits, as well as those who express distress for not being able to work or even for being bored in small villages. To this group also correspond native residents in Riace Marina, who feel neglected by the local administration, but are afraid to be considered racist or intolerant for the fact of questioning some part of the program. A common aspect for both -refugees and natives- in this group, is that they express their regrets, but do not make confrontational actions. In some cases, they opt for a strategy of non-participation, which can correspond to distrust or 'ignorance, lack of awareness and lack of real opportunities to participate (Van Assche et al., 2011, p. 12).

Creative citizens are innovators, challenge takers. Here is the asylum seeker who dared breaking public ornament to be heard. The action does not seem very 'creative', but it certainly corresponds to the criteria of 'challenge taker' ascribed to the group. It also fits as an 'act of citizenship', in the way that it implies a rupture with the script. In this group there are also some Italian natives who dare questioning the system, looking for ways to improve it by incorporating new criteria in the debate, such as quality, demographic balance and productivity.

From my interviews and observations, I could not find anyone -native Italians or refugees- that would fit in the categories of entrenched citizens (uncompromising, inflexible) or disinterested citizens (lack of interest, apathy). Most people seem to feel involved with or is somehow related to the hospitality program. In different ways, they are all looking for answers, sometimes new answers, to a model that has proved successful in many aspects but that certainly requires to be stabilized.

Most local residents in the case study – natives and asylum seekers- perform citizenship by complying with the roles that national and local authorities assign to them. They are, in general, 'active citizens' enacting a script, according to a position assigned by the SPRAR, which is locally represented by the local government and the social organizations providing hospitality services.

From the original, a priori definition as opposed citizens-non citizens, I have learned that original categories of natives-asylum seekers, citizens-non citizens, instead of being complete opposites, share common spaces of concern and expectations about their participation in the hospitality program. All participants in the program can be assimilated in the process and become supportive. Both groups can also feel regrets and exclusions, claiming for other different spaces of participation. Both groups can be disruptive and question the system, usually with the aim of improving it. From the opposite positions that they are originally assigned, citizens and noncitizens share common spaces of interest, concern and hopes.

### Recommendations

From the findings of my research, I argue that some participants -among asylum seekers and native residents alike- are not satisfied with their participation in the process, some feeling resentment or exclusion, while the presence of creative citizens is limited. These aspects deserve attention if the model is to be stabilized. It is important to give space for a more inclusive public sphere which includes 'contestation as well as participation of citizens who may engage in a variety of practices' (Somers, 1993 in Garcia, 2006, p. 752).

The Riace model has many aspects to be researched, in order to better understand how that particular type of managing refugees resettlement, can offer democratic opportunities for the newly arrived to practice citizenship. It is important to further explore the role of the native residents, as their participation also shapes the way in which the asylum seekers perform their new roles. As shown in this research, asylum seekers and native residents can share common positions, for similar or different reasons, like those found among assimilated, disappointed and creative citizens. These similarities and differences should be better examined, in order to learn more about the multiplicities of actors involved (not just natives/asylum seekers, citizens/noncitizens, supportive/intolerants, deserving/undeserving). It is important to remember that 'seeing unity while forgetting it is constructed is imposing unity and imposing identity. A community is always marked by different constructions of reality'. (van Assche et al., 2015 p. 5).

Focusing in Riace only as a success story, without a critical approach to the system in general, can be a problem at least for two reasons: first, focusing only in the many positive aspects of the model, attracts all the attention to one part of the Italian 'integrated hospitality' program for asylum seekers and refugees, while downplaying other aspects, where some important questions and answers might be. Another reason why focusing in the success story -or just in the crisis as well- is inconvenient, is because it deviates the focus from two deeper problems related to the refugee crisis: what is going on in the countries of origin of the exodus -it is not all about war and persecution- and how is the EU participating-cooperating in those countries, to face the origins of the 'crisis'.



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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1a. Interview topic list

#### MIGRANTI

- Quanto tempo abita a Riace? Quale e il suo status?
- Come funziona il programma d'accoglienza? Come partecipa nel programma? che attività hanno?
- Come usate il vostro tempo?
- Com'è la comunicazione con il comune/ con l'associazione incaricata?
- Avete amici italiani? Partecipano insieme a qualche attività?
- Cosa le piace e cosa non le piace del programma d'accoglienza?
- Qual'è il piano per il suo futuro?

#### RESIDENTI

- Quanto tempo abita a Riace?
- Conosce come funziona il programma d'accoglienza? Partecipa lei di qualche forma?
- Cosa le piace e cosa non le piace del programma d'accoglienza?
- Avete amici rifugiati? Voi o vostri figli? Partecipano insieme a qualche attività?
- Com'è stato il cambio nel villaggio dopo il programma d'accoglienza?
- Come vede il futuro del programma d'accoglienza?

#### LOCAL AUTHORITIES-ASSOCIATIONS

##### GENERALE

- Come lavorano le associazioni/cooperative? (membri-finanziamento)
- Com'è la logistica del programma?
- I migranti chi sono qui, tutti sono già stati in un centro di prima accoglienza/ hanno già un permesso di soggiorno?
- Quelli che sono qui, sono in diversi livelli (giuridicamente)?
- Come sono scelti quelli che vengono qui (e non a un CARA)?
- C'è sono attività d'integrazione tra i migranti e gli residenti originali? quali?
- C'è qualche università della zona che collabora con il paese?
- Qual'è la vostra opinione del programma d'accoglienza e il suo futuro?

#### TURISMO

- Come funziona il Turismo Solidale ? (quali sono le attrazioni turistiche, i servizi, i visitatori)
- C'è un documento di Politica o Piano per lo sviluppo turistico?
- C'è una organizzazione o persona specificamente incaricata degli affari turistici?
- Che tipo di ingressi produce localmente il TS? Dove vanno questi ingressi?
- C'è sono dati statistici od altro tipo di analisi di quello che il TS ha rappresentato per Riace?

## Appendix 1b. Interview topic list English

### MIGRANTS

- For how long are you living in Riace? What is your status?
- How does the hospitality program operate? How do you participate?
- How do you use your time?
- How do you communicate with the municipality/the association?
- Do you have any Italian Friends? Do you do activities together?
- What do you like of the hospitality program and what do you dislike?
- What are your future plans?

### RESIDENTS

- How long do you live in Riace?
- Do you know how the hospitality program operates Do you participate somehow?
- What do you like of the program and what you don't like?
- Do you have refugee Friends? Do you do activities together?
- How has the village changed because of the hospitality program?
- How do you see the future of the hospitality program?

### LOCAL AUTHORITIES-ASSOCIATIONS

#### GENERAL

- How do the associations/cooperatives operate? How are the logistics?
- Migrants come here directly or from another reception center?
- Do they have different status?
- How are people chosen to be sent here or to a state welcome center?
- Are there integration activities organized by the municipality?
- Is any university from the area involved/cooperating in the program??
- How do you see the future of the hospitality program?

#### TOURISM

- How does solidary tourism operate (attractions, visitors, services ?
- Is there a tourism policy or plan?
- Is there an association or officer in charge of tourism development in the village?
- What income produces solidary tourism and how is it distributed?
- Are there tourism statistics or other analysis about tourism in Riace?

## Appendix 2. Selected secondary data-internet sources

article	weblink
Tuttitalia -Riace	<a href="http://www.tuttitalia.it/calabria/86-riace/">http://www.tuttitalia.it/calabria/86-riace/</a>
Guida ai Comuni, alle Province ed alle Regioni d'Italia	
Comuni italiani- Riace	<a href="http://www.comuni-italiani.it/080/064/index.html">http://www.comuni-italiani.it/080/064/index.html</a>
Italia.indettaglio.it	<a href="http://italia.indettaglio.it/ita/calabria/riace.html">http://italia.indettaglio.it/ita/calabria/riace.html</a>
Riace Municipality website (Comune di Riace)	<a href="http://www.comune.riace.rc.it/index.php?action=index&amp;p=1">http://www.comune.riace.rc.it/index.php?action=index&amp;p=1</a>
Riace Wikipedia	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riace">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riace</a>
A Small Town In Italy Embraces Migrants And Is Reborn- npr article April 12, 2016	<a href="http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/04/12/473905899/a-small-town-in-italy-embraces-migrants-and-is-reborn">http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/04/12/473905899/a-small-town-in-italy-embraces-migrants-and-is-reborn</a>
World mayor competition 2010	<a href="http://www.worldmayor.com/contest_2010/world-mayor-2010-results.html">http://www.worldmayor.com/contest_2010/world-mayor-2010-results.html</a>
World mayor projec 2010, mayor Lucano by Adriana Maciel	<a href="http://www.citymayors.com/mayors/riace-mayor-lucano.html">http://www.citymayors.com/mayors/riace-mayor-lucano.html</a>
The tiny Italian village that opened its doors to migrants who braved the sea	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/12/italian-village-migrants-sea">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/12/italian-village-migrants-sea</a>
The Guardian - Italy The Observer Saturday 12 October 2013 22.09 BST	
Riace festival	<a href="http://www.riaceinfestival.it/">http://www.riaceinfestival.it/</a>
Italian mayor saves his village by welcoming refugees 10 January 2011	<a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12138404">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12138404</a>
Domenico Lucano, Mayor of Riace, Italy By Adriana Maciel 11 June 2010	<a href="http://www.citymayors.com/mayors/riace-mayor-lucano.html">http://www.citymayors.com/mayors/riace-mayor-lucano.html</a>

Riace: The Italian village abandoned by locals, adopted by migrants 26 September 2016	<a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-37289713">http://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-37289713</a>
World's Greatest Leaders	<a href="http://fortune.com/worlds-greatest-leaders/domenico-lucano-40/">http://fortune.com/worlds-greatest-leaders/domenico-lucano-40/</a>
Il volo – Wim Wenders  (backstage) Calabria Travel Answers	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEsa6jAn3RQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEsa6jAn3RQ</a>
C'è chi dice no: Domenico Lucano sindaco di Riace	<a href="https://forum.virtualtourist.com/Calabria-65-3-10352634/Safety-in-Calabria-refugees.html">https://forum.virtualtourist.com/Calabria-65-3-10352634/Safety-in-Calabria-refugees.html</a> <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7p-Btk4zx0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7p-Btk4zx0</a>
Riace Village-video Published on Feb 5, 2014	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YSIVx5sl_ps">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YSIVx5sl_ps</a>
Dove vano le Nuvole-fil documentary Published on Oct 19, 2015	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zeijcq2o-Ps">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zeijcq2o-Ps</a>
Riace: Talking about the towns progressive migrant hospitality program Julio 2012 Published on Feb 5, 2013	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l5bMNROJSJk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l5bMNROJSJk</a>
Viaggio di formazione a Riace - video- Published on Jul 25, 2012	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stx9X68mR_k">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=stx9X68mR_k</a>
Riace abre la puerta rtve article-video 04.10.2016	<a href="http://www.rtve.es/television/20161004/riace-abre-puerta/1418960.shtml">http://www.rtve.es/television/20161004/riace-abre-puerta/1418960.shtml</a>
Southern Italian town world's 'only white town' after ethnic cleansing Monday 11 January 2010	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/11/italy-rosarno-violence-immigrants">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/11/italy-rosarno-violence-immigrants</a>
Allegato - Riace Luca Musuraca Archivio della Generatività Published on Feb 4, 2016	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAQft9oq-Lg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAQft9oq-Lg</a>



Riace, il sindaco famoso e i migranti: cosa pensa la gente Calabria Magnifica - Published on Apr 5, 2016	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX4M-hXl0MQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX4M-hXl0MQ</a>
I fatti in diretta - Il modello Riace, un altro mondo possibile Published on Oct 11, 2016 La troupe de I Fatti in Diretta, racconta il modello Riace	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCqFMJKyEzw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCqFMJKyEzw</a>
Rosarno e Riace : le due facce della Calabria Ultra di Tonino Perna (Sinistra Europea mediterranea) 11 gennaio 2010 at 19:41 Tonino Perna ( presidente SEM)	<a href="https://bellaciaogrecia.wordpress.com/2010/01/11/rosarno-e-riace-le-due-facce-della-calabria-ultra-di-tonino-perna-sinistra-europea-mediterranea/">https://bellaciaogrecia.wordpress.com/2010/01/11/rosarno-e-riace-le-due-facce-della-calabria-ultra-di-tonino-perna-sinistra-europea-mediterranea/</a>
Il sindaco di Riace riceverà premio in Germania 06 Feb. Sociale (city now magazine)	<a href="http://citynow.it/sindaco-riace-ricevera-germania-premio-internazionale-della-pace/">http://citynow.it/sindaco-riace-ricevera-germania-premio-internazionale-della-pace/</a>
UNHCR Wim Wenders inspired by integration model set by idyllic town in Calabria By: Federico Fossi, ed. Leo Dobbs   22 March 2010	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2010/3/4ba7a0126/wim-wenders-inspired-integration-model-set-idyllic-town-calabria.html">http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2010/3/4ba7a0126/wim-wenders-inspired-integration-model-set-idyllic-town-calabria.html</a>
Migranti: le buone prassi in Calabria LaC TV. Published on May 17, 2017	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6aygVp2XEYs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6aygVp2XEYs</a>
Riace: Protesta dei Migranti Telemia Maggio 17, 2017	<a href="http://www.telemia.it/2017/05/riace-protesta-dei-migranti-video/">http://www.telemia.it/2017/05/riace-protesta-dei-migranti-video/</a>
Beppe Fiorello sarà il sindaco di Riace nella nuova miniserie di RAI 1 Telemia Mag.23-2017	<a href="http://www.telemia.it/2017/05/beppe-fiorello-sara-sindaco-riace-nella-nuova-miniserie-rai1/">http://www.telemia.it/2017/05/beppe-fiorello-sara-sindaco-riace-nella-nuova-miniserie-rai1/</a>
Benvenuti a Riace, dove i migranti hanno risollevato l'economia foto e testo di Nicola Zolin Corriere della sera	<a href="http://reportage.corriere.it/senza-categoria/2015/a-riace-laccoglienza-ai-migranti-e-di-casa-2/">http://reportage.corriere.it/senza-categoria/2015/a-riace-laccoglienza-ai-migranti-e-di-casa-2/</a>

Rifugiati a Riace, dove l'accoglienza serve anche per combattere la mafia Repubblica RAFFAELLA COSENTINO 16 dicembre 2014	<a href="http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2014/12/16/news/riace-103025685/">http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2014/12/16/news/riace-103025685/</a>
La delinquenza dilaga e Riace diventa come Scampia Mar, 30/07/2013 Riviera	<a href="http://www.rivieraweb.it/la-delinquenza-dilaga-e-riace-diventa-come-scampia">http://www.rivieraweb.it/la-delinquenza-dilaga-e-riace-diventa-come-scampia</a>
What to do with Refugees: The Italian Model Claude Forthomme on April 19, 2016 IMPAKTER	<a href="http://impakter.com/what-to-do-with-refugees-the-italian-model/">http://impakter.com/what-to-do-with-refugees-the-italian-model/</a>
Riace – Complementary Currency helps integrate asylum seekers, refugees April 9, 2011 P2P Foundation	<a href="https://blog.p2pfoundation.net/riace-complementary-currency-helps-integrate-asylum-seekers-refugees/2011/04/09">https://blog.p2pfoundation.net/riace-complementary-currency-helps-integrate-asylum-seekers-refugees/2011/04/09</a>
Riace: Talking about the towns progressive migrant hospitality program Published on Feb 5, 2013	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5bMNROJSJk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5bMNROJSJk</a> critical
IOM, International Organization for Migration	<a href="https://www.iom.int/">https://www.iom.int/</a>
UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	<a href="http://www.unhcr.org/history-of-unhcr.html">http://www.unhcr.org/history-of-unhcr.html</a>
UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Mediterranean situation Italy: Immigration or extinction BBC news 19 April, 2000	<a href="http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean#_ga=2.112715204.1342138679.1498037928-1447535304.1489419806">http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean#_ga=2.112715204.1342138679.1498037928-1447535304.1489419806</a> <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/719423.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/719423.stm</a>

Gianfranco Schiavone (ICS – Italian Consortium of Solidarity) explaining the SPRAR - Protection System for Refugees and Asylum	<a href="https://vimeo.com/158844172">https://vimeo.com/158844172</a>
Italian Consortiuim of Solidarity	<a href="http://www.icsufficiorifugiati.org/">http://www.icsufficiorifugiati.org/</a>
Archivio della Generativita Sociale	<a href="http://www.generativita.it/it/generativity/">http://www.generativita.it/it/generativity/</a>
Gender and Migration. Workshop@University of Calabria	<a href="http://barkaie.org/?p=639">http://barkaie.org/?p=639</a>
Centre for Refugee Studies	<a href="http://crs.info.yorku.ca/">http://crs.info.yorku.ca/</a>
Refugee crisis: thousands may lose right of asylum under EU plans	<a href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/14/refugee-crisis-eu-governments-set-to-back-new-internment-camps">https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/14/refugee-crisis-eu-governments-set-to-back-new-internment-camps</a>
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<p>Migranti, sbarchi record: in 5 mesi superata quota 50mila arrivi Repubblica VLADIMIRO POLCHI 22 maggio 2017</p>	<p><a href="http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2017/05/22/news/migranti_sbarchi_record_superata_quota_50mila_nel_2017-166088717/">http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2017/05/22/news/migranti_sbarchi_record_superata_quota_50mila_nel_2017-166088717/</a></p>
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<p>Refugee Food Festival: la battaglia per l'integrazione si combatte in cucina Repubblica 11 maggio 2017 SARA FICOCELLI</p>	<p><a href="http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/profughi/2017/05/11/news/refugee_food_festival_sostegno_all_integrazione_dei_rifugiati_in_13_citta_europee-165193978/">http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/profughi/2017/05/11/news/refugee_food_festival_sostegno_all_integrazione_dei_rifugiati_in_13_citta_europee-165193978/</a></p>
<p>El Universo Refugiados salieron a pedalear en Guayaquil Comunidad Lunes, 26 de Junio, 2017 - 00h00</p>	<p><a href="http://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2017/06/26/nota/6249814/salieron-pedalear-ciudad-que-es-su-refugio">http://www.eluniverso.com/noticias/2017/06/26/nota/6249814/salieron-pedalear-ciudad-que-es-su-refugio</a></p>
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### Appendix 3. Interviews list

contact	category	interview date	length
Francesco	Riace native resident-church assistant	07-04-2017 & 11-05	20min
Osmani	Somalian refugee-6 year resident	10-Apr	15 min
Daniele	Ghanian resident refugee-garbage cooperative	10-Apr	15min
Alessio	Riace native- (main) bar owner	10-Apr	25min
lady 1	Riace native resident	10-Apr	15min
Bruno 1	Riace native and Somali. local shopkeeper,(glass, NGO funded)	11-Apr	1hour
Domenico Lucano	Riace native-mayor Riace	13-Apr	35min
Saveria and Francesco	social operators -Riace natives	13-Apr	40min
Sra. Anna (& Afghan lady)	Riace native (& aghan), workshop staff (lace, NGO funded),	13-04- and 18-4	25min
Raffaelle	Riace native-street vendor and farmer	13-Apr	20 min
Iranian guy	refugee-3 year resident, departing	13-Apr	25min
Bah	Ghanian asylum seeker	18-Apr	45min
Antonio Macri & Sra	Italian visitors	18-Apr	35 min
Samboudiang	Senegalese asylum seeker- Riace	18-Apr	20min
Antonio Gervasi	Riace native -local cafe owner	18-Apr	15min
Irene and Raua	Riace native and Somali. local shopkeeper,(glass, NGO funded)	18-04-2017 & 27-04	25min
student	Italian visitors in students group.	18-Apr	15min
photographer	Italian visitor-researcher	27-Apr	25min
Bruno 2	Riace native-gym owner	03-05-2017 & 10 may	40min
Adelina (& Andreson)	Riace natives-shop owners	03-May	45 min
Mirella	romanian-italian, 10 year resident, married to Italian	04-May	35min
Giuseppe Gervasi	Riace native- vice mayor Riace	08-May	1hour
Fabio	Italian native -Associacion representative		45min
couple	argentinian visitors	11-May	15min



Alberto	Italian native-barber	12-May	30min
procession guy	Italian-Riace resident for 20 years, married to Riace	13-May	20min
Domenico	Native Italian - volunteer at Centro di Primo Soccorso e Assistenza' (Ass. Volontari di Protezione Civile 'Aniello Urzino', comune di Roccella Jonica	15-May	1hour
Maurizio	native Italian -hotel Federica manager-	17-May	1hout
Baggetta	21 years resident Riace		
Angela and Rossi	local shopkeeper, Riace native and Camerounian ( bottega di tessitura, NGO funded)	18may.	25min
Haiderah	asylum seeker, from Mali. 3 years in Riace	19-May	15min
Giuseppe	Italian, mayor Camini	19-May	1h15
Alfarano			
Cosimo	native- Riace council member-shop	22-May	35min
Musuraca	owner		
Pietro Zucco	Riace native, ex-mayor	22-May	45min
Kadir and Nicolas	asylum seekers Cote d'Ivoir and Togo	22-May	45min
Fernanda	Riace native, from the Edicola,	22-May	40min
Francesco Candi	Italian, Stignano mayor	23may.	30 min.
Bangladesh 1	Bangladesh asylum seeker	23may.	30min
Tonino	Native -school administrative assistant	26-May	40min
Maria & Maria Teresa	italian, residents in Riace, coop. Girasole	30may.	20 min.
Rosario Antonio Zurzzolo	eurocoop service, project manager	31-May	32 min
Ilario	palestra client	05-Jun	20min
2 cruise ship pax	USA	05-Jun	25min
2 guys Senegal & C. Ivoire	asylum seekers Senegal & Cote d'Ivoire	06-Jun	32min

