Designing Asylum Space?

Political Asylum Architecture, an incomplete understanding.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the spaces of political asylum across past and present, with the intention of provoking new definitions of its spatial manifestation. It begins by reconstructing an **archaeology** of asylum, tracing its forms from antiquity to the late 20th century. This is not a linear history but an exploration of the conditions that allowed asylum to appear, and reappear, as a spatial practice. Alongside this historical narrative, the concept of the **signature** is introduced as a way to follow recurring patterns and logics across time and space, patterns that reveal asylum's presence even beyond the dominant Western narratives shaping the research. The analysis then moves to contemporary Italy, where the reception system, known and referred to as *accoglienza*, and its legislative definitions become the central focus. Here, law is understood not merely as text but as a morphological force that shapes asylum space through acts of **stretching, replacing, splitting, warping, and extending.** These operations are not treated as abstract legal concepts but are anchored in concrete and material examples, centers, and territories spread across the Italian landscape. The aim is not only to understand how law has spoken of asylum, but to show how it has built and transformed its spaces. Moving beyond analysis, the thesis concludes with a series of situated reflections on design in the context of asylum, ending in a deliberately incomplete **decalog**. These are not guidelines or proposals but fragments, attempts to hold together the many threads woven throughout the work, all leading back to one simple, urgent question: **what, in the end, makes asylum space?**

Introduction

the question, methods and structure

There's always a moment in which we come to interface with a reality, a moment of acknowledgement—not necessarily the first time we see it, but the first time it tears through our consciousness, almost unknowingly. It is followed by secondary moment of recognition. This is when that reality seeps through the porosity of our vision, our understanding of things. Sometimes this happens sincerely—what we recognize truly is another instance of the same reality. Other times, it's our mind projecting, deceivingly searching for that reality in something that merely resembles it. Either way, the first time we truly acknowledge an event, a situation, a person, or an object—depending on how violently it has broken into our awareness, how sharply it has pierced our thought—our senses begin to respond as if altered. Perception is thrown off balance. We begin to see echoes, correspondences, traces. It's not just that our senses are altered, it's that our gaze becomes attuned, involuntarily, to the shape of that first rupture. We start to look for it elsewhere, often without realizing it, projecting its outline onto new realities that may or may not belong to it. The result is a heightened, searching form of perception: one that feels both sharpened and disoriented, as though something has passed through us and left us trying to locate its source again.

I have tried to describe, rather generically, the psychological labor of a question which has grown into the body of this thesis. Allow me to make sense of the last passage through a personal lived experience, an encounter that first set the question in motion. I was back in my hometown from the Netherlands, where I had been spending my semester abroad. I was either back for the Christmas holidays, or back for good in late February. I am most certain it was winter, and I am most certain it was a warm afternoon. Somebody was driving me somewhere. I was not fixing my sight on anything, buildings were flashing by and with the speed they all became smeared, yellowish-toned strips. My gaze soon attuned to a first-floor balcony. It perceived movement. Two small dark figures running behind the iron bars of a parapet. A ball. The two children were playing ball. They were playing ball on a balcony. It was a warm day, and they were playing ball on a balcony. I could barely point out their features, but they were two black children, spending a bright afternoon playing ball on a balcony. For me it was a moment of recognition, and what I saw and thought subsequently is not necessarily the reality I linked the event to. The last time my mind had imagined what I had seen with my eyes that winter afternoon was during a conversation, a few months before the moment of recognition, and it was the beginning of my semester in the Netherlands. That semester I was taking part in a construction studio, and the brief was to build an exterior recreational space for unaccompanied foreign minors in Dutch reception centers. During an informal lecture, a group of teenagers from a nearby center came to speak to us; they didn't speak much, really. A language barrier, but more importantly our lack of sensitivity crushed the children with outrageous design questions they weren't able to respond to. We did talk about football, though. That they understood. That they knew how to respond to. It was easy to picture what they were telling us, despite the missing words, the delays in translation, the palpable distance between our questions and their expressions. In that moment of conversation, I imagined a scene: the boys playing ball in the center's courtyard, or in the hallways, or in their rooms. When they played, for how long they played, when they would be called to stop. Whether they argued over fouls, or fist-bumped after a goal. It was the moment I first truly acknowledged the figure of the unaccompanied foreign minor—whether I realized it or not. The two children, spending a bright afternoon playing ball on a balcony, were—at least in my mind—unaccompanied foreign minors, and that balcony became the imagined extension of a reception center's recreational space. Whether or not this was the reality, my mind instantly projected a past experience onto a present image. The perception was likely mistaken, but it was not meaningless. I immediately found myself wondering: if that building were in fact a reception center, what made it so? The car kept moving. More buildings passed by, swallowed into the same smothered, yellowish-toned blur. How many others, tucked within those indistinct strips, were also reception centers? What makes a reception space? And if reception is just a part of a much larger infrastructure of space, one dedicated and corresponding to the subjectivity of the asylum seeker. **What, then, makes asylum space?**

This thesis is a brainstorm around that question and is composed of three parts. However well the three parts may communicate with one another—however smooth and logical their transitions may seem—they are three entirely different points from which I approach the question. From these three points, I depart in directions that do not converge into a single answer, as though they were circling a common figure. Instead, it is as if they belonged to ramified paths of thought, interweaving within my subjectivity. It is Deleuze who, in commenting on the work of his colleague Guattari, recollects his understanding of the self as made up of groupuscules. That is, a 'group of groups,'[001] a subjectivity which renounces the imposition of a single self and accepts its multifaceted composition, embracing a configuration that is multiple, a composition in constant mutation and reciprocal contamination. The self is the whole—the collective of these internal groups—which at times act and at other times react, producing conscious thought. If Guattari's groupuscules included a militant political activist and a psychoanalyst, then in this thesis, mine most evidently consist of a graduating architecture student, an hypothetical archaeologist and a make-believe legal historian. While this thesis is formally a work on the definition of political asylum space, as its producer I would say it has most importantly been a work of defining these inner groups. To write about asylum within an architecture thesis could have meant over-specifying, hyper-focusing on one of its many sociopolitical implications, or else passively reproducing an architecture of asylum space. Instead, my concern was to reintroduce asylum into the discipline of architecture in the broadest possible way, one which allows to think critically and alternatively to the present way of interpreting asylum space. The challenge of working at this level of generality is the risk of becoming lost in the research. But once I defined these internal figures and recognized them as my own, they became points of orientation. They allowed me to navigate the branching paths of thought, and to decide where to linger, where to return, and where to cut away—ultimately shaping how I came to (incompletely) understand asylum space.

The first part of this thesis is an archaeology. It reconstructs the history of asylum space using an archaeological method—not one that searches for the earliest occurrence of a phenomenon, but one that seeks within the moment of its emergence the constellation of conditions that have allowed the phenomenon to come into being. I searched for these conditions, and my analysis followed a strictly Western spatial and chronological narrative—largely due to the availability and nature of the sources I was able to consult. Occasionally, however, I would come across instances of asylum space that fell outside of the narrative I was constructing. I also realized quite early that the conditions that rendered asylum space intelligible would recur across the historical timeline I was building. For this reason, I introduced a second method to accompany the Agambenian archaeological method, one that would allow me to construct a linear historical narrative alongside an achronological analytical framework. Through the concept of signature, again borrowed from the work of Giorgio Agamben, I traced—both literally and figuratively through drawings and conceptual diagrams—the emergence and reemergence of these conditions and their varied manifestations across time and space.

001
Deleuze 2004, 193
'a group subjectivity, which does not allow itself to be enclosed in a whole bent on reconstituting a self (or even worse, a superego), but which spreads itself out over several groups at once.'

While a body of text establishes the main narrative—tracing a Western timeline and spatial framework—diagrammatic drawings illustrate moments of asylum both within and beyond that narrative.

The archaeological narrative concludes with camp space as one of the more recent and aggressive forms of political asylum space. While this naturally emerged from the unfolding history of asylum, I deliberately chose to focus on the specific case of the Italian CAPS,[002] the reception camps for foreign refugees established in the postwar period. So I move into the contemporary period maintaining a focus on Italy, in a narrative that becomes increasingly journalistic in tone: if Italy as a sovereign power, starts speaking of asylum it is trough specific *eventi di cronaca* (real-time facts of Italian news) events which led to the introduction of the first laws regulating the asylum institution. Whereas archaeology allowed me to move through the many and diverse instances of political asylum throughout time, I could now use law to hover over the surface of the vast ocean that is political asylum, and where necessary, plunge beneath the surface for deeper territorial investigations and examples. The second part of the thesis focuses on Italian law and its role in constructing the infrastructure of asylum. Each major law on immigration and asylum policy is dissected and broken down to identify the semantic manipulations that, in turn, produce spatial manipulations.In total, I identify five such operations[3], each of which is given its own dedicated subchapter. These operations allow me to speak of space through law and to analyze legal material morphologically; in other words, it is the very tool for spatial investigation. Throughout the chapter I have tried to navigate the complexity of legislative spatial production through a series of ideal-typical diagrams: these are simplifications of the evolution of asylum space under italian law and are the very conclusion of every operation/subchapter, acting most importantly as a reminder to the reader of the system as a whole and the effects of the operations on the system. But if law allows for a more general analysis of the political effort that shapes asylum, the narrative also delves deeper in on specific places. Architectural drawing then serves to zoom in on smaller scales within this investigation, enabling an analysis of the specific configurations of space within the Italian asylum infrastructure. These local examples—scattered across the Italian territory, and exceptionally even beyond it—form individual pieces of a mosaic that, when reassembled, point back to the morphological power of law itself.

This will emerge most clearly in the third and final part. Here, the tone shifts significantly: through an exercise in creative writing I return to the Italian language and reflect on the implications of my research and lived experiences. I propose *paraccoglienza* as a way of opening up new ways of understanding and interpreting the design of asylum space, that is more correctly *accoglienza* in italian. The prefix para- carries a complexity that exceeds the idea of simply being 'next to' a pre-existence: it evokes a laterality that crosses through and momentarily suspends what is already given. *Paraccoglienza* appears in gestures, moments, and spaces that escape fixed categories, producing fractures, deviations, and subtle interferences. I try to unlock the concept of paraccoglienza through three projects I've interacted with, and based on these projects, I begin developing a decalog of political asylum space design.

002
Centri Assistenza Profughi Stranieri, or foreign refugee assistance centers.

003
these will be, in order, *stretch, replace, split, warp, extend.*

An Archeology

political asylum space through history

whichever asylum space

Wanting to understand the contemporary manifestations of domesticity in order to radicalize the space in their design proposals, Aureli and Tattara have dedicated themselves to a critical history of domestic space, effectively creating an archaeology of western domestic space. Their narrative demonstrates how the logic of the home can only be understood through the direct analysis of the relationship between reproductive and productive spaces, or, as the title of their publication indicates, between the space of living and that of working. It is due to the dynamic nature of this relationship that domestic space has changed over time, and it is through this very relationship that Dogma's archaeology manages, in a single architectural narrative, to encompass thousands of years of history and dozens of different cultures that have conceived domesticity in their own way. To advance the provocation of a redefinition of political asylum space – and not to reconstruct a definitive or exhaustive list of asylum spaces in western history – the first part of this thesis bases itself on the historical work of the Dogma studio, adapting their methodology and thus proposing an archaeology of political asylum space.

Dogma build their archaeology on the relationship that forms between the space of living and the space of working, and how these spaces have been juxtaposed, overlapped, and mixed over time, determining the single logic of domesticity. **This creates a useful scheme: on one side of the scheme lies the space of living, on the other the space of working, both within a given historical and social circumstance. Between the two is a membrane, extremely permeable in nature, whose characteristics reveal the domestic form that has emerged from their interaction. Dogma's archaeology, therefore, rather than describing the individual productive or reproductive spaces and their evolution over time, has given depth and visibility to the boundary between the two poles.**

This scheme is applicable in the historical investigation of asylum space, and to outline it, the definition given by legal scholar Francesco Francioni proves useful: ***'asylum' refers to that particular form of protection enjoyed by an individual for having gained access to a spatial circle that is exempt from the exercise of coercive activities by an authority or private individuals.***[004] Within the definition, two figures are clearly distinguishable: the individual – now in search of protection and potentially beneficiary of it – and coercion, exercised by a second individual, multiple individuals, or a given historical authority. Asylum is the practice that effectively separates an individual from their coercion, and thus, **the space of asylum can be described according to the characteristics of the separating membrane which comes to define itself through their reciprocal relationship.**

Dogma's archaeology takes as its starting point the living experiences of hunter-gatherers, the primordial model of human organization. Known as entirely nomadic or semi-sedentary groups, they are often deprived of the concepts of permanence and territoriality.[005] Studies show however that, in the last millennia of their long evolutionary history, the need for storage led them to settle for longer periods, and the choice of where to establish themselves, even temporarily, already revealed their great attention to the surrounding environment.[006] Theirs were not merely transit shelters, but spaces designed for survival, dictated by the need for shared labor and protection from natural adversities. But

004
Francioni 1973, 6

005
Aureli and Dogma 2022, 6-8

006
Francioni 1973, 7-8

if the refuge was the place where the community gathered to protect itself from the threats of nature, is it possible that it took on, in certain contexts, a value that went beyond the mere living function? A place not only for physical shelter, but also capable of protecting from something less tangible than rain and wind? Did these shelters, prototypes of living and working that are in fact introductory to Dogma's archaeology, also protect from the passion of men?[007]

With the term 'passion,' Sinha refers to that deeply social nature of human beings, with their tendency toward cooperation but also toward conflict. On the one hand, this tension has allowed the development of increasingly structured communities; on the other hand, it has fueled rivalry, exclusion, and persecution. The desire for recognition and belonging inevitably intertwines with the fear of the other, with the need to define who is inside and who is outside, who is protected and who is threatened. In this interplay of forces, the refuge as a place of protection from natural adversities is no longer sufficient, and attempts to escape from the social dynamics that turn cohesion into oppression, proximity into conflict, begin to emerge. These dynamics, rooted in human nature, give shape to a new concept of refuge, understood not as domestic space but as an inviolable space.

On a purely abstract and conceptual level, one could reflect on how, in the relationship between the persecuted individual and their persecutor, it is the persecutor who determines the tangible limit of their actions. This limit would define the inviolable space: a space that, without recognition from the violator, could never acquire such a characterization. It is the violator themselves who confers the quality of inviolability to that space, recognizing that in that place, their persecutory action cannot continue. Without this recognition, the space would remain devoid of any quality preventing its violation. However, this conception of inviolability, while based on the awareness and behavior of the violator, is not enough to explain the protection granted to certain places or individuals. The mere awareness of a physical boundary between the persecuted and the persecutor does not inherently imply absolute protection, but rather a dynamic that is still and ultimately, dependent on the will of the persecutor themselves.

If it is necessary for the violator to recognize a space as inviolable, it is not enough for only their will to define its boundaries. According to Rescigno, there is no historical evidence that humans, without an external motivation, have had the impulse to protect another individual's life; and further according to the author, inviolable space, in its most primitive form, does not stem from a natural impulse of humans to protect others' lives, but from a dynamic linked to sacrality.[008] In other words, the idea that a space can be protected simply for the intrinsic value of the life it hosts is a concept that does not naturally emerge from human society, [009] therefore, protection did not derive from a universal feeling of pity or defense of life, rather from the recognition that certain places were sacred, and that their sacredness conferred a quality of inviolability that transcended human behavior. It was due to their sacredness that these spaces gained lasting protection, as the violation of a sacred place constituted an act of sacrilege that implied divine punishment.

Thus, space first becomes inviolable through a possible attribution of sacredness. This sacredness not only conferred a symbolic or abstract religious value to the space, but also translated into a concrete protection, socially recognized and materially identifiable, for those seeking refuge within it. Such protection was based on the fear of the possible consequences of a sacrilegious act, that is, the violation of a space consecrated to one or more deities. The repercussions of such an act were not limited to the individual transgressor, but could extend to the entire community, so this conception of inviolable space could spontaneously emerge within a social group, without necessarily taking the form of a legal institution.[010] In fact, its existence can be traced back to the oldest and simplest organizations in human history. This is how whichever space—simple dwellings, caves, taverns, forests, and riverbanks—became the very first inviolable places,[011] because they were considered to be guarded by a divine power, an indiscriminate power towards anyone seeking refuge within their boundaries. As a result, for those communities whose religious beliefs included a power that granted the protection of individuals, any place thought to be affiliated with that divine power provided protection to anyone seeking refuge there, whether human, animal, or object.[012] Rescigno highlights how, in its earliest forms, inviolable space implied a certain indeterminacy regarding the subject who benefited from it.[013] It could then be added that the same nuance of indeterminacy characterized the inviolable space itself, which could coincide with any place upon which sacred and religious values were reflected.

The denominative and institutive understanding of asylum have yet to be unlocked by the course of history; nevertheless, for the necessity of reference, the case of religious asylum is introduced here. **In the conceptual framework proposed by the following archaeology, it corresponds to a scheme characterized by two isolated poles, representing respectively the individual and their coercion, separated in their actions by whichever space. Such whichever, inviolable space, is any space to which a sacred value is attributed and recognized by both poles, thus exercising a protection over the individual and effectively separating them from acts of coercion.** In their simplicity, early human organizations did not necessarily recognize the sacred in a predefined space or structure, rather in its manifested expressions: such were hierophanies, or manifestations of the sacred, described by M. Eliade as heterogeneous spaces.[014] The author explains how the religious person experiences sacred space as an interruption of the homogeneity of reality, and it is precisely in this interruption that the rest of the world becomes concrete. Sacred space, therefore, serves as a point of reference, and from this quality derives the absolute necessity to seek it out and define it.[015] This dynamic was destined to change with the evolution of the concept of inviolability into an institution. Human organizations, in fact, became increasingly articulated, introducing, alongside the religious sphere, the first political authorities.

007
Sinha 1971, 5

008
Rescigno 2011, 20-21

009
Ibid., 20

010
Francioni 1973, 2

011
Sinha 1971, 5

012
Rescigno 2011, 20-21

013
Ibid., 21-22

014
Eliade 2013, 11

015
Eliade 2013, 20-22

Signatures

In *Signatura Rerum*, Giorgio Agamben describes historical tradition as a force that acts upon and ultimately veils the original conditions of appearance. Rather than coinciding with the how that phenomenon is remembered and understood. Whereas traditional historical the archaeological approach turns to the moment of arising itself, where lie the specific

In this sense, archaeology investigates not what follows from an event, but

It is through this understanding of history that I approach the question of political narrative, I also search for the conditions that made it possible for asylum to appear nameable, and spatially articulated.

This approach carries an important limitation: because these frameworks emerge asylum shaped by conditions which are fundamentally different outside that narrative. spaces, from which I have drawn and generalized a set of conceptual frameworks. While historical episodes from which they arise; rather, they are employed as analytical tools for

Such frameworks function as what Agamben would call **signatures**.

Signatures are not signs in the conventional sense, nor are they stable markers of

Signatures are operations that link an epistemic condition to a historical form,

Signatures, then, reveal not the history of asylum as such, but the conditions

This has allowed the following pages to move between linear historical narration and articulations of conditions under which asylum became intelligible—which are then used rise to other forms of asylum space. In doing so, the analysis does not reconstruct a single, each instance as the effect of specific conditions that, once identified, can be recognized

Signatures are drawn literally, but also figuratively. The former is done through documentation. These drawings are to outline, however schematically, the material form

the past only after a phenomenon has emerged—as something that organizes, transmits, moment a phenomenon comes into being, tradition intervenes retrospectively, shaping narratives tend to trace the linear development of ideas from one point in time to another, constellation of conditions under which a phenomenon first becomes intelligible.

what makes its emergence possible.

asylum space. While tracing the evolution of asylum within a linear, Western historical and develop in the first place—how, in specific historical contexts, it became thinkable,

from specific conditions along the Western timeline, they may not capture instances of Nonetheless, within Western history, several moments saw the constitution of such shaped by the contingencies of Western history, these frameworks are not limited to the identifying how asylum space comes to be in other contexts.

meaning.

describing how a phenomenon becomes, how asylum space came to appear.

that allow the phenomenon of asylum space to become intelligible in various contexts.

achronological analysis: from moments along the Western timeline, signatures are drawn— to trace other instances, across different times and spaces, where similar conditions gave continuous history of asylum, but follows the dispersed logic of its emergence—reading across otherwise disconnected times and spaces.

text, the latter through synthetic representations, drawings based on existing graphical of asylum across time and space, composing an atlas of political asylum space.

Pu'hunonua O Honaunau

scale 1 : 5000

0 50 125 250 [m]

road
park boundary
track
archeological remains
protected space

Drawing based on the book *'A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai ' ii Island'* by Linda Wedel Greene.

Located on the west coast of Hawai'i Island, in the district of South Kona, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau was a place of refuge in ancient Hawaiian society. In a culture regulated by *kapu*—a code of religious and social restrictions—the consequences for certain violations could be immediate death. The pu'uhonua offered a rare and unconditional protection: if a person reached its boundaries before being caught, their life would be spared. Here, they could undergo cleansing rituals and return to the community without the threat of punishment.

This refuge also played a crucial role during times of war. Non-combatants—especially the elderly, women, and children—would flee to the pu'uhonua for safety, knowing that the sanctuary could not be violated, even in conflict. At Hōnaunau, the protected area was enclosed by a massive lava wall, parts of which still remain. Within the enclosure stood several sacred structures, including a temple where the bones of high-ranking chiefs were kept, believed to give the site its spiritual force. The refuge was positioned on a flat stretch of black lava reaching into the sea, at the edge of a once densely inhabited area.[S01]

S01
Greene 1993, 426-429

Until that moment, sacredness had made certain spaces inviolable. However, with the development of human organizations, alongside religious belief emerged a second type of power, a political one, which rose to a similar level of control over a given civilization, making an inevitable tension between the two authorities in the manifestation of their respective influences. The way in which these two powers related to each other influenced the conception of the inviolability of space within a society. In systems where the two spheres, that of a religious and of a political power, merged under a single supreme political authority, the power exercised assumed an absolute form, devoid of internal limits, and thus the inviolable space became subordinate to the will of political power, often disappearing altogether.[016] This happened because any entity capable of offering protection or limiting the action of the dominant authority was perceived as a threat to the stability of the power itself, and therefore repressed. On the other hand, where the two spheres remained separate, the space of religious asylum existed as a countermeasure to a system of laws not always capable of protecting human life. In these places, the individual received protection from divine power, thus excluding themselves from the coercive action of the existing political authority, and therefore the right of the sovereign or a given authority could not be imposed without risking violating a higher principle.[017]

The definition of an inviolable space begins to expand, as it now included a political authority—one that imposed laws, administered justice, and was called upon to recognize exceptions to its own legislative practice. The tension between religious and political power further complicated the concept of inviolable space, and thus the underlying scheme of asylum being proposed, because while political power sought to extend its jurisdiction, sacredness persisted to characterize certain spaces as inviolable. **While the two distinct poles—the individual and their coercion—remain defined, the scheme must now account for how political authority, in exercising its power, supersedes and limits individual coercive action by imposing its legislative system. The coercive action of the individual is thus absorbed within a third pole: the institution. Outside of this institutional framework, individual coercion cannot exist, as it is regulated by the imposition of law. The persecuted individual, however, is excluded from the larger sphere of the institution, as their actions circumvent legal imposition through the protection granted by divine power. Yet, because the institution must acknowledge divine power as the higher principle protecting the individual from coercion, the individual is not entirely separated from the institutional sphere but remains tangent to it.** At the single point where the institutional and individual spheres intersect lies the space of political asylum.

This single point represents a unique typology of space—one that is inviolable by the institution and thus by acts of coercion. It constitutes an architecture, or rather, the sole architecture, that mediates between divine and political power, allowing political authority to recognize the continued influence of divine power over human life. It is enlightening then, to read into Eliade's description of the single architecture of the temple. The temple is an imago mundi, that is, an image of the cosmic world, but at the same time an earthly reproduction of a transcendent model.[018] Imago mundi because the temple is not simply a building or a physical place, but a symbolic replica of the cosmos itself, a structure that is not only sacred but embodies the idea that the sacred also manifests in the material world. At the same time, the temple is transcendent: the physical space of the temple becomes the place where man can come into contact with the divine and experience the sacred in a tangible way. Thus, the temple, although built in the earthly world, takes on a spiritual meaning that transcends its material function, serving as a bridge between the human and the divine world. It is in the architecture of the temple that ancient populations, now in an advanced state, reflected this first contrast between sacred power and political power, recognizing in its spatial extension a politically validated sacred manifestation. In this configuration of the scheme of political asylum, the space of asylum is sole and unique, a space that, like the temple, exemplifies the communication between the immanent world and the transcendent world.

'*(Temple) where there is no right of capture*' is the etymology of the greek word for 'asylum',[019] now indicating the inviolability of a place and its establishment as a protected space and. In ancient Greece, the temple fostered continuous political dialogue and stimulated the development of differences between men, thereby extending the time available for the persecuted – both guilty and innocent – who would otherwise have been captured and eliminated without any chance of redemption.[020] Originally, inviolability was associated with all sanctuaries indiscriminately; every sanctuary, without exception, enjoyed *ichesia*, a form of inviolability that allowed those seeking refuge to benefit from temporary protection, during which they could request permanent protection through the ritual of supplication. Although *ichesia* was generally respected by political authorities, preventing any external interference, not all sacred places were considered spaces of asylum in the strictest sense.[021] Only those temples dedicated to the protective and patron deity of a given city were proper spaces of asylum, offering permanent refuge to those who entered, without any discrimination.[022] During the Hellenistic era, the protection offered by the temple began to be replaced by political power, which gradually extended its influence over asylum spaces. Greek authorities started to monopolize the role of protector, narrowing the concept of asylum to a privilege increasingly dependent on the official recognition of political institutions.[023] This process was part of the broader context of the disintegration of tribal structures and the emergence of new public and private interests, which led to the introduction of more formalized forms of legal protection: written law became the foundation of the legal system of the polis, replacing the pluralism of tribal customs and strengthening state control over asylum spaces.[024] Thus, the temples, once automatically recognized as inviolable due to their sanctity, began to require a formal declaration of inviolability: sacred places were declared inviolable through inscriptions in honor of the deities, placed in the sanctuaries dedicated to them, and such declarations were issued by the competent political authority in the territory where the asylum stood, to which the sovereign granted the privilege based on their full

016
Sinha 1971, 6

017
Schuster 2002, 41

018
Eliade 2013, 53-54

019
"Asilo," in Vocabolario Treccani, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana.

020
Schuster 2002, 41

021
Mastromartino 2009, 174

022
Sinha 1971, 9; Mastromartino 2009, 174

023
Schuster 2002, 41

024
Mastromartino 2009, 179

discretion.[025] About ninety of these declarations have been preserved by historical tradition, testifying to the inviolability of temples located in territories that today correspond to Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. This is how we can speak of asylum at the temple of Asclepius, the patron of the city of Kos, known as the largest healing sanctuary of Hellenistic Greece; the particular case of Pergamon, an example of a Greek city with two contemporary asylum spaces, one in the temple of Athena and the other in the temple of Asclepius; asylum in the temple of Dionysus at Teos, located directly within the city, not far from the acropolis and therefore inserted within the vibrancy of political life; but also the asylum of an entire city, the city of Miletus.[026]

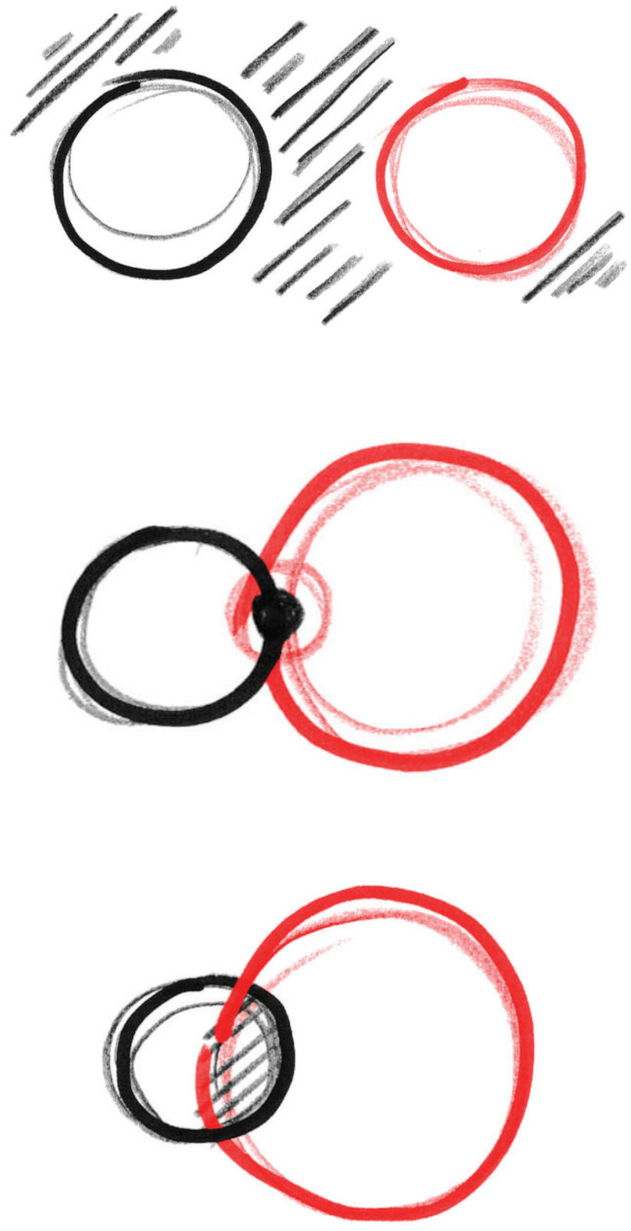
At first, the temple as a place of asylum was the result of a delicate balance between religious and political power, with both playing a role in protecting those who sought refuge, and it was the temple as architecture that hosted this balance. However, with the introduction of declarations of inviolability, it became clear that political power began encroaching on the realm of sacred power. When entire cities were declared spaces of asylum, political power not only asserted itself as the main guarantor of asylum, but also marked the end of the exclusively religious character of these places. This was possible not only because of the growing power of political structures, but also due to their increasing complexity: in ancient Greece, cities and territories recognized their separate jurisdictions, and eventually, the inviolability of the temple was extended to the sacrality and inviolability of the entire city.[027] The institution of inviolability began to be configured as a tool to limit the effects of war, creating territorial zones immune from any act of violence, capable of providing a city-state with a guarantee of immunity from war and looting, where the condition of neutrality not only protected the city from the devastating effects of conflict but also ensured its prosperity and wealth.[028] **Returning to the scheme of asylum space, the institutional sphere, which was previously connected to the individual sphere only at a single point, now expands the intersection to an area.** This transformation introduces a new typology of asylum space: the city itself. This form of asylum, in all respects, separates itself from the broader categorization of religious asylum to form a new type, known as territorial asylum. With entire cities declared inviolable, the concept of asylum moves beyond the sacred confines of temples, becoming a politically defined space where protection is no longer contingent upon religious authority alone but is instead guaranteed by political institutions. In this way, the Greeks anticipated a modern understanding of asylum, in which territorial sovereignty plays a decisive role in ensuring protection, extending beyond individual sanctuaries to the entire urban and civic environment. The Greek experience of territorial asylum was short-lived, as with the advent of Roman conquest and the imposition of peace on Greek territories, the function of such decrees lost its original meaning, and the assignment of inviolability titles to cities rapidly declined, eventually disappearing completely.

025
Ibid., 179

026
These and another ninety declarations of inviolability may be found in Kent J. Rigsby's Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World.

027
Rigsby 1996, 3

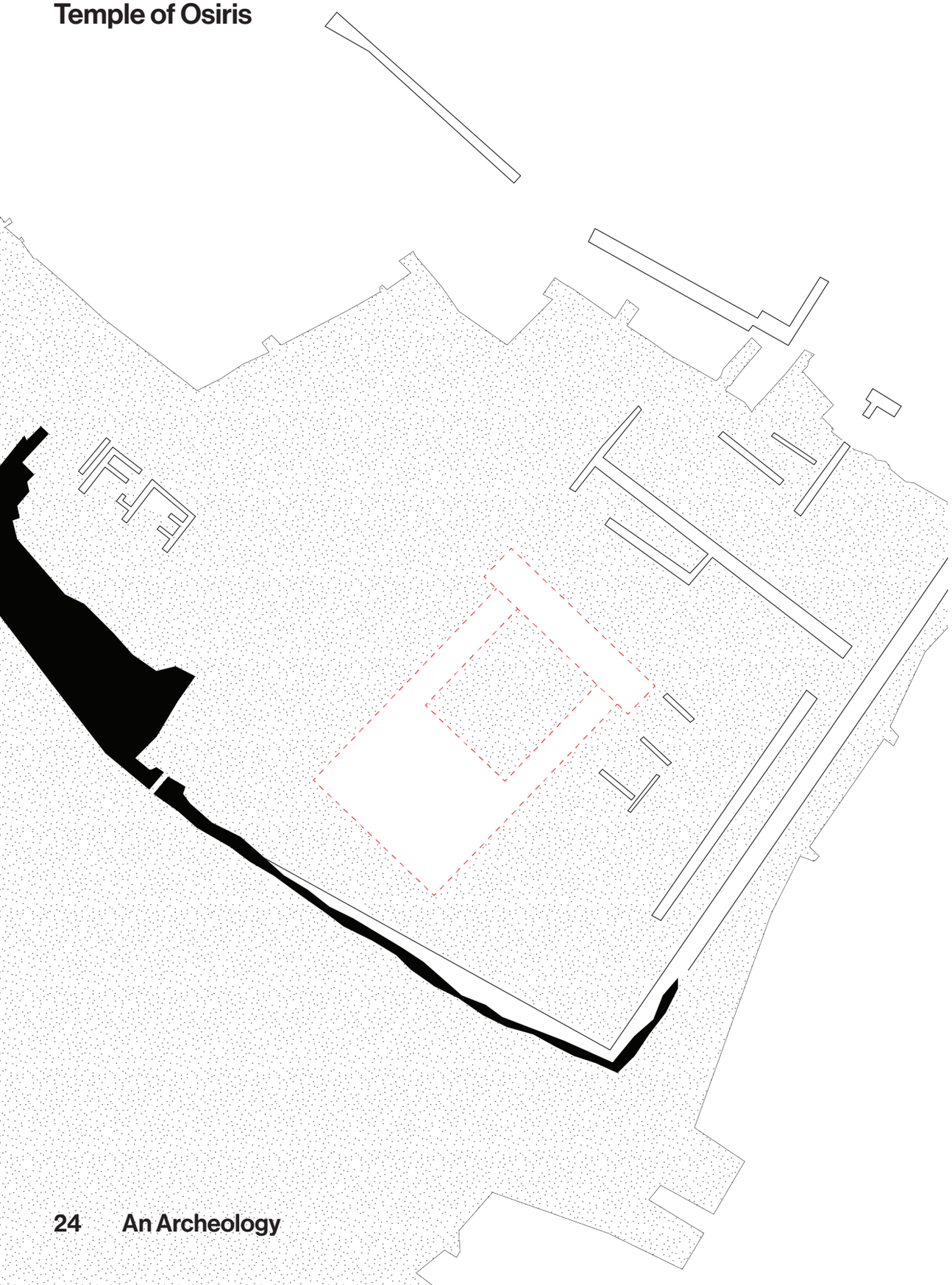
028
Mastromartino 2009, 179-180



Whichever, Tangent, asylum spaces

These diagrams illustrate the schemes of asylum space found in the text, as inspired by Dogma's methodology. In black, the individual seeking refuge, in red the entity generating coercion; between, the membrane determining the typology of asylum space.

Temple of Osiris



scale 1 : 2000

0 20 50 100 [m]

archeological hypothesis

built

temple boundary

Drawing based on J. Garstang's *'Map of the Osiris Temple Enclosure'* and M. Marlar archeological reconstructions in *'The Osiris Temple at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation'.*

The temple of Osiris at Abydos, located in Upper Egypt, is among the few references to asylum in ancient Egypt: egyptians generally enforced strict laws with severe punishments, and some scholars suggest that the idea of asylum may have been introduced through Babylonian law via Persian influence.[S02] The temple complex was enclosed by a large mudbrick wall, much of which still stands on the southwestern side, stretching over 300 meters and up to 7 meters thick.[S03]

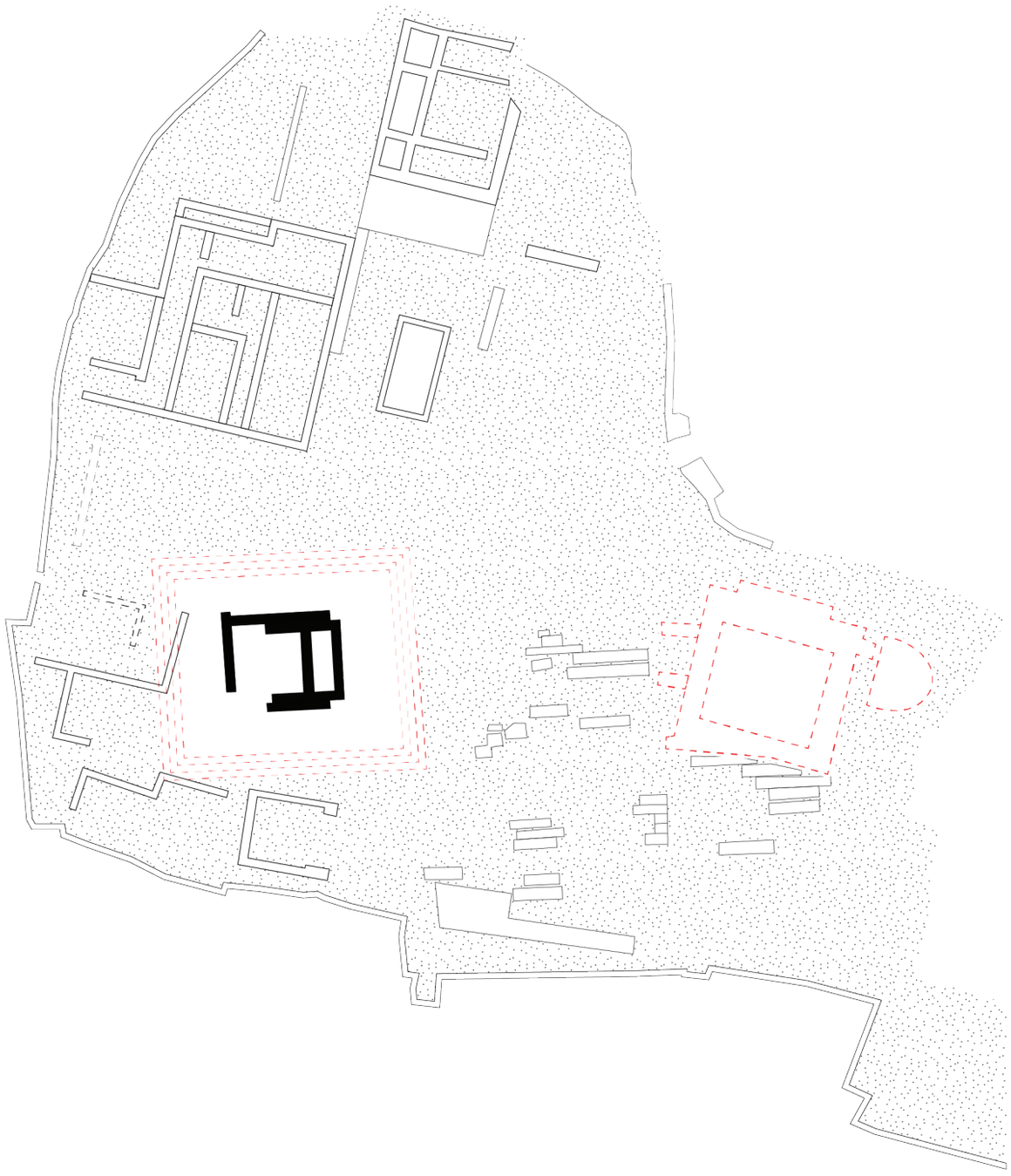
Within this enclosure, the temple occupied a significant area and underwent multiple construction phases. The complex likely featured large pylons, open courtyards, and sanctuaries dedicated to Osiris. Archaeological evidence indicates the temple was built on a raised sand foundation and constructed using a combination of limestone and sandstone blocks, including some reused materials from earlier structures.[S04]

S02 Sinha 1971, 10

S03 Marlar 2009, 10

S04 Ibid., 197

Temple at Tenos



scale 1:500

0 5 12.5 25 [m]

archeological hypothesis

built

temple

Drawing on an archaeological map of the Tinos excavation site (n.a., n.d.).

The temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite at Tenos stood in a sacred grove on the island's southern coast, about two kilometers from the city center. Two temples occupied this site over time. The earlier temple, dating to the late 4th century BCE, was a simple rectangular structure with a pronao and a main room or cella resting on a raised base; instead, around the early 2nd century BCE, it was replaced by a slightly larger Doric temple.[S05] A surviving decree from the mid-third century BCE—likely from the 250s or 260s—affirms its status as a site of asylia, making it one of the earliest known attestations of formalized asylum in the Greek world.[S06]

S05
J. Bennet et al. 2025

S06
Rigsby 1996, 154

City of Miletus

scale 1 : 5000

0 50 125 250 [m]

city block

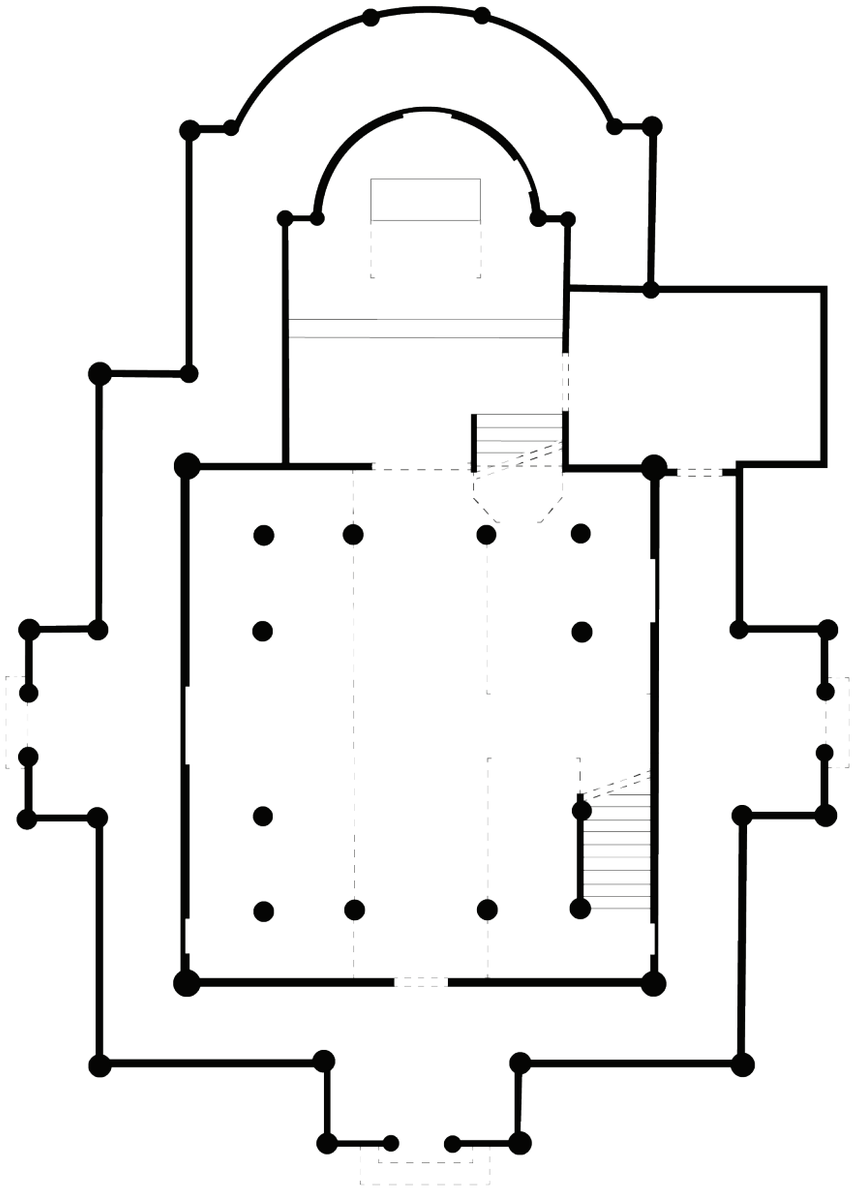
city boundary

Drawing based on Armin Von Gerkan's *'Griechische Stadteanlagen'*, dated 1946.

Miletus challenges the usual distinction between rural and urban asylum sites. Both the city and its surrounding territory were considered inviolable because of the worship of Apollo Delphinius, a rural deity honored at two important places: the Delphinium within the city and the Didymaion in the countryside. Although the temple of Miletis was important in city life, it was not the main source of asylum rights. Later Roman inscriptions limited asylia solely to the temple, reflecting a narrower Roman understanding that restricted asylum to the sanctuary rather than the broader city and territory. It was the Milesians' own records which show that inviolability applied to the entire city and countryside, indicating that asylum was recognized as a communal protection connected to Apollo's cult, not just a privilege of the temple.[S07]

S07
Rigsby 1996, 172-177

Nordic Church



scale 1 : 200

0 2 5 10 [m]

Drawing based on Johan Christian Dahl's '*Floor plan of Borgund Stave Church*', dated 1837.

The earliest evidence of asylum rights in Scandinavia comes from the Act of Eric (1189/90), which sets punishments for those who violate church sanctuary. The Gulating and Borgarting laws, some of the first Norwegian legal codes, recognize church asylum as a way to honor Jesus Christ and protect the church and its grounds. They also establish the priest's duty to assist fugitives and outlaws. This system relied on two principles: reventia loci—the inviolability of the church's sacred space—and intercession—the priest's obligation to help those seeking refuge. Church sanctuary remained a formal legal institution in Scandinavia until 1537, when the Lutheran Reformation ended its legal and religious status, integrating the church fully into the state.[S08]

According to the Gulating Law, churches and churchyards were protected as places of asylum, with priests responsible for offering refuge. The Borgund Stave Church, built around 1180 within this jurisdiction, is an example of where sanctuary was practiced.

S08
Loga et al. 2013

absent asylum space

Under the Roman Empire, the institution of asylum was incompatible with the principle of the absolute authority of the State and with the idea of a universal and perfect law, guaranteeing the safety of the citizens.[029] Unlike the Greek world, where asylum initially found a place within a balance between the sacred and the political, Rome did not recognize separate jurisdictions nor admitted exceptions to its sovereignty. [030]Asylum, conceived as a space of immunity for the persecuted, appeared to be in contrast with the supremacy of law and punishment, which were the foundation of Roman governance. For this reason, the institution of asylum experienced moments of marginalization and attempts at limitation, as evidenced by the intervention of Tiberius, who ordered a revision of the asylum locations in the Greek territories, subjecting them to strict control by the Senate. The result was a drastic reduction of the spaces recognized as inviolable, culminating in the prohibition, enacted in 22 A.D., of establishing new decrees of inviolability in the Hellenic Peninsula.[031] This progressive diminishing of asylum reflected Rome's desire to eliminate any potential threat to its authority and assert complete state power over justice and territorial control.

What happened during the Roman Empire recalls those examples in history (not treated in this archaeological work, as they fall outside the study's geographical scope) in which the space of asylum was not recognized by the political authority, now a supreme and hegemonic power which either overlapped with religious authority or repressed it completely, thus not conceding any space outside its own exercise. In this way, asylum as an institution diminished, and its space contracted. **If asylum space is the place that effectively separates an individual from coercion, then, trivially, in a society where the political power recognizes its system of laws as its highest form of protection— and which recognizes no exclusions to its scope—there is no separation between the individual and coercion, causing asylum space to disappear, becoming entirely absent. The scheme is then defined by only one pole: the institution, representing a supreme form of coercion imposed on any individual, without any law, protection, or safeguard offered or granted.** Being merely a conceptual understanding of the phenomenon, this framework exaggerates the reality of the situation: it is only partially true, because the repression of territorial and religious asylum in Greek territories did not lead to its complete disappearance. In exceptional cases, and always subordinated to the recognition of the emperor, temporary immunity was granted to those who sought refuge under specific legionary and imperial statues. [032] Thus, an inviolable space continued to exist, but with a highly limited and temporary nature, no longer tied to a strictly transcendent sacrality: its inviolability had now been transfigured into the absolute authority of the Empire, where the sacred no longer resided in the heavens but manifested on earth in the figure of the sovereign, elevated to divinity.

specific asylum space

But as the Roman Empire expanded, Christianity began to take root in society, and along with it emerged a religious authority that started to play an increasingly important role alongside the political one. While in the classical era religious power had been subordinate to political power, the Christian Church now began to establish itself as an autonomous institution, destined to deeply influence the legal and social structure of the Empire. In this new political system, the very idea of an inviolable space for the persecuted clashed with the Roman conception of law, interpreted as the absolute principle of order and security. During a time of increasing instability within Roman society, where justice often seemed dominated by the whims of the powerful, the Christian Church became a point of reference for the most vulnerable; with the rise of this new order, ecclesiastical asylum took shape, consisting of the merciful action of the clergy, who acted on behalf of God to guarantee salvation and protection to those seeking refuge.[033] Unlike previous forms of religious asylum, which were based on the sanctity of the place, ecclesiastical asylum was now founded on the practice of intercession: the clergy directly intervened on behalf of those seeking refuge in the churches, making asylum a matter connected to the individual rather than to a physical space.[034]

The recognition of Christian asylum occurred within the context of the Church's progressive legitimization. Among the most significant steps, the Council of Sardica in 343 AD established the right of the Church to grant asylum and codified the expression *ad misericordiam ecclesiae confugere*, elevating it to a true legal institution, no longer exclusively tied to the religious dimension, but recognized as an individual right.[035] With the new designation, the Church Fathers rejected the dynamics of pagan asylum, where protection was based on the fear of divine wrath rather than on a principle of justice and mercy. Ecclesiastical asylum, in fact, was grounded in the values of charity and penance: ecclesiastical protection not only provided shelter but also offered the opportunity for spiritual redemption for those fleeing worldly justice.[036] For the first time in history, the granting of asylum took on a formalized legal character, marking the beginning of a growing tension between ecclesiastical and political power over the administration of justice. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire and with the rise of the feudal system, Christian asylum took on an even broader significance. The weakening of central authority and the arbitrary nature of local powers made the Church the only institution capable of offering protection against the injustices of feudal lords and fragmented legal structures. As a result, canon law gradually expanded the boundaries of asylum: in addition to churches, monasteries, convents, cemeteries, hospitals, and even crosses placed along roads were recognized as inviolable places.[037] In 681 AD, the Council of Toledo formalized this expansion, establishing that no one could be pursued within a radius of 35 paces from churches. Thus, while ecclesiastical asylum initially relied on the personal intercession of the clergy, in the Middle Ages it transformed once again into a territorial right, becoming deeply embedded in both the urban and rural landscapes of Europe.

The Church offered protection in the name of one of its highest values, Christian *charitas* and the sentiment of piety—values that were now being questioned. While in the past the earliest forms of asylum

029
Rescigno 2011, 21

030
Schuster 2002, 41

031
Mastromartino 2012, 121

032
Sinha 1971, 9-10; Rescigno 2011, 24-25

033
Sinha 1971, 10

034
Ibid., 10

035
Rescigno 2011, 31

036
Ibid., 28-29

037
Sinha 1971, 11; Rescigno 2011, 32

were based on the sanctity of the place, ecclesiastical asylum initially sought its foundation in the sanctity of the person. This does not mean that the individual seeking protection was considered sacred, but that, in the name of a sacred value, the Church excluded him, placing him in a condition of bare life.[038] By *bare life*, G. Agamben refers to that individuality captured in the process of its exclusion and thus exposed to the violence of sovereign power; exclusion because this life finds itself in a shadow zone, outside of any codification, and at the same time subjected to sovereign violence because, precisely in its exclusion, sovereign power relates to its life, constructs itself upon it, and controls it through political mechanisms. In a specific passage, Agamben argues therefore that "sovereign power does not govern only through the law, but also through the decision on who is excluded from the law".[039] As F. Rescigno points out, the Church used asylum as a political tool beyond the control of the State, increasingly asserting itself in the legal domain. [040] What was placed under ecclesiastical influence was none other than the life of man, both innocent and truly guilty. Christian asylum transformed individual protection into an act of power, capable of removing a person from jurisdictional space, thus strengthening the authority of the Church over political institutions. Clearly, the Church declared its interest in sovereign power; thus began its struggle against imperial authorities, basing its political strategies on the life of man through the granting of asylum, in a process that would see the gradual territorialization of the right to asylum through the creation of new places of exception to temporal power.[041]

Based on these considerations, the asylum space schema can be reinterpreted. **With the re-establishment of protection, the individual reappears within the system, now positioned in opposition to, and distanced from, the coercive pole. At this point, the schema follows a trajectory similar to that of religious asylum; however, the individual now becomes fully integrated within the ecclesiastical institution's sphere. This shift occurs because the individual is no longer simply a subject granted protection, but rather is instrumentalized by the institution in pursuit of sovereign power. Within this relation, the space of asylum becomes the very space through which the institution manifests its control, transforming it into a space that is specific to the institution's exercise of power. T**he Church guarantees protection through spaces it owns—places through which its authority is displayed and enacted. By including the individual, the concept of inviolable space expands to encompass all types of spaces under the institution's control, from churches to monasteries, all of which are recognized as sanctuaries where the Church exerts its authority.

Documenting the power struggle between the State and the Church during the Late Middle Ages is far beyond the spatial scope set by the archaeology of the asylum space, which instead limits itself to commenting on how, with the rise of the Holy Roman Empire, the conflict intensified, as the emperor now held not only political but also spiritual dominance. In this new figure of power, the space of asylum contracted but did not disappear, contrary to what was seen in the earlier examples of religious asylum. Despite the new authority encompassing both spheres of power, the Church continued to exist and maintain control over the granting of asylum; while it was still the Church that offered protection within its spaces, it was the emperor who ultimately granted it.[042] The shades of the contrast between emperor and ecclesiastical institutions were reflected in the three main forms of asylum: the first was a general privilege recognized to all parish churches, where anyone could seek refuge; the second, granted by the sovereigns, provided a more stable and lasting refuge; the third was a secular type of asylum, managed by local lords in churches under their jurisdiction, outside the influence of the crown.[043] Over time, throughout the second millennium, the Church sought to strengthen its influence by codifying its prerogative to grant asylum within canon law.[044] Thus, amid the reformist and counter-reformist turmoil, the Church and its spaces continued to serve as sanctuaries not only for the persecuted but also for criminals, lawbreakers, and penitents. However, while the general instability caused by the religious and political instabilities made a space for asylum a necessity for many, it simultaneously weakened the Church's control over it. As reformist ideas spread, the sacred value of asylum was increasingly questioned, especially by jurists who viewed asylum as a man-made institution and, therefore, within the competence of the State, thus the State progressively freed itself from spaces and institutions beyond its jurisdiction.[045] With the gradual consolidation of monarchic systems during the Late Middle Ages and the rise of Nation States, asylum became the exclusive and uncontested prerogative of the sovereign. The Protestant Reformation marked the beginning of the Church's political decline, but it was the rise of absolutist monarchies during the Counter-Reformation that truly dismantled its authority, leading to the establishment of centralized, sovereign power.[046]

038
Agamben 1998, 94

039
Ibid., 94

040
Rescigno 2011, 31

041
Agamben 1998, 4-9

042
Schuster 2002, 43

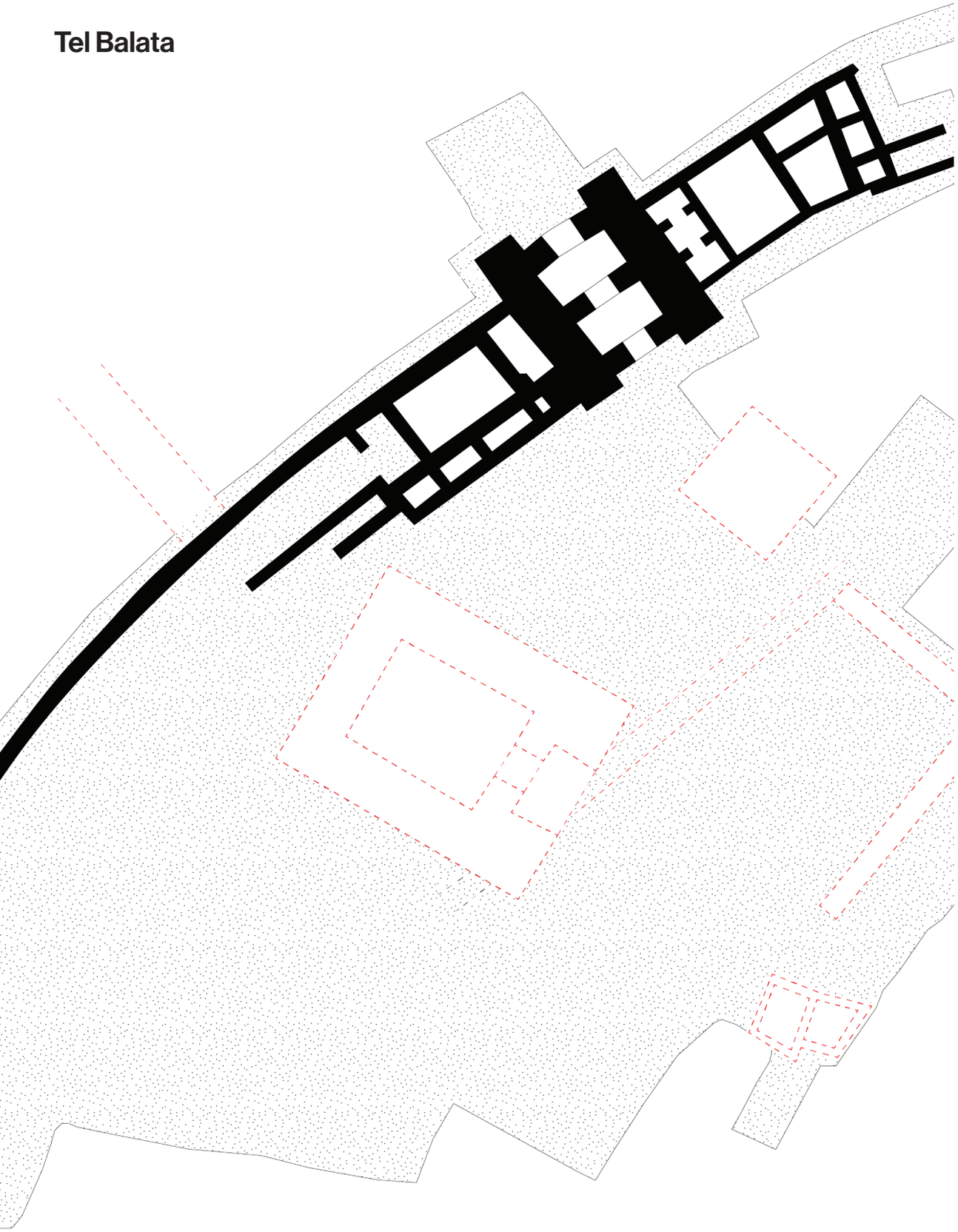
043
Rabben 2016, 48

044
With the codification by Pope Gratian in 1120 and the constitutions of Pope Gregory XIV in 1591 and Benedict XIII in 1725; Sinha 1971, 12

045
Ibid., 12

046
Schuster 2002, 44

Tel Balata



scale 1 : 5000

0 50 125 250 [m]

archeological hypothesis

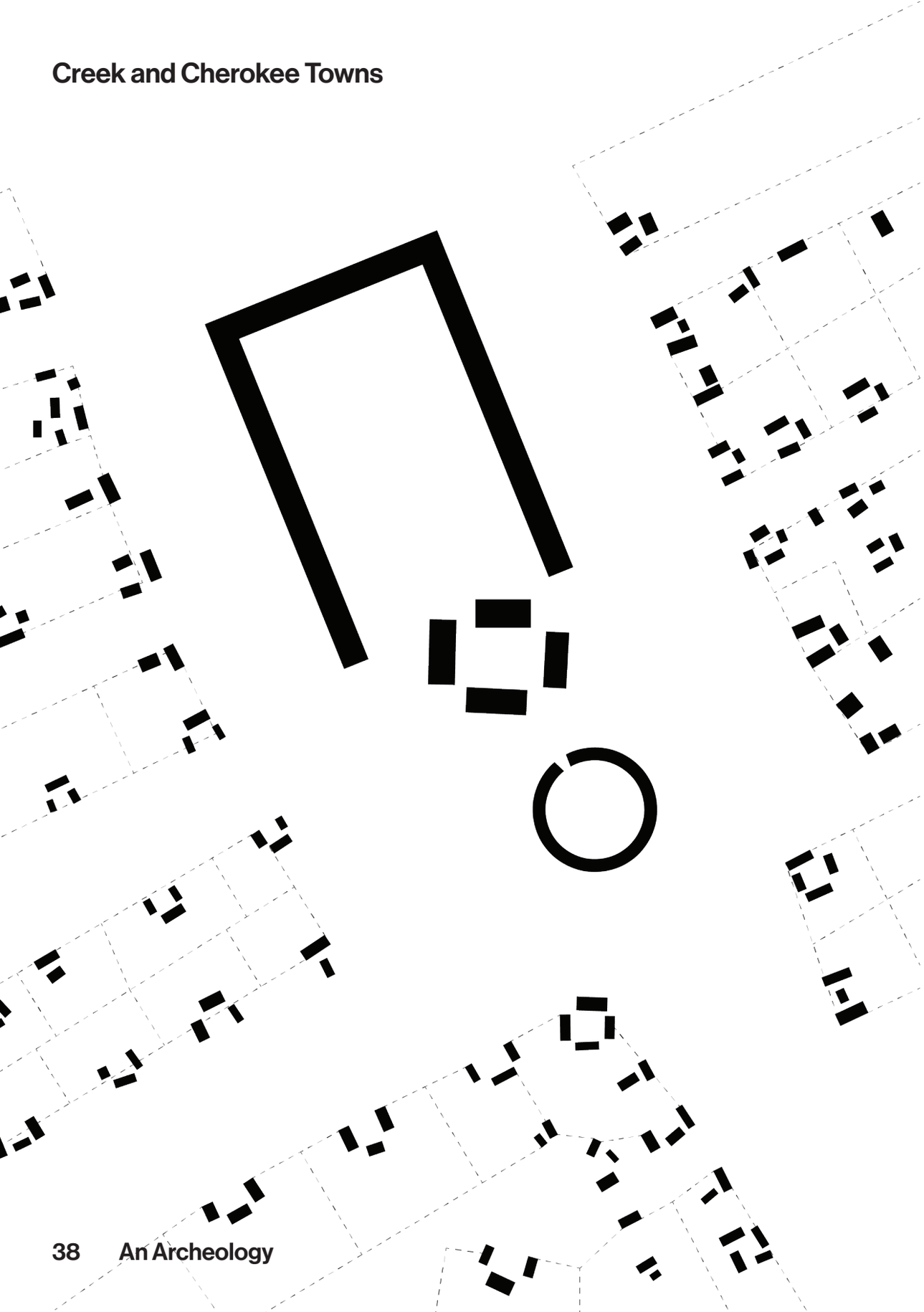
city boundary

Drawing based on G.R.H Wright's Tel Balata archeological plan, dated 2002.

In Jewish law, asylum took the form of "cities of refuge," established by divine command to protect those who committed unintentional homicide. Six cities were designated across the territory so that anyone could reach one within a day's journey. These cities offered temporary protection: the accused could remain there safely until the death of the high priest, after which a formal trial would determine their fate. Although protected, the accidental killer was still seen as having shed innocent blood, which brought a degree of contamination to the refuge. Therefore, the city was both a place of safety and of penance, combining asylum with a form of exile.[S09] One such city was Shechem, which today is identified with Tell Balata, a nearby archeological site located within the West Bank.

S09
Rescigno 2011, 25-28

Creek and Cherokee Towns



out of scale

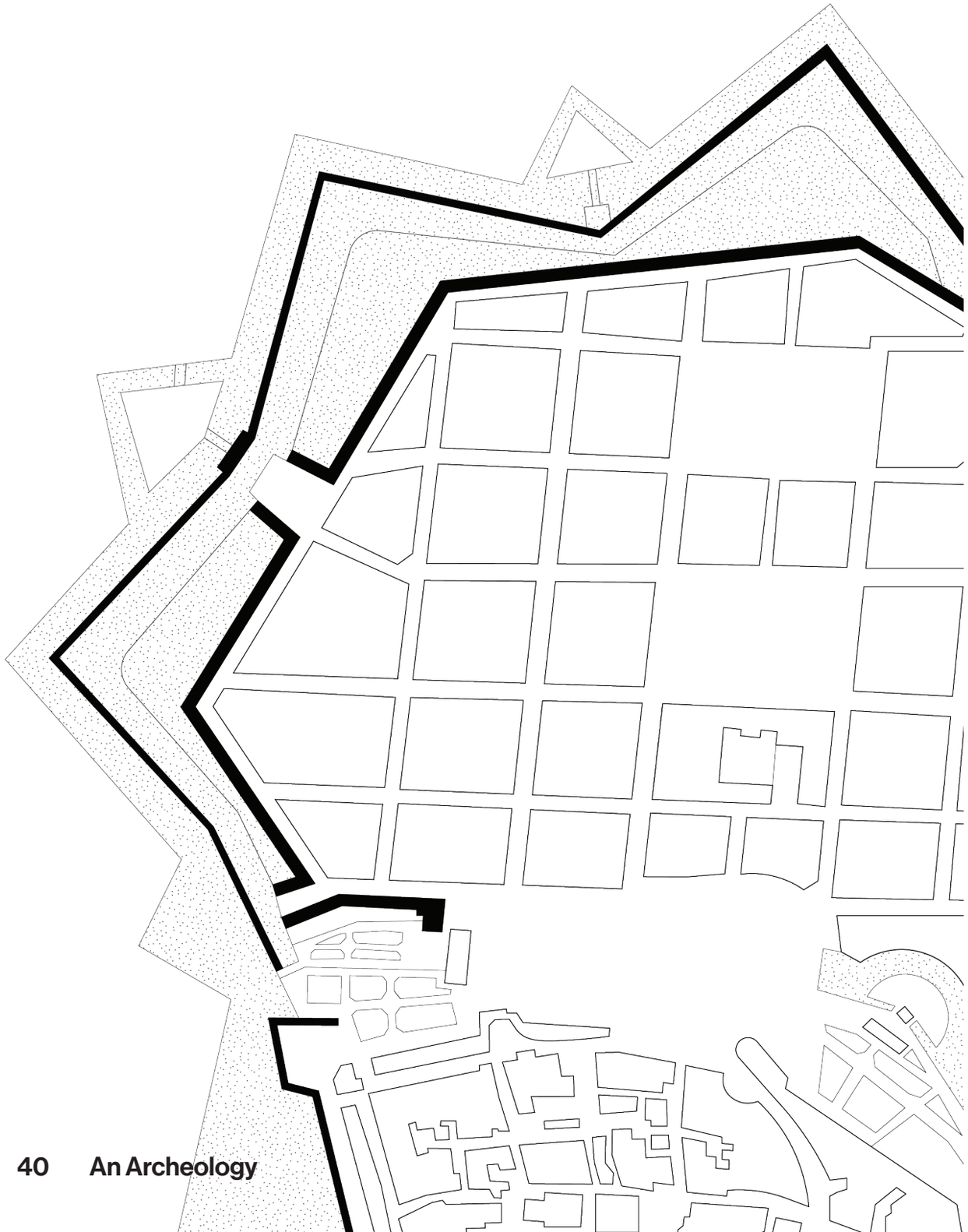
boundaries
built

Drawing based on William Bartram's skecth of a Cherokee town, dated ca. 1770.

Peace towns in precolonial North America functioned as open centers ,where boundaries between rival nations were deliberately suspended. These were not neutral zones in the modern sense, but rather sites where the circulation of goods, ideas, and people was permitted despite ongoing hostilities elsewhere. Individuals expelled or displaced from their communities could find temporary protection there, and in some cases, the experience of refuge itself became a space for rethinking belonging. Those who passed through these towns might eventually return to their original communities, bringing with them forms of affiliation that extended beyond the local or national.[S10]

S10
Teuton 2013, 36

Exulandte Stadte



Drawing based on Johann Jacob Müller's 'N*euer Plan der hochfürstlichen Residenz-stadt Hanau*', dated 1780.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several new cities were founded with the explicit purpose of hosting religious refugees. These so-called Exulantenstädte offered formal guarantees of settlement and rights, including the freedom to worship, work, and engage in commerce.

Neu-Hanau was one of the first. In 1597, Count Philipp Ludwig II of Hanau-Münzenberg signed an agreement with Reformed Protestants who had fled the Spanish Netherlands and were living in Frankfurt. Many of them worked in the textile trade, particularly in the "New Draperies." Although they contributed to the economy, they were seen as a threat by local guilds and were eventually banned from worship. Facing both economic and religious exclusion, the refugees negotiated directly with the count for the right to build a new city nearby. In exchange for protection and autonomy, they offered economic value and the promise of trade. Neu-Hanau was founded on that basis.[S11]

S11
Kaplan 2019

Sanctuary Movement

scale 1 : 1000

0 10 25 50 [m]

built

sanctuary

Drawing based on Google Satellite Imagery, dated 2025.

In the 1980s, as thousands of Salvadorans fled war and U.S.-backed repression, churches and solidarity groups across the United States declared themselves sanctuary spaces. This was not only a humanitarian gesture—it was a political act. The sanctuary movement, often seen as led by North American clergy, was in fact first shaped by Salvadoran immigrant activists. These activists worked through church networks, mobilized support, and framed their presence in religious terms to avoid criminalization. At the core, sanctuary offered both refuge and a platform to challenge U.S. foreign policy. Though the law did not formally recognize the practice, it contributed to broader legal changes, including the creation of Temporary Protected Status, and helped build a transnational network that linked migrants, churches, and civil society across borders. Sanctuary continues to exist in churches that shelter migrants as the Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church in San Francisco's Castro District, in cities that limit cooperation with federal authorities, and in the built international networks.[S12]

S12
Perla and Coutin
2009

excluded asylum space

It is difficult to pinpoint the starting point and duration of the transition from ecclesiastical asylum to territorial asylum. However, it can be inferred that any form of territorial asylum could only exist once independent states emerged and recognized each other's authority. Therefore, an embryonic version of territorial asylum may have existed immediately after the fall of the Roman Empire; it likely became more defined during feudal experiences, and with the rise of monarchies and nation-states, it evolved further, testing its effectiveness.[047] With greater certainty, it may be stated that the practice of territorial asylum was significantly shaped by the Protestant Reformation, which triggered large migratory flows at a time when it was already being challenged by the increasingly complex administration of justice: the dissemination of reformative thought led hundreds of thousands individuals to flee persecution due to their growing disillusionment with the Church and its affiliates and such an unprecedented migration pattern was accepted by states largely based on political and economic interests rather than religious justifications. This was all happening under an increasing assertion of state sovereignty over asylum policies, and during the 16th and 17th centuries natural law theorists began to argue that one of the state's key functions—both a duty and an expression of sovereignty—was the exclusive prerogative to grant or deny asylum within its territorial boundaries, in accordance with its own interests and the obligations imposed on individuals under its administration.[048] Jusnaturalist thought placed an increasing emphasis on the role of individual rights within the jurisdictional activity of the state. This shift redefined the relationship between the rights and duties of both individuals and the state. Whereas individual citizens were now to be granted their rights first and only thereafter expected to fulfill their duties, authorities were instead expected to fulfill their duties first before being granted their rights; in this way, society as a structure was inverted, replacing the traditional pyramidal scheme—where authority stood above the rest of society—with a system in which the individual became the primary unit of reference for the political regime.[049] Yet, as the individual gained centrality in the matters of the state, so too did their parallel and increasing dependency on the state in granting their natural rights. F. Mastromartino describes this as a "conceptual knot" in the jusnaturalist interpretation of asylum, reflecting the inherent duality of asylum as both an individual right and a state prerogative: while natural law recognized asylum as a fundamental right, the ability to grant it remained firmly under the discretionary power of the sovereign. [050]

Such a conceptual knot may very well have been formed through the emerging governmental rationality of the sixteenth century—*the raison d'État*—according to which a state must impose a series of limitations on its own jurisdiction so as to guarantee both its own perseverance and an equal distribution of power among the recognized sovereignties being formed throughout territorial Europe; such limitations, because of their divine, moral, and natural definition, were essentially external to the state itself. Natural thought, in recognizing a set of fundamental laws to be granted to an individual, defined a series of entities that existed beyond governmental practice, and in their extrinsic existence, they could undermine the raison d'État that justified the very authority of governments themselves, ultimately embodying restrictive boundaries to governmentalities and expedients through which their illegitimacy could be implied.[051] In its evolution, then, governmental practice would have to allow for a new kind of limitation on its own exercise—one that governments would have to recognize and abide by not due to legal or moral obligations, but because ignoring it would lead to practical failures. A set of limitations, then, that would instead be intrinsic to the art of governing—what Foucault suggested as an *internal regulation of governmental rationality*.[052] What led political thought to turn on itself was the new intellectual framework of political economy, as it introduced a novel conception of "nature" in relation to government. Unlike earlier thought, which viewed nature as a separate domain that the government should not interfere with, political economy saw nature as an inherent part of governmental practice itself: governance was to operate within a set of natural economic principles that shaped its possibilities and limits. In the new political economy of the eighteenth century, the key concern was whether governments operated within the natural limits dictated by economic processes; governments had to balance between *doing too much and doing too little*, all the while ensuring that their actions aligned with the intrinsic necessities of governance itself.[053]

Foucault has argued that an interiorization of states' limitation processes would take place by the middle of the 18th century, when two approaches to limiting government power would emerge.[054] At the time, asylum was often denied to political offenders, as states saw them not as victims but as potential threats to internal stability: natural law theorists, including Christian Wolff and Emmerich de Vattel, as cited by F. Mastromarino, argued that the state had the right to deny entry to exiles, but this denial had to be justified based on public security, health, or the nation's integrity.[055] Reflecting a much broader model, this first approach considered practical governance to be rooted in economic and utilitarian considerations. This model based itself not around abstract rights but about the usefulness of government actions. Policies were evaluated based on their practical effects, particularly in terms of societal interest. Governments began to assess whether practices of asylum were useful, how much they would cost, which benefits the state would attain, and if alternative measures could be more effective in maintaining order and social stability.[056] The other approach can be understood through the rise of Enlightenment ideals, which began to challenge once more the concept of absolute sovereignty, with thinkers advocating how individual rights should impose limits on state power; in particular, how the definition of original rights proper to being human, the modalities of their recognition, and the circumstances in which such rights could be violated would then set the very limit of sovereignty.[057] With the French Revolution, the prerogative of granting asylum took on an idealistic significance,[058] as demonstrated by Article 120 of the 1793 Constitution stating how "[the French people] *grant asylum to foreigners banished from their homeland for the cause of liberty – they refuse it to tyrants*".[059] Although never enacted, the French Constitution of 1793 marked a shift toward a secular-political understanding of asylum, no

047 Sinha 1971, 15-17

048 Sinha 1971, 18

049 Mastromartino 2012, 31-32

050 Ibid., 31

051 Foucault 2008, 8

052 Ibid., 10

053 Ibid., 19

054 Foucault 2008, 39-41

055 Mastromartino 2012, 71-81

056 Foucault 2008, 40

057 Ibid., 41

058 Schuster 2002, 44-45

059 Art. 120, *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, 1789

longer tied to sacredness or religious values, but rooted in the nature of humanity. This conceptualization recognized asylum as a right for those fleeing tyranny and oppression in defense of their fundamental human rights. Over time, this approach shaped France's policies and influenced other European countries, which, in response to increasing migratory flows, began to introduce asylum regulations, framing it as a democratic state's duty to offer refuge to those whose rights had been violated.[060]

The first approach gained the upper hand over the other, and ultimately, a new governmental reason emerged—one structured around the concept of interest and governmental utility, which in turn derived from the political understanding of the market as a site of justice; to put it simply, governmental rationale came to be understood through market dynamics, which were believed to operate according to natural laws and that, if left to function freely, would generate prices revealing the true relationships between supply, demand, and production costs.[061] Through this referential act, freedom becomes both an instrument and an object of governance. In this sense, Foucault introduces the liberal state and, perhaps, its most striking aspect: the liberal government does not merely acknowledge or tolerate freedom—it consumes it; it becomes dependent on the very existence of freedom in order to function. For a state to depend on freedom, it is implied that its interest, then, is to create the conditions in which freedom can be exercised. In this sense, liberalism does not merely permit freedom—it constructs it, institutionalizes it, and makes it an essential part of its functioning.[062] Freedom, as generically intended, then, allows for the specification of political asylum, which comes to be conceived as an individual right based on the protection of one's natural rights—recognized by the state but always subordinate to its interests and thus to its governance. In other words, political asylum takes shape as a claim made by the individual seeking protection from political persecution, yet it is the state that decides whether to grant it, doing so within the constructed and regulated conditions of freedom.

The state must create and maintain freedom in order to function, but it does so through mechanisms that also impose limits and constraints: because freedom is both necessary and potentially dangerous, individuals must be conditioned to exercise it in ways that align with state objectives; this comes to imply that, in the liberal order, freedom and control are not opposing forces but mutually reinforcing ones.[063] The state, in defining the conditions for freedom, not only creates the framework within which individuals can act but also retains the authority to limit or suspend these freedoms when deemed necessary, becoming both the protector and the limiter of freedom. This implies a paradox in which sovereignty is exercised not only through the enforcement of law but also by the sovereign's power to determine when and how law itself can be suspended. In a chapter entitled *paradox of sovereignty*, Agamben questions the extent to which sovereignty defines the limits of the legal order, asserting that the state, in its power to suspend the norm to ensure the functioning of law itself, becomes the very limit of jurisdiction, as a rule can only exist if it is subject to the sovereign decision of when and how to suspend it.[064] Through the *suspension of a rule*, therefore not strictly its removal, the implied creation of its exclusion establishes a continuity between a norm and its exception. Agamben argues that modernity has extended the logic of

060 Rescigno 2011, 37-39

061 Foucault 2008, 53-54

062 Foucault 2008, 63-65

063 Ibid., 64-66

064 Agamben 1998, 19-25

the *state of exception* to the point of making it coincide with the rule,[065] and to support this claim, the philosopher describes a scheme similar to those previously proposed in the archaeology of asylum space: in the state of exception, the relationship between the *state of nature* and the *state of law* takes on a topological structure in which the two spheres, initially distinct, eventually overlap and, in their absolute indistinction, coincide. By state of nature, the author refers to a condition of exposure to violence, while state of law refers to legal protection.[066] The *relation of exception* can be used to describe the right of asylum in its modern evolution, and the descriptive scheme may be adapted to the conceptual framework being developed through the archeology of asylum space: **the sovereign, in deciding who can access protection, creates the very condition in which the right to asylum can hold validity; the asylum seeker, therefore, is not automatically entitled to rights but depends on the creation of a legal order in which such rights can be recognized, ultimately finding itself in a grey zone:[067] it is not entirely within the legal system, as its protection depends on a political decision, but it is not entirely excluded either, since it is recognized as an individual right based on the protection of one's natural rights. The individual's sphere, finding itself in a condition of suspension from legal norms, gradually overlaps until it fully merges with the coercive force, which is now an exclusive exercise of the sovereign state. The scheme, then, is represented by a single sphere: the institution, now the state, where the individual is included within its jurisdiction through their exclusion. The relation of exception results in two possible configurations of asylum space: one where distinction remains between the individual and the coercive powers of the sovereign state, and another where the individual and coercion become indistinguishable.**

In this condition of indiscernibility the suppression of the individual is implied, and the space that entails this suppression can be identified in the total institution, now defined by Goffman as that particular type of institution that '*acts with an engulfing power more penetrating than others*', with engulfing now understood as '*total, symbolized by the obstruction of social exchange and the prevention of exit to the outside world*'.[068] Among the types of total institutions identified, there are those that in particular '*protect society from what is revealed as an intentional danger to it*';[069] to these belong prisons, penitentiaries, war prisoner camps, concentration camps. It is important to focus on the use of the term camp, now to be understood according to the words of Costa, as a '*forced concentration of people in a rigidly defined space, as a place of contraction of freedoms and rights, as a tool of separation between the inside and the outside*',[070] and again as '*the most dramatic revelation showing what remains of the human being reduced to bare life, as the triumph of the exception and as a place where the absolute separation of the living and the speaking is produced*'.[071] The camp, which Goffman refers to in his work on psychiatric institutions, is now the concentration camp born from the colonial experiences of Western states, finding its continuity in the early twentieth century within the context of the two world conflicts. If, in its phase of experimentation and determination, the camp was the place where the governmental logic of the democratic, colonizing state was reversed—manifesting not through the creation of conditions for

065 Ibid., 44

066 Ibid., 36-45

067 Ibid., 25

068 Goffman 2010, 34

069 Ibid., 34

070 Augusti, Morone, and Pifferi 2017, 19

071 Ibid., 12

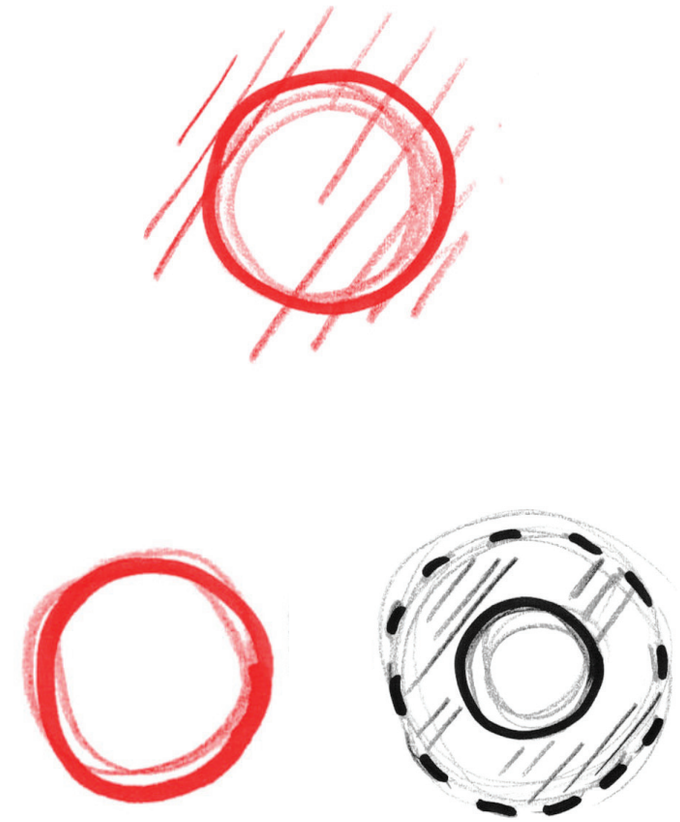
freedom but through despotic rule over subjects—then, with the conflicts of the twentieth century, the camp space is introduced into European territory, both democratic and colonizing, as a tool of oppression and control over those '*masses of subjects whose fundamental freedoms are compressed not as criminals, but only as enemies and/or inferiors*'.[072] A manipulation of the concept of freedom that, as Foucault reminds us, is both the engine of sovereignty and a tool for maintaining political and social order. But for the state, in order to ensure its functioning, freedom is above all a dynamic entity, something to be constantly produced and reproduced, and times of crisis—whether economic, political, or related to state security—the balance between freedom and control is drastically manipulated.[073] Costa himself recalls how the camp '*appears functionally connected to war (...) but its characteristics change depending on the purpose pursued, depending on whether the camp is a tool for conducting the war itself or finds in the war only the opportune occasion to perform a different function*'.[074] If war, as a condition of crisis, has imported into European territory and adapted the camp space for its military purposes, altering its functionality, then the very end of the conflict—and thus the end of the Second World War—determined a new usefulness for it. This new role is now tied to the emerging humanitarian sensitivity of both the defeated and victorious states, but above all linked 'to the dual need for protection and control'[075] of that heterogeneous group of people, and thus to the necessary management of their fate—always subject to the states directly involved in defining their status as refugees or displaced persons.

072
Ibid., 14-15

073
Foucault 2008, 66

074
Augusti, Morone, and Pifferi 2017,15-17

075
Ibid., 20



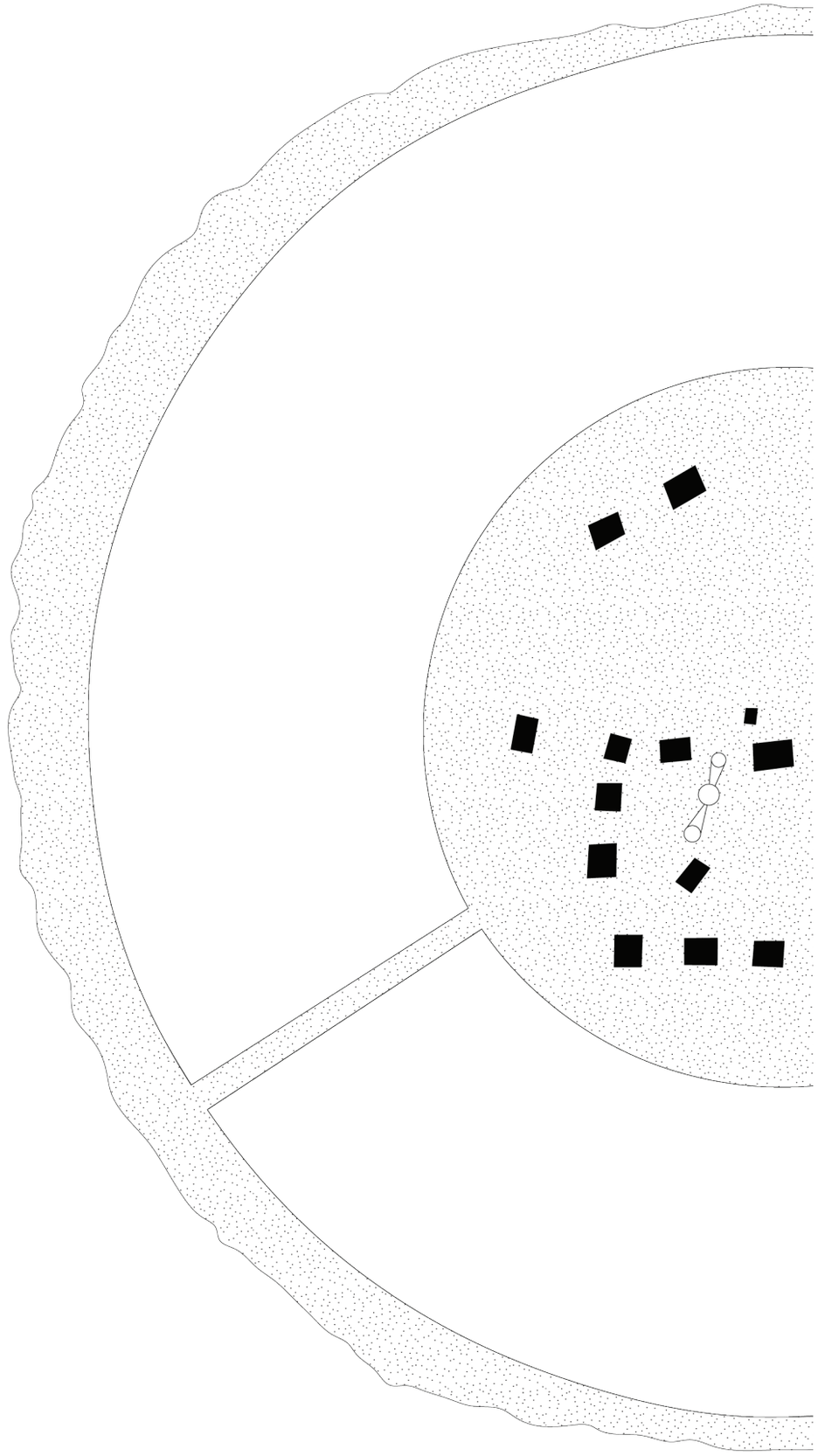
Absent, Specific, Excluded asylum spaces.

These diagrams illustrate the schemes of asylum space found in the text, as inspired by Dogma's methodology. In black, the individual seeking refuge, in red the entity generating coercion; between, the membrane determining the typology of asylum space.

Quilombos

out of scale

natural boundary
built



Drawing based on "*Quilombo de San Gonçalo*" plan dated 1769, available at the National Library of Brazil.

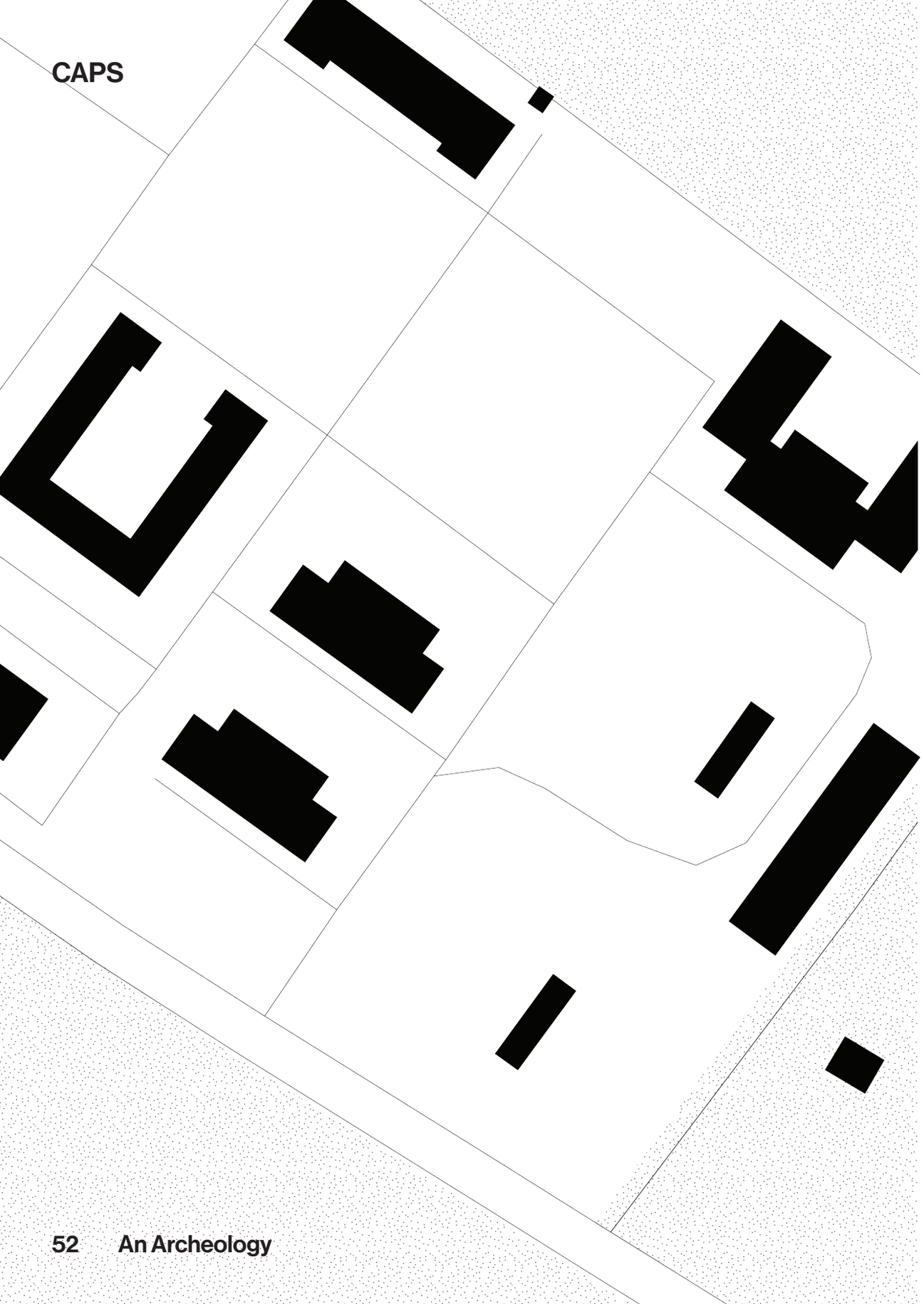
S13 Shore, 101

S14 Ibid., 105,116

S15 Anderson, 29

S16 Shore, 118

Quilombos originated as spaces of refuge—territories formed by enslaved Africans who escaped captivity and built autonomous communities beyond colonial control. These settlements disrupted traditional social orders to create autonomous spaces where escaped slaves could build new lives .[S13] Though somewhat isolated, quilombos maintained trade and social ties with planters, merchants, and plantation slaves, which helped sustain their independence.[S14] The difficult terrain, combined with defensive measures like swamps and fallen trees, made colonial incursions difficult.[S15] Their settlements were divided into distinct living quarters (moradia) and communal farming areas (capuova).[S16] Land was typically managed informally, with boundaries defined by natural landmarks such as trees or rivers rather than legal titles, and passed down across generations.



scale 1 : 1000

0 10 25 50 [m]

road

CAPS

Drawing based on Google Satellite Imagery, dated 2025.

In post Second World War Italy, the majority of refugees and displaced persons—whether already present or newly arriving, whether foreign or national—found themselves residing in the skeletal remains of the fascist regime's internment camps, which had been repurposed from their original function of isolating foreigners and individuals deemed suspicious or dangerous. By 1946, the former internment camps, now functioning as refugee camps, were under divided administrations: on one side was the Allied Control Commission (ACC), which had managed the camps since 1943 and now oversaw those housing foreign refugees; on the other side was a governmental body created specifically for internal or "national" refugees, the High Commission for Refugees (Alto Commissariato Profughi). While the ACC administered 15,000 refugees, the High Commission managed twice that number of displaced persons.[076] Eventually, the Minister of Intern Alcide De Gasperi ordered the resettlement of international refugees and the closure of ACC-administered

076
Sanfilippo 2016, 51

'Stromboli' (1950)

Directed by Roberto Rossellini, the movie's opening scenes take place in the displaced persons camp of Farfa, Italy; the title sequence reads: '*In one of the camps for foreigners who, overwhelmed by the war, took refuge in Italy*'.

camps. Throughout the following years, the new Italian government persistently contested its responsibility for international refugees, prioritizing the care of national ones.[077] This debate intensified as waves of "national" refugees—returnees from former colonies and ceded territories—arrived in Italy after the war's peace treaties. The year 1949 sees the establishment of the International Refugee Organization, or IRO, which gains full control over the management of national and international refugees. As reported by Matteo Sanfilippo, the IRO began to distinguish two typologies of refugee camps: the first were of a more permanent nature, expecting to host refugees for a prolonged period of time; the second were far more temporary, housing refugees in the time strictly needed to embark for resettlement in other countries. In 1952, the IRO (International Refugee Organization) ceased its activities in Italy, passing the responsibility for refugee matters to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s facilitated the integration of displaced Italians, allowing the country to overcome its internal displacement crisis,[078] while for the remaining international refugees, the UNHCR collaborated with voluntary agencies, including the Amministrazione per gli Aiuti Internazionali; most of these refugees were destined to be relocated, as italy was seen as a temporary stopover for refugees waiting to migrate to countries overseas, such as the United States, Canada, and New Zealand. These processes ultimately emptied the internment camps and other infrastructures left from the fascist era, something the Italian authorities had been trying to achieve ever since the formation of the Republic.

With Law No. 722 of 1954, Italy adhered to the Geneva Convention with the so-called "geographical reservation," according to which stateless persons could obtain asylum only if their country of origin was within territorial Europe. It was in this context that the space of political asylum evolved into the very first institutionally recognized centers for international refugees, known as the Foreign Refugee Assistance Centers (CAPS). There were a total of three CAPS facilities: one in Padriciano, a second in Latina, and a third in Capua (Caserta). These centers focused on refugee assistance rather than what would soon be defined as reception or *accoglienza*. Assistance and not yet reception, because the role of the CAPS was to accommodate asylum seekers only for the time necessary to facilitate their transfer to third countries through resettlement programs.[079] While providing housing, meals, and healthcare services, each CAPS facility played a specific role in the resettlement process, offering dedicated spaces for the functions carried out by the center, such as areas for asylum application registration, preparation, and waiting for resettlement itself.[080] The CAPS in Padriciano was established in a repurposed military installation constructed by the American Allied forces in the Free Territory of Trieste. The center in Latina was also a former military barracks, built in the 1930s for an infantry division. The military base had already been used as a refugee camp in the aftermath of the conflict but was officially converted into a CAPS in 1957. The infrastructure, however, was deemed insufficient both in capacity and quality. As a result, the camp administration relied on auxiliary buildings, such as hotels and pensions along the littoral, which were vacated during the colder months when summer tourism declined. The limited capacity, compared to the larger demand for bed space, led to the construction of new buildings within the premises, "three of which were H-shaped to increase the number of units and others for services".[081] The center was closed in 1989. The Capua center is the only site that was completely demolished, and it is also the least documented. However, Nadan notes that the center was primarily used as a collection point for refugees awaiting resettlement abroad.[082]

077
Salvatici 2014, 528-534

078
Salvatici 2014,535

079
Out of the 188,000 asylum applications registered in Italy between 1951 and 1989, the number of refugees resettled in third countries since the end of the Second World War amounts to 220,000 (from Rifugiati: vent'anni di storia del diritto d'asilo in Italia by Christopher Hein, p34-35).

080
Petrovic 2020, 35

081
D'Antoni s.d., 5

082
Petrovic 2020, 35

Reception Arising

Italy's limited infrastructural support provided temporary assistance to refugees from territorial Europe and the State remained silent for nearly thirty years on the issue of extra-European refugees. This silence was reinforced by the geographical limitation as defined by Italy's adhesion to the Geneva Convention of 1951, which precluded extra-European populations from being granted refugee status. As a result, they could only receive refugee status from the UNHCR. This status granted a temporary residence permit, primarily for awaiting resettlement in other countries, during which period the UNHCR provided basic material support. However, the residence permit did not grant access to other forms of assistance or the right to work[083] and Italy, refraining from formalizing its recruitment policies, had been relying and would continue to rely on periodic cross-border commuters feeding seasonal work demand. As Colombo and Sciortino studied the genesis of immigration in contemporary Italy, they point to how work migration became a stable component of its labour market. [084] Cases of active recruitment began to affect domestic work, with migrants arriving from former colonies in Eastern Africa, and extended to the industrial sector, as entrepreneurs hired unskilled workers for quarries, mills, and factories in Northern Italy.[085] Following an appeal for ""*a rightful law for migrants*', co-signed by numerous worker unions, the newly appointed Minister of Labour, Franco Foschi, defines his homonymous law in 1986; among other provisions, the law allowed Italian businesses to create numerical lists for employing foreign workers, thereby regularizing their entry into Italian territory through work permits.[086] The law does not, however, address some of the largest occupational sectors dominated by the foreign workforce, such as self-employment and peddler work. Valeria Piro highlights that, while earlier the relatively small foreign presence was engaged in similar roles, migration was becoming increasingly visible to Italian society as the working and living conditions of foreign workers grew increasingly precarious, alongside the occurrence ever more numerous episodes of racism and xenophobia, reflecting the anti-immigration political stance of much of Europe, including Italy. [087]

The case of Jerry Essan Masslo shows just how visible the immigrant question was becoming. Masslo was a young South African who arrived at Fiumicino in 1988, seeking political asylum from the Italian authorities. His goal was to be resettled in Canada, where his wife and children awaited him. However, his request was denied due to the geographical limitation, obliging him to refer to the UNHCR. His refugee status was eventually recognized, and the Italian authorities refrained from sending him back to his home country. While waiting for resettlement, Masslo began looking for work, as many other refugees did, and found seasonal employment in the tomato harvests of Villa Literno, Caserta. When he returned for his second harvesting season, the local atmosphere had become tense, if not hostile. Relations between the seasonal migrant workers and the local community had soured, with worsening negotiations between workers, businesses and labor unions. On August 23, 1989, Masslo was tragically killed in his shack by a group of men intent on stealing the earnings of the migrant workers.[088] On October 7 of the same year, 200,000 people gathered in Rome for a protest against racism, advocating for the working rights of immigrants, and, perhaps most importantly, demanding a new immigration law. Until that point, the right to asylum had only been a peripheral issue in Italy's immigration debate. However, it would soon become central to the very first immigration law in the country, which was drafted by Claudio Martelli and enacted in 1990. The Martelli law is presented as '*urgent measures regarding political asylum, the entry and stay of non-EU citizens, and the regularization of non-EU citizens and stateless persons already present in the territory of the State*'.[089] Within its Article 1, the Martelli Law abolishes the geographical limitation that had previously forced Jerry Masslo to seek assistance from the UNHCR and live as an unrecognized refugee in Italy.[090] The law defines the process and requirements for obtaining a residence permit: immigrants had to provide entry documents and prove they were employed, earning at least the minimum social pension amount; this income could come from either dependent or independent work, or any other legitimate source.[091] The Martelli Law also introduces some rigidity to Italy's immigration policies by formalizing the concept of expulsion: if immigrants failed to meet entry requirements or committed serious violations of Italian law, they could be expelled; however, expulsion required the individual to leave voluntarily without the involvement of public authorities, and the law did

083
Hein 2010, 36.

084
'This type of immigration begins with the arrival of seasonal workers from Tunisia who are employed in fishing and agriculture in Sicily, with cross-border commuters from Yugoslavia to northeastern Italy, and with domestic workers in the big cities. (...) Over time, similar waves of seasonal work link sub-Saharan Africa and Campania through the tomato harvest, and, after 1989, eastern European countries with Trentino through the apple harvest'. From Colombo and Sciortino 2004, 56.

085
Colombo and Sciortino 2004, 56-57

086
Colucci 2018, 16; Law 30 December 1986, n. 943, article 5

087
Piro 2020, 247-248

088
Ibid., 18; Piro 2020, 251-252

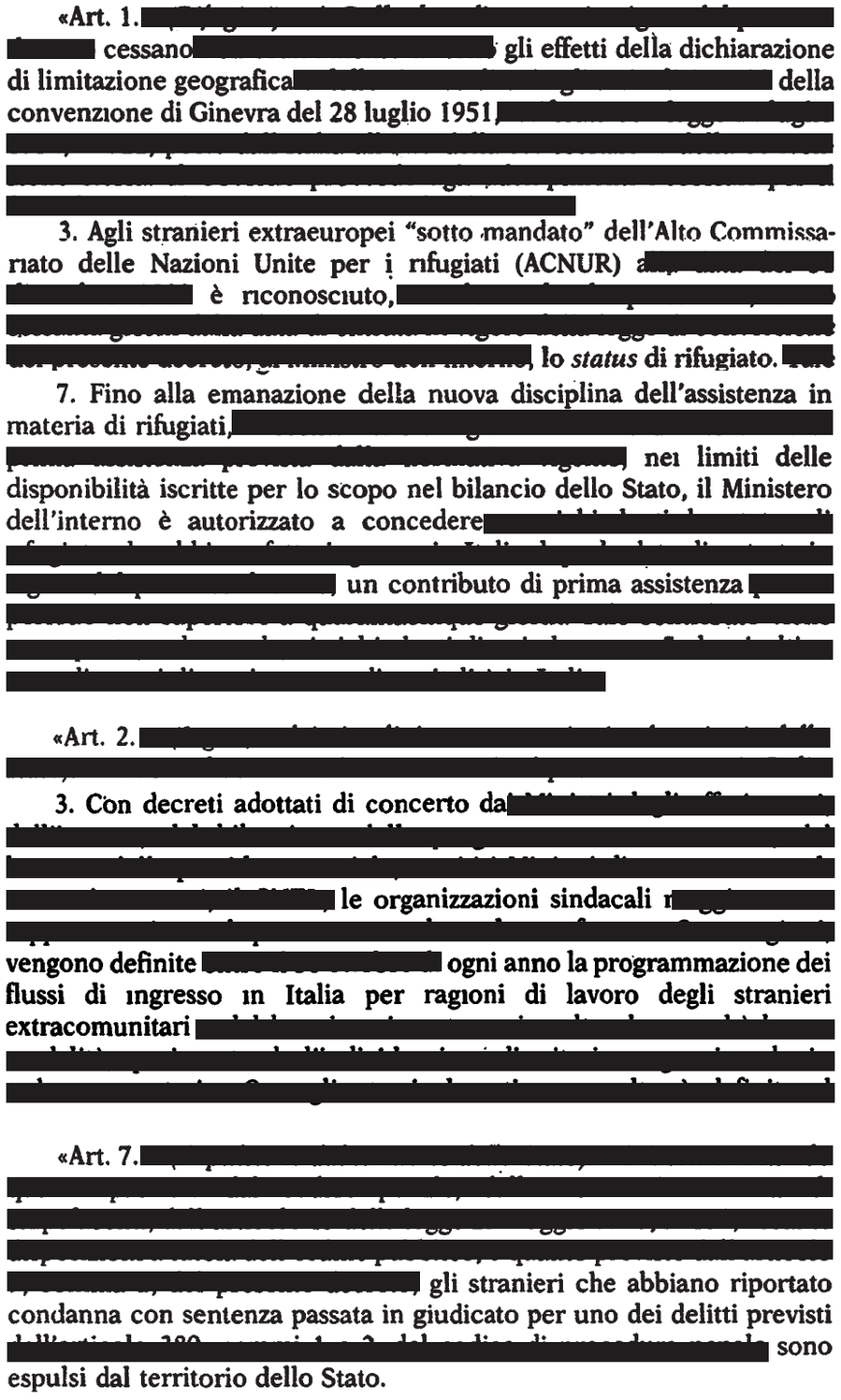
089
Law 28 February 1990, n. 39

090
Law 28 February 1990, n. 39, article 1

091
Law 28 February 1990, n. 39, article 2 and 3

Jerry Masslo's funeral

Photo by Riccardo Siano



«Art. 1. [redacted] cessano [redacted] gli effetti della dichiarazione di limitazione geografica [redacted] della convenzione di Ginevra del 28 luglio 1951 [redacted]

3. Agli stranieri extraeuropei "sotto mandato" dell'Alto Commissariato delle Nazioni Unite per i rifugiati (ACNUR) a [redacted] è riconosciuto, [redacted] lo *status* di rifugiato. [redacted]

7. Fino alla emanazione della nuova disciplina dell'assistenza in materia di rifugiati, [redacted] nei limiti delle disponibilità iscritte per lo scopo nel bilancio dello Stato, il Ministero dell'interno è autorizzato a concedere [redacted] un contributo di prima assistenza [redacted]

«Art. 2. [redacted]

3. Con decreti adottati di concerto dal [redacted] le organizzazioni sindacali [redacted] vengono definite [redacted] ogni anno la programmazione dei flussi di ingresso in Italia per ragioni di lavoro degli stranieri extracomunitari [redacted]

«Art. 7. [redacted] gli stranieri che abbiano riportato condanna con sentenza passata in giudicato per uno dei delitti previsti [redacted] sono espulsi dal territorio dello Stato.

Martelli Law

Translation from Italian:
Art 1. – the effects of the declaration of geographic limitation – of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 – cease –
3. To non-European foreigners "under mandate" of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) – refugee status is recognized.
7. Until the adoption of the new regulation on assistance in matters of refugees - within the limits of the funds allocated for this purpose in the State budget - the Ministry of the Interior is authorized to grant – a first-assistance contribution.

Art.2 – 3. By decrees adopted in agreement with – the trade union organizations – the planning of entry flows into Italy for work purposes of non-EU foreigners – is defined every year.
Art 7. – foreigners who have received a conviction by a final judgment for one of the offenses provided for – are expelled from the territory of the State.

not include provisions for forceful detention. [092] Regarding the entrance to the country, the law established an annual *decreto flussi* (flow decree) to regulate immigration based on the needs of the national economy, available resources for integration, international obligations, and the number of migrants already in Italy.[093] This specific aspect of the Martelli law ignited an intense debate over the parallel question of inoccupation: the coexistence of unemployment and immigration in Italy was not due to national workers' unwillingness to accept low-wage, strenuous jobs, rather because the nature of labor demand had changed: employers were increasingly looking for a *low-cost, highly flexible, and easily exploitable workforce*, which migrant labor could provide. This structural demand for foreign workers was not always in sync with the quotas fixed by the yearly flow decree, which were based on unemployment levels and often underestimated the true labor needs, especially as many employers turned to undocumented migrant workers already present in Italy.[094] As Piro suggests, this aspect of the Martelli Law anticipates a significant characteristic of Italy's immigration policies, its production of *functional dysfunctions* to the Italian economic system:[095] while the Martelli Law made it harder for migrants to enter Italy –that is by tightening the border control system and introducing the flow decrees– it also created conditions complicating the actual deportation of undocumented migrants who were already in the country. As migrants were not easily expelled, they remained in Italy in a precarious legal position. This resulted, as Piro puts it, in their *differential inclusion* — they were included in the labor market and social systems, but in a marginalized and unequal manner.[096] Their status as *potentially expellable* keeps them in a vulnerable position, which affects how they are treated within the labor market and society, relegating migrants to that *low-cost, highly flexible, and easily exploitable workforce*. Valeria Piro takes the concept of functional dysfunctions from a reading of Enrica Rigo and Nick Dines, defining the phenomenon of humanitarian exploitation in their study of the agricultural migrant labour in Southern Italy. Through their oxymoron, the authors reveal the perverse intertwining of humanitarian intervention and migrant control policies, as humanitarian mechanisms – such as reception and assistance programs – are closely linked to securitarian ones – border control, management of migration flows; in other words, the same system that claims to protect migrants also rigidly controls and regulates them.[097]

If Piro, Rigo and Dines all speak of a functional dysfunction within the Italian (economic) system, created to respond to the mutated labour demand now exploiting migrant labour force, could the same concept be applied to deconstruct the other face of the Martelli law concerning material reception? Under the Martelli law, the only formal spaces assisting refugees in their procedural instance, the CAPS, were rendered obsolete and shut down, transferring to the state the responsibility of providing basic material support. The support became a modest financial allowance for individuals unable to sustain themselves throughout the asylum procedure, from their arrival until the recognition of asylum status. The financial contribution would soon be limited to a period of 45 days, as asylum processing times grew longer, eventually prolonging

092
Law 28 February 1990, n. 39, article 3

093
Piro 2020, 255

094
comments Enrico Pugliesi, as cited in the work of Piro 2020, 254-255

095
Piro 2020, 260

096
Ibid., p247

097
Rigo e Nick 2017, 91

to 24 months.[098] Hein comments that, while the new law introduced an asylum procedure and began to define an assistance system, asylum seekers remained a marginal issue within a flawed mechanism that had yet to be developed by Italian politicians; the training of the public administration personnel, reception and/or integration facilities and initiatives of asylum seekers were not yet being considered, nor prioritized. The other dysfunction of the Martelli law is the non-existent space of asylum seeker and refugee reception on a purely legislative level; a space perhaps intentionally left blank by the law. Here, in the space left blank, the law does not merely fail to define; it actively produces a field of indeterminacy. It constitutes a deliberate setting of conditions that enable a state of suspension in which the space of asylum can be articulated only through its exclusion from the legal order. The space created is juridically empty but materially operative—and is not by any means accidental. It emerges as a sovereign production, sustained through the same legal machinery that begins to grant protection to the extra-European refugee. George Schwabb, in translating Carl's Schmitt definition of sovereignty, states: '*in the context of Schmitt's work, a state of exception includes any kind of severe economic or political disturbance that requires the application of extraordinary measures*'.[099] In the case of reception arising, the severe political disturbance stems from the killing of Masslo, the one tragic event which represented a multiplicity of realities disturbing the Italian society, while *the application of extraordinary measure* is the Law n.39 of 1990, extraordinarily introducing political asylum within the Italian legislative system. The *state of exception* created, one of the many, is the very state of suspension, the dysfunctional refraining from determining the reception space of the asylum seeker. Here, where the space of asylum exists only through its exclusion, it becomes necessary to understand asylum through sovereignty and thus sovereignty's manifestation through law: because the sovereign decides on the exception, and because the space of reception is precisely one of suspended legality, any analysis of asylum must move through law as the very form through which power structures space, defines the subject, and modulates inclusion and exclusion.

098
Beni 2017, 34

099
Schmitt 2005, 5

state of suspension

On August 9, 1991, the cargo ship Vlora, originally bound for Cuba with thousands of crates of cane sugar, arrived at the port of Bari carrying 12,000 displaced Albanians instead.[100] This episode was preceded by a series of smaller, repeated arrivals along the Apulian coast, as people fled the political instability following the collapse of Albania's communist regime. In the very beginning of the emergency, that is July 1990, a far more limited number of Albanians had sought refugees in the diplomatic representations found in the capital of Tirana. Those who fell in the responsibility of the Italian state were soon transferred to the provisional first reception center established at Restinco, jointly administered by the Italian Red Cross and military.[101] In the months following this organized transfer, thousands of displaced individuals reach the port of Durres and begin to embark on any viable means of transport toward the coast of Puglia. In March 1991 alone, over 25,000 people disembarked in Italy, forcing the Italian State to negotiate with regional authorities to reallocate and distribute this pressure beyond the Puglia region.[102] An initial period of controlled reception and resettlement was followed by the Italian government's decision to repatriate all Albanians after the Vlora exodus. To implement this policy, Italy relocated and confined thousands of displaced Albanians to the Stadio Delle Vittorie, a sports arena built under the Fascist regime in the 1930s. Chiara Marchetti writes how thousands of the displaced Albanians were led to the stadium promised a reception facility and a job; once arrived, they would have no hygienic facilities and would be fed through emergency crates dropped by helicopters.[103] They were held for almost a week before being forcibly resettled to Albania by the Italian military forces. Marchetti continues by stating how, what was experienced in Bari's stadium, is '*the preview of an increasingly less improvised camp policy (...) an emblematic episode that fits into the long red thread connecting the management of migrants and refugees through their encampment*'.[104] Such a *long red thread* will continue to unwind under the 1995 Puglia law, enacted in response to the second wave of Albanian mass immigration. The Prime Minister Lamberto Dini had already introduced new border control procedures and increased the possibilities for expelling immigrants without residence permits or guilty for a major crime against the Italian law; however, the Puglia law created three *first intervention centers*,[105] eventually instituted in the existing structures of Restinco – which had already been used in the first months of the Albanian emergency – the regina Pacis of San Foca and Don Tonino bello at Otranto.[106] The new law defines these structures in rather ambiguous terms. According to Article 3, they were intended to provide primary assistance and eventually came to be known publicly as CPA centers—Centers for First Reception. However, over time, their operation revealed a tendency toward a highly reclusive model: these initial intervention centers were effectively 'closed', as those brought into them were subject to confinement and could not leave of their own free will.[107]

100
As implied by the title of the documentary movie La Nave Dolce, or the sweet ship, filmed in 202 by Daniele Vicari

101
Petrovic 2020, 44

102
Ibid., 45

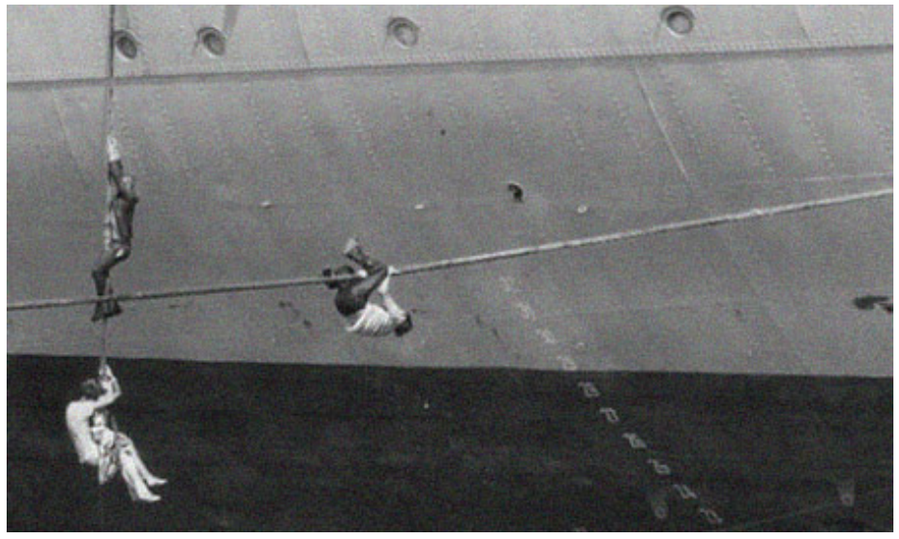
103
Marchetti 2016, 124

104
Ibid., 124

105
"(...) this amount is also allocated for the establishment, by the Ministry of the Interior, in consultation with the Puglia region, of three centers located along the maritime border of the Apulian coasts to provide initial assistance to the aforementioned groups of foreigners". Puglia Law. [translated from Italian].

106
Petrovic 2020, 54

107
Colucci 2018, p21

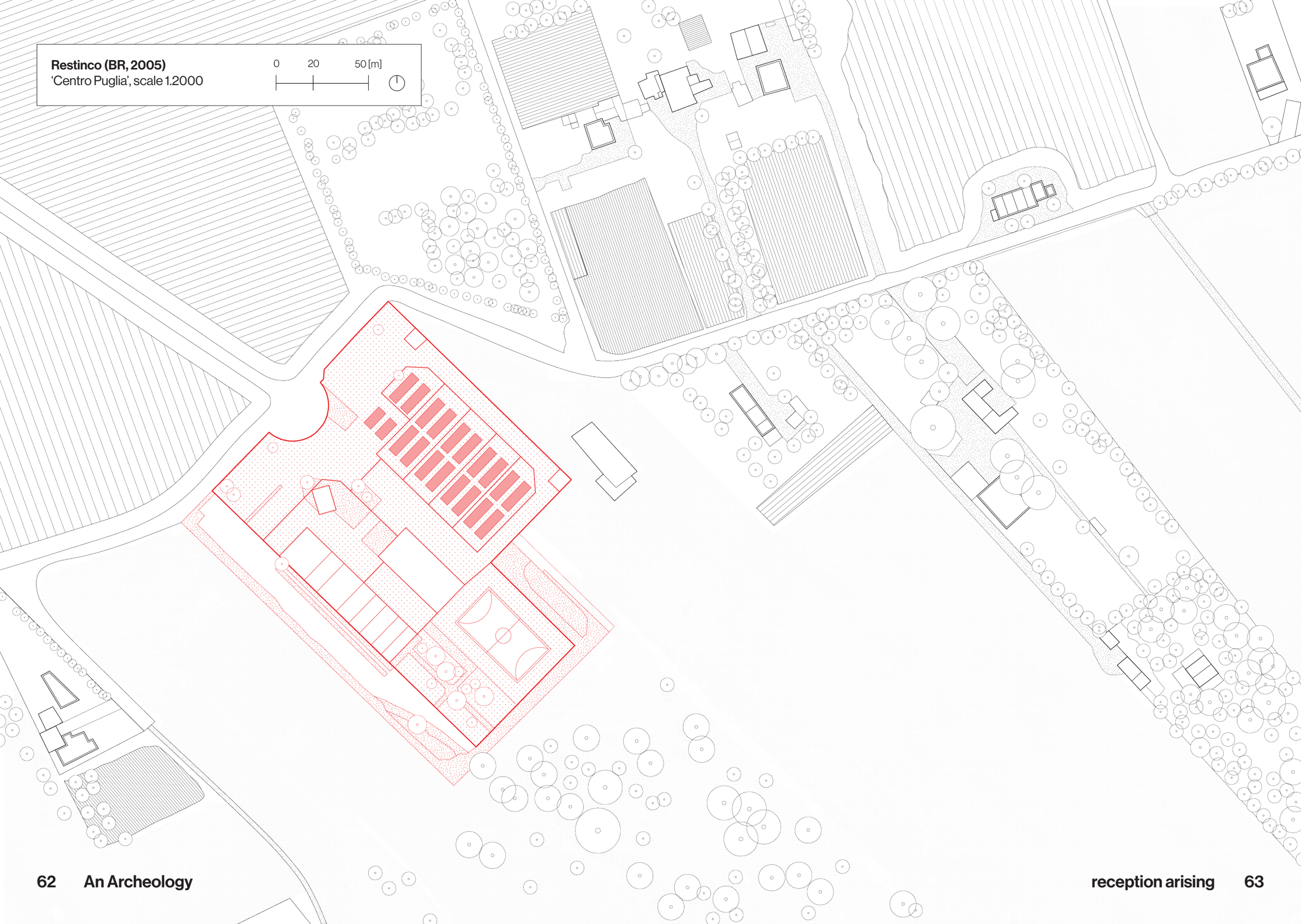


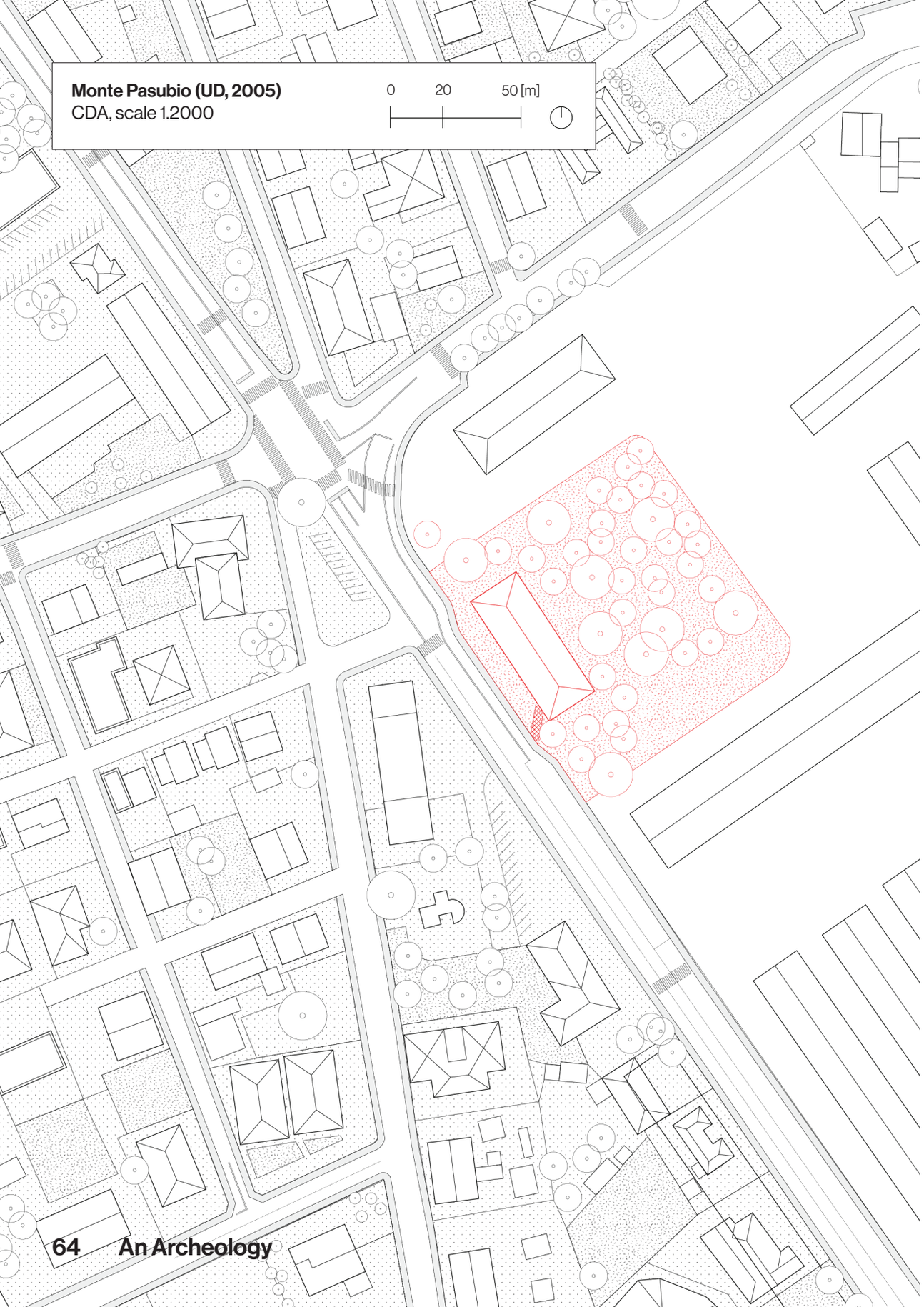
The Human Cargo (La Nave Dolce)

Poster of the movie, directed by Daniele Vicari

Restinco (BR, 2005)
'Centro Puglia', scale 1.2000

0 20 50 [m]





The spontaneous tendency of the State towards the concentrated, control-based reception model would emerge once more during the Yugoslavian crisis beginning in june 1991, when many displaced began fleeing to Italy through the northeastern border; there and then, the Italian state was forced to enact the law of September 24, 1992, proclaiming *exceptional humanitarian measures for the displaced individuals from the Republics formed in the territories of the former Yugoslavia*.[108] An important difference between the two migration emergencies comes as obvious: while no specific law was adopted for the Albanians, for the Yugoslav refugees—officially defined as "*sfollati*" (displaced persons)—the Italian government introduced ad hoc legislation in 1992. The conditions specified by the Geneva Convention for the granting of refugee status did not account for the situation of the yugoslavian displaced persons—the same conditions that, in fact, had prevented the Albanians from being immediately recognized as refugees. The very first reactions of the Italian State toward Albanian refugees leaned toward recognizing some way, somehow, their refugee status; this was later replaced by the decision to grant them only temporary residence or work permits. However, the events of the summer of 1991 on the shores of Bari led the State to backtrack—or rather, turn in an opposite direction—by imposing their mass confinement and subsequently enforcing their forced repatriation.[109] Instead, the protection provided by the 1992 law eased the entry of Yugoslavian displaced persons to the Italian territory throughout the duration of the conflict, and while representing the beginning of a legal framework aimed at a more adequate recognition of refugee status, nevertheless remained tied to an emergency logic. The typology of the protection was conceived to be minimal and temporary, tied to a quicker bureaucratic process and in general, eased the entrance to Italian territory. [110]

Article 2 comma 1 of the same law introduces the establishment of *reception facilities* funded by the state, which were later instituted in disused military infrastructure, for the most part located in the northern Italian provinces, thus near the borders of the conflict. As observed in the CPAs, the recycling of military infrastructure was only the logical spatial extension of the control-based, reclusive model of concentrated reception. Such spaces allowed for the production of the *internee* as a subjectivity, or better yet, the gradual *deculturation* of the individual is a fundamental mechanism of the total institution as described by Goffman, to be understood as the dissociation of the single from a series of personal experiences, convictions and habits which define their *familiar culture* and based on which they are able to construct their reactions in response to external solicitations. Such recognitions are possible when an individual is stimulated and is synchronized with external and dynamic realities characterizing everyday life; in this sense, the total institution is set to *create and sustain a particular type of tension between the familiar world and the institutional one*, between the being in an absolute inside physically and functionally isolated from the rest of the outside.[111] The government's camp policy and the reception infrastructure instituted for those refugees and displaced persons can be interpreted through the interning mechanism as per Goffman's own

108
Law Decree 24 July 1992, n. 350

109
Petrovic 2020, 44-45

110
Bona 2016, 104

111
Goffman 2010, 44

understanding of total institutions in that they served the State's interests and were motivated through an argumentation of internal security, thus were above all permitting a seamless, juridically isolated expedient for the *governing* of migrants.[112] By framing internment as a security imperative, the state could justify exceptional measures that curtailed fundamental rights while maintaining the semblance of legal order. This logic aligns with what Costa describes as the perpetual oscillation between transparency and control, the state of the norm and the state of exception, where the State invokes emergency as a means to bypass ordinary legal constraints.[113] In this sense, the internment of refugees was not merely an administrative measure for managing migration but rather a manifestation of a broader political rationale—one that leveraged exceptional legal frameworks and physical segregation to assert control over displaced populations and redefine the boundaries of state authority.

The spaces produced by article 2 comma 1 of law decree 24 July 1992, n. 350 were, both morphologically and geographically, highly unsuited for the emergency: they were located in peripheral areas and designed with a concentrationary approach; they created an unsustainable relationship with the territory, placing a strain on local resources and services, while also deepening the divide between foreigners and locals,[114] and the lack of integration programs, resources, and trained personnel made it increasingly difficult for refugees to actively partake in the community. As Marzia Bona points out, the type of reception implemented by the state was overly assisting and marginalizing, and the larger centers revealed to be most unfitting for the more vulnerable categories of the displaced.[115] Most importantly, by 1995, Italy counted nearly 80,000 refugees, while the structures established under the 1992 law were able to accommodate a maximum of 2,000 people; such numerical discrepancy highlights the inadequacy of the legal framework in the face of a crisis of unprecedented proportions, both in terms of duration and number of refugees.

'In response to the reports denouncing the tragic conditions faced by refugees in the large reception centers across Italy (…) the first spontaneous hospitality initiatives were organized, with the intention of welcoming refugees into an ordinary environment managed by local authorities and associations, thereby avoiding the logic of large camps'.[116]

Starting from 1992, spontaneously and without any coordination, grassroots reception initiatives began spreading to support those who, having been left out of the Italian State's calculations, found themselves without means of sustenance. As these experiences multiplied and intensified, they began receiving support from Italian comitati locali (local entities and administrations). These groups began responding to the unmet demand for reception and assistance, which grew steadily as the Yugoslavian conflict progressed: they offered shelter in unused spaces provided by the interested municipalities and parishes, as well as private homes; such reception efforts were then complemented by integration initiatives led by civilians and associations. These forms of reception and integration were tailored to the needs of individual refugees, made possible by the scale and proximity of the intervention.

112
Augusti, Morone, and Pifferi 2017, 23

113
Ibid., 24

114
Bona 2016, 106-107

115
Petrovic 2020, 49

116
Bona 102,107

The room for maneuvers of local committees in supporting locally driven efforts—thus shaped by the engagement and involvement of civil society—is given by the very text of the 1992 law in its article 1, comma 4, which states to promote and to coordinate collaboration between state administrations, local entities, and humanitarian organizations.

During the Albanian emergency Italian law created the first containment facilities for migrants, refugees, and displaced persons, while the Yugoslav emergency prompted legislation to define the conditions for reception. The two legal measures stated in law decree 24 July 1992, n. 350—one concerning temporary protection and the other material assistance—together created a reception framework that can be interpreted using Giorgio Agamben's concept of the ***quodlibet***.[117] This term, which can be translated into English as "*whatever*," does not imply arbitrariness but rather a state of potentiality—a condition in which something is not bound to a fixed determination but to an 'infinite series of modal oscillations'.[118] The reception spaces that emerged from the 1992 law were whatever spaces in the Agambenian sense, in that the law set the conditions for their existence, but it did not establish them as predetermined entities. If the Italian society had multiple reasons to engage in the reception, integration, and support of displaced persons from Yugoslavia—ranging from the insufficiency of the state's response to the social and political proximity of northern provinces, to the involvement of specific public characters[119] - the 1992 law created the conditions for a quodlibet reception space by reducing the legal barriers preventing refugees from entering Italy, whether independently or through the involvement of local organizations, and by foreseeing a vertical collaboration within Italian administrative bodies and organization. The law granted displaced persons the right to enter Italy and the access to those spontaneously organized reception efforts, granting civil society the possibility to act autonomously in addressing the needs of the refugees.

Understanding how the state of suspension created by law has enabled the institutional and material arrangements for refugee reception and containment is an approach that echoes, however partially, the work of Roman law historian Thomas Yan. In *The Value of Things*, Yan examines how Roman law defined what could not be appropriated by the individual citizen, establishing exclusions within the legal framework that separated certain goods and spaces from those subject to appropriation.[120] This was grounded in the *summo divisio* between things governed by divine law—sacred, religious, and holy—and those under human law, namely public and private matters; the public—classified as *extrapatrimonial* and thus inappropriable—was associated with divine law, forming a legally homogeneous category in which public and sacred elements jointly defined the boundaries of legitimate appropriation. This division, rooted in a logic of exclusion, was not absolute; it was traversed and reconfigured by Roman law, allowing Yan to chart transformations of space and the interactions with it made possible. What matters here is not simply the division itself, but the capacity of law to produce space through exclusion.

117
Agamben 1990, 3-4

118
Agamben 1990, 15

119
Bona 2016, 109-111

120
Yan 2015, 34

In Yan's analysis, the law not only reflects the structure of Roman society—it builds it. It draws borders, not only around property, but around possibility. To think law in this way is to see it not as a response to space, but as one of its conditions. Law generates spatial configurations by determining who may enter, who must remain, and what is allowed to take place.

If Yan is able to identify how Roman law makes space legible—indeed, how it makes space—this is because the law does not simply describe space, it is already defining it, operating in it. In other words, law is not external to space: it is a condition of its emergence, just as much as space is the condition through which law gains effect.

This reciprocity becomes more explicit in what Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos has called the **lawscape**. In his formulation, law and space do not merely coexist, they are coextensive, folded into each other to the point of indistinction. Every surface, every object in its extension is infused with normativity, even when that normativity withdraws from view, and the city, understood as the thick spatiality of bodies,[121] is saturated: its apparent neutrality is nothing more than the successful naturalisation of law's spatial determinations.

Yet if the lawscape names this condition of total immanence, then the question becomes: how does law enter the surface in the first place?

How is this atmosphere generated, this invisible thickness through which we move, unaware of its outlines yet always constrained by them? The lawscape, as a concept, captures a state—but not necessarily its genesis.

What this thesis proposes is to pause at the moment before the full absorption of law into space, before its effects become imperceptible, and to examine instead the small frictions, the textual manipulations through which law begins to shape space. Not the surface, then, but the vector.

121
Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 36

It is here that I propose to introduce a series of operations, derived not from a general theory but from a close reading of Italian legislation in the matters of political asylum. These operations do not describe what the law says, but what it does, spatially.

They do not present themselves as spatial in any immediate sense.

They acquire spatial force through their accumulation in texts—ministerial decrees, legislative acts, implementing regulations—which, when read closely, reveal how the infrastructure, procedures, and subjectivities associated with asylum accoglienza are generated and manipulated.

What follows is not only a departure from the legal analysis of the first part, but a continuation through another register, through an essential methodological shift which follows the legal thread that binds together spaces as disparate as the CAPS centers of the pre-Martelli era, the stadium internment of the Vlora crisis, the disused military barracks converted into first reception sites, and the informal networks of civil reception that emerged in the 1990s.

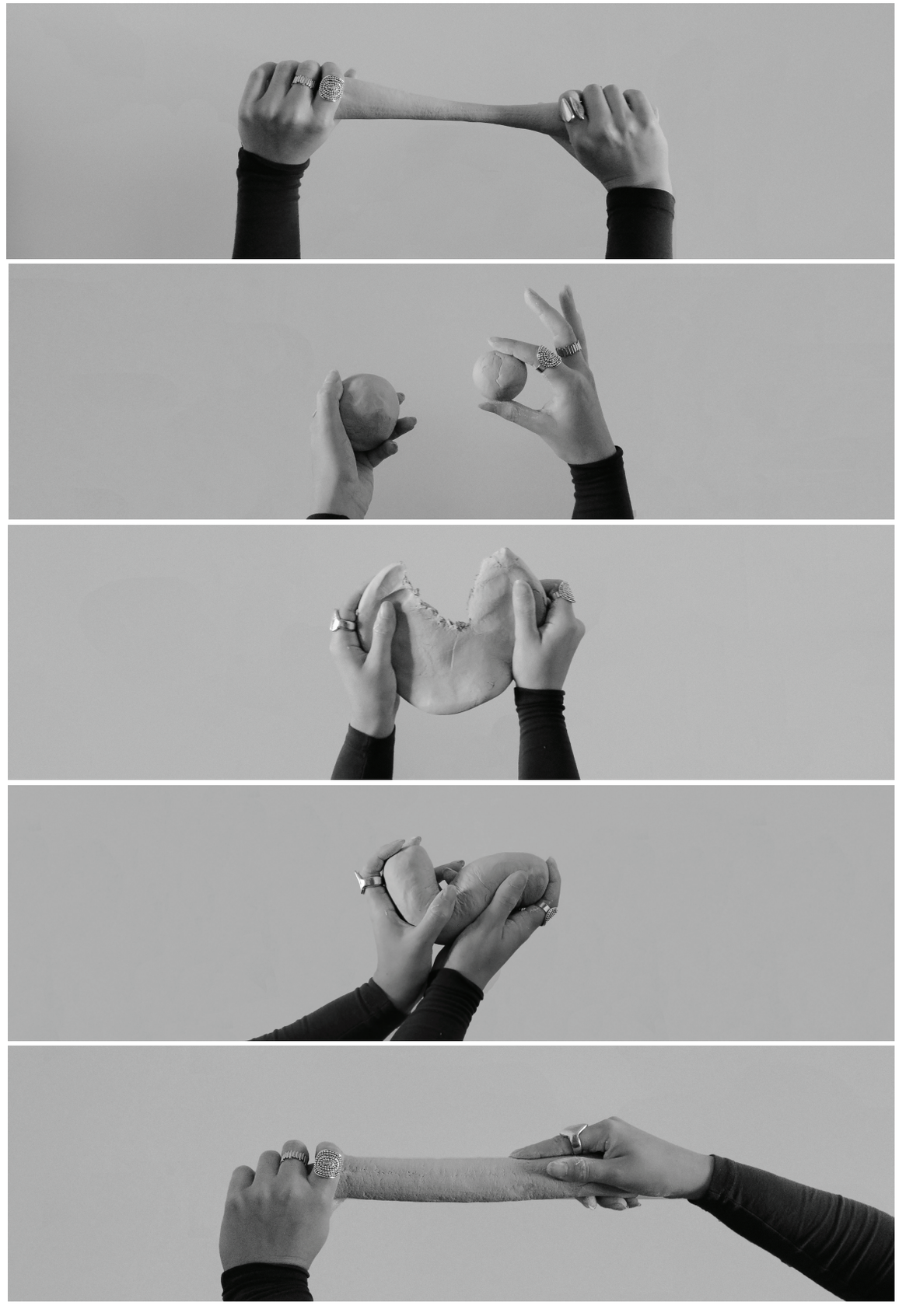
By moving through the legal archive, through the documents, decrees, and frameworks that have preconditioned asylum since the late twentieth century, this thesis will no longer question what law permitted, but how it operated; not the architecture it described, but the architecture it performed.

Not a description of a lawscape, but a revelation of lawshaping.

Not a description of space as-defined-by law, but a revelation of how law shapes space.

Lawshaping *Accoglienza*

making of italian political asylum space



- shaping
Accoglienza

the five operations of
Italian law on asylum
space

Stretch.

The Italian language has a word which is commonly employed to indicate, in the broadest sense possible, a series of initiatives concerning the entrance and stay of foreign nationals. From a legislative point of view, the word would appear for the first time in the Turco-Napolitano law of 1998, also known as the Testo Unico.[122] Article 38, entitled "Reception centers, access to housing," outlines a framework of cooperation among Regions, Provinces, Municipalities, and the third sector, with the aim of institutionalizing the hospitality practices that had emerged during the 1990s through grassroots initiatives led by associations and volunteer organizations. In reference to these earlier experiences, the law adopts the Italian word ***accoglienza*** to define a set of measures intended to provide "*housing and food needs, opportunities for learning the Italian language, professional training, cultural exchanges with the Italian population, and socio-health assistance for the time strictly necessary to achieve personal autonomy.*" That same year, Italy had formally adhered to the Dublin Convention which conferred the responsibility for processing asylum applications to the country of first entry into the Schengen Area.[123] The significance of the Convention—and the impact it would have on Italy's national system for asylum seekers and beneficiaries of political asylum—caught the Italian state entirely unprepared: before Italy's adhesion, many migrants would leave the country to submit their asylum applications elsewhere in northern Europe; following the convention, it was required for them to file their claims in Italy, and the year following the convention, 33,000 asylum applications were submitted. The 1998 law, referred to as *Testo Unico* (or TU, roughly translating to unique body of text), did not anticipate the pressure which would be generated by the Dublin Convention as it entrusted *accoglienza* to the diffused initiatives throughout the local municipalities of Italy. In doing so, the new law revealed the fragmented nature of Italy's reception response and the necessity for a cohesive, nationwide framework; as Petrovic puts it, the initiatives motorized by article 38 continued to be '*spontaneous and uncoordinated, developing in response to emergency situations, realized in a largely volunteer-driven yet very unstructured manner*'.[125]

It is precisely the intention of exposing the defects of an unstructured system which leads the Nausicaa project to map the existing reception and integration services in the year 1999. First issue emerging from the Nausicaa investigation was the regional imbalance of the quality of the services provided, as well as the creation of main territorial poles of the reception system.[126] The more worrying was the lack of any form of coordination between the different actors providing such services, as well as the complete homologation of the services provided: no distinction was made between the documented and undocumented refugee, between refugee and asylum seeker.[127] The criticalities of the existing, unstructured system will be addressed with a second project, the *Azione Comune* plan, which will attempt to create a proper network of reception and integration services, although through a limited range of action. The project will promote smaller to

122
Law Decree 25 July 1998, n. 286

123
Petrovic 2020, 58-59

124
Ibid., 58-59, 64

125
Ibid., 65

126
Ibid., 66

127
Ibid., 66; while the refugee is someone who has already been recognized by a competent authority (national or international), the asylum seeker is someone who has applied for international protection in a country other than their own, claiming they have a founded fear of persecution.

ART. 12.

(Execution of the expulsion).

1. When it is not possible to immediately carry out the expulsion [redacted] the chief of police shall order that the foreign national be held for the strictly necessary time at the nearest temporary detention and assistance center [redacted]

Turco-Napolitano Law

The text is translated from Italian and stretched.

ART. 38.

(Reception Centers. Access to accomodation).

1. The Regions, in collaboration with the Provinces, Municipalities, and volunteer associations and organizations, establish reception centers intended to accommodate, including within facilities that host Italian citizens or citizens of other European Union countries, foreign nationals legally residing for reasons other than tourism who are temporarily unable to independently meet their housing and subsistence needs. [redacted]

2. The reception centers are intended to make the foreign nationals hosted there self-sufficient as quickly as possible. [redacted] Each Region determines the management and structural requirements of the centers and allows agreements with private entities and funding.

3. Reception centers are defined as housing facilities that [redacted] provide for the immediate housing and food needs, and, where possible, offer opportunities for learning the Italian language, professional training, cultural exchanges with the Italian population, and socio-health assistance for foreign nationals who are unable to meet these needs [redacted] for the strictly necessary time required to achieve personal autonomy regarding food and housing needs in the area where the foreign national resides.

medium sized centers, in contrast to the much larger and concentrated centers run by the State, encouraged to tailor their reception services to the single categories of immigrants. It would do so by building an initial network of local services for asylum seekers, coordinated by a group of associations bringing together various organizations active in 31 municipalities across 10 Italian regions.[128] The Azione Comune focused largely on the transversal integration services rather than the reception space in itself: these included medical and psychological assistance, social orientation, legal consultancy, interpreters and cultural mediation.[129] The project also pushed for a growing sensitivity towards the more vulnerable categories of immigrants, so far either homogenised in the broader categories or simply unaddressed, both by the local actors and the law itself. Lastly, the Azione Comune project created a monitoring pole to improve communication between the different parts of the system which had been acting separately and independently.[130]

The experiences of the two projects and the establishment of a European Refugee Fund enabled a larger structurization of the existing network of reception services: the National Asylum Program or *Programma Nazionale Asilo* (PNA), initiated on October 10, 2000, through an agreement between the Ministry of the Interior, UNHCR, and the National Association of Italian Municipalities, would extend the efforts of the Azione Comune project to the entire Italian territory. It was officially formalized in March 2001 though a public invitation by the Ministry of Interior published in the national Gazette,[131] and invited municipalities to develop projects for the reception and integration of asylum seekers, refugees, and those under humanitarian or temporary protection; the projects would have to be delivered by the end of the year 2001, developed under the conditions and guidelines provided by a tender notice of the civil freedoms and immigration State department. The projects could regard both the reception, integration, or voluntary return of foreign nationals, specified by the notice as the three measures eligible to the access of the funding to be allocated. The notice also specifies how the larger share of the funding, that is seventy five percent, would be allocated to projects of reception, and that the main recipient of the measure for reception would be the asylum seeker. According to the notice, the project of *accoglienza* is one that takes place in a small to medium scale center, which guarantees food and accommodation, access to the services available within the center's territory and access to social and legal orientation. While major metropolitan areas, seasoned to migration pressures, were key participants, the involvement of medium and small municipalities proved game-changing, alleviating the strain on larger urban centers, offering innovative solutions for socio-economic integration.[132]

In total, the PNA developed 62 local initiatives and between July 2001—when it became operational—and December 31, 2002, the network's facilities hosted 3,056 individuals, including 2,030 men, 1,026 women, and 890 minors.[133] Article 12 of the same law that legislatively introduces the concept of *accoglienza*, the center for temporary holding and assistance (or C*entro di permanenza temporanea e assistenza,* CPTA) is established—a center that allows for the trattenimento, translating to administrative detention, of a foreign national "*when it is not possible to immediately carry out the expulsion (...) because it is necessary to provide assistance to the foreign national, to conduct further checks regarding their identity or nationality, to acquire travel documents, or due to the unavailability of a carrier or other suitable means of transport*".[134] While the law defines the CPT as a place of administrative detention for the foreign national, its spatial configuration suggests a perverse form of imprisonment. Because administrative detention is designed to temporarily restrict an individual's freedom to prevent them from evading deportation, [135] the spaces in which individuals are held are built to control and contain, and thus operate under the same logic as carceral environments. In this entanglement of law and space, what Pietro Costa defines as a 'coercive space' (spazio coattivo) takes shape: places that confine lives within strictly delimited boundaries, recreating and alluding to — but not directly corresponding with — carceral infrastructures.[136] The term coercive expresses both the legislative imposition and the constraining force that shapes space itself, thus generating the specific reality of the CPT. **The offense that leads to administrative detention foreseen by the Turco Napolitano law — the lack of a residence permit — is an administrative violation, not a criminal one; while penal detention existed, and manifested spatially through the carceral infrastructure, administrative detention came to be an apparatus without a space. There comes the necessity for the law to create a new space, the CPT, where the bureaucratic tool of administrative detention may take effect.**

An implementing regulation was approved the year after the Testo Unico of 1998; it contains provisions concerning the functioning of the CPTA, including article 22, comma 1, which establishes the possibility of setting up "buildings or areas, the placement of structures, including mobile ones," and provides that within the centre "one or more rooms shall be made available for the operations of consular authorities," while "reception, assistance, and hygiene or health-related activities may also be carried out outside the centres."[137] While an implementing regulation is, by definition, a document containing secondary provisions meant to make the rules of the primary law concretely applicable—and therefore, in the specific case of the CPR, should have included a set of specifications regarding the creation of the detention centre space—what was approved with law decree n. 394 of August 31 1999 appears to do precisely the opposite. According to Ornella Di Mauro's reflections in a report for the journal *L'altro Diritto*, it seems that the government, in drafting the implementing regulation, merely validated a set of spatial characteristics that had already taken shape immediately after the enactment of the Testo Unico.[138] It was after all the summer of the Kosovar emergency, and the Italian state was compelled to respond to the massive arrival of tens of thousands of refugees with its already fragile reception system,[139] recurring often to provisional and immediate measures. Agricultural areas were filled with containers, while industrial and customs zones were equipped with metal sheds; wherever possible, existing spaces were repurposed—spaces such as hospices and masserie, but above all, disused barracks and military outposts. In Pian del Lago, a decommissioned powder magazine

128
Bonardo and Giannone, 2006

129
Ibid., 68

130
Ibid., 68

131
With the 'public call for proposals for the funding of projects on reception, integration, and voluntary return of asylum seekers, displaced persons, and refugees', as found in the (GU General Series n.66 of the 20-03-2001)

132
Petrovic 2020, 116-118

133
Bonardo and Giannone 2006

134
Law Decree 25 July 1998, n. 286, article 12

135
Medici Senza Frontiere 2004, 23

136
Pietro Costa in Il controllo dello straniero (2017), 12

137
Presidential decree of 31 August 1999, n. 394, 21-22

138
Di Mauro 2002

was adapted; in Agrigento, metal sheds were set up in an industrial area; mobile units were built in Turin, in Corso Brunelleschi, and in Milan, in via Corelli; while in Ponte Galeria, a centro di permanenza temporanea was built anew.[140]

The construction of the CPT took place without a clear definition of its territoriality, functional and structural characteristics. As a result, heterogeneous spaces emerged, often temporary, built through a logic of urgency and immediacy, yet destined to take root. What was supposed to be a temporary measure gradually assumed a permanent character, stabilizing emergency solutions and converting them into a permanent infrastructure. The CPT infrastructure came to define locations, often forming the skeleton of an architecture that, over the decades, would come to embody an increasingly permanent temporariness;[141] what would change over the years were their legal function, their management, their nomenclature, and their intended population. The figure to the right is a temporal sequence of Bari Palese: along the same airstrip, in a timespan of 15 years succeded the CPT, CPR and CARA infrastructures. While the CPT consisted in tents and containers scattered on the airstrip, within five years later they would be dismanteled and turnt into a reinforced concrete, barbed wire permanent construction.

Only later, once the first forms of these spaces had taken shape and their shortcomings had become evident, did attempts emerge to intervene and retroactively define some of their features. It was in this context that, on 30 agosto 2000, a directive was issued by the Ministero dell'Interno, addressed to the prefects of the territories where the centres were active. The stated aim was to establish minimum criteria for identifying suitable structures and to provide general guidance on their management. The directive emerged from discussions between government representatives and several associations involved in the field of immigration, responding to the need to acknowledge and formalize practices that had developed unevenly over time; the material conditions in which detention was taking place—often precarious and lacking uniform standards—had made evident the absence of a coherent regulatory framework.[142] In this sense, the directive does not inaugurate a model, but rather attempts to impose order ex post on a set of already operational spaces, retroactively validating their existence through a series of shared minimum criteria. In 2004, a report published by fieldworkers from Medici Senza Frontiere investigated the conditions of the CPT established under the Testo Unico of 1998. The report documents four years of monitoring, focusing on "the socio-health conditions within the centres, the state of the facilities, management practices, the quality of services provided, compliance with procedures, and any differences in the management of the various centres."[143] An entire chapter—chapter three—is devoted to a series of visit reports, consisting of transcribed observations detailed enough to allow for a reconstruction of the spatial layout of the different CPTs at the time present across Italian territory, as well as the verification of enactment of the few criterion published by the latest ministerial decree regarding the material space and conditions required for the CPT.

139
Petrovic 2020, 52-53

140
Di Mauro 2002

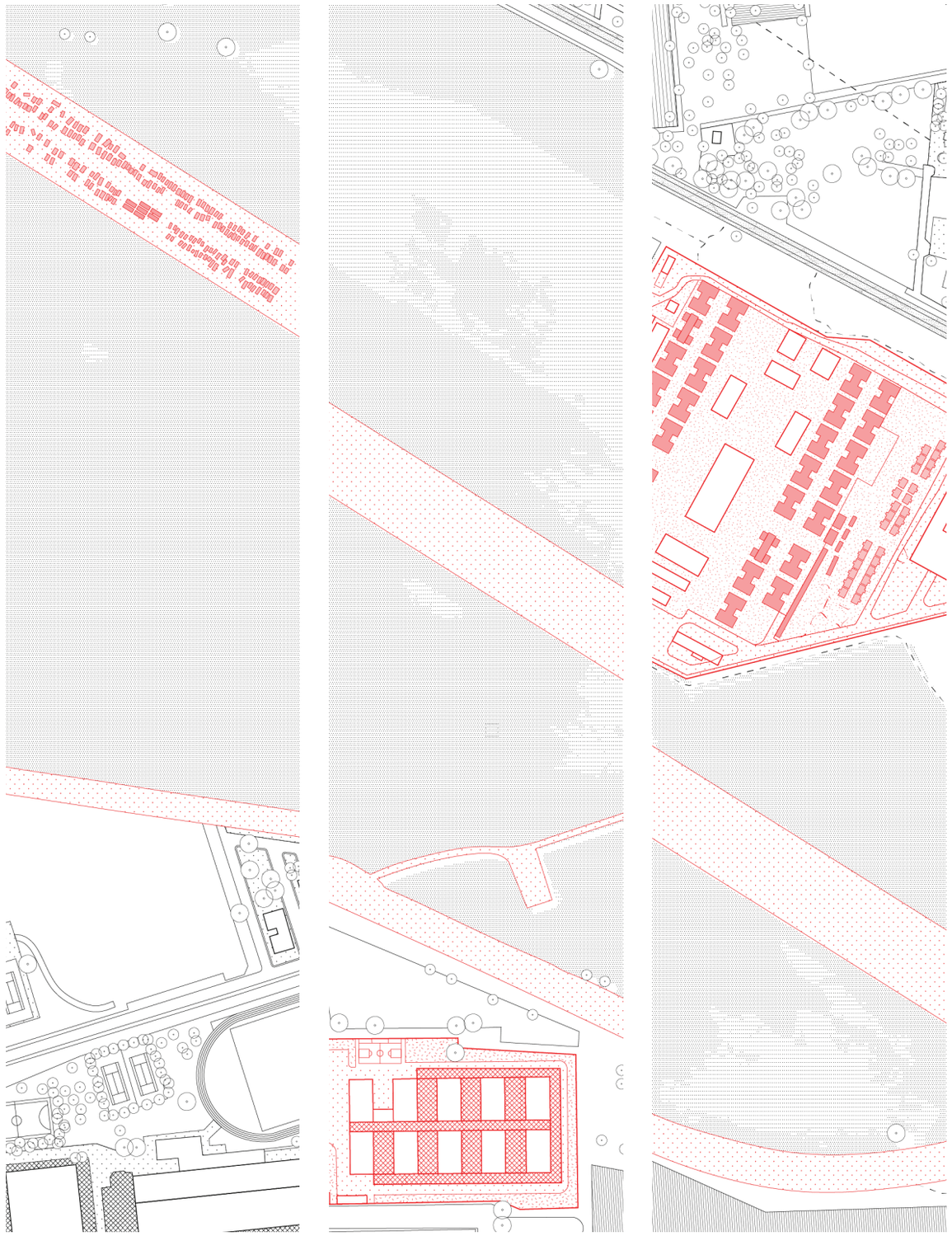
141
In the words of Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti, in *Permanent Temporariness* (2018)

142
Di Mauro 2002

143
Medici Senza Frontiere 2004, 4

Bari Palese (BA 2005,2010,2015)
CPT, CPR, CARA, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]



Corso Brunelleschi (TO, 2005)
CPT, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]

Pian del Lago (CL, 2005)
CPT, scale 1.2000

0 20 50 [m]

antinomies and dichotomies

As Federica Sossio reflects, the very nomenclature of the center, which indicates temporary stay and assistance, allows through a euphemism "to always speak of these places [the CPTs] through the imaginary of *accoglienza*".[144] Words which points to a broader reflection on the very construction of the Italian imaginary of *accoglienza*: on one hand, the aspiration for unconditional hospitality, which aims to welcome the foreigner without imposing limits or conditions; on the other, a hospitality strictly regulated by laws and devices that often lead to practices of control and detention. This contradiction reflects what Jacques Derrida defines as the antinomy of hospitality, that is, the irresolvable conflict between the universal principle of unconditional hospitality and the concrete laws that govern its implementation. Unconditional hospitality represents an absolute ethical ideal: to welcome the other without conditions, without judgment, offering everything of oneself and one's space; however, real hospitality cannot exist without rules and laws that define its boundaries, determining who can be welcomed, how, and on what terms.[145] These laws, though necessary for organizing hospitality, inevitably betray the very ideal of open and unlimited hospitality. In this intersection between ideal and practice, Italian hospitality has found itself balancing two opposing forces: the desire to offer spaces for asylum seekers inspired by unconditional hospitality, explored through grassroots experiences that emerged during the 1990s, providing material services, socio-health assistance, and tools for personal autonomy; and the need to impose rules aimed at ensuring the control of migration flows during their entry, stay, and exit from Italian territory, degenerating into places that, while nominally invoking the imaginary of *accoglienza*, end up embodying a conditional and hostile hospitality, characterized by isolation, detention, and coercion. The antinomic nature of the word hospitality is reflected in the Italian term *accoglienza*, used to indicate the reception of the foreigner, and this reflection is lost when *accoglienza* is translated into English as reception. One could argue, then, for the untranslatability of the Italian term *accoglienza*, now used in legislative language in place of its synonym ospitalità, as it conceptually conveys its dual and antithetical essence more effectively. *Accoglienza* thus becomes untranslatable not because an equivalent is lacking—the conceptual translation would in fact be hospitality, understood in Derrida's sense—but because, starting with the Turco-Napolitano law, it is precisely the term *accoglienza* that has been employed in legislation, official acts, and related practices to designate the infrastructure addressed to the migrant subjectivity.

Derrida's antinomy is then central to *accoglienza* in Italy, having shaped its development from the earliest to the most recent forms. Several studies have interpreted the evolution of the Italian reception system through this antinomy, navigating between one way or another of conceiving *accoglienza*. According to Chiara Marchetti, two distinct models have taken shape within the Italian reception system over time. She distinguishes between a model of separation and one of integration: the former is primarily aimed at controlling the asylum seeker, implementing a "social and physical separation (...) in large, mostly isolated centers," while the latter focuses on direct involvement, both spatial and social, by spreading reception spaces and activities "throughout the territory and within the social fabric," through small-scale facilities designed to ensure diversity in reception and to respond to the specific needs of each migrant context.[146] Marchetti then argues that the parallel development of two models of *accoglienza* is reflected in an increasingly asserted distinction between categories of migrants and, consequently, in the kind of reception they are given. She refers specifically to the division between "forced migrants" and "economic migrants," a distinction that Ivan Pupolizio takes up in a more recent attempt to simplify and transmit a coherent narrative of reception.[147] Pupolizio maintains that the forced/economic migrant distinction is one of several *conceptual dichotomies*[148] that sustain the complex Italian reception system, and he uses it, in a certain sense, to refine Marchetti's reading. Still rooted in a basic dichotomy—and indirectly recalling the antinomy described by Derrida—Pupolizio argues that this categorical split serves as a pretext for the formation of two distinct levels within the reception system; this, however, is at a purely practical level, as it is only with Decree Law 142 of 2015 that a legal stratification of reception is formally introduced. In practice, a first level of reception has always existed within legal frameworks: a phase "dedicated to asylum seekers for the time strictly necessary to determine the legal status of their claim."[149] A second level developed after the first, as a continuation and response to services initially provided and managed directly by state institutions, which were at times deemed insufficient by third-sector actors and local authorities—who then took initiative to offer a more adequate response to the needs of asylum seekers and protection holders. The first level corresponds to reception in the "strict sense" of the term, providing basic services such as food, shelter, and medical assistance; while the second level—linked to integration—corresponds to what Pupolizio calls "something more [than reception] which at the same time presupposes it," referring to all those initiatives in which the migrant and the local experience become intertwined: "such as access to public services, language courses, vocational training, and participation in social and cultural life."[150]

In tracing the evolution of the Italian reception system, what Marchetti identifies as a bipolarization (separation/integration) is taken up by Pupolizio in the form of a stratification of the reception system (first/second = reception/integration). To this initial dichotomy, Pupolizio adds a second one: that between *agency* and *control*.[151] This is necessarily introduced when Pupolizio's reading attempts to clarify how, in the shift from reception to integration, beneficiaries gradually acquire greater autonomy, while the role of institutions and operators changes—from direct control to the facilitation of emancipation pathways. In fact, the asylum seeker's process is never linear or free of contradictions in its (possible and by no means guaranteed) transition from one level to the other, but rather the result of a constant balancing between an initial heteronomy and

144 Sossi 2004

145 Derrida 2000

146 Marchetti 2016, 122

147 Refer to the work '*Una Regione al Confine*' (2024)

148 Pannarale, Pupolizio, and Senaldi 2024, 15

149 Ibid., 16

150 Ibid., 16-17

151 Ibid., 17

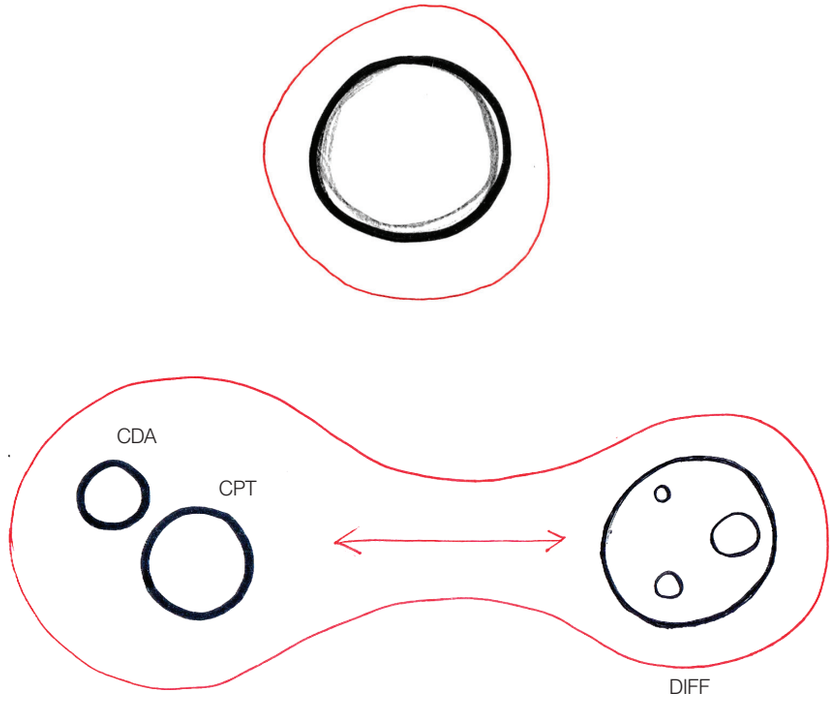
a final autonomy, with challenges and tensions present at every level of the system. If agency represents the migrants' autonomy in managing their own lives and choices, control refers to the power exercised by institutions and service providers to define the boundaries and modalities of both reception and integration. Pupolizio uses this dichotomy to highlight how the services provided within the system reflect, on the one hand, the care for basic needs—which implies a strong dependence of beneficiaries on the system itself—and, on the other, an integration process that demands a progressive relinquishing of institutional control in favor of individual autonomy.

ideal-typical readings

Pupolizio draws on two key dichotomies—reception/integration and agency/control—to construct a typical-ideal diagram. The term "typical-ideal" refers to an abstraction of a real and historically specific phenomenon. It is formed by connecting a set of widespread but discrete empirical elements, accentuating some features while neglecting others, and deliberately setting aside a full representation of all possible nuances or variables.[152] This methodology is conceptually strategic and effective for representing a phenomenon such as the Italian reception system, which soon reveals itself to be fragmented, complex, and controversial—because it is intrinsically contradictory, interconnected yet at the same time isolated, multiscalar, and often fully comprehensible only when examined at a specific scale. Pupolizio uses this method to simplify the evolution of the spaces that make up the reception system. In doing so, he suggests a spatial reading of the system, using the diagram "to interpret and classify a complex set of structures and services."[153] The diagram is defined as a two-by-two semantic matrix, structured as a Cartesian plane with four quadrants. The x-axis corresponds to the reception/integration dichotomy, and the y-axis to agency/control. The diagram functions less as an analytical model than as a visual aid for narrating the development of Italian legislation. As Pupolizio introduces the various sites created for the reception or integration of asylum seekers and beneficiaries, these are gradually positioned within the matrix. By the end of this descriptive process, the diagram presents a taxonomy of reception spaces, classified according to their combined position along the two dichotomies. The aim of the diagram is not to trace the spatial transformation of these forms over time. Rather, it offers a coherent classification based on the services provided and the relationships established between operators and migrants. It organizes the institutional landscape according to the specific functions and interactions that characterize each reception space at a given moment.

While Pupolizio's diagram provides a useful starting point for navigating the spaces produced by Italian law, it can be further developed by assigning spatial and temporal dimensions to its categories. This shift makes it possible to move from a descriptive to a genealogical approach, placing legal change at the center of analysis. In the Italian case, each new law or decree has reshaped the infrastructure of asylum, regulating first aid, reception, integration, detention, and expulsion through a dynamic of flow, interruption, and spatial reconfiguration. Law does not simply govern existing space but produces it. It brings about new material arrangements and modes of subjectivation that can be traced and analyzed. The typical-ideal diagram should therefore be understood not as a static representation, but as a way of illustrating the cumulative movement of legal and administrative transformations. These transformations connect and reshape the institutions and infrastructures that compose the space of asylum. The diagram helps make visible how law acts not only as a normative tool, but as a productive force that shapes reception space. This is how the idel-tipical diagram will work: after each operation and respective law introduced, after the architectural drawings depicting specifications of space under that law, the diagram will sum up the effects of the operations on the system. It is a way to simplify the legal current shaping the infrastructure, an immediate reading of the changes produced.

From this perspective, the Turco-Napolitano law can be seen as an attempt to formalize the structural ambivalence of hospitality, stretching the reception system between two poles. If accoglienza before was an infrastructure yet to be developed, now it is stretched in two poles, as anticipated by the chapter's cover where two hands stretch a single ball of clay into two, smaller poles.



Ideal-typical diagram 1

Following the new laws, *accoglienza* was stretched into two poles. One pole is constituted by the governamental centers, now the CPT; another pole is instead the diffused reception model.

152
Taken from Max Weber, in Methodology of the Social Sciences, chapter 'The Objectivity of Social Science and Social Policy', p. 108

153
Pannarale, Pupolizio, and Senaldi 2024, 21

Replace.

The Turco-Napolitano law—or more significantly, the Testo Unico—served as the foundational text for any subsequent manipulation of the national system of *accoglienza*. Most laws and law decrees following law n.286/98 would begin with its provisions and introduce modifications by overwriting parts of its text. In this sense, the Turco-Napolitano law effectively polarized *accoglienza*, and granted its full abrogation, these two poles would continue to structure the system, persisting through any subsequent legislative changes. The draft for a new law on immigration was being prepared as early as 2001, only three years after the enactment of the Testo Unico, by the newly elected center-right government.[154] As Michele Colucci points out, the urgency to prepare a new body of law can be traced to the centrality of immigration issues within the party's electoral campaigns; it was the very first time in Italian history that a party made concerns over immigration central to its political campaign. [155] As soon as the party took office, it finalized the text of the Bossi-Fini law, which was formally approved by the Senate on July 11, 2002, and came into force on September 10 of the same year. As anticipated, the law intervenes on the existing Testo Unico: its very title, "modifications to immigration and asylum legislation," makes clear that the new government chose to work through the existing Testo Unico: the articles of the Bossi-Fini law refer to corresponding articles within the Turco-Napolitano law, specifying the reference alongside the additions, modifications, and deletions to the original text. The modifications introduced show a clear attempt at making the presence of foreign nationals more precarious, weakening the social and legal protections previously available, and restricting the conditions of entry and stay. If Article 12 of the Turco-Napolitano law had introduced the space of the CPT, where foreign nationals under administrative detention could be held for a maximum of thirty days, Article 13 of the Bossi-Fini law specifies that, once the thirty days are completed, the detention can be prolonged for an additional thirty days, totaling sixty days of detention in the CPT. The Bossi-Fini law continues with comma 5, adding bis, ter, quater, and quinquies, all specifying the punishment with arrest, and therefore introducing penal consequences for remaining in the country after failing to comply with an expulsion order. In particular, comma 5-quater specifies imprisonment from one to four years for the identification of a foreign national expelled in violation of the norms of the Testo Unico. The introduction of comma 5-quater shifts the legal focus from an administrative measure to a penal one, part of a broader trend within the Bossi-Fini law, leading to the creation of a punitive system that not only would have increased the use of penal detention but also blurred the boundaries with administrative detention. In this increasingly evident difficulty of maintaining a clear distinction between administrative and penal detention, the space of penal detention comes to align with the space created by the immigration and asylum law of administrative detention.

In a dedicated chapter entitled "*provisions on asylum*," the new

154
Law of 30 July 2002, n. 189

155
Colucci 2018, 23

Art. 14.
Art. 13.

(Execution of the expulsion)
(Execution of the expulsion)
(Law 6 March 1998, n.40. art. 12)

5. Validation entails the stay in the center for a total period
5. Validation entails the stay in the center for a total period of
of thirty days.
twenty days. Upon request by the chief of police, the magistrate may
the judge, upon request by the
extend this period by a maximum of an additional ten days,
chief of police, may extend the term by an additional thirty days. Even

5-bis. When it has not been possible to detain the foreign national
6. The validation and extension decrees referred to in paragraph
in a temporary holding center,
5 may be appealed . Such an appeal does not
t, the chief of police shall
suspend the execution of the measure.
order the foreign national to leave the territory of the State within a
period of five days. The order shall include
information about the criminal consequences of failure to comply.

5-quater. A foreign national expelled who
7. The chief of police, making use of the public security forces,
is found within the territory of the State in violation of the provisions
shall adopt surveillance measures to ensure that the foreign
shall be punished with imprisonment from one to
national does not leave the center and shall promptly
four years.
reinstate the measure

Bossi Fini law (red) over the Turco-Napolitano law (black)

The text is translated from Italian, replacing the Bossi Fini law text with the original Turco-Napolitano law text.

law replaces the single Central Commission with multiple Territorial Commissions, which territorially correspond to the seats of the prefectures, and are established in seven different locations.[156] They are responsible for handling the applications submitted in the surrounding regions or provinces, marking a decentralization of the asylum application system. Even more significant, however, is Article 32 which replaces the single procedure defined by the Martelli law with a dual procedure for the recognition of refugee status: an ordinary procedure, reserved for applicants who are not under detention, and a simplified procedure, applicable to applicants who are compulsorily or **optionally** detained in the Identification and Temporary Stay Centers (or *centro di identificazione*, hereby referred to as CID). Emphasis on optional, as the law does not impose the holding of asylum seekers within the CID, but lists a series of motivations as to why they could be moved to an identification center. While Article 32, in modifying Article 1 of the Martelli law, specifies that the single asylum seeker may not be detained with the sole purpose of examining their asylum application, they **may be held** for a series of discretionary motivations, and **must be held** for others.

Through an appropriate choice of wording, the CID is configured as a distinct legal space: if the CPT was conceived as a measure of detention necessary to prevent unlawful stay or the escape of the expelled person, the CID is mainly intended for identification and verification of residence conditions, with a procedure that, at least formally, may appear less restrictive. However, the creation of the CID, even though theoretically an optional procedural space for asylum seekers, marks the formalization of administrative detention as an ordinary tool for managing immigration-related issues. The introduction of the simplified procedure entails a limitation of the personal freedom of applicants, who see their right to freedom of movement restricted by their confinement in the centers during the examination of their application. This is because, in the event of unauthorized departure from the CID, the asylum seeker is considered to have abandoned the application, which is automatically canceled and will no longer be examined. The law also specifies how the examination of the application must be completed within 20 days, during which time the applicant does not possess any valid residence permit and cannot circulate freely within the territory. Although this accelerated procedure was introduced to streamline decision-making times, it entails a significant restriction on the applicants' freedom of movement, confining them within the centers. Gianfranco Schiavone has commented on the controversy of this measure, reminding that the Italian Constitution strictly protects personal freedom through its article 13; therefore, even though the Bossi-Fini law seeks to specifies the detention in the CID as a limitation of freedom of movement, that is different from the personal freedom protected by Article 13 of the Italian Constitution, the actual conditions of detention — including the absence of a valid residence permit, the formalization of abandonment as withdrawal, and the mandatory nature of the stay — seriously call this interpretation into question.[157] The new law would also perform onto the other pole of *accoglienza*: the positive outcomes of the PAC and PNA experiments lead to the formal institutionalization of diffuse reception through the *Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati* (System of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Refugees, or SPRAR). Introduced by Article 32 1-sexies of the legge Bossi-Fini of 2002, the SPRAR established a dedicated circuit of *accoglienza* for asylum seekers and refugees not placed in administrative detention centers. Compared to the PAC and PNA (*Piano Azione Comune* and the *Programma Nazionale Asilo*), the system's financial support would shift from extraordinary resources to a dedicated funding channel, the Fondo Nazionale per le Politiche e i Servizi dell'Asilo (National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services, hereby referred to as FNPSA), instituted through Article 32, 1-septies. The fund was managed by the Ministry of the Interior and designated to municipalities and local administrations which, in collaboration with actively engaged associations of the immigration sector, became the key actors in the implementation of the diffused reception system.[158]

Within the reality of the *comune* or local authority occurs the transition from beneficiary to active citizen, where the asylum seeker may acquire a degree agency.[159] Therefore, the Italian State sought to recognize the local authority as the entity responsible for social and welfare services, and as the main point of reference in the territorial service network. Admission to funding automatically attributes to the local authority the role of project holder, with the resulting responsibility for its administrative and financial management, as well as for coordinating and integrating the activities potentially delegated to third-party entities. More often, in fact, the project-holding Comune identifies one or more associations, non-profits, NGOs, or cooperatives, which, in their role as managing entities, support the implementation of the project. As Petrovic notes, the involvement of multiple actors and levels within the system helped to reduce the disparities between different regions and projects; the ongoing contact between the various reception centers and service providers allowed best practices to circulate within the network, enabling local initiatives to learn from one another and adapt successful models to their own contexts.[160] The managing body is above all responsible for contacts with the *Servizio Centrale* (Central Service) which constantly monitors local realities, supports them in applying the guidelines, and ensures the exchange of experiences; established by Article 32, 1-sexies of Law 189/02 and formally instituted through an agreement in 2003 issued by the Ministry of the Interior, the role of the Servizio Centrale was ultimately entrusted to the *Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani* (ANCI, national association of italian local authorities). The Servizio Centrale performs the role of coordinating the SPRAR network, serving as a point of connection between the local operational level of municipalities and third-sector actors, and the Ministry of the Interior. For a Comune, becoming part of a national network with centralized coordination guarantees the ability to ensure uniform minimum quality standards; this is made possible through both the initial and ongoing support provided by the Servizio Centrale, as well as thanks to the constant monitoring and updating of a national database of interventions, and by promoting the diffusion of best practices within the network. The FNPSA was effectively made

156 Gorizia, Milan, Rome, Foggia, Syracuse, Crotone, Trapani

157 Schiavone 2003

158 Bonardo and Giannone 2006, XIII

159 Ibid., 16

160 Petrovic 2020, 79

operational only following the publication of the decree of 28 November 2005. This decree provided the operational details and the procedures for accessing the funds, thus enabling the effective distribution and use of resources for reception and protection projects. According to Article 3 of the decree, the projects eligible for funding are those which include three types of services: the reception, integration, and protection of the asylum seeker; it also specifies that the proposed project must always and in any case include services aimed at reception, defined in Annex 1 of the law as '*the activation of collective dedicated facilities or apartments, procured on the private market or made available by the local authority.*'[161] Article 4 of the decree states that 'costs for the purchase of real estate to be used for the service as described in the application are not eligible for allocation from the Fund,' but also that if there are costs for adapting structures to be used for the provision of services, these '*are eligible only up to a limit of 20% of the total cost of the service described in the application and admitted for funding.*'[162] It thus becomes evident that the project, in its creation and implementation, has rarely contemplated a space tailored to the services provided. A simple and concise phrase served as a mantra for the development of the reception network: that of seeking '*a balance between the standardization of services and the enhancement of local specificities*'; it was therefore a shared choice to make use, as far as possible, of resources and services already present in the area and also used by the Italian population, avoiding the creation of *ad hoc* structures. [163] The activation of the domestic space of the asylum seeker—but also of spaces that could accommodate all those activities of training, animation, and the exercise of personal freedoms, such as religious practice—has always seemed to occupy a secondary position in the thinking of system operators, who consider reception to be best represented by all those commitments to the social, legal, and work integration of the foreigner. Thus, the beneficiary's space has often not been the result of architectural planning; it is a space that has emerged in a liminal form, all the while constituting a unique infrastructure of interconnected space woven within the territory of the local authority. The image on the left is the city of Trepuzzi, province of Lecce in the Itaian region of Puglia. In the SPRAR Report of 2005, Trepuzzi was one of the three cities where the SPRAR network was first tested, providing on the buildings related to the SPRAR network-in-construction, here shown in red.

liminalities

If the diffused network of reception network would only begin developing three years after the enactment of the Bossi-Fini law, that is once the operational details for accessing the FNSPA for the development of the SPRAR network were defined,[164] the procedure for obtaining refugee status continued to follow Article 1 of Law 39/1990, as Law 189/2002 required an implementing regulation that was not yet in place. This absence of implementation guidelines prevented a clear break from the previous system, producing an overlap between institutional models. Though formally established by the Bossi-Fini law, the new model remained embedded within the spatial and procedural framework of older systems. This created a

161 Law Decree 28 November 2005, n. 140, article 3

162 Law Decree 28 November 2005, n. 140, article 4

163 Bonardo and Giannone 2006, 8

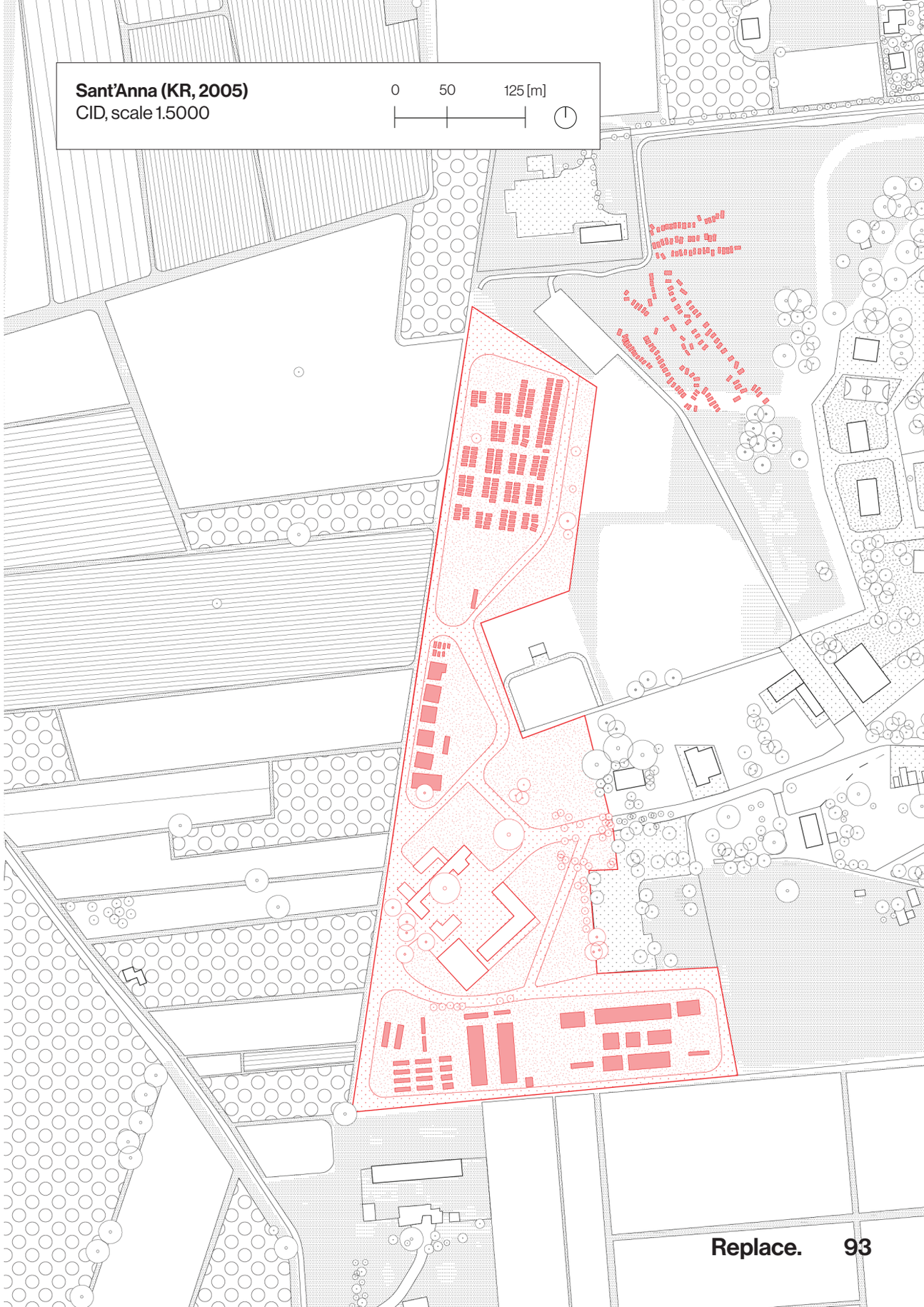
164 Petrovic 2020, 80-81

state of liminality: reception spaces caught between two legal and institutional orders, where official status no longer matched their material organization. Liminality captures this sustained condition of overlap, a prolonged state of 'in-betweenness'. This liminality is not a temporary failure of implementation, but a structural feature of the transformation process itself. It marks the uneven and contested passage from one model of governance to another, and it reveals the extent to which the law, in the absence of its regulatory concretization, functions less as a mechanism of substitution than as a generator of institutional overlap. The reception space becomes not merely transitional. It is suspended. Suspended between competing temporalities: the normative time of law and the material time of space. This state is not a failure of implementation, but the expression of a structural tension, where regulation lags, overlaps, or contradicts its spatial manifestation.

Within the delay of the Bossi-Fini law's implementing regulation, the Identification Centers (CID), although formally established for purposes distinct from the Temporary Stay Centers (CPT), were in practice organized according to the operational and managerial models already tested for the CPT system. This was not merely a matter of administrative continuity: the overlap extended to the material level, with the use of the same facilities, the adoption of common procedures, and the development of uniform detention practices. The failure to update the procedural system, combined with the urgency of establishing the new identification regime, led to a substantial overlap between the space of the CPT and that of the CID, foreshadowing a contamination between the functions of administrative detention and those of identification, which, at least formally, should have remained distinct. Although the CPT and CID were assigned different roles — the former to detention pending expulsion, the latter to the identification of asylum seekers — this distinction soon blurred, as shown in the research by Medici Senza Frontiere on the CPTs operating between the Turco-Napolitano and Bossi-Fini laws. Their report highlights how the ministerial circular dated November 27, 2002 introduced shared operational standards for both types of centers, effectively modeling CID management practices on those of the CPT. Following this circular, new management agreements were signed in spring 2003 for the CID of Otranto and Crotone, both set up within existing CPT structures, as well as for centers like Borgo Mezzanone, described by its managing body as a mixed CPTA/CID, and Bari-Palese, reopened to address the emergency caused by the 2003 landings in Sicily.[165] What emerges in this liminal configuration is a zone of friction, where the legal distinction between the two models encounters the inertia of spatial arrangements.

The juridical transformation of a center does not instantaneously translate into a transformation of its material and operational infrastructure: the site persists, resists, and temporarily holds together incompatible logics. These interstitial spaces, born of delay and contradiction, reveal how the materiality of the reception system exceeds the law's formal categories and how bodies are made to inhabit a legal tension not yet matched by spatial reconfiguration.

165
Medici Senza Frontiere 2004, 153



Borgo Mezzanone (FG, 2003)
CPTA/CID, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]

The implementing regulation would arrive with Presidential Decree No. 303 of 2004. This decree introduces some signs of discontinuity with respect to the original framework, particularly in relation to the Identification Centers (CID). In specifying the establishment of identification centers under Article 6, it refers to the purchase of properties, the construction or adaptation of existing buildings, as well as the installation of mobile structures. Within these facilities, designated areas are provided for the activities of the Territorial Commission, for visits to asylum seekers, and for recreational and religious practice.[166] Moreover, compared to the text of the Bossi-Fini law, the implementing decree allows asylum seekers to leave the center between 8:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m., and also for longer periods, subject to authorization from the competent official of the center, granted for justified reasons.[167]

Evidently, with the implementing decree, the Identification Center potentially began to move away from the gray area of indeterminacy that had persisted since its establishment under the Bossi-Fini law and had effectively allowed for the overlap of its legislative and material space with that of the Temporary Stay Center. With the introduction of the possibility for asylum seekers to leave the center, the controversy surrounding their personal freedom was, at least formally, set aside. Moreover, the decree finally specified the need for dedicated spaces within the centers to ensure the quality of life of individual applicants, further easing the detention connotations of the center, as already highlighted by the MSF report that would soon be published. This shift in direction was consolidated the following year with the adoption of Legislative Decree 140 of 2005, which transposed Directive 2003/9/EC and introduced new minimum standards for the reception of applicants for international protection. Article 6 of the decree establishes a fundamental principle: reception should primarily occur through SPRAR projects, intended for individuals lacking means of subsistence, while the use of alternative facilities, such as the CID, is to be considered only residual.

The provision marked a paradigm shift, as it formally recognizes SPRAR as the main pole of the Italian reception system; yet, even as law leaned toward diffused reception systems, government-run centers (CPAs, CIDs) remained politically and operationally relevant within the evolving landscape of restructuring and securitization. In 2006, a ministerial decree replaces the existing *Centri di Accoglienza* (CDA) in Centers of First Assistance and Reception (*Centri di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza*, CPSA),[168] while legislative Decree No. 25 of 2008 replaces the Identification Centers (CID) into *Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo* (Reception Centers for Asylum Seekers, CARA). Also known as the "Procedures Decree," this legislative measure introduced yet another framework for processing applications for international protection, while other modifications concern the initial reception and the protection of asylum seekers' fundamental rights.

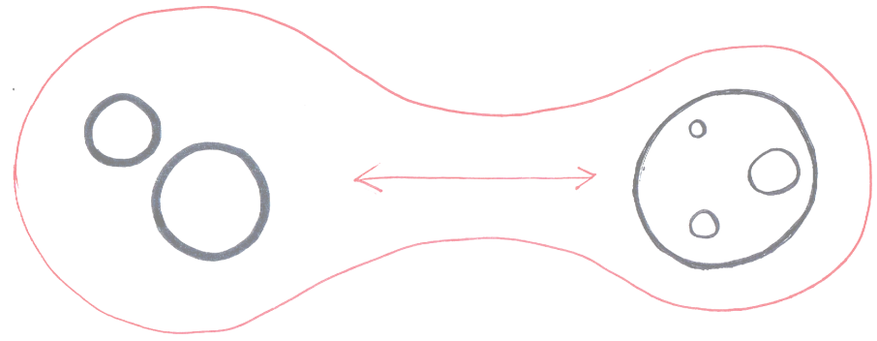
Article 3 of the new decree introduces the possibility for border police and local police headquarters to **receive** asylum applications. However, the **examination** of the application remains the responsibility of the territorial commissions established under the Bossi-Fini law;[169]

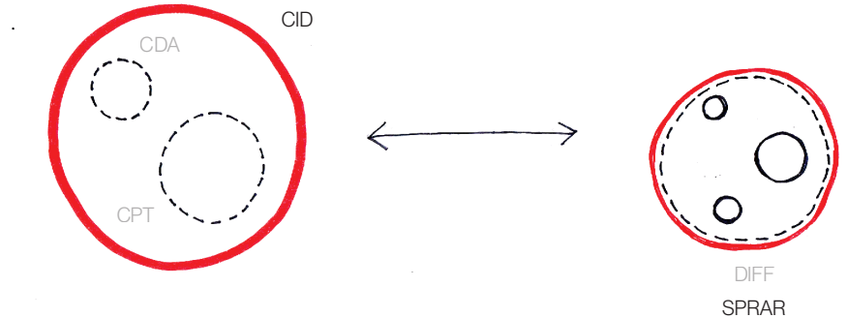
166
Presidential decree 16 September 2004, n. 303, article 6

167
Presidential decree 16 September 2004, n. 303, article 9

168
Interministerial Decree of 16 February 2006

169
Law decree 28 January 2008, n. 25, articles 1 and 3





Ideal-typical diagram 2

Following the new laws, the CID replaces the CPT, while the SPRAR names the diffused network of reception.

therefore, a direct and immediate access to the asylum procedure is guaranteed, without any preliminary admissibility screening by law enforcement authorities, allowing for the immediate initiation of reception procedures or, where applicable, the detention of the applicant.[170] Even in the absence of an abrogating provision, the simplified procedure previously applied in the CIDs is effectively replaced by the new regulatory framework, which reorganizes the process for examining asylum applications into a single procedure. **Where the Bossi-Fini law referred to 'detention in CIDs,' the new decree now refers to 'reception in CARAs'**[171] as made evident in the drafting of Articles 22 and 23 of the new decree, which specify the motivations for reception as opposed to those for detention. The reasons for detention are now linked to a purely criminal legislative sphere, [172] leading to the detainment of individuals solely in the CPT centers as established and described by the Turco-Napolitano law. The decree continues to represent a clearer distinction of spaces from the logic of detention in favor of a rhetoric of reception in its Article 22, paragraph 2, where it was stipulated that an unjustified departure from the center would no longer result in the loss of the right to asylum procedures, but only in the forfeiture of material reception measures.

The legislative decree did not make any formal changes to the detention infrastructure of the CPT or the decentralized reception network, though Article 9 of Law Decree n.92/2008, converted into Law n.125/2008, would rename the Temporary Stay Center to *Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione* (Identification and Expulsion Center, CIE). This measure is contained in a provision significantly titled "*Urgent Measures on Public Safety*".[173]

But the 2008 regulatory reform remained ineffective due to another delay of the required implementing regulation, which was supposed to define the organization and functioning of the new CARA centers. In its absence, Presidential Decree 303/2004 continued to apply. This latter decree regulated the material conditions of reception within the Identification Centers (CID) and on an asylum procedure radically different from the one introduced in 2008, thus referring to structures and procedures that had since been superseded or repealed. The result was a structural ambiguity within the system: a regime formally oriented toward protection, but in substance still grounded in selective logics and control mechanisms. Though the law intended to replace detention-focused centers with reception-oriented CARA facilities, the shift which remained incomplete in practice was studied by Chiara Marchetti, in an interpretation of the practice surrounding the accommodation of asylum seekers within the CARA centers.[174] According to the law, asylum seekers should be hosted in these centers for a period strictly necessary for the completion of identification procedures and nationality verification, with a limit of 20-35 days. However in practice, as Marchetti notes, asylum seekers often remained in the CARA centers far beyond this prescribed period due to delays in the asylum process and a shortage of spaces in the SPRAR system (the national reception system, which became officially active starting in 2005). CARA centers often fail to provide the support that could aid in their integration into Italian society. CARA centers do not offer the same

170
A.S.G.I. 2011, 34

171
Petrovic 2020, 98

172
Law decree 28 January 2008, n. 25, article 23

173
Law decree 23 May 2008, n. 92

174
Marchetti 2016, 126-127

Art. 14.
Art. 20.

(Execution of the expulsion)
(Cases of Accoglienza)
(Law 6 March 1998, n.40. art. 12)

2. The applicant shall be **hosted in a reception centre for**
1. When it is not [redacted]
asylum seekers in the following cases:
[redacted]
a) when it is necessary to verify or determine their nationality or
[redacted] to conduct additional checks
identity, [redacted]
regarding their identity or nationality, or to acquire travel documents,
[redacted]
[redacted] the police commissioner shall order that the foreign national be **held** for the strictly necessary time **in the nearest temporary stay and assistance centre.**

Art. 21.

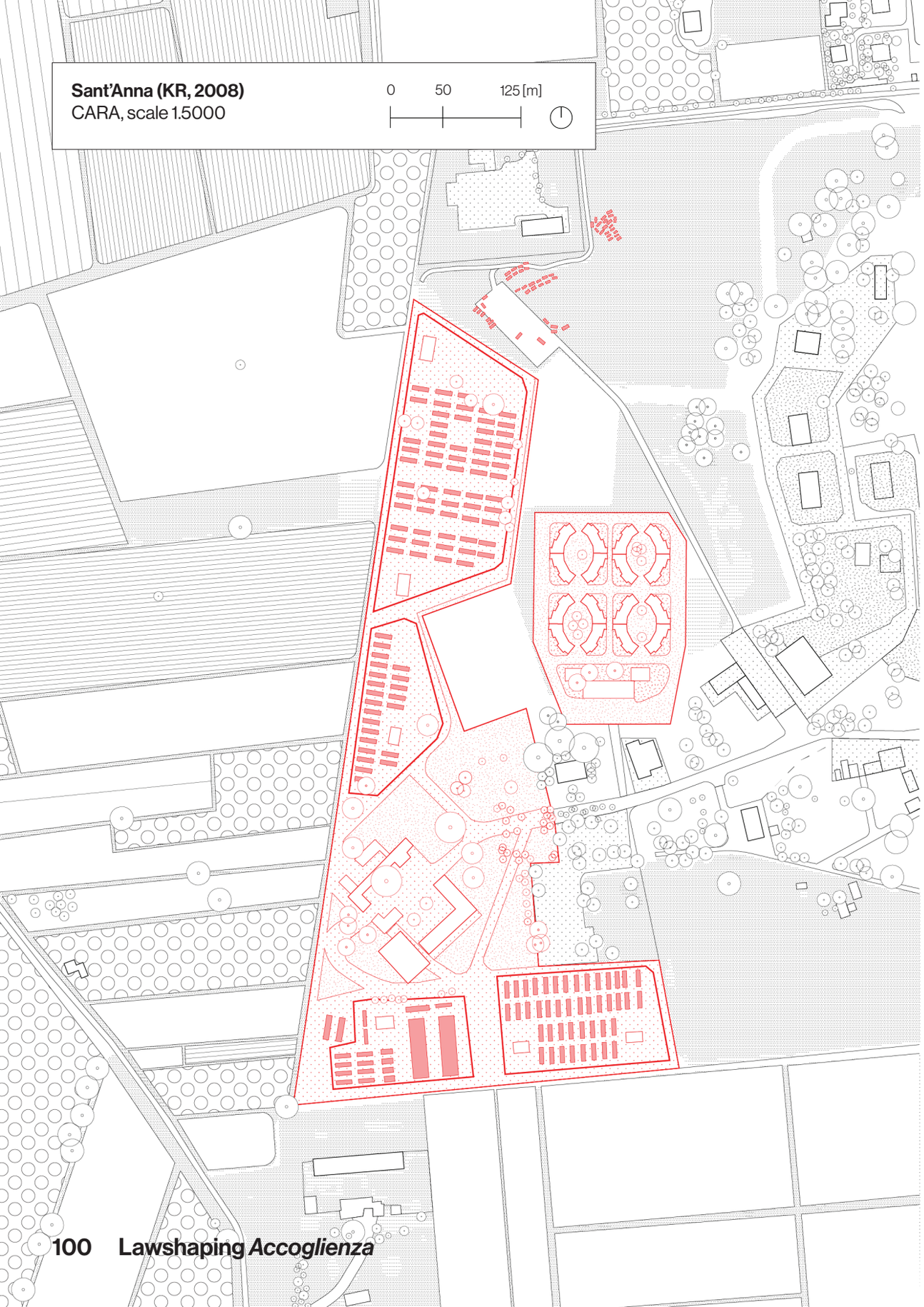
(Cases of Detention)

1. **Detention** shall be ordered in the centres referred to in Article 14 of Legislative Decree of 25 July 1998:
b) if the person has been convicted in Italy of one of the crimes listed in [redacted] the Code of Criminal Procedure;
c) if the person is subject to an expulsion order.

3. Access to the temporary stay and assistance centres shall in any case be guaranteed to UNHCR representatives, lawyers, and refugee protection organisations [redacted] authorised by the Ministry of the Interior.

Law decree 28 January 2008 (red) over the Turco-Napolitano law (black)

The text is translated from Italian, replacing the Bossi Fini law text with the original Turco-Napolitano law text.



guidance, mediation, and contact with local agencies that are provided during the SPRAR reception period. CARA centers contribute little, if anything, to the long-term social and economic integration of asylum seekers granted protection. CARA centers do not ensure asylum seekers the right to register in the national registry, which is critical for accessing social services and benefits. Asylum seekers within the CARA system are left in a prolonged state of uncertainty, deprived of the rights they would otherwise be entitled to under normal circumstances. Marchetti's observations shed light on that gap between the formal regulations (which intend for short-term accommodation) and the realities of the asylum system, which result in prolonged stays in conditions that worsen refugee vulnerability.

And so within the CARA, an infrastructure established by Decree-Law no. 92/2008, the procedure from Decree-Law no. 303/2004 was still in force. While in previous cases this would have been a precondition for the liminality of the reception space, Chiara Marchetti's observations lead us to shift the reflection on liminality from a spatial perspective to a bodily one. Bodies within the CARA are not only placed in a provisional space, but are constantly held within an indeterminate temporality that shapes their daily experience, relationships, and possibilities for integration as asylum seekers. Cristina Bianchetti argues how "*the body is the 'transit channel' between space and project*":[175] space is never given in itself, but takes shape through the experience of the body. Moreover, the body is also, and especially in the case of the CARA, the place where the norms and practices that organize lived space meet. What occurs inside the CARA is what Bianchetti would call bodily spoliation, a concept she unfolds through her reading of Goffman's total institutions. The process of dispossession operates on the body through minimal gestures: "*photographing, taking fingerprints, instructing on rules, assigning places.*"[176] These seemingly minor acts produce a deep transformation, stripping away autonomy, identity, and security; they impact the body as a lived experience, marking it and turning it into an 'object' controllable by an administrative system. In this sense, the liminality of the space is not only an effect of the lack of implementation of norms, but it is embodied in the bodies that inhabit it, becoming spoliation.

In the CARA, the space is liminal not only because its transformation is glitching within a legislative void, but because the visible form of this glitch is imprinted directly on the body of the asylum seeker, which becomes the site of friction between what is meant to change and what remains fixed, physically embodying regulatory delays, material inertia, and conflicts between different models of governance in the reception system.

175
Bianchetti 2020, 13

176
Ibid., 120

Borgo Mezzanone (FG, 2013)
CARA, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]

Split.

On February 12, 2011, the Italian government declared a state of emergency in response to the *exceptional influx into Italian territory of citizens arriving from North Africa*.[177] In January alone, five thousand people arrived, but the numbers would grow beyond any historical precedent. These individuals were fleeing the aftermath of the popular uprising that, just a month earlier, had ousted President Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali. The 2011 landings initiated a substantial shift of the primary migration routes toward Italy, moving from the Balkan route to the Mediterranean, and the number of asylum seekers would triple compared to previous decades.[178] It was not the first state of emergency declared by the Italian government in response to migratory flows toward national territory, but with the presidential decree of February 2011, **a formal construction of an emergency began—one that would transpose from the legal domain to the material production and management of *accoglienza***. Authorities began to bypass ordinary legislative processes in favor of much more flexible administrative tools such as ordinances, decrees, and circulars. Rather than engaging local institutions in long-term planning—as was happening with the SPRAR system—the state relied on ad hoc agreements to establish temporary reception facilities, the result being a model of reception based on short-term containment, offering basic shelter and food but no individualized support or meaningful prospects for integration. Such a construction found both space and justification within a system drastically undersized in relation to the number of those who would go on to seek asylum; between large-scale reception centers and the model of dispersed accommodation, there were no more than ten thousands of places available, a number which by the end of the year, arrivals would exceed sixty thousand.[180]

If between the two poles the available space proved increasingly undersized, the Italian government had to act through legislation to carve out some more, and quickly. One of the first attempts was the Ordinance No. 3924 of 18 February 2011, through which the President of the Council of Ministers appointed the Prefect of Palermo as delegated commissioner, tasked—among other functions—with identifying structures and areas intended for the management of *accoglienza*, including those to be equipped, and enhancing those already in place.[181] For the approval of projects by the delegated commissioner, the ordinance replaced—with full effect—all reviews, authorizations, and permits ordinarily required by state, regional, provincial, and municipal authorities.[182] The ordinance also granted the delegated commissioner expropriation powers, including the ability to issue measures for temporary occupation and requisition for use, in the words of the decree, as '*instruments for increasing the reception capacity of the centres for immigrants*'.[183]

The office and powers of the Delegated Commissioner were quickly subject to criticism, who identified reception sites in Manduria, Trapani, Caltanissetta, and Potenza without engaging local authorities, generating concerns about security and the impact on local communities. Thus the government made a new decision, choosing to bypass its obligation to offer reception.[184] With the decree of April 5, 2011, titled T*emporary Protection Measures for Foreign Nationals Arriving from North African Countries*, the state provided for their transfer to first aid centers and the granting, by the police chief, of a residence permit for humanitarian reasons, allowing them to remain in Italy, but more importantly, to move freely within other European states.[185] However, the increase in arrivals mined the provisional nature of the decree, and with the agreement signed between the Government, Regions, Public Administration, and Local Authorities during the Unified Conference on April 6, 2011, it was requested that the management of the emergency concerning refugees and asylum seekers be entrusted to the National Civil Protection Service, with the aim of creating effective and suitable reception conditions for those benefiting from the temporary protection measures for migrants.[186] With Ordinance 3933 of April 13, the government replaced the Delegated Commissioner appointing the Head of the Civil Protection Department, now tasked with implementing its Plan for Migrant Reception, that is overseeing the national distribution, initial reception and assistance of non-EU citizens arriving from North Africa. According to the stated objectives of the plan, it was meant to provide modular assistance to a maximum of 50,000 migrants in dedicated facilities.[187] *Modular assistance* refers to dividing the expected number of migrants into multiple groups of 10,000 individuals, to be allocated across various regions and autonomous provinces based on a proportional share for equitable distribution throughout the territory. The plan further specifies that the identified facilities for assistance were not tents, but *structures that were immediately available or could be used in the coming weeks after potential reorganization*.[188]

According to a study that analyzed the experiences of the plan, the majority of the individuals were accommodated in collective centers, while the remainder were hosted in hotels and apartments. [189] The same study pushes a fundamental critique: the creation of a system of *accoglienza* for the North African emergency is the creation of a system of *accoglienza* parallel to the existing one. This occurred when Civil Protection took over from the Prefect of Palermo, and the Ministry of the Interior was effectively stripped of any role in what became an extraordinary intervention. While the Ministry of the Interior retained its responsibility for ordinary migration management through structures such as the CARA and the SPRAR system, the extraordinary reception system coordinated by Civil Protection came to be entirely disconnected from it. The absence of any formal link to the SPRAR system meant that extraordinary measures were not subject to the same minimum standards or organizational requirements; this lead to an emergency model of reception, parallel to the ordinary one, heterogeneous in its various regional and territorial forms, as well as in the nature of the actors involved, the methods of service provision, and the organizational structures. [190] The entire reception plan came to an end the following

177
Presidential decree of February 12 2011, within the GU General Series n.42 of the 21.02.2011

178
Bontempelli 2016, 168-169

179
Marchetti 2014, 58

180
Gruppo Studio sul Sistema d'*Accoglienza* - Ministero dell'Interno 2015, 101

181
Ordinance No. 3924 of 18 February 2011, article 1 comma 2c

182
Ordinance No. 3924 of 18 February 2011, article 1 comma 3

183
Ordinance No. 3924 of 18 February 2011, article 2

184
Marchetti 2014, 64

185
Ordinance No. 3924 of 18 February 2011, article 2 comma 1

186
Caldarozzi et al. 2013, 36

187
Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri 2011, 4

188
Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri 2011, 4

189
Caldarozzi et al. 2013, 36

190
Ibid., 33

year, with Civil Protection Order No. 33 of December 28, 2012, which formalized the closure of the state of emergency and the return to ordinary management—by the Ministry of the Interior and other competent administrations—of the measures concerning the influx of migrants into national territory. Instead, Article 1 of the Ministerial Decree of 28 February 2013 established that all those in possession of the temporary protection granted during the North African emergency could apply either for assisted repatriation or for its conversion into a residence permit for work, family, or study. In contrast, paragraph 6 of the same article provided that those who failed to submit either request within the established deadline would, according to the decree, be subject—on a case-by-case basis—to expulsion and removal from national territory as prescribed by law.

The end of the North Africa emergency, however, did not coincide with the end of the extraordinary reception system. This is because 2014 would mark another record year for arrivals by sea, with the number of landings tripling compared to those of the year 2011.[191] In response to the intensity of arrivals, the government moved to increase the capacity of the Italian reception system. In fact, already during the 2012–2013 period, the Ministry of the Interior had invested in expanding the SPRAR network, which, by the time the new emergency began, had tripled the number of places available in reception and integration projects.[192] Yet while the SPRAR system had reached a capacity of nine thousand places, 2014 saw 170,000 arrivals by sea. Thus, in a State–Regions Conference held on 10 July of that same year, a request was made for an '*operational plan for the activation and management of a reception system capable of coping with such pressure*',[193] and therefore distinct from the ordinary system, as it still needed to be activated and was to be scaled according to the ongoing emergency. The plan was to distinguish three different levels of rescue and reception: the first concerned initial assistance, to be carried out in existing government facilities, including the CPSA, and, if necessary, through the partial adaptation of CARA centres located in the regions where arrivals occurred; a second level would concern initial reception, to be implemented through the activation of new centres specifically intended to facilitate the transfer toward the ordinary SPRAR network.[194]

It is here that the main features of the third pole of the reception system, the emergency and extraordinary one, are specified: the same document reiterates the centrality of the SPRAR network and its confirmation *as the sole reception system for individuals seeking or holding international protection*,[195] and therefore, the first reception level was supposed to function solely as a transitional filter toward the ordinary system. In fact, when describing the operational plan's third level of *accoglienza*, the document specifies that the SPRAR corresponds to the second pole of *accoglienza* and integration. With this conference, the institutionalization of the extraordinary reception system begins, an institutionalization that will lead to its gradual absorption into the ordinary network and will, in effect, stratify the entire national system of *accoglienza*. This would happen under article 8 of Ministerial Decree 142/2015 which updates the legislative framework of

191
Gruppo Studio sul Sistema d'***Accoglienza*** - Ministero dell'Interno 2015, 5

192
Caldarozzi, Giovannetti, and Miniucci 2013, 7

193
Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri 2014, 4

194
Ibid., 5

195
Ibid., 6

Art. 9.

(First Reception Measures)

3. The facilities established with Law Decree of 30 October 1995, n. 451, [redacted] may be designated, [redacted] for the purposes referred to in this article.

5. Once the procedures and requirements referred to in paragraph 4 have been completed, the applicant [redacted] shall be transferred to the facilities referred to in Article 14.

Art. 11.

(Extraordinary Reception Measures)

1. In the event that the availability of places within the facilities referred to in Articles 9 and 14 is temporarily exhausted [redacted] reception may be arranged by the prefect [redacted] in temporary facilities specifically set up for this purpose, [redacted]

Art. 14.

(Territorial Reception System – Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees)

Ministerial Decree 142/2015

The text is translated from Italian and split.

1. The applicant who has formalized their application and is found to lack sufficient means to ensure an adequate quality of life for themselves and their family members shall have access, together with their family members, to the reception measures of the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR).

the reception system, splitting it into first and second levels of *accoglienza*. The first level of *accoglienza* is outlined in greater detail in Articles 9 and 11. While article 9 refers to those centers initially introduced by the Puglia Law, the CPA which since 2006 are referred to as CPSA, article 11 instead introduces what are termed '*extraordinary measures of accoglienza*'. These extraordinary measures are activated, as the article states, in cases where there is no available capacity in either first-phase or second-phase reception centers. As a result, the CPSA is commonly understood as a center of very first reception — in Italian, *primissima accoglienza* — while the extraordinary centers are thereby classified under the broader category of first *accoglienza* and referred to as Centers of Extraordinary *Accoglienza* (*Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria*, or CAS). These centers are described in the article as temporary and specially equipped facilities, identified by the *prefetture*, or territorial offices of the central government, in collaboration with local authorities. Even more significant is the article's provision allowing for direct award or assignment procedures, which may be interpreted as a continuation of the practices first developed under the *commissario delegato* of Palermo in 2011, and later formalized through the Civil Protection structures during the implementation of the North African Emergency plan.

With the introduction of the CAS infrastructure, italian law effectively and violently split apart a system in the process of evolving. This was done in order to create a third pole that could, in conditions of immediacy and provisionality, make up for the missing capacity of the existing system. Far from being a marginal or temporary solution, the CAS rapidly emerged as the gravitational center of Italy's system of *accoglienza*. That they were labeled extraordinary soon appeared less a descriptor of their temporary nature than a rhetorical device, masking the fact that the so-called emergency was fast becoming the norm. Their proliferation marked not just a practical response to rising arrivals, but a deeper institutional drift: one that systematically privileged the logics of urgency and improvisation over those of planning and structural coherence. And yet, CAS were originally conceived as temporary facilities by definition: set up across the national territory to accommodate asylum seekers in response to the exceptional increase in arrivals and the consequent overcrowding of both governmental reception centers and those operated by local authorities within the formal system.[196] The introduction of the CAS led to a rapid expansion of reception capacity through the involvement of a wide range of private entities. Across the country, different actors began to offer places in structures of various kinds: apartments, hotels, agritourism facilities, retirement homes, hostels, and others.[197] This mechanism, while effective in creating new places in the short term, also introduced a high degree of disaggregation: rather than contributing to a coordinated system, the CAS developed into a fragmented network, a constellation of structures that differed significantly in terms of size, organization, and services provided.[198]

196
Oxfam 2017, 21

197
Ibid., 22

198
Pannarale, Pupolizio, and Senaldi 2024, 37

Reggio-Emilia (RE, 2025)
CAS network, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]

hot-spot, life-line

A narrative of emergency would also be constructed at the European level, when the 2015 European Agenda on Migration was developed. This agenda introduced the concept of the hotspot—an infrastructure for managing arrivals along Mediterranean routes, with the specific aim of relieving pressure on the European Union's border states, namely Italy and Greece, by optimizing and streamlining first aid procedures, particularly those related to the identification and categorization of migrants. Even more significant was the introduction of a relocation program, under which a predetermined number of migrants would be transferred to another Member State. Pupolizio notes that this agenda would be implemented in Italy through soft law instruments, with the publication of a Roadmap in September 2015 and a ministerial circular published the following month.[199] These documents clarified the nature of the hotspot, translating the term into Italian as punto di crisi—"crisis point"—as if to evoke the intensity produced by and the tension charged on this emerging space, its pressure on the Italian coasts. The hotspot infrastructure, defined by the agenda as an "equipped disembarkation area," was established within and replacing the existing CPSA facilities in Lampedusa, Pozzallo, Porto Empedocle, and Trapani; the spaces are primarily used for pre-identification and fingerprinting procedures. The stay in these centres is estimated to last between 24 and 48 hours, during which time migrants are categorized in order to be directed into one of the three possible procedures within the national reception system. A specific category of migrants, introduced by the European Agenda itself, are those defined as "in clear need of protection," meaning individuals coming from countries with a recognition rate higher or equal to 75%. These individuals are promptly informed of the possibility of participating in the relocation programme and, if they agree, are transferred to designated regional hubs, identified within the CARA facilities under the jurisdiction of the prefectures of Bari, Crotone, and Agrigento—i.e., government-run centres falling within the operational reach of the former CPSA. There was a lack of clarity concerning how the coexistence of different categories of migrants within the CARA would be managed, since the same first reception centres also accommodate those who, having completed the identification procedure in the hotspot, are not eligible for relocation but express the intention to apply for asylum. Those who do not express such an intention constitute the third and final category defined by the Agenda; they are either issued an expulsion order from the country or transferred to repatriation centres.[200]

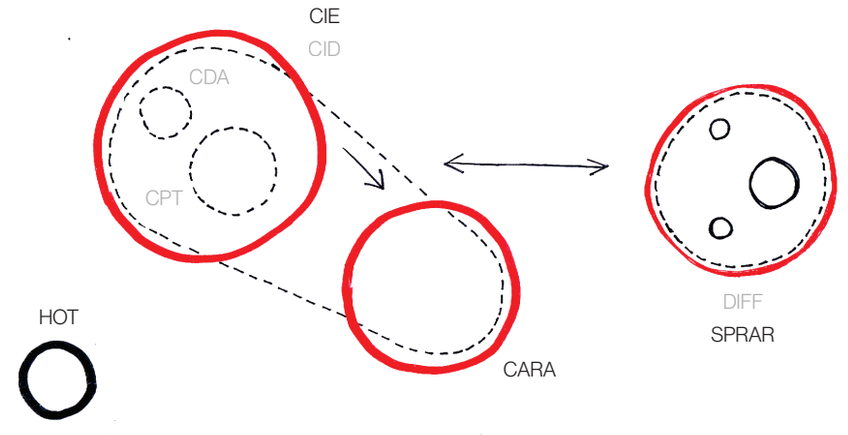
The hotspot approach made it nearly impossible for arriving migrants to avoid identification, limiting their movement from border countries to other parts of Europe.[201] Although the European Agenda formally aimed to ease the burden of reception on frontline states, Italy's system remained under intense strain—due not only to the high number of asylum applications, but also to lengthy processing times, which slowed turnover and prolonged stays within the system. At the same time, Legislative Decree 142/2015, under Article 23—entitled Withdrawal of Reception Conditions, lists a series of actions which, if committed by the beneficiaries, would lead to the exclusion from reception facilities and services. The actions ranged from unjustified departure from the facility—which, under the regulatory framework in force at the time, operated as a semi-closed space—to the non-compliance with facility rules, including even minor disciplinary infractions. Adding onto this was a recurring situation in which migrants initiated the asylum process entirely on their own, without institutional guidance or support, even though assistance at this stage was formally guaranteed by the same legislative framework. Because access to reception services was tied to the official recording of the application, and such registration was often significantly delayed, many were left in a state of legal and material limbo for extended periods.[202] Instead, once migrants receive material assistance and leave government-run centers, some attempt to cross borders that have become increasingly restrictive, while others end up in marginalized communities—often in large cities like Rome or in rural areas of southern Italy such as Puglia and Calabria. These areas experience

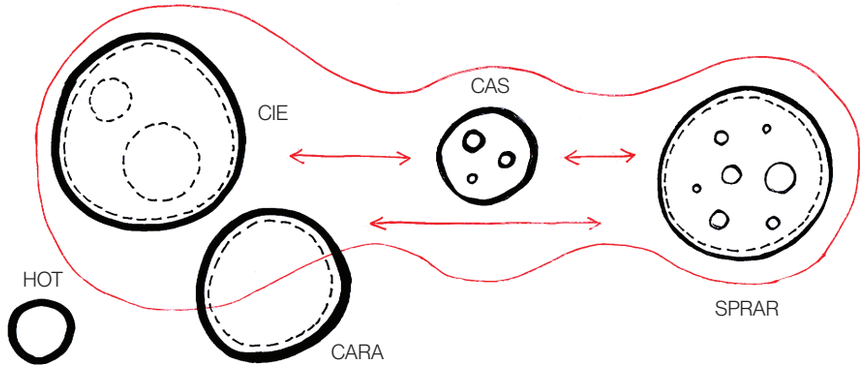
199
Ibid., 39

200
Ministerial circular of 18 May 2015

201
Medici Senza Frontiere 2018, 3

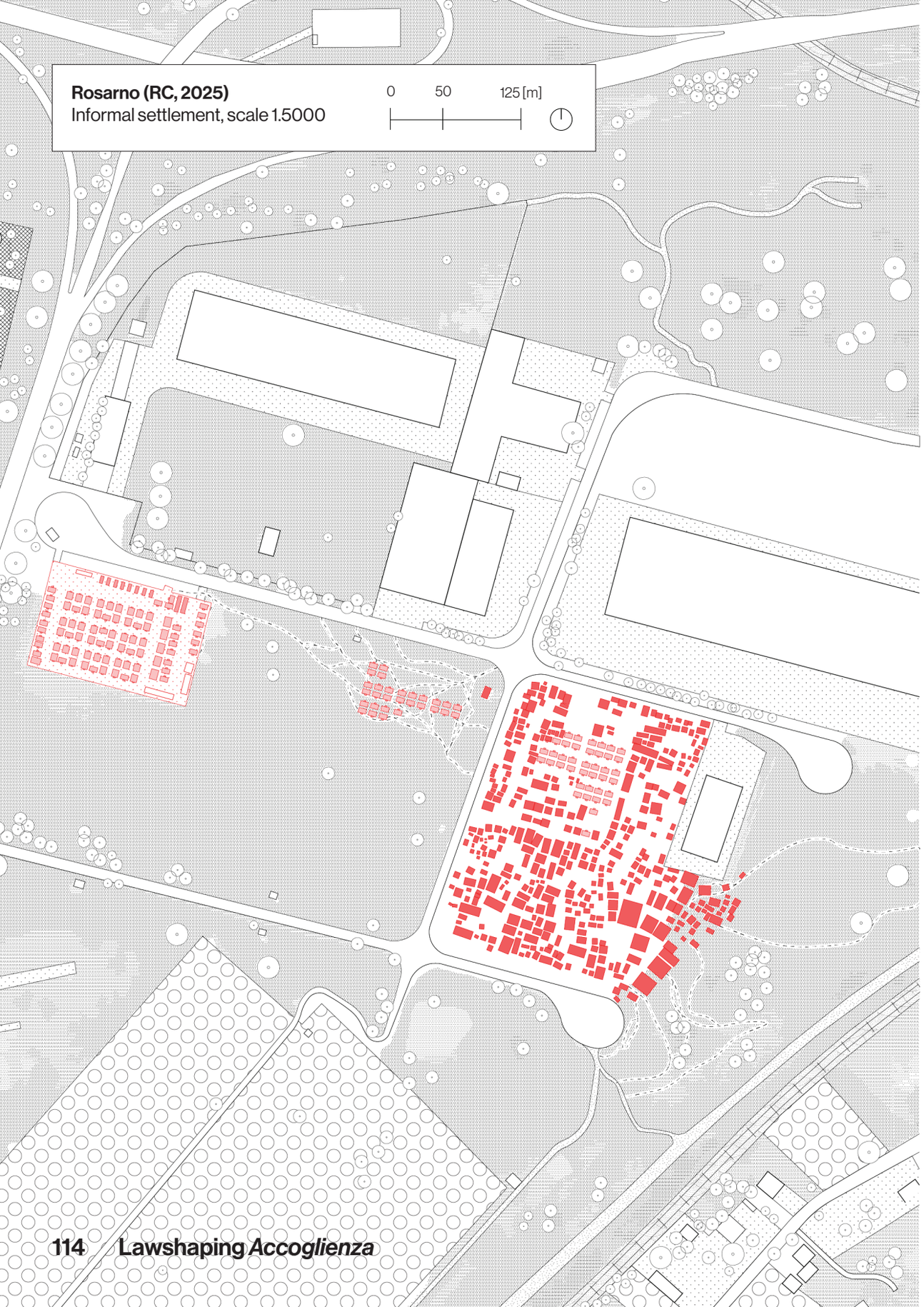
202
Ibid., 3





Ideal-typical diagram 3 and 4

Following the new laws, the CIE and the CARA replace the CID, while the CAS splits the system and creates a new pole. Along the governamental pole the hotspot infrastructure is defined.



population fluctuations connected to seasonal agricultural work, feeding into the long-standing cycle in which migrants move between fixed settlements and temporary labor sites; and when border crossings fail, migrants frequently return to this pattern of instability and exclusion, reinforcing a continuous flow of precarious living conditions.[203]

While the formalization of an emergency framework at the legislative level led to the proliferation of emergency-oriented spaces—namely, the extraordinary circuit of *accoglienza*, which fractured the ordinary system and introduced a third, autonomous pole of reception—the complications to the connection between the first and second reception tiers of the national system generated yet another kind of infrastructure. This in-between space, suspended between legal categories, was sustained not by design but by inertia, a byproduct of legal voids that nonetheless produced concrete forms of exclusion. Within this fractured geography, new modes of inhabiting space began to emerge. As noted by Médecins Sans Frontières, the rise of informal occupations—self-organized spaces often established in abandoned buildings—became a refuge for those who had either never entered or had been expelled from the formal reception system.[204] These occupations, while initially unauthorized, were in some cases later acknowledged or supported by local institutions. They were not merely makeshift shelters but forms of spatial and social agency: sites where migrants and refugees reclaimed autonomy over housing, time, and the terms of their own inclusion. Rather than reproducing the logic of temporariness and expulsion, they proposed a model grounded in collective management, long-term inhabitation, and the refusal of pre-scripted trajectories of integration. This tension between formal exclusion and informal inhabitation recalls what Bianchetti and Boano conceptualize as lifelines: spaces that arise not from institutional planning, but from the need to resist abandonment. Lifelines are neither purely protective nor entirely emancipatory—they exist in the folds of vulnerability, shaped by overlapping forces of care and control, exposure and immunity; they do not resolve precariousness, but instead dwell within it, creating moments of resilience that challenge the logics of exhaustion and spatial abandonment that dominate the present.[205] From this perspective, informal occupations can be read not simply as responses to the failures of the reception system, but as spatial practices that expose its deeper contradictions—sites that both absorb and resist the violence of a fragmented system, opening minor yet meaningful possibilities for living otherwise.

The formal institution of the hotspot centres arrived two years later with Law Decree n.13/2017, commonly referred to as the Minniti-Orlando decree and officially titled '*Urgent provisions for the acceleration of procedures concerning international protection, as well as for the fight against illegal immigration*'. Article 17 made modifications to the text of the Turco-Napolitano law: to its Article 10 the new law decree adds Article 10-ter, explicitly referring to all foreign nationals found to be irregularly present on national territory or rescued during operations by sea, which would be taken to the hotspot centers. It essentially restates everything set out by the 2015 decree but adds the obligation of fingerprinting and photographing, with the

203 Ibid., 4

204 Medici Senza Frontiere 2018, 7

205 Boano and Bianchetti 2022, 11-17

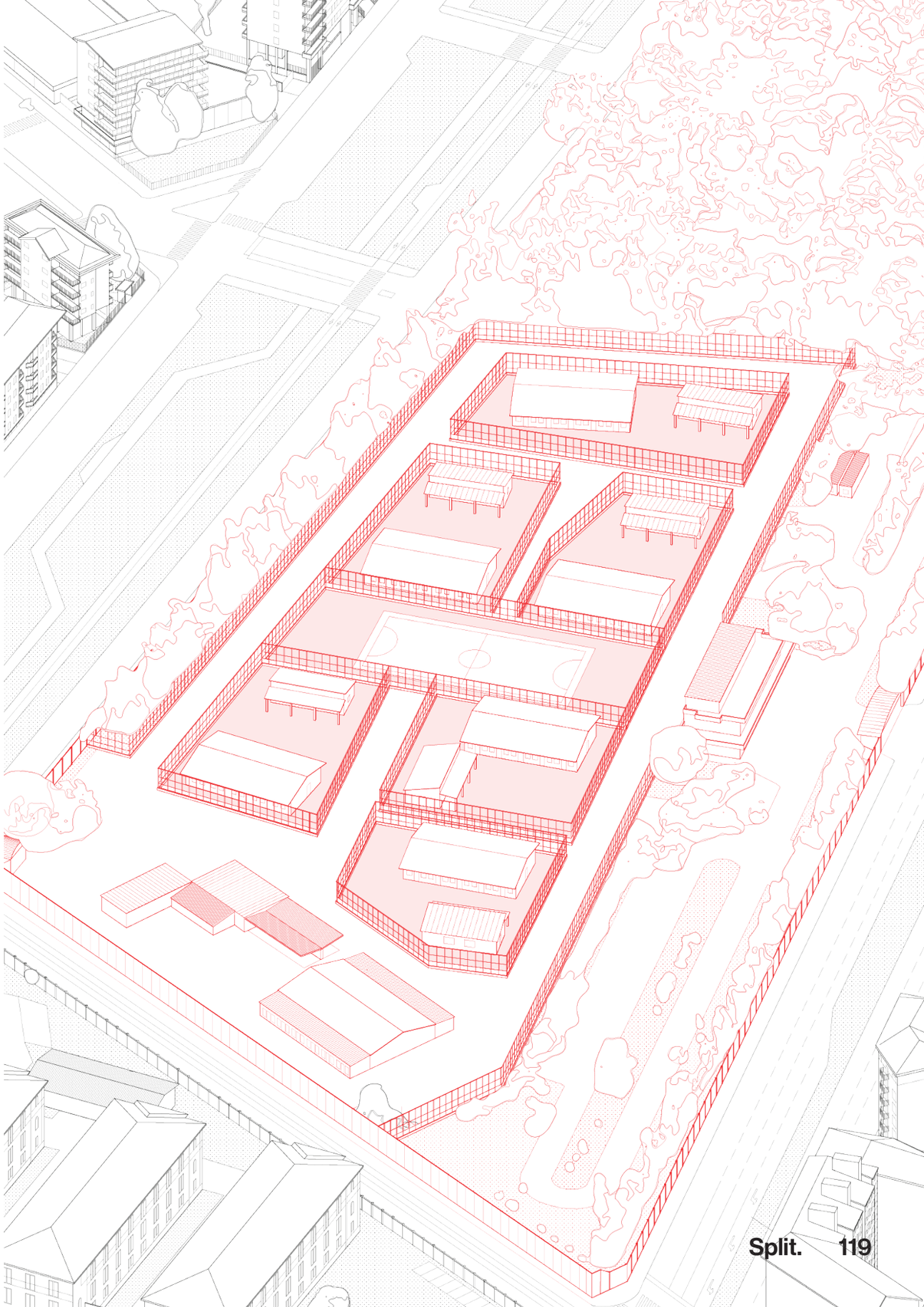
Borgo Mezzanone (FG, 2025)
CARA/INF settlement, scale 1.5000

0 50 125 [m]

consequence of detention if these procedures are evaded by the foreign national. The legal text does not include details about the operation of the centres, such as their open and closed hours, limiting itself to their categorization within the 1995 Puglia law center typology. The legal framework, therefore, encapsulates the logic of this space within those very same spaces that were later transformed into Identification and Expulsion Centres, which, moreover, with the new law, adopt the more recent and currently used terminology. According to Article 19, detention would now take place at the *Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio* (CPR, Return Detention Centre), whose network was to be expanded and distributed across the national territory, adding that these newly established centres should be located "preferably in sites and areas outside urban centres that are more easily accessible." For the expansion of the network, the article allocates 13 million euros for the construction costs of the new centres, aiming to quadruple the then-current capacity of four hundred places. The opening of new centres was planned by July of the same year, and the number of Italian regions with one or more detention facilities increased from five to ten, with centers opened in former barracks, prisons, or previously closed reception centres.[206]

While the Minniti-Orlando decree had planned the expansion of the network through the construction of new Detention Centres, Decree Law 113/2018, famously known as the Security Decree, provides in its Article 2, paragraph 2, for the possibility to jump start construction or renovation works on these centres using a negotiated procedure, without the need to for a public tender notice. The official title of the new decree, '*Urgent provisions on international protection and immigration, public security*', echoes the new government's stance on immigration issues, now overlapping with public order concerns, immediately exposing the logic behind of the legislative intervention. The maximum detention period is doubled, from ninety to one hundred eighty days, as defined in Article 2; meanwhile, Article 3 introduces new motivations to enforce the detainment of foreign nationals. The foreign national seeking international protection may now be detained in hotspots for a maximum duration of thirty days in order to determine or verify their identity and nationality –a space in anycase prepared for detention, as seen through the Minniti Orlando decree– whereas they may be detained in CPRs for a maximum of one hundred eighty days if it is not possible to determine or verify their identity.

206
Commissione Straordinaria per la Tutela e la Promozione dei Diritti Umani 2017, 16-17



Corso Brunelleschi (TO, 2025)
CPR

Pian del Lago (CT, 2025)
CDA/CARA/CPR , scale 1.2000

0 20 50 [m]

Warp.

The more significant consequence of the new Security Decree will be its impact on the second level of *accoglienza*. Starting with Decree 113/2018, the national system would undergo a series of contractions and expansions, stemming both from changes to the eligible categories of beneficiaries and from the narrowing of the range of services that may be provided within the system. Giovannetti offers a clear image of the force—or rather, the violence—of the law set out by the Security Decree and the new government, stating how it rendered precarious a two-decade-long process of constant evolution and improvement diffused *accoglienza*.[207] Article 12 of the Security Decree modifies the text of the Martelli Law—specifically, the original provision concerning decentralized reception, which had established the possibility of collaboration between the State and local authorities, thereby encouraging and supporting the grassroots experiences that had characterized the first migration emergencies. The second level of *accoglienza* was accessible only by beneficiaries of international protection and unaccompanied foreign minors. Consequently, asylum seekers were confined to the first level and to the extraordinary reception circuit, ad the SPRAR was thereby transformed into the SIPROIMI, the System of Protection for Beneficiaries of International Protection, Refugees, and Unaccompanied Foreign Minors.

A sharp legislative move, one that shifts the focus onto the individual legal statuses of migrants. The law inaugurates an approach no longer grounded in the creation of spaces, rather in a warping of *accoglienza* engineered around specific categories. By limiting access to integration, granted only to beneficiaries and minors alone, the decree undermines the centrality and gravitational force of the second pole within the national system of *accoglienza*, restoring strength and momentum to the extraordinary reception circuit and the large governmental centers.

What emerges is the intent to exclude the foreigner from any pathway, initiative, or contact with the possibility of integration into Italian society and territory—thereby facilitating a process of precarization within the very structure of *accoglienza*. This through an institutional redesign introduced by the Security Decree did not merely redefine who is entitled to access the different levels of the reception system, but also profoundly altered the nature and quality of the services provided within the facilities. As Pupolizio observes, the new service contracts regulating CAS and CPA facilities introduced minimal standards of reception, having to provide only food, shelter, and little else. All those services that could support a path toward autonomy—language courses, vocational training, psychological support, orientation within the territory—are either removed entirely or drastically reduced, turning reception into an administrative suspension rather than a real process of inclusion.[208] Even more concerning, according to Petrovic, was the prolonged permanence within these circuits. The most frequent outcome, he emphasizes, was the extended

207
Giovannetti 2021, 21

208
Pupolizio, #

Security Decree

The text is translated from Italian and warped.

Art. 12

(Provisions on the Reception of Asylum Seekers)

1. Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, is amended as follows:

b) In paragraph 4, the words from "of the asylum seeker" up to "of Legislative Decree of 25 July 1998, No. 286," are replaced by: "of the persons referred to in paragraph 1";

c) In paragraph 5, letter a), the words "of asylum seekers, refugees and foreigners with humanitarian permits" are replaced by: "of the persons referred to in paragraph 1";

d) The heading is replaced with the following: "Art. 1-sexies. Protection system for holders of international protection and unaccompanied foreign minors."

2. Legislative Decree of 18 August 2015, No. 142, is amended as follows:

f) In Article 14:

1) In paragraph 1, the words from "Protection System" to the end of the paragraph are replaced by: "this decree";

2) Paragraph 2 is repealed;

3) In paragraph 3, the following sentence is inserted at the beginning: "In order to access the reception measures provided for by this decree, the applicant shall declare, at the time of submitting the application, that they lack sufficient means of subsistence.";

4)In paragraph 4, second sentence, the words "pursuant to paragraph 1" are deleted;

5)The heading of Article 14 is replaced by the following: "Art. 14. Procedures for access to the reception system".

4. The definitions "Protection system for asylum seekers and refugees" or "Protection system for asylum seekers, refugees and unaccompanied foreign minors," as referred to in Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, wherever found in legislative or regulatory provisions, shall be understood as replaced by the following: "Protection system for holders of international protection and for unaccompanied foreign minors," as referred to in Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, and subsequent amendments.

confinement in structures that lead nowhere, except toward a gradual descent into social marginality.[209] What re-emerged, then, was a multiplication of centers that often coexisted in the same territory without coordination or continuity. Reception, as it was then configured, risked becoming a self-referential system: incapable of accompanying individuals toward autonomy, yet fully functional in maintaining suspended lives—controlled, and thus governable.

Two years later, the new Minister of the Interior, Lamorgese, would reset the work of her predecessor by enacting her homonymous Law Decree n.130/2020. The decree reinstated access to the second reception tier and appeared to restore uniformity within the national system between first and second levels of reception. It did so by renaming the system of widespread reception, from SIPROIMI to SAI, the *Sistema di accoglienza e integrazione* (Reception and Integration System), once again accessible to asylum seekers and no longer reserved solely for holders of international protection. However, the new decree did not abandon the logic of categorization that had already distorted the second reception tier: the SAI was itself subdivided into two levels. The first level was open to asylum seekers, who were guaranteed services previously denied to them in past years: material reception, health, social and psychological assistance, linguistic and cultural mediation, Italian language courses, legal and territorial orientation, and pocket money. These services would also be provided in governmental centers and extraordinary reception centers. CAS was thus reconfigured as a support mechanism, to be activated only when the capacity of the SAI system proved insufficient, and in any case only intended to host the applicant for the time strictly necessary until space became available within the SAI. The second level of SAI instead included an additional set of services, now oriented toward integration into Italian society, such as job orientation and professional training. Access to this second level was reserved for beneficiaries of protection and certain special categories of migrants. All of this is outlined in Article 4 of the decree, which also introduces a priority access route to the SAI for certain vulnerable categories of migrants.[210]

The more recent Law Decree n.20/2023, converted into Law n.50/2023 configures a return to the provisions of the Security Decree—and not only that. In addition to reintroducing restrictions on access to integration services, the Cutro Decree represents, in the context of this thesis, the most recent legislative act radically transforming the entire system of *accoglienza*, further fragmenting both the system of governmental centers and the first level of national reception. Article 5-bis, paragraph 4, modifies the provision that in 2015 codified the CAS infrastructure. The paragraph specifies that, when availability in governmental centers is reduced, '*reception may be arranged for the strictly necessary time in provisional reception structures*', introducing yet another infrastructure, different from the CAS in its provisional and not extraordinary typology description.[211] Centri d'Italia comments how such abstracted description, through which nothing is known about these structures, forced them to assign arbitrarily a name to the new infrastructure of reception: the temporary reception centers (Centri di *Accoglienza*

209
Petrovic, #

210
Law Decree 21 October 2020, n. 130, article 4

211
Law Decree 10 March 2023, n. 2, article 5bis comma 4

Law Decree n.130/2020

The text is translated from Italian and warped.

Art. 4

(Provisions on the Reception of Applicants for International Protection and Holders of Protection)

3. The reception of applicants for international protection shall be ensured, within the limits of available places, in the facilities of the Reception and Integration System, as referred to in Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39.

4. Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, is amended as follows:

a) The heading of the article is replaced with: "(Reception and Integration System)";

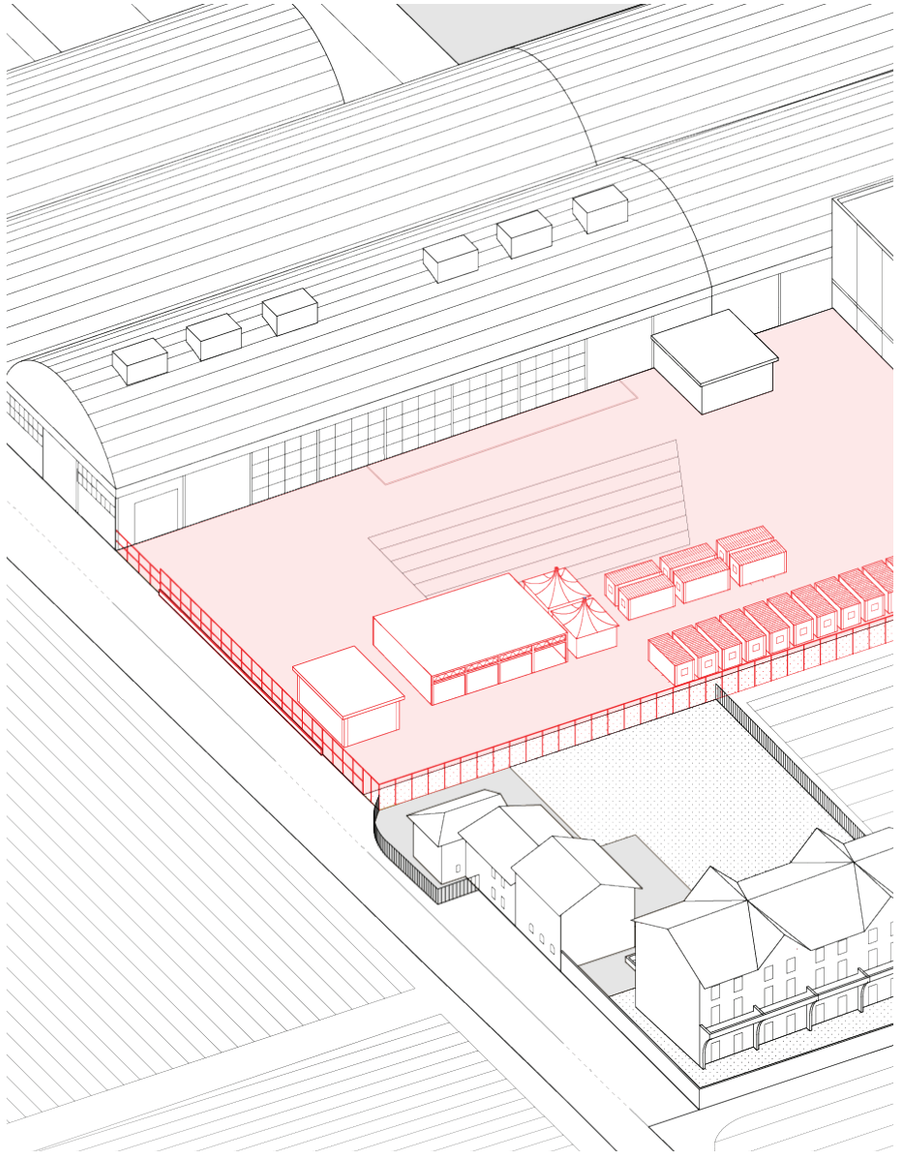
5. The definition "Protection System for holders of international protection and for unaccompanied foreign minors," as referred to in Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, wherever it appears in legislative or regulatory provisions, shall be understood as replaced by the following: "Reception and Integration System."

Art. 5

(Support for Integration Pathways)

1. For beneficiaries of reception measures within the Reception and Integration System, as referred to in Article 1-sexies of Decree-Law of 30 December 1989, No. 416, converted, with amendments, by Law of 28 February 1990, No. 39, upon the expiration of the reception period established by the rules governing the functioning of the same System, further integration pathways shall be initiated by the competent administrations, within the limits of the human, instrumental, and financial resources available under current legislation in their respective budgets.

Temporanea, or CAT).[212] These came to be developed following the same procedures as the extraordinary reception centers, and were thus established through public procurement processes—even through direct awarding procedures. Yet Centri d'Italia also refers to them as 'non-places', alluding to their complete absence from national debate, lack of description, and analysis. They further comment that this new type of center not only reduces the services provided to the bare essentials, but also appears to entail higher costs than the now well-established CAS facilities, concluding that 'they may represent a strong attraction for operators lacking any competence in the protection of asylum seekers' rights'.[213] Between 2018 and 2023, the system of *accoglienza* was not simply reformed but violently warped by the force of law. Each legislative intervention operated like a deliberate distortion. By classifying migrants into categories,



Martorano (RE, 2025)
CAT

212
As coined by Centri d'Italia in *Accoglienza* al Collasso (2024).

213
Centri d'Italia 2024, 11

214
Law Decree 10 March 2023, n. 20, article 5-bis

215
All contained within law Decree 11 October 2024, n. 145

based on which it would regulate the access to the different tiers of *accoglienza*, the law did not just change rules—it bent and reshaped the entire structure from the inside out. Such instrumentalization of migrant categories subjected the entire apparatus to a form of organizational precarization, undermining the continuity of the diffused model of *accoglienza*: each restriction imposed on the second level triggered a corresponding expansion of the first level, as asylum seekers were funneled back into the extraordinary reception system. Consequently, the CAS network, originally intended as a temporary overflow mechanism, gradually absorbed growing numbers of migrants, despite its inability to provide long-term integration. In simpler words, the immediate consequence of the contraction of the former SPRAR–SIPROIMI–SAI — affecting both its numerical capacity and its ability to host legally heterogeneous subjectivities — was the parallel growth of the system of governmental centers.

Alongside the warping of government-run centers, there is a broader normative restructuring of the reception system following a logic of "hotspottization," as defined by Pupolizio, which goes far beyond simply reinforcing crisis points at the borders. In this regard, Article 5-bis of law decree n.20/2023, in its first paragraph, extends until December 31, 2025—with some exceptions—the derogations from ordinary procedures for creating new structures similar to hotspots, thereby facilitating their multiplication across the territory.[214] This consolidates a form of reception that prioritizes speed, containment, and isolation. The third paragraph grants the Ministry of the Interior the power to transfer migrants from a hotspot to "similar structures," identified and instituted jointly with the Ministry of Justice and intended to carry out the same activities of initial assistance, identification, and, in some cases, detention. This legal provision, through the modifications of Article 10-ter of the TUI with the introduction of paragraph 1-bis, authorizes the deployment and replication of hotspot functions in facilities spread throughout the national territory. The result is a truly modular infrastructure, within which spaces with different functions can coexist—ranging from identification to temporary detention, to minimal forms of reception—but all integrated within a logic of exceptional and centralized management. The hotspot, originally a filtering mechanism at the borders, thus evolves into the organizational model for the entire state reception system. As was already mentioned, the Cutro decree represents the last major manipulation of the national reception system as a whole, but is not the latest decree up-to-date. The following law decree n.145/2024, while introducing significant changes to procedures for examining international protection applications, the obligations of applicants, and the rules on detention, does not structurally intervene on the spatial reception system. The changes mainly concern procedural and judicial aspects: accelerating procedures for certain categories of applicants (art. 10), strengthening cooperation obligations during identification (art. 11), and expanding detention possibilities at the border (art. 12).[215] In this sense, the latest decree acts more through functional layering than spatial overhaul, updating operational codes without substantially altering the forms and distribution logics of the spaces that support it.

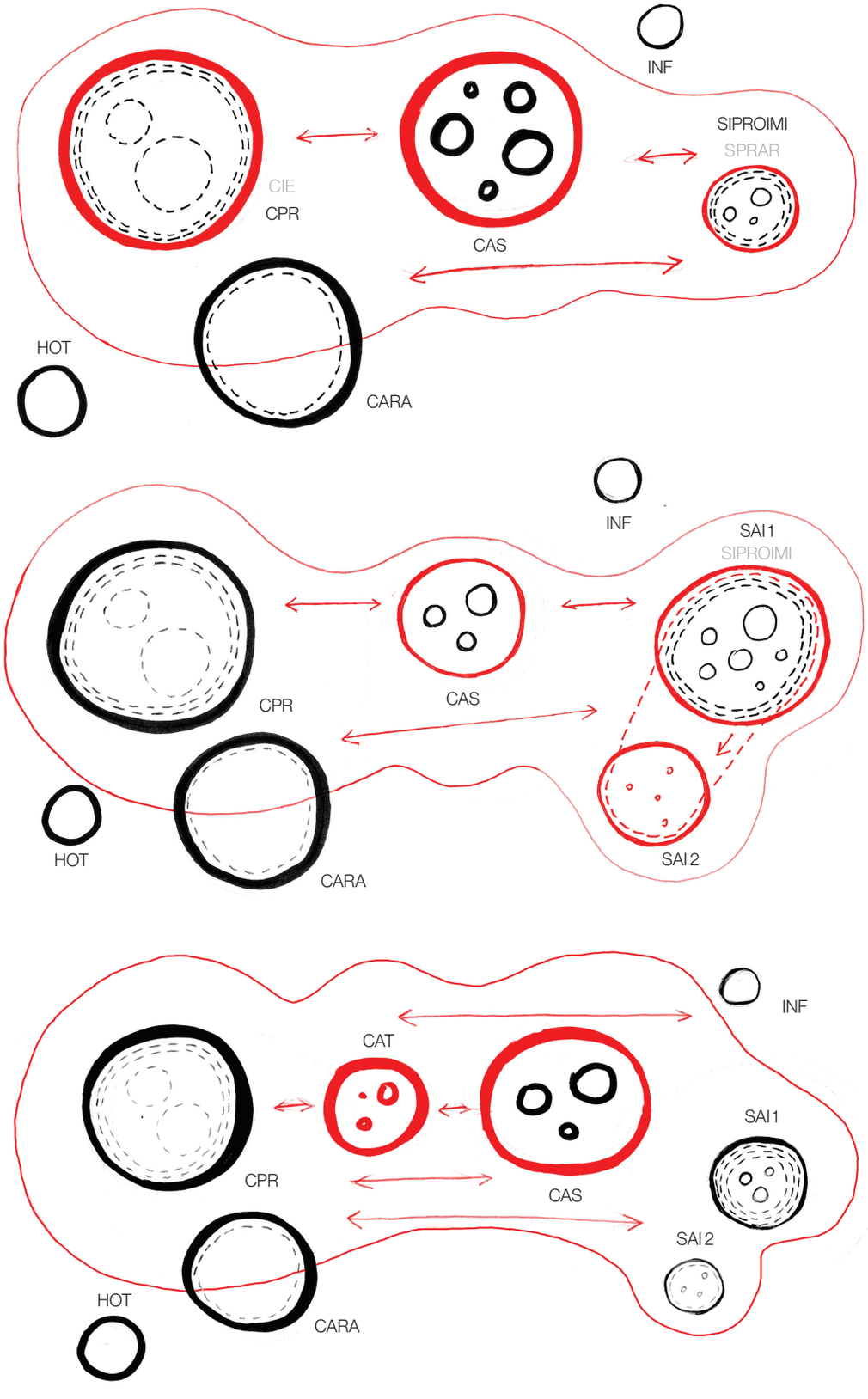
Ideal-typical diagram 5, 6 and 7.

Out of all the operations seen so far, under the warping mechanisms of the law the italian reception systems changes radically, schizofrenically. The three decrees briefly described—Decreto Sicurezza, Decreto Lamorgese, and Decreto Cutro—take the system and distort it at will.

By “warp” is meant a series of distortion operations (expansions, reductions, splittings) which become immediately visible in the ideal-typical diagram by tracing its outline. It is the outline itself that is continuously deformed. Under the Decreto Sicurezza, the CAS pole becomes the largest and most prominent infrastructure in the entire system, while the SPRAR is effectively shrunk and renamed SIPROIMI.

Under the Decreto Lamorgese, the SIPROIMI becomes SAI, which is further split into two poles, SAI 1 and SAI 2. In this case, the diffused pole of reception regains momentum and partially rebalances the structural asymmetries produced by the Decreto Sicurezza. Yet with the Decreto Cutro, the CAS pole once more—and this time definitively—becomes the main gravitational center of the system. The decree not only reaffirms the centrality of CAS but also fragments the pole of extraordinary reception itself, further complexifying the interconnections within the system of accoglienza.

This is precisely what the arrows in the diagram indicate: the possible movements between poles. Under the Decreto Cutro, an asylum seeker may be transferred from the first reception system to the CAT, to the CAS, or directly to the second reception, and vice versa. From the CAT, transfer to the CAS or to the second reception system is possible. From the CAS, transfer back to the CAT or onward to the second reception may occur.



Diffused / Dispersed - SAI / CAS

scale 1 : 80.000.000

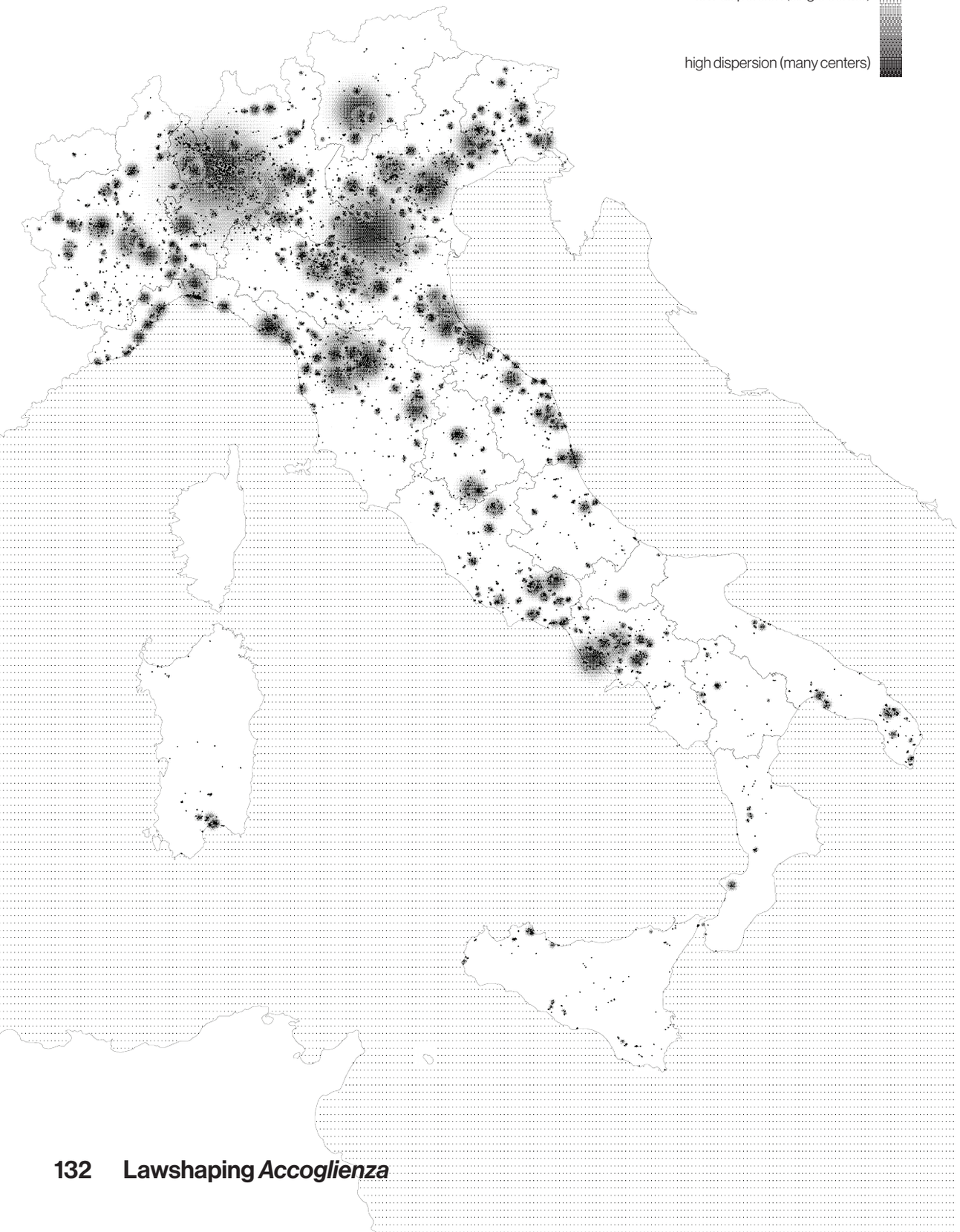
0 800 4000 [km] 8000 [km]

In an attempt to give a larger snapshot of the presence and distribution of both the *SAI* and CAS network, here follow two cartographies. The first is a map of the SAI system throughout Italy. The single adresses of each center are confidential information and are not shared with Centri d'Italia, the monitoring pole of *accoglienza,* owner and distributor of the larger datasets on *accoglienza* centers infromation. Through the available information it is possible to quantify the number of SAI centers in each of the local municipalities in Italy (that is, *comuni*). The *comuni* which host SAI centers are higlighted in a gray color, with the tonality of gray roughly indicating the number of SAI centers in a given *comune*. The second cartography is divided in sets, which indicate the exact location of CAS centers in Italy. Because CAS are classified by the same *Centri d'Italia* based on the gender and age of the center's guest, the sets are five in total and correspond to cas centers for men only, mixed, women only, families and Unaccompanied Foreign Minors (UFMs). The maps reveal the dispersal of the CAS network, allowing identification both of areas with high concentrations of CAS centers and of their spread across the different regions.

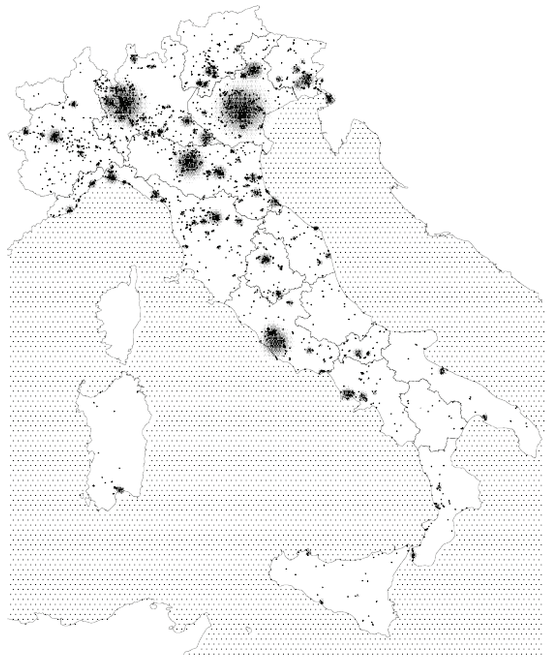
CAS Cartography

low dispersion (single center)

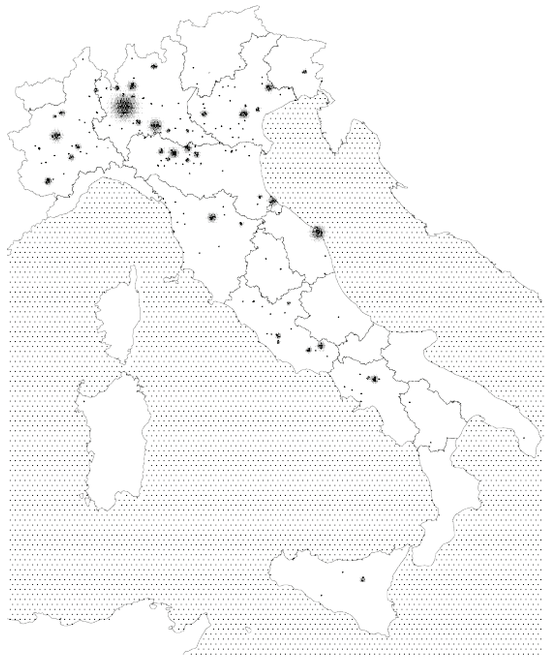
high dispersion (many centers)



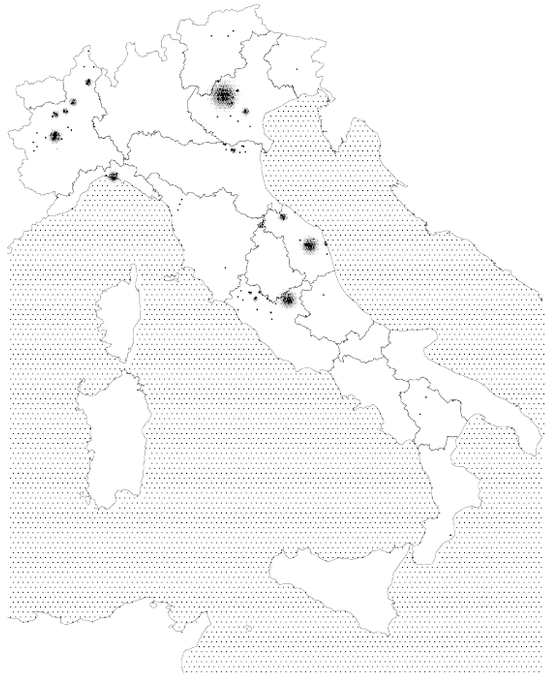
CAS Mixed



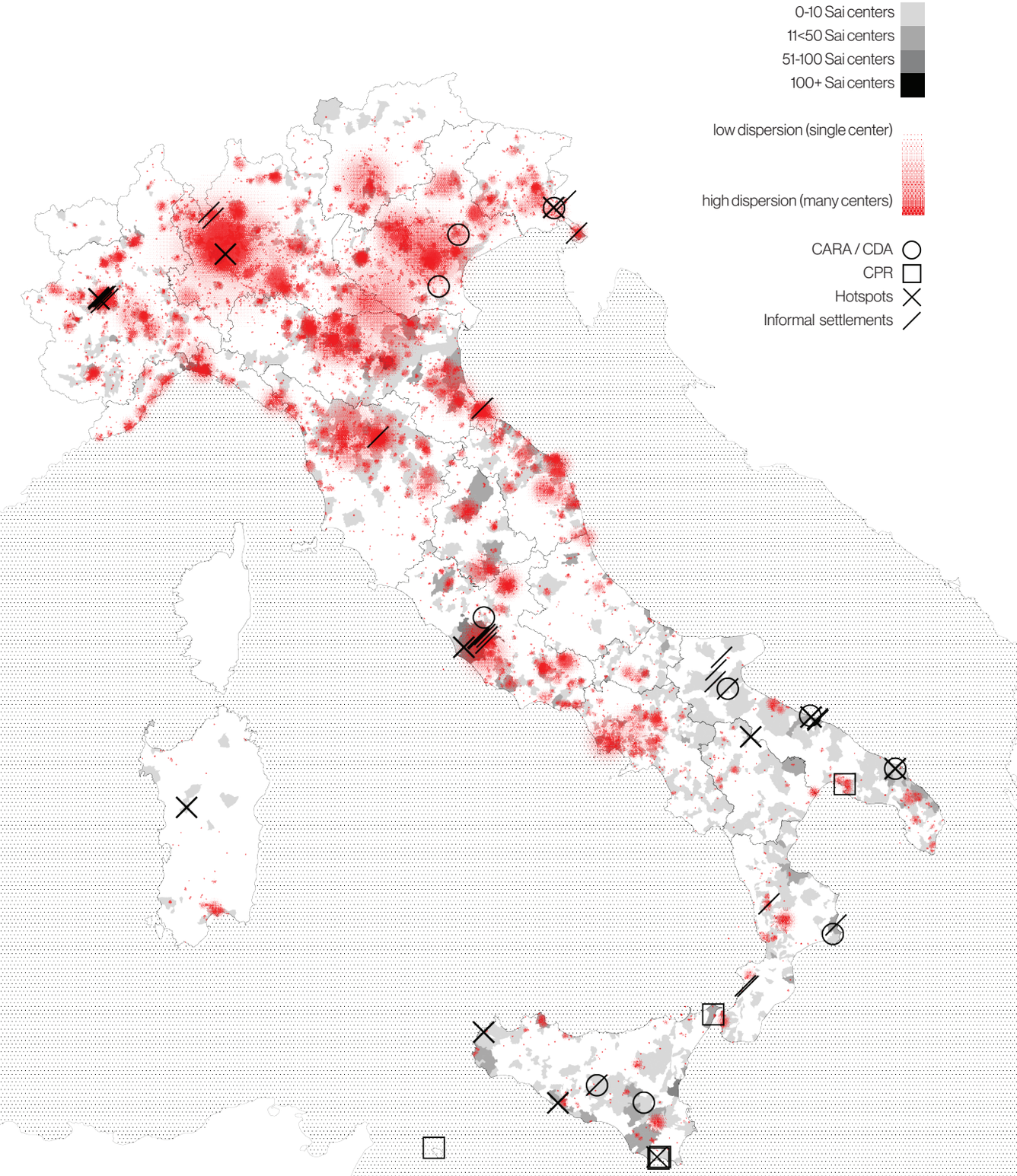
CAS Women



CAS Families



CAS UFMs



Accoglienza, Today

scale 1 : 80.000.000

0 800 4000 [km] 8000 [km]

The map overlaps the diffused reception network of the SAI, the CAS network, the governmental centers (CARA/CDA, CPR, Hotspots), and informal settlements. It does not include data on CATs (temporary reception centers), as the Ministry of the Interior does not hold information about them. The only way to obtain such data would be by contacting each prefecture individually. A few observations can be made immediately. There is a clear difference in the predominant type of center between the north and south of Italy. In the north, the CAS infrastructure is more widespread, with four major hubs (the provinces of Milan, Reggio Emilia, Florence, and Padua) showing a higher concentration. In the south, the SAI system is more prominent, and it is also where the governmental centers are mostly located—indicating a more distinct presence of only the two main poles of the reception system. The Hotspots, as defined by law, are primarily situated in the regions where landings take place. Both CPRs and CARA/CDAs seem to be distributed along the boot, with greater concentrations to the south of the country, while informal settlements prevail in the larger cities and near border crossings.

Extend.

From the Cutro decree it is possible to speak on the one hand of a progressive "hotspottization" of reception—understood as the spatial and functional expansion of the hotspot logic, following Pupolizio's reflections; on the other hand, it is possible to trace the path leading to the extra territorialization of detention. Both phenomena fit within a broader dynamic that sees the narrowing of the agency pole—understood as the space of autonomy and self-determination of the migrant subject—and the mirrors expansion of the control pole, where containment, identification, and selection devices prevail. A few months after the Cutro decree, law-decree no. 124/2023 strengthens and reorganizes the detention. Article 20 of the provision raises the maximum detention period in the Centers for Repatriation (CPR) to twelve months, while Article 21 provides for an extraordinary plan to build new facilities nationwide—facilities explicitly referred to in Articles 11 and 14 of the Immigration Consolidation Act, i.e., the former CPSA and CPT.[216] For the implementation of this plan, the decree mandates the involvement of the Military Engineering Corps or Genio Civile and the Armed Forces, while paragraphs 4 and 6 of the same Article 21 allocate an initial budget of twenty million euros for construction and 1.4 million euros for operational costs in the following year.

In 2024 there would be a protocol between the Government of the Italian Republic and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania, according to which Italy will be able to use, free of charge and for the duration of the agreement - that is five years with a renewal of a further five years - certain areas made available by the Albanian authorities, with the aim of establishing facilities intended for carrying out border procedures and the return of migrants lacking the requirements for entry or stay in the national territory. These areas are identified by the protocol itself and are state-owned properties, one located inside the port of Shenjin, the other in the locality of Gjader. The two are designated one for identification activities and the other for verifying the prerequisites for the recognition of national protection and for repatriation. The law decree ratifying the protocol, law decree n.14/2024, equates the facility of the first type to hotspot centers, while that of the second type is equated to CPRs. The various articles of the protocol describe what may be understood as the extra territorialization of the hotspot and CPR (centers for repatriation). First of all, Article 4 reiterates that the management of such centers is carried out by the Italian Party and according to the relevant Italian and European legislation. The period of stay in these centers is indeed the same as that provided for centers on Italian territory; the procedures carried out are the same as those performed in centers on Italian territory, with the sole difference that the competent Albanian authorities allow the entry and stay of migrants hosted in such facilities on Albanian territory solely for the purpose of carrying out border or repatriation procedures. In the event that, for any reason, the title of stay in the facilities ceases, the Italian Party immediately transfers the migrants outside Albanian territory. Transfers to and from these facilities

216
Law Decree 19 September 2023, n. 124, articles 20 and 21

Art. 3

(Coordination Provisions)

1.Only persons who have been embarked on vessels of the Italian authorities outside the territorial sea of the Republic or of other Member States of the European Union, including following rescue operations, may be brought into the areas referred to in Article 1, paragraph 1, letter c) of the Protocol.

2.[redacted], the areas referred to in Article 1, paragraph 1, letter c) of the same Protocol shall be treated as border or transit zones identified by the decree of the Minister of the Interior [redacted] of Legislative Decree of 28 January 2008, No. 25.

3. The facilities referred to under letters A) and B) of Annex 1 to the Protocol are treated as those provided for under Article 10-ter, paragraph 1, of the Consolidated Act on Immigration and the status of foreign nationals, a[redacted] The return facility referred to under letter B) of Annex 1 to the Protocol is treated as a center established pursuant to Article 14, paragraph 1, of the aforementioned Consolidated Act u[redacted]

Law Decree n.14/2024

The text is translated from Italian and extended.

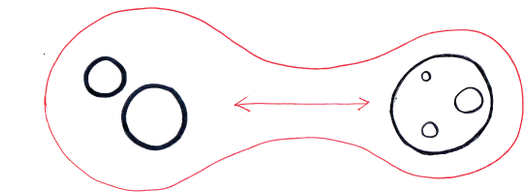
Gjader (Albania, 2025)
CPR , scale 1.2000

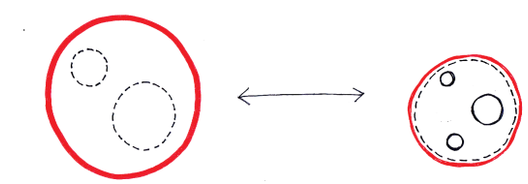
Map of existing CPRs

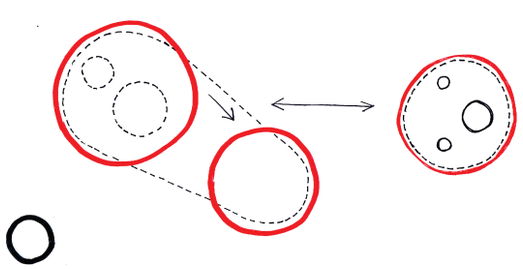
The CPR infrastructure, with the Albanian Protocol, is extendend beyond the italian territory.

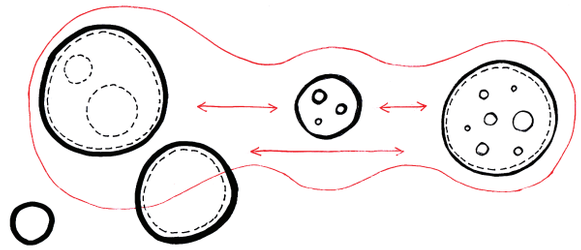
are handled by the competent Italian authorities. Only in Article 6 is a management cooperation between the two parties expressed, providing for a shared role in matters related to maintaining the security of the areas. The expense of constructing and maintaining the centers, however, is entirely borne by the Italian Party. The introduction of detention facilities on Albanian territory marks a delicate and controversial turning point in the evolution of the Italian legal framework on migration, generating the extraterritorial extension of coercive measures from within Italy's national borders. On the one hand, the Protocol and Decree-Law No. 14/2024 establish that the Albanian centres are to be treated, in legal terms, as equivalent to Italian territory; yet, on the other hand, the tension remains unresolved between this juridical fiction and the material reality of deprivation of liberty occurring beyond the State's borders. Judicial decisions have begun to expose significant doubts regarding the legitimacy and limits of this extraterritorial expansion. A particularly telling example is provided by a recent ruling of the Court of Appeal which addressed the case of an asylum seeker forcibly transferred to Albania. The Court found that the individual in question had been present in Italy since 2021 and had been detained since April 17, 2025, as an applicant for international protection. Neither of the legal bases outlined in the Protocol, namely, interception at sea aboard Italian vessels in international waters, nor those related to detention for the purpose of repatriation, were applicable.[217] As a result, the legal grounds for the detention itself collapse: the measure, no longer preparatory to expulsion, becomes instead one aimed at managing an asylum application, a domain which must be governed under the safeguards guaranteed by domestic and European law.

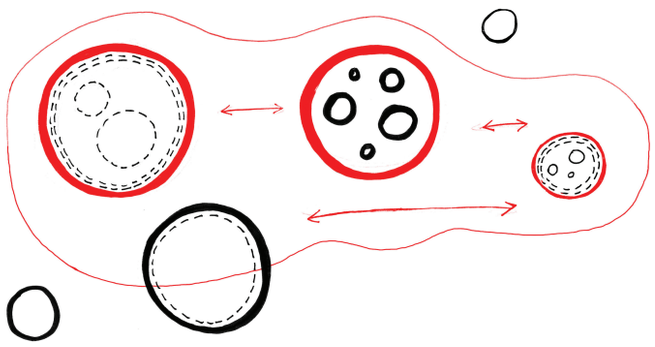
217
Ferrara Rossella, in an article named "*Corte d'Appello di Roma: è illegittimo il trattenimento in Albania per chi richiede asilo.*" *For Melting Pot.*

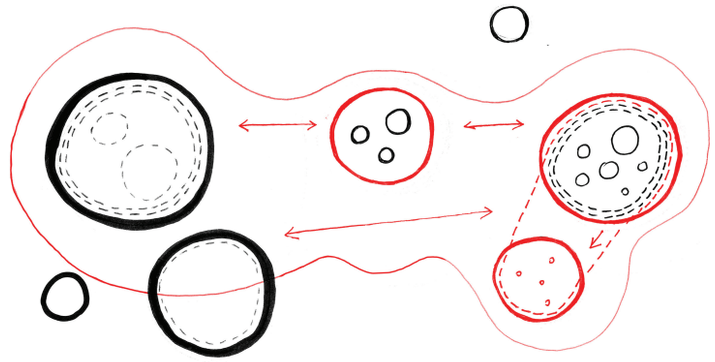


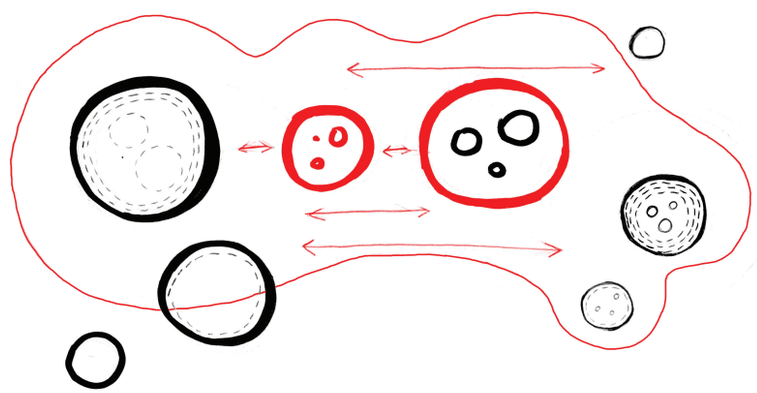






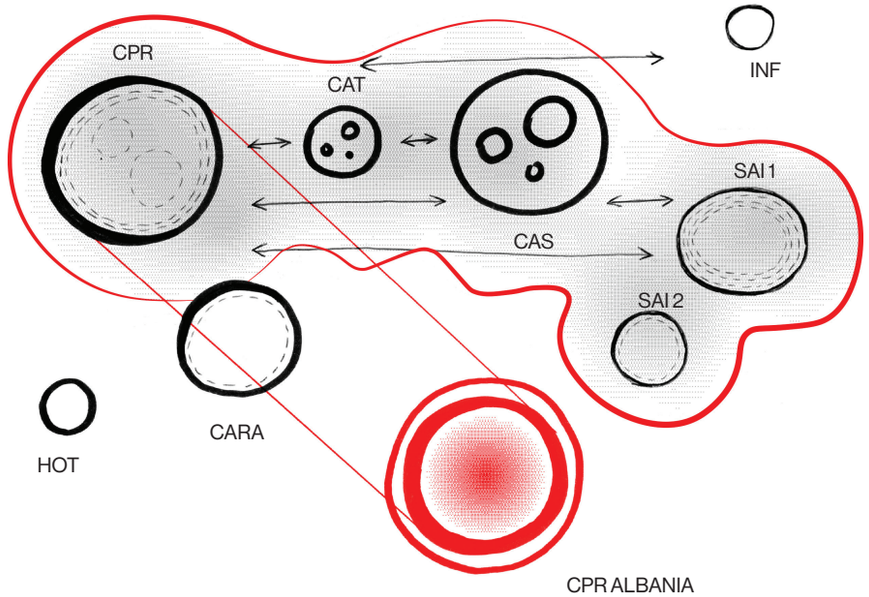






Evolution of the ideal typical diagram, and ideal typical diagram 8

Following the Albanian Protocol, the CPR is extended beyond the national territory. The rest of the system remains unchanged, as per the Cutro Decree.



Accoglienza, Redefining

reflections on the third

The first deportations to the Gjader center took place on April 9, 2025. On April 24, 2025, the asylum seeker forcibly transferred to Albania was released and brought back to Italy from Albania. This case exposes a deep rupture between the normative architecture constructed by the Decree, the Protocol and the guarantees given to asylum seekers. The fiction of full legal equivalence between Italian territory and Albanian facilities proves insufficient to bridge the protection gap that opens when detention is relocated beyond the physical and effective reach of the State's jurisdiction. It is within this disjunction, between formal territoriality and jurisdiction, that the gravest risk emerges: that of a systematic compression of the right to asylum and of the guarantees that constitute its very core. The extra territorialization of CPRs, far from being a neutral administrative extension, operates as a mechanism of displacement of law, of responsibility, and of human rights.

I find myself concluding the main body of text of this thesis just over a month later, on May 28, 2025. During this month, Law Decree No. 37/2025—more commonly referred to as the "Albania decree"—was approved by the Senate. If the collective NOaiCPR had referred to the case of the asylum seeker of Moroccan origin forcibly transferred to the Gjader center as the "Albanian bug," the intent of the new law was to try to bypass it. The decree in 2024 ratifying the protocol between the two countries allowed only individuals intercepted aboard vessels operated by Italian authorities outside the territorial waters of Italy or other EU Member States — including as a result of rescue operations — to be transferred in the Albanian centers. Article 3 of the new decree allows for the deportation of individuals subject to detention orders, whether validated or extended, who are currently held in Repatriation Detention Centres (CPR) on Italian territory.[218] The provision does not merely redefine the operational framework for transfers to Albania; it also directly affects the internal structure within Italy: whereas, from the Testo Unico onward — and until the most recent legislative amendments — the police commissioner (questore) could order the detention of a foreign national exclusively in the CPR closest to the location and only for the strictly necessary period, they are now explicitly authorised to request that the detained person be placed in other centres, including the possibility of transferring them from one CPR to another at any time.

Sto per pranzare con mio padre e sono sicura che al telegiornale La7 si parlerà ancora dell'Albania. Se ne parlerà oggi, domani, e, per quando consegnerò questo lavoro, ci sarà forse altro da commentare. Pertanto, chiudo in questa data il corpo principale del mio testo, altrimenti, fino al giorno della mia laurea, potrebbero aggiungersi altre venti pagine al precedente capitolo. Ma ora ho il bisogno di soffermarmi su qualcos'altro.

'*Accoglienza*, Redefining' è il primissimo titolo che ho pensato per questa tesi. Era un titolo nel quale ho riposto la speranza che, negli ultimi mesi di lavoro, mi sarei dedicata a un progetto per l'accoglienza. Non sapevo ancora cosa intendessi con progetto, non sapevo come avrebbe preso forma questa *qualsiasi manifestazione*. Questo titolo l'ho pensato mesi e mesi fa: ancora scrivevo l'archeologia dello spazio di asilo. Avevo iniziato a scrivere in inglese, e a parte qualche prima considerazione sull'archeologia, il resto della tesi era completamente bianco. Nemmeno sapevo che avrei letto l'intera normativa italiana sul richiedente asilo. Se avessi provato a elencare, nero su bianco, la serie di nomenclature dei centri attualmente attivi nel nostro territorio, avrei sicuramente

fatto confusione. Nulla mi era chiaro, eppure ho pensato a un titolo così arrogante. Era un titolo arrogante, perché ridefinire l'accoglienza significa saperla definire, ovviamente. Era un titolo arrogante, perché ridefinire l'accoglienza significa conoscerne tutte le caratteristiche, positive e negative, che possono giustificare il tentativo di una sua riformulazione. Era un titolo arrogante perché davo per scontato che a questi punti ci sarei arrivata. A dirla tutta, non so nulla dell'accoglienza. Oggi, 28 maggio, dopo nove mesi di lavoro, non ne so veramente nulla.

Questa tesi altro non è che una mia ricostruzione dell'accoglienza. Una ricostruzione, peraltro, legata esclusivamente alla sfera normativa e legislativa. È una costruzione che ritorna, ma ritorna perché lo stesso Derrida parlava della legge dell'ospitalità e delle leggi dell'ospitalità. Ecco: la mia costruzione non fa altro che dispiegare, spingendo una narrativa morfologica, l'accoglienza in quanto prodotto delle leggi dell'ospitalità. Ritorna perché la legge è lo strumento dello Stato sovrano che prescrive le condizioni per quello spazio d'asilo di tipo escluso, come concludeva l'archeologia del primo capitolo. Ritorna perché viviamo nel lawscape, dove persino le nostre esperienze sensoriali sono dettate dalla legge e dalla normativa. Questa ricostruzione mi porta ad un un'unica riflessione, dettata da una relazione logica di tipo necessario e sufficiente, perché se la legge è lo strumento di creazione dello spazio di asilo politico, allora non può lo spazio di asilo creato fuggire all'operatività della legge. Di ciò ne farà da testimone una una riproduzione che possa racchiudere, in un unico luogo fittizio, tutti quei posti e questi spazi emersi dalla mia ricostruzione. Questo luogo non è altro che un patchwork, un lavoro di ritagli che cuce assieme gli spazi prodotti dalla legge italiana in materia di asilo politico. Posti lontani, nello spazio e nel tempo, ma che in questo esercizio sartoriale vengono introdotti nel medesimo.

Il risultato è un unico territorio dell'accoglienza,
un territorio che nella sua totalità non esiste,
ma che è composto da una moltitudine di esistenze effettive.
Proverò poi a sovrapporre le cinque operazioni:
alcuni centri si ritrovano ***stirati***
da una parte e l'altra del territorio,
l'uno è il polo della prima accoglienza,
l'altro è quello della seconda;
altri di fatto si sovrappongono,
perché ***sostituiti*** nel corso degli anni,
altri invece ***ritagliano*** uno spazio
in quel flusso indiscernibile di linee
nella tensione tra un polo e l'altro.
Alcuni di questi spazi risultano interamente ***distorti***,
altri invece si ***estendono***
lungo tutta la cartografia del territorio.

I'm about to have lunch with my father, and I'm sure that on the La7 news they'll still be talking about Albania. They'll talk about it today, tomorrow, and by the time I hand in this work, there might be even more to comment on. So, I'm closing the main body of my text as of today's date; otherwise, from now until the day of my graduation, another twenty pages could easily be added to the previous chapter. But right now, I need to turn to something else.

'Accoglienza, Redefining' was the very first title I thought of for this thesis. It was a title in which I placed the hope that, in the final months of work, I would devote myself to a project on reception. I didn't yet know what I meant by project, I didn't know what form this whatever-it-was would take. I came up with that title months and months ago: I was still writing the archaeology of asylum space. I had just started writing in English, and apart from a few early considerations on archaeology, the rest of the thesis was completely blank. I didn't even know I'd end up reading the entire body of Italian law on asylum seekers. If I had tried to list, in black and white, the various names for the types of centres currently operating in our territory, I definitely would have gotten them mixed up. Nothing was clear to me—and yet, I thought of such an arrogant title. It was an arrogant title because to redefine reception implies, obviously, knowing how to define it. It was an arrogant title because to redefine reception means knowing all of its characteristics, positive and negative, that might justify an attempt to reformulate it. It was an arrogant title because I took for granted that I would eventually get to that point. Truth be told, I know nothing about reception. Today, May 28th, after nine months of work, I truly know nothing about it.

This thesis is nothing more than my reconstruction of reception. A reconstruction, moreover, bound exclusively to the normative and legislative sphere. It is a construction that recurs, but it recurs because even Derrida spoke of the law of hospitality and the laws of hospitality. That's it: my construction does nothing more than unfold, by pushing a morphological narrative, reception as a product of the laws of hospitality. It recurs because the law is the instrument of the sovereign state that prescribes the conditions for that excluded form of asylum space, as the archaeology of the first chapter concluded. It recurs because we live in the lawscape, where even our sensory experiences are dictated by law and regulation. This reconstruction brings me to a single reflection, dictated by a logically necessary and sufficient relation: if the law is the tool through which the space of political asylum is created, then the asylum space created cannot escape the operations of the law. A reproduction will stand as witness to this—a reproduction capable of gathering, into a single fictitious place, all those sites and spaces that emerged from my reconstruction. This place is nothing but a patchwork, a cut-and-paste work that stitches together the spaces produced by Italian law on political asylum. Places distant in both space and time, but which, in this tailor's exercise, are brought into the same one.

The result is a single territory of reception,
a territory that, in its entirety, does not exist,
but is composed of a multitude of actual existences.
I will then try to overlay the five operations:
some centres are **stretched**
from one side of the territory to the other,
one being the pole of first reception,
the other that of second;
others, in fact, overlap,
because they have been **replaced** over the years;
others **split** that indistinguishable flow of lines,
caught in the tension between one pole and the other.
Some of these spaces appear entirely **warped**,
others, instead, **extend**
across the entire cartography of the territory.

With this image, I'm stirred by a thought: a redefinition attempt — that project, that whatever-it-was through which my groupuscules hoped to see an architect's preparation interwoven with the space of the asylum seeker — is a project that positions itself as resistant to legislative force. This kernel of an idea has often been the subject of conversation with my colleagues. To me, it was something fundamentally provocative at its core, and I wasn't quite sure how — or in what direction — to let it grow. I was advised to read Aureli, and it doesn't seem out of place to reintroduce him into this discussion of mine, especially since it was precisely with him that I began this thesis work. So then, Aureli spoke of an architecture of the archipelago. Perhaps this is the image my interlocutor had in mind

Con quest'immagine vengo istigata da un pensiero: un tentativo di ridefinizione — quel progetto, quella qualsiasi manifestazione con la quale quel mio gruppuscolo vorrebbe vedere mischiarsi la preparazione dell'architetto con lo spazio del richiedente asilo — è un progetto che si pone resistente alla forza legislativa. Questo nocciolo d'idea è stato spesso un argomento di conversazione con i miei colleghi. Era, per me, qualcosa di estremamente provocatorio alle sue radici, e non sapevo bene come e in che direzione farlo crescere. Mi è stata consigliata una lettura di Aureli, e non mi sembra fuori luogo reintrodurlo in questo mio discorso, dato che è proprio con lui che ho iniziato questo lavoro di tesi. Ecco, Aureli ha parlato di un'architettura dell'arcipelago. È forse questa l'immagine che quel mio interlocutore ha associato al mio tentativo, quando avevo appena accennato la possibilità di combinare diversi tasselli in un unico territorio dell'accoglienza. Ma l'immagine dell'arcipelago, in Aureli, non è una semplice metafora grafica. Non è una poetica dell'isolamento, né una dispersione. È piuttosto una condizione politica del progetto: una forma che prende posizione dentro la città, ma che rifiuta di farsi inglobare nella sua continuità funzionale. L'isola, nella sua definizione, è separata ma non estranea; è consapevole del proprio limite e proprio da quel limite, non oltre ma attraverso, trae la sua forma e il suo potenziale. Ogni isola si afferma non fuggendo dalla città, ma affondandovi come presenza dissonante, discreta, non subordinata alla totalità urbana. Ogni isola, nel suo pensiero, non vale per il fatto di essere isolata, ma per come si rapporta al mare che la circonda. È nella tensione tra separazione e aderenza che si gioca la possibilità di un progetto che non si lasci assorbire dalla logica totalizzante della città. È una forma che si costituisce attraverso il riconoscimento del proprio limite, e proprio da quel limite ricava la forza di esistere come spazio altro, non esterno, ma intenzionalmente distinto. E allora forse è proprio in questo spazio, in questa forma intenzionale che si misura col limite invece di evitarlo, che può nascere un progetto di accoglienza che non venga travolto dalla corrente legislativa. Un progetto che non chiede al mare di smettere di essere mare, ma che disegna, dentro quel mare, una terra dotata di confini propri, e per questo capace di accogliere senza dissolversi.

Se vogliamo trasferire le idee di Pier Vittorio Aureli nel contesto di questa tesi, però, ci accorgiamo di una loro rilevante limitazione. Il mare della legge italiana è un mare mosso e il progetto dell'accoglienza, ora concepito attraverso l'istigazione di Aureli, verrebbe sommerso dalle maree legislative, quelle correnti inattese, improvvise e talvolta violentissime. Il progetto dell'accoglienza non può essere un arcipelago perché non può rimanere statico. È proprio qui che il progetto di Aureli, per quanto esplicitamente critico, antagonista, intrinsecamente politico, mostra la sua difficoltà. Perché quella forma arcipelagica, che si presenta come discontinua, isolata, resistente all'omogeneità capitalista, finisce comunque per riprodurre una certa maggiorità del progetto. È una maggiorità silenziosa, un'idea di progetto che si presenta come univoca, compiuta, chiusa su di sé, incapace di lasciare spazio all'alterazione. Nella chiarezza dell'impianto e nella formalizzazione dell'eccezione dell'isola, si percepisce il riflesso della stessa ontologia progettuale che Boano mette in crisi. Anche se costruito contro un sistema, il progetto di Aureli finisce per rimanervi interno nella misura in cui non accetta di scomporsi. È maggiore quando si concepisce come risposta, come soluzione, come

when I first hinted at the possibility of combining different fragments into a single territory of reception. But the image of the archipelago, in Aureli's thought, is not just a graphic metaphor. It is not a poetics of isolation, nor a form of dispersion. It is, rather, a political condition of the project: a form that takes a position within the city, but refuses to be absorbed by its functional continuity. The island, in its very definition, is separate but not foreign; it is aware of its own limit, and precisely from that limit — not beyond it, but through it — it draws its form and its potential.Each island asserts itself not by fleeing the city, but by sinking into it as a dissonant presence, a discrete presence, one not subordinate to urban tot ality. Each island, in his thought, does not hold value because it is isolated, but in how it relates to the sea that surrounds it. It is in the tension between separation and adherence that the possibility of a project is played out — one that does not allow itself to be absorbed by the city's totalising logic. It is a form that takes shape through the recognition of its own limit, and precisely from that limit it draws the strength to exist as an other space — not external, but intentionally distinct. And so perhaps it is precisely in this space, in this intentional form that confronts the limit rather than avoiding it, that a project of reception might be born — one that is not swept away by the legislative current. A project that does not ask the sea to stop being sea, but that sketches, within that sea, a land with its own boundaries — and precisely for that reason, a land capable of welcoming without dissolving.

If we want to carry over Pier Vittorio Aureli's ideas into the context of this thesis, however, we quickly run into a significant limitation. The sea of Italian law is a rough one, and any reception project, even when conceived under Aureli's provocation, would risk being submerged by legislative tides — those unexpected, sudden, and at times violent currents. A reception project cannot be an archipelago because it cannot remain static. This is precisely where Aureli's proposal — explicitly critical, antagonistic, and intrinsically political — begins to show its difficulty. That archipelagic form, which presents itself as discontinuous, isolated, resistant to capitalist homogeneity, ends up reproducing, nonetheless, a certain majority of the project. It is a silent majority — a notion of the project that appears univocal, complete, self-contained, and ultimately incapable of allowing itself to be altered. Within the clarity of its structure and the formalization of the island's exception, one can already sense the reflection of the same projectual ontology that Boano calls into question. Even when constructed against a system, Aureli's project remains within it to the extent that it refuses to decompose. It remains major precisely when it conceives itself as a response, a solution, a functional scheme able to organize reality toward a predetermined end. Even when heavy with political intentionality, a project like Aureli's risks becoming a closed prefiguration rather than a critical device. In this sense, the "archipelago form" risks turning from a resistant instrument into a self-sufficient image, unable to be traversed by the indeterminacy that, by contrast, marks every real reception space. Boano urges us to think of the project as a gesture that allows itself to be crossed — as a porous field, a minor project that does not answer, but lets things happen. Because if the sea of the law is in motion, then the only viable project is one that does not seek solid ground, but rather accepts the current, opens itself to instability. It is a project upon which the five operations have no definitive hold. Perhaps because it yields to them, or perhaps because it does not expose itself too much — it hides, it finds a blind spot in which to take shape. Perhaps it never takes on a final form at all, and in its intangibility, becomes difficult to displace. The project of reception, in its redefinition, is a project that manages to slip through the existing schema. And that schema, to me, seems to be a schema of the two.

Reception manifests itself
between the law and the laws of hospitality.
Between the first and the second poles of reception.
Through a narrative of us and them.
The migrant with documents and the one without.
The visible migrant and the invisible one.
Dichotomies.
Agency and control.
Separation and integration.
Many dichotomies.
Concentrations and dispersions.
Closed centers, open centers.
Peripheral centers and urban centers.
State centers and those of local administrations.

schema operativo capace di organizzare la realtà secondo un fine già pensato. Anche se carico di intenzionalità politica, il progetto come quello di Aureli può così diventare prefigurazione chiusa, più che dispositivo critico. In questo senso, la "forma arcipelago" rischia di trasformarsi da strumento resistente a immagine autosufficiente incapace di lasciarsi attraversare dall'indeterminazione che segna, invece, ogni spazio dell'accoglienza reale. Boano ci invita a pensare il progetto, come gesto che si lascia attraversare, come campo poroso, un progetto minore che non risponde ma lascia accadere. Perché se il mare della legge è mosso, allora l'unico progetto possibile è quello che non cerca una terra ferma, ma che accetta di stare nel flusso, di esporsi all'instabilità.È un progetto su cui le operazioni non hanno piena efficacia. Questo perché le asseconda, o forse perché non si espone troppo, si nasconde, trova un punto cieco in cui prendere forma. Forse non prende mai una forma definitiva, e nella sua intangibilità risulta difficile da smuovere. Il progetto dell'accoglienza, nella sua ridefinizione, è un progetto che riesce a sfuggire allo schema esistente. E quello schema, a me pare, è uno schema del due.

L'accoglienza si manifesta
tra la legge e le leggi dell'ospitalità.
Tra il primo e il secondo polo dell'accoglienza.
Attraverso una narrativa noi e loro.
Il migrante con documenti e quello senza.
Il migrante visibile e quello invisibile.
Dicotomie.
Agency e controllo.
Separazione e integrazione.
Tante dicotomie.
Concentrazioni e diffusioni.
Centri chiusi, centri aperti.
Centri periferici e centri urbani.
I centri dello stato e quelli delle amministrazioni locali.
Centro di trattenimento e assistenza.
Un centro, di permanenza o temporaneo.
Beneficiari e Richiedenti.
L'ospite e il detenuto.
Governance verticale, governance orizzontale.
Stato di diritto e stato di eccezione.
Obbligo ad accogliere e potere di respingere.
Dentro il territorio, fuori il territorio.
Sai 1, Sai 2.
Prima, seconda accoglienza.

Detention and assistance centers.
A center, either permanent or temporary.
Beneficiaries and applicants.
The guest and the detainee.
Vertical governance, horizontal governance.
Rule of law and state of exception.
Obligation to receive and power to reject.
Inside the territory, outside the territory.
Sai 1, Sai 2.
First, second reception.

It is from this long series of dichotomies that I feel the urgency for a redefinition of hospitality. From the idea that hospitality must necessarily be arranged between two poles, constantly pulled one way or the other. From a binary logic, from the schema of two, which holds everything together and at the same time prevents any other possibility. For this reason, I feel the need to think of a third. Not a neutral point, not a compromise, but something that allows breaking the cage of the two. Roazen, in Absentees, speaks of the nonperson not as something outside the person, but as a figure internal to its very definition. It is not about someone who has never been anyone—a animal, an object, an artifact—but someone who was, or perhaps still is, yet is suspended on a threshold. The nonperson, in this reading, is not the opposite of the person, but what remains implicit in its form. A latent possibility, or rather a condition that opens within the very notion of person. The strength of this idea lies in the fact that the nonperson does not inhabit an elsewhere. It is not external to law, society, or justice. But it is an interference from within. It is the presence of something that law cannot fully name, and precisely because of this cannot completely include or exclude. And here the third can be intuited. Not as a category to add, nor as a synthesis between two poles, but as that which disrupts their very existence as poles.

Within the context of this thesis, and in the reasoning around the Italian hospitality device, I propose to think of the third in the form of *paraccoglienza*. Not as a third model, an alternative to first and second reception, but as a lateral dimension, a way of standing beside without coinciding with the existing dichotomous schema. The prefix para- carries a complexity that goes beyond the simple idea of "beside" or "alongside": it indicates indeed a movement that extends beside something, but at the same time it recalls something that surpasses it, crosses it, and creates an unexpected opening. Thus, para- is also a way of going "beyond," of disrupting and shifting the limits of what is considered accoglienza. *Paraccoglienza* manifests itself through proximate gestures, inclinations that place themselves beside the existing hospitality devices without being fully inside nor completely outside them. It does not seek to correct nor reject them, but crosses, diverts, and sometimes suspends them. This modality has no stable form. It appears in practices, moments, spaces in which something escapes the dichotomy; where a gesture, a decision, a presence do not fit the expected parameters. *Paraccoglienza* is recognized by the effect it produces: small fractures, shifts, and interferences.

It is in this direction that the three moments that follow are oriented.
I did not seek them out, nor did they ever present themselves as clear examples.
They were rather occasions in which
this lateral form of hospitality allowed itself to be glimpsed.
Three experiences, distinct in space and time,
that forced me to recognize
another possibility for hospitality, one nearby and one beyond,
moments of *paraccogleinza* in this sense.

È da questa lunga serie di dicotomie che sento l'urgenza per una ridefinizione dell'accoglienza. Dall'idea che l'accoglienza debba per forza disporsi tra due poli, costantemente tirata da una parte o dall'altra. Da una logica binaria, dallo schema del due, che tiene insieme tutto e al tempo stesso impedisce ogni altra possibilità. Per questo sento il bisogno di pensare a un terzo. Non un punto neutro, non un compromesso, ma qualcosa che permetta di forzare la gabbia dei due. Roazen, in Absentees, parla della nonpersona non come ciò che sta al di fuori della persona, ma come una figura interna alla sua stessa definizione. Non si tratta di chi non è mai stato qualcuno — un animale, un oggetto, un artefatto — ma di chi lo era, o forse lo è ancora, eppure è sospeso in una soglia. La nonpersona, in questa lettura, non è il contrario della persona, ma ciò che resta implicito nella sua forma. Una possibilità latente, o meglio una condizione che si apre dentro la nozione stessa di persona. La forza di questa idea sta nel fatto che la nonpersona non abita un altrove. Non è esterna al diritto, alla società, alla legge. Ma è un'interferenza dall'interno. È la presenza di qualcosa che il diritto non sa nominare del tutto, e che proprio per questo non riesce né a includere né a escludere completamente. Ed è qui che il terzo si lascia intuire. Non come categoria da aggiungere, nemmeno come sintesi tra due poli, ma ciò che mette in crisi la loro stessa esistenza come poli.

Nel contesto di questa tesi, e nel ragionamento attorno al dispositivo italiano di accoglienza, propongo di pensare il terzo nella forma di paraccoglienza. Non come un terzo modello, un'alternativa alla prima e alla seconda accoglienza, ma come una dimensione laterale, un modo di stare accanto senza coincidere con lo schema dicotomico esistente. Il prefisso para- porta con sé una complessità che va oltre la semplice idea di "accanto" o "al fianco": indica sì un movimento che si estende accanto a qualcosa, ma allo stesso tempo richiama qualcosa che lo supera, lo attraversa e crea un'apertura inattesa. Così, para- è anche un modo di andare "oltre", di mettere in crisi e spostare i limiti di ciò che si considera accoglienza. La paraccoglienza si manifesta attraverso gesti prossimi, inclinazioni che si collocano accanto ai dispositivi esistenti dell'accoglienza senza esserne né del tutto dentro né completamente fuori. Non cerca di correggerli né di rifiutarli, ma li attraversa, li devia, talvolta li sospende. Questa modalità non ha una forma stabile. Si mostra in pratiche, momenti, spazi in cui qualcosa sfugge alla dicotomia; dove un gesto, una decisione, una presenza non rientrano nei parametri previsti. La paraccoglienza si riconosce nell'effetto che produce: piccole fratture, scarti e interferenze.

È in questa direzione che si orientano i tre momenti che seguono.
Non li ho cercati, e non si sono mai dati come esempi chiari.
Sono stati piuttosto delle occasioni in cui
questa forma laterale dell'accoglienza si è lasciata intravedere.
Tre esperienze, distinte nello spazio e nel tempo,
che mi hanno costretto a riconoscere
un'altra possibilità per l'accoglienza, una vicina e una oltre,
momenti di *paraccoglienza* in questo senso.

17 Gennaio, 2025.

Sandi Hilal e Alessandro Petti al Salone d'Onore, nel Castello del Valentino. I due ricercatori sono i fondatori di DAAR, Decolonizing Architecture Art Research e sono venuti al Politecnico per due incontri. Hanno della loro pratica e dei loro lavori principali e tra i progetti discussi c'è l'intervento nel centro di accoglienza di Boden, in Svezia. Sandi Hilal era stata invitata a lavorare a un'installazione artistica in una delle aree marginali del paese. Solo nelle ultime ore del suo primo viaggio prende forma l'idea del Living Room, installato poi al piano terra del centro di accoglienza 'Yellow House'. In Permanent Temporariness, Hilal ricostruisce quel viaggio come una sequenza di incertezze: nessuno, tra i funzionari coinvolti nel progetto di accoglienza, sembrava sapere davvero cosa accadesse dentro quel centro. Non sapevano dire che tipo di famiglie vi abitassero, né riuscivano a metterla in contatto con un nucleo arabo, con cui avrebbe potuto comunicare più facilmente. Viene infine indirizzata indirettamente verso una famiglia, che riesce a incontrare solo poche ore prima del suo rientro. La accolgono con tè, dolci e datteri, parlando del villaggio, delle loro giornate, di cosa sperano di fare una volta ottenuti i documenti. È in quel momento che qualcosa si ribalta: Hilal, insieme ai funzionari che l'accompagnano, non è più l'osservatrice o la "portavoce" dell'istituzione. È un'ospite. E gli "accolti" diventano padroni di casa. In quella scena si rivela un altro modello di accoglienza, più radicale e più semplice: uno spazio in cui chi ha perso tutto può tornare ad avere voce, a stabilire regole, a offrire qualcosa. Il Living Room nasce da lì. Non è solo un gesto simbolico, ma un tentativo di spostare davvero le condizioni dell'ascolto. Nella cultura araba, il salotto è lo spazio dove il padrone di casa esercita la propria autorità ospitando: tenendo tutto in ordine, offrendo dolci, creando intimità. Portare quel modello dentro un centro di accoglienza significa cambiare postura, rimettere in discussione le gerarchie implicite dell'asilo. Ma non si tratta di un semplice scambio di ruoli. L'atto di accogliere, restituito a chi solitamente viene solo accolto, non ribalta la struttura: la mette in discussione. In quella stanza si apre qualcosa che l'architettura dell'asilo istituzionale non prevede: uno spazio di dislocazione, dove le posizioni smettono di essere stabili. Il risultato non è una simmetria perfetta, ma la possibilità di aprire, anche solo temporaneamente, un'altra relazione.

January 17, 2025.

Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti at the Salone d'Onore, inside the Castello del Valentino. The two researchers are the founders of DAAR, Decolonizing Architecture Art Research, and they came to the Politecnico for two meetings. They spoke about about their practice and some of their main projects, and among the works discussed was their intervention at the reception center in Boden, Sweden. Sandi Hilal had been invited to create an art installation in one of the country's marginalized areas. It was only during the final hours of her first trip that the idea of the Living Room took shape—later installed on the ground floor of the reception center known as the Yellow House. In Permanent Temporariness, Hilal reconstructs that journey as a sequence of uncertainties: none of the officials involved in the reception project seemed to truly know what was happening inside the center. They couldn't say what kinds of families were living there, nor were they able to put her in touch with an Arabic-speaking household, with whom she could have communicated more easily. Eventually, she was indirectly directed toward a family that she managed to visit just a few hours before her return. They welcomed her with tea, sweets, and dates, speaking about the village, their daily routines, and what they hoped to do once they received their documents. It was in that moment that something shifted: Hilal, together with the officials accompanying her, was no longer an observer or a spokesperson for the institution. She was a guest. And those who were being "hosted" became the hosts. In that scene, another model of reception reveals itself—more radical and yet more simple: a space in which those who have lost everything can begin again to speak, to set rules, to offer something. The Living Room is born from that moment. It is not just a symbolic gesture, but an attempt to truly shift the conditions of listening. In Arab culture, the living room is a space where the host exercises their authority by welcoming others: keeping the room in perfect order, offering sweets, creating intimacy. Bringing that model into a reception center means changing one's stance—calling into question the implicit hierarchies of asylum. But this is not merely a reversal of roles. The act of hosting, when returned to those who are usually only hosted, does not simply overturn the structure: it exposes it. In that room, something opens up that the architecture of institutional asylum cannot accommodate: a space of dislocation, where positions cease to be stable. The result is not a perfect symmetry, but the possibility—however temporary—of another kind of relation.

The Living Room / Al-Madafeh

Photos by Marcel de Buck

12 Maggio, 2025.

Sono su un treno per Foggia, ma la mia destinazione era Cerignola. Lì avrei speso un'intera settimana assieme ad una mia cara amica e collega, Frederique, Stefano, Richard, un gruppo di ricercatori dal Cile e dall'Argentina, il professor Boano e il professor Stopani. Il mio relatore aveva invitato questo gruppo di ricercatori sudamericani per proporre una qualsiasi manifestazione, in questo caso di tipo artistico, sulla pista di atterraggio di Borgo Mezzanone. Aveva invitato poi me. Perché no, dopotutto stavo scrivendo il capitolo che cercava di arrivare attraverso la legge e la sua forza morfologica anche a quello di spazio. Era un modo per allontanarmi dai libri, dalla scrivania, un'occasione per passare un'intera settimana sul campo e sicuro ci sarebbe scappata qualche riflessione utile.

Arrivata a Foggia viene a prendere noi appena arrivati e ci porta subito in pista. Lì incontriamo Mathias, Leandro e Ignacio. Erano tre dei cinque di un collettivo architettonico Cileno, Grupo Toma, ed erano venuti a Borgo Mezzanone per costruire un aereo. Così nell'arco di una settimana abbiamo costruito un aereo. Del perché proprio un aereo cè lo siamo chiesti tutti e tutt'oggi continuiamo a chiedercelo. Perché un aereo? È una domanda che una risposta diversa per ogni persona coinvolta, che sia questa persona parte del gruppo Toma, abitante della pista o una studentessa ritrovatasi coinvolta nell' iniziativa. Posso così solo dirti per me perché un aereo. Perché un aereo? Non è una domanda che chiede come risposta la motivazione dietro la scelta di costruire l'aereo. Perché un aereo chiede la valenza, il significato, l'impressione suscitata nella singola persona con la volontà di rispondere a questa domanda. Questo perché l'aereo è creazione narrativa multipla: attraverso l'aereo riesco a raccontarti di borgo in un modo che mi appartiene unicamente. E il mio modo per vedere borgo da fuori, raccontarlo da dentro, parlarne attraverso. L'aereo, nella sua straordinarietà, permette di sfidare una normalità imposta, una normalità che a borgo ne hai limiti, ai confini della normalità. È un pensiero molto semplice e che ho formulato altrettanto semplicemente. Gli ultimi giorni passati in pista conservavamo le ultime ore di luce per farlo volare. Il primo decollo lo ricordo in maniera particolare, dovuto forse un po' la mia anticipazione, un po' al timore delle possibili reazioni degli abitanti di borgo. Dal nostro hangar avevamo percorso qualche centinaio di metri in volo ed eravamo ben dentro la via principale di borgo.

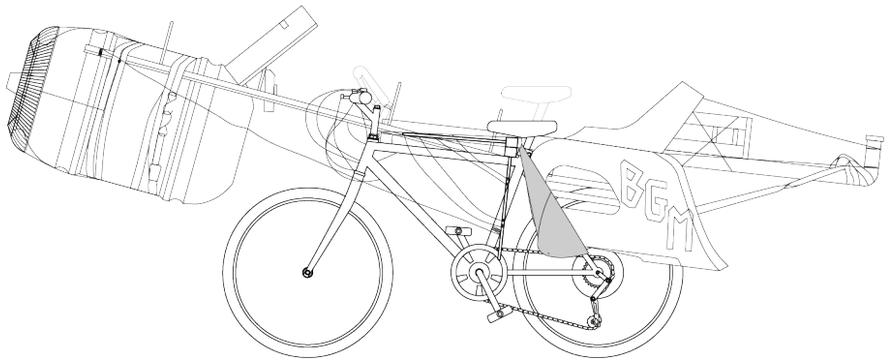
È capitato che allontanarsi lo sguardo dall'aereo. Continuavo a guardarlo perché evitavo lo sguardo degli abitanti della pista, lo evitavo perché in fondo mi sentivo di troppo, mi sentivo di fuori e invadente e ora la mia presenza era stata resa ancora più evidente: stavamo pilotando un aereo sulla pista di Borgo Mezzanone. Ma lo sguardo lo alzo, lo alzo e sbircio dentro la finestra di una piccola bottega. L'aereo faceva tanto rumore, così facilmente le persone uscivano dalle loro case e dai loro negozi o ristoranti per capire cosa sta stesse accadendo. Così ha fatto il gestore di quella bodega. Era lui a sbirciare verso di noi: Lo vedo incrinarsi sempre più curiosamente, da dentro al fuori di quella finestra. Curiosissimo e intrattenuto era il suo volto. Quante volte, nella sua permanenza a borgo, avrebbe sbirciato fuori dalla finestra della sua bodega per trovare non un cliente, non un suo amico o conoscente, ma un piccolo aereo in decollo? Tutto quello che per lui, in quel momento del guardar fuori, sarebbe stato scontato e normale, viene ora travolto dall'impossibilità di un aereo proprio lì e in quel momento. Ogni sua aspettativa, di quello che potesse trovare sbirciando fuori, è stata completamente travolta.

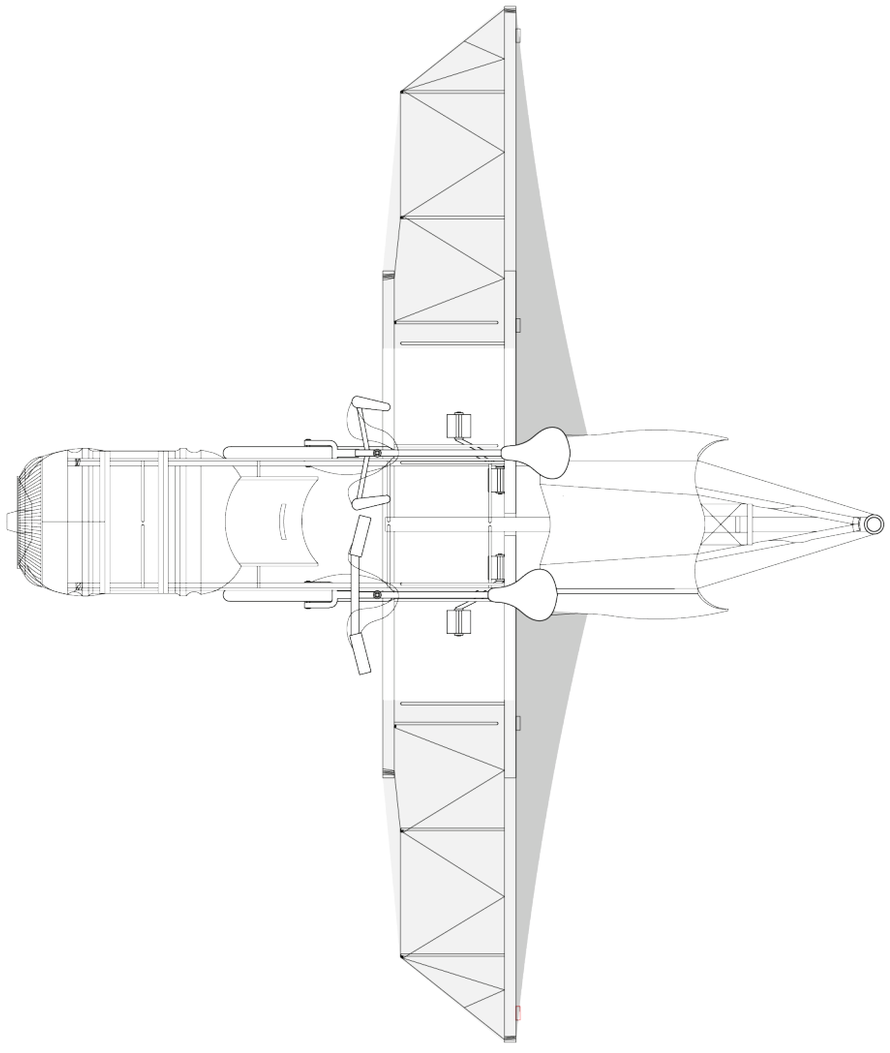
May 12, 2025.

I'm on a train to Foggia, but my actual destination was Cerignola. I was meant to spend an entire week there with a dear friend and colleague, Frederique, Stefano, Richard, a group of researchers from Chile and Argentina, Professor Boano and Professor Stopani. My supervisor had invited this group of South American researchers to propose a *whatever-it-could-be,* this time artistic, on the landing strip of Borgo Mezzanone. Then he invited me. Why not? After all, I was writing the chapter that tried to reach asylum space through the law and its morphological force. It was a way to step away from books, from my desk, an opportunity to spend a whole week in the field, and surely some useful reflections would come out of it.

Once we arrived in Foggia, someone came to pick us up and brought us straight to the strip. There we met Mathias, Leandro, and Ignacio, three of the five members of the Chilean architectural collective Grupo Toma. They had come to Borgo Mezzanone to build an airplane. So, over the course of a week, we built a plane. Why a plane? We all asked ourselves that question, and we're still asking it. Why a plane? It's a question with a different answer for each person involved—whether that person was part of the Toma group, a resident of the strip, or a student who found herself pulled into the project. So I can only tell you what a plane meant to me.Why a plane? Isn't a question that asks for the reasoning behind the choice to build it. It asks about the meaning, the resonance, the impression it left on the person trying to answer. Because the plane is a form of multiple narrative creation,. Through the plane, I can tell you about Borgo in a way that belongs only to me. It's my way of seeing Borgo from the outside, of describing it from the inside, of speaking about it through something else. The plane, in all its extraordinariness, lets you defy an imposed normality—a normality that, in Borgo, sits at the edges of what is considered normal.

It's a simple thought, one I arrived at just as simply. In the last days we spent on the runway, we would save the final hours of sunlight to make it fly. I remember the first takeoff especially well, partly because of anticipation, partly because of a quiet anxiety about how the people of Borgo would react. From our hangar we had flown a few hundred meters and were now deep into the main street of Borgo. There came a moment when I looked away from the plane. I had been watching it intently, avoiding the gaze of the people living on the strip. I avoided their eyes because deep down I felt like an intruder, like I didn't belong, like I was invading, and now my presence had become even more visible: we were flying a plane over Borgo Mezzanone. But then I looked up, and I caught a glimpse through the window of a small shop. The plane was loud, so it was only natural that people came out of their homes, shops, and restaurants to see what was going on. The shopkeeper of that bodega did the same. I saw him leaning more and more intently out of the window, his expression full of curiosity and wonder. How many times, during his time in Borgo, had he looked out of that window expecting to see not a customer, not a friend or a familiar face, but a small airplane taking off? Everything that had been normal, expected, part of his daily life, was suddenly undone by the impossibility of a plane, there, in that moment. Whatever he had expected to see when he peeked outside was completely overturned.





Questo gesto va portato dal singolo sguardo del mercante, e quindi dalla microvisione del singolo abitante sulla propria condizione, alla macrovisione di chi, da fuori, vuole vedere e raccontare borgo. In questo caso, il progetto dell'accoglienza non è altro che strumento di immaginazione. Un'immaginazione attraverso la quale e possibile riraccontare Borgo in un modo che sfida le solite narrazioni dicotomiche: Borgo e la pista, caporalato e braccianti, centro governativo e insediamento informale. Immaginando l'aereo ciascuino di noi crea un nuovo modo per parlare della pista. Io lo faccio qui, sotto una nozione-in-costruzione, quella della *paraccoglienza*. La mia collega, Frederique, l'ha fatto con la sua macchina fotografica. Mathias produrrà qualche composizione musicale. Camillo stava rispondendo a modo suo alla domanda, è stato il primo a formularla e che io ho meramente ripreso in questo spezzone, e non vedo l'ora di leggere il suo pensiero. L'aereo è stato un motore immaginativo e provocatorio, e tutti noi, unicamente, stiamo elaborando attraverso questa sua potenza. Il lavoro va avanti, e se sei interessato, puoi leggerne di più al sito **inappropriable.com.**

Il disegno qui accanto è una mia riproduzione grafica di quanto abbiamo costruito sulla Pista. Si tratta di un aereo composto da due biciclette montabili, per cui la struttura può essere guidata. Un barile e alcune parti di automobile danno l'impressione di un volume simile a quello di un aereo. La struttura principale è fatta di scale in ferro, utilizzate anche per costruire le ali. Queste ultime le abbiamo poi ricoperte con cellophane e con il tessuto di una tenda. L'abbiamo decorato con collane colorate, luci da bicicletta, e abbiamo persino aggiunto una cassa per gli effetti sonori.

Tutte le fotografie sono della mia talentuosissima amica e collega Frédérique Gélinas.

This gesture must be carried from the merchant's single glance—from the micro-vision of an individual inhabitant reflecting on their own condition—to the macro-vision of those on the outside who want to see and tell the story of Borgo. In this sense, the project of hospitality becomes nothing more than a tool of imagination. An imagination through which it becomes possible to re-narrate Borgo in a way that challenges the usual dichotomous narratives: Borgo and the runway, illegal recruiters and farmworkers, government centre and informal settlement. By imagining the airplane, each of us creates a new way of speaking about the strip. I do it here, under a notion-in-the-making, what I've come to call *paraccoglienza*. My colleague Frederique did it with her camera. Mathias will compose some music. Camillo was answering the question in his own way, he was the first to formulate it, and I've only picked it up here in this fragment and I can't wait to read what he's written. The airplane became an imaginative and provocative engine, and each of us, in our own way, is processing things through the force it set in motion. The work continues, and if you're interested, you can read more about it at **inappropriable.com.**

The drawing next to this text is my graphic rendering of what we built on the runway. It's a plane made from two mountable bicycles, so the structure is actually rideable. A barrel and some car parts give the impression of a volume resembling an airplane. The main structure is made of iron ladders, which we also used to create the wings. We then covered the wings with cellophane and the fabric of a tent. We decorated it with colorful necklaces, bike lights, and even added a speaker for sound effects.

All the photographs are by my incredibly talented friend and colleague, Frédérique Gélinas.

11 March, 2024.

Il momento più distante. Ero all'università di Delft, ed era il giorno della presentazione finale del corso di progettazione. Quell'anno il corso richiedeva un progetto con un destinatario specifico, ed era il minore straniero non accompagnato. L'MSNA nei Paesi Bassi è accolto nei centri del COA, o Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers, un'agenzia statale che gestisce tutti i centri olandesi, di prima e seconda accoglienza. Quell'anno, COA ci aveva chiesto di collaborare con Office for the New Earth, un'organizzazione non profit specializzata in spazi terapeutici per l'infanzia. Office for the New Earth ci aveva fornito un modulo-base: un portale in legno, una sorta di cornice di circa 6 metri per 1,3, all'interno della quale ognuno di noi avrebbe dovuto sviluppare una propria idea di spazio terapeutico, pensato nello specifico per minori stranieri non accompagnati.

L'idea è nata proprio conoscendo quei bambini e quei ragazzi che, alla fine del corso, avrebbero davvero interagito con questi moduli, sei dei quali sarebbero stati selezionati per essere costruiti nei centri Come già anticipato nell'introduzione, ciò è avvenuto all'inizio del corso, e ciò che più mi ha colpito è stata la difficoltà nel comunicare. Erano tutti diversi tra loro, provenienti da parti del mondo lontanissime, e facevano fatica a parlarsi persino tra di loro. C'era una barriera linguistica, certo, ma anche una distanza più sottile, difficile da nominare. Mi chiedevo che cosa potesse, se non unire, almeno permettere loro di stare insieme nello stesso tempo e nello stesso spazio. La risposta, almeno in apparenza, sembrava semplice: il calcio. Con 'il calcio' rispondevano quando qualcuno chiedeva 'ma tu cosa vorresti avere nel centro?'. Sempre preoccupata della difficoltà nel loro comunicare e condividere, mi sono detta che non servono parole per giocare insieme. Ma io non potevo costruire un campo da calcio dentro un modulo di legno largo poco meno di un metro e mezzo.

Così ho pensato alla musica. Non solo come forma di comunicazione, ma come

March 11, 2024.

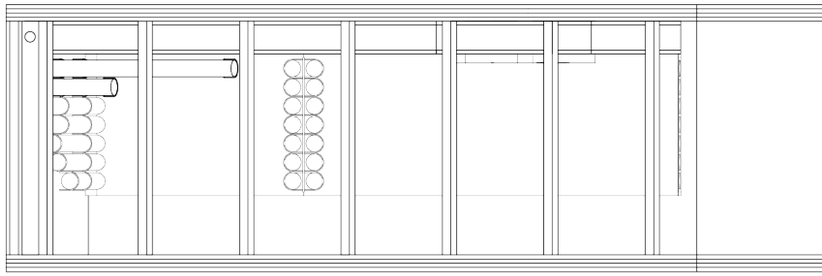
The most distant moment. I was at Delft University, and it was the day of the final presentation for the design course. That year, the course required us to design a project for a specific user: the unaccompanied minor. The MSNA in the Netherlands is hosted in COA centers, or the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers, a state agency that manages all Dutch centers for first and second reception. That year, COA asked us to collaborate with Office for the New Earth, a non-profit organization specialized in therapeutic spaces for children. Office for the New Earth gave us a base module: a wooden portal, a sort of frame about 6 meters by 1.3, inside which each of us had to develop our own idea of a therapeutic space, specifically designed for unaccompanied minors.

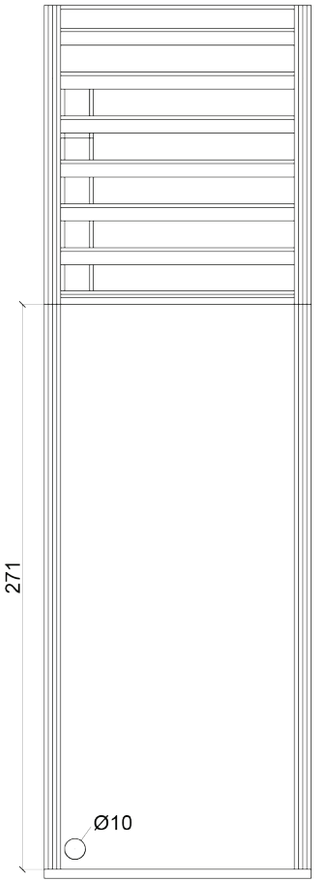
The idea was born precisely by meeting those children and young people who, at the end of the course, would actually interact with these modules, six of which would be selected to be built in the centers. As anticipated in the introduction, this happened at the beginning of the course, and what struck me most was the difficulty in communicating. They were all different from each other, coming from very distant parts of the world, and struggled even to speak among themselves. There was a language barrier, of course, but also a more subtle distance, hard to name. I wondered what could, if not unite, at least allow them to stay together in the same time and space. The answer, at least apparently, seemed simple: soccer. With "soccer" they answered when someone asked, "But what would you like to have in the center?" Always worried about their difficulty in communicating and sharing, I told myself that no words are needed to play together. But I couldn't build a soccer field inside a wooden module less than one and a half meters wide.

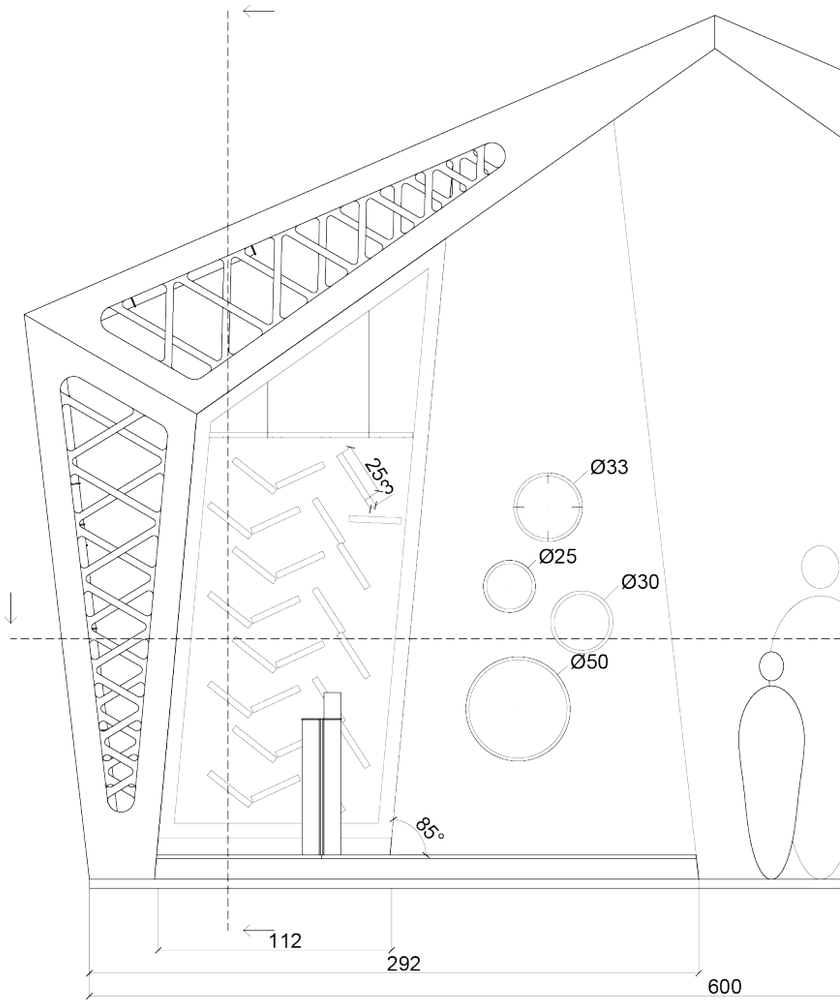
So I thought of music. Not only as a form of communication, but as an outlet. Music doesn't speak to everyone, but for those who really hear it, it is a great excuse to be together, to make noise, to be heard. And maybe this is exactly where the project can be read under the concept of paraccoglienza.

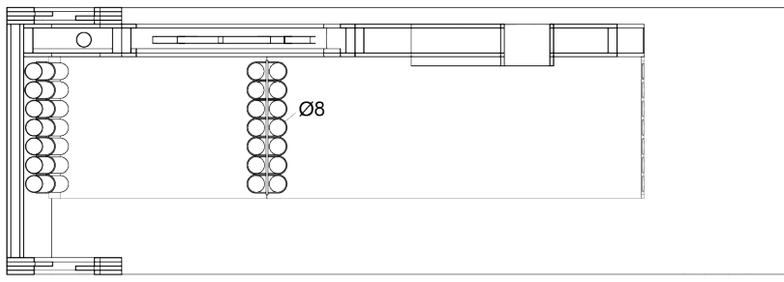
What my group and I designed was, essentially, a noise machine. But at the time we called it MusicBox, a play on words referring to a music box. This is because every element of the module could be used to create sound: a tubulum on one wall, drums on another, bells and cajón, and finally a water wall designed to play with the rain. It worked through small metal profiles that, with the fall of rainwater, rotated and touched, producing a small tinkling. So the module worked actively and passively, with and without the presence of bodies.

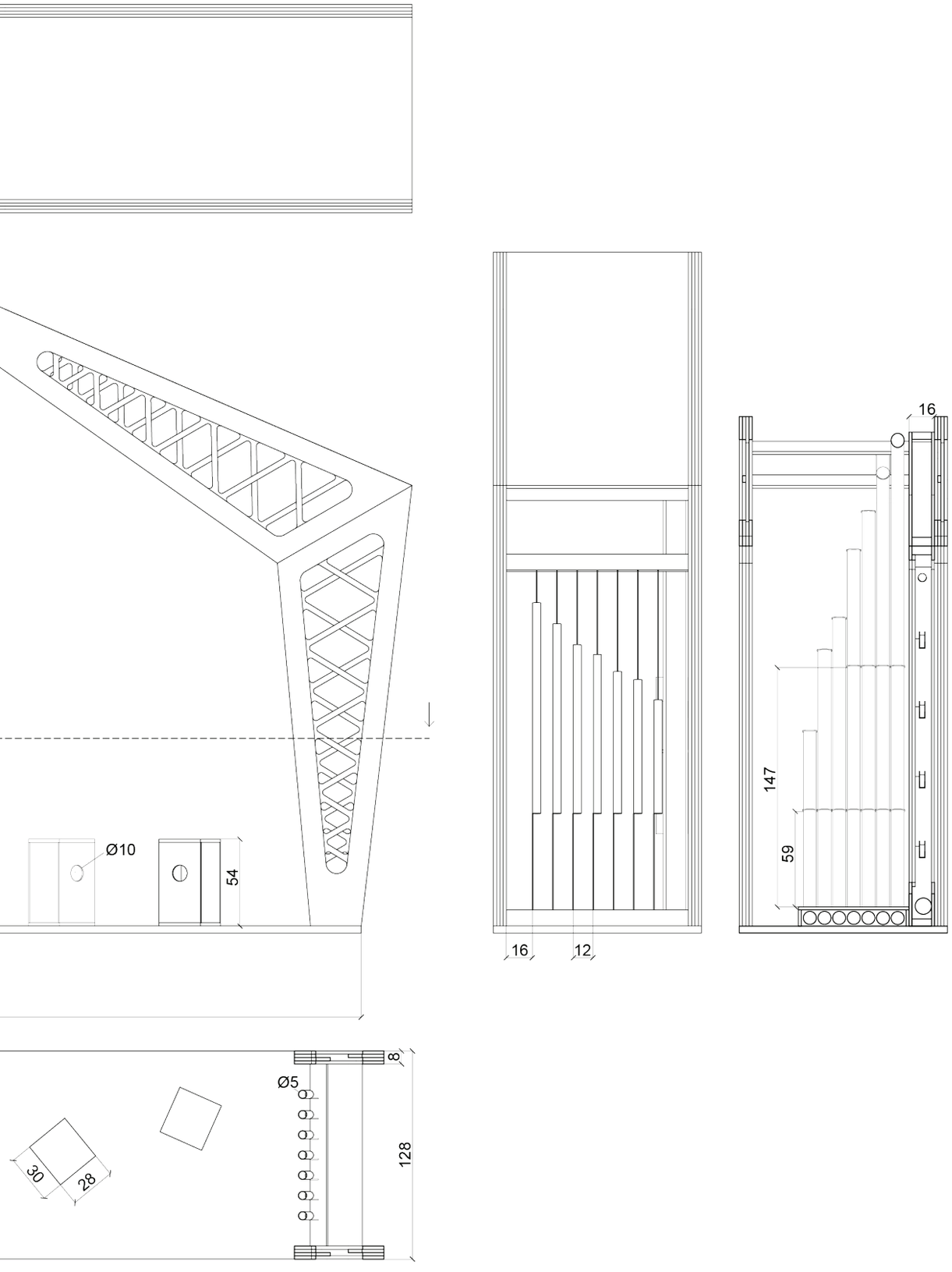
Now that I think about it, I believe it would never have produced pleasant sounds. And maybe this is also why it wasn't selected. It was an uncomfortable element, with a certain degree of unmanageability, a small parasite inside the center. More than a simple element of disturbance, it became a space of open tension, where the ordinary was suspended to allow a new, fragile, and evolving interaction. A











valvola di sfogo. La musica non parla a tutti, ma per chi la sente davvero, è un'ottima scusa per stare insieme, per fare rumore, per farsi sentire. E forse è proprio in questo che il progetto può essere letto sotto il concetto della paraccoglienza.

Quello che avevamo progettato con il mio gruppo era, in sostanza, una macchina del rumore. Ma noi al tempo l'abbiamo chiamato MusicBox, un gioco di parole in riferimento a un carillon. Questo perché ogni elemento del modulo poteva essere usato per creare suono: un tubulum su una parete, tamburi su un'altra, campane e cajón, e infine una parete d'acqua pensata per suonare con la pioggia. Funzionava tramite dei piccoli profilati in metallo che, con la caduta dell'acqua piovana, ruotavano e si toccavano, producendo un piccolo tintinnio. Così il modulo funzionava attivamente e passivamente, con e senza la presenza dei corpi.

Ora che ci ripenso, credo che non avrebbe mai prodotto suoni piacevoli. E forse è anche per questo che non è stato selezionato. Era un elemento scomodo, di un certo grado di ingestibilità, un piccolo parassita dentro il centro. Più che un semplice elemento di disturbo, diventava uno spazio di tensione aperta, dove l'ordinario veniva sospeso per permettere un'interazione nuova, fragile e in divenire. Uno spazio dove il centro smetteva di essere silenzioso, smetteva di essere isolato. Il progetto si configura come un parassita fuori dall'apparente controllo all'interno del centro di accoglienza, una presenza che rompe il silenzio e l'isolamento, mettendo in discussione la funzione stessa dello spazio: questo "rumore" obbliga il centro a confrontarsi con ciò che normalmente tende a escludere o ignorare: la pluralità delle voci, le tensioni non mediate, la vitalità frammentata dei corpi che lo abitano.

space where the center stopped being silent, stopped being isolated. The project is configured as a parasite outside the apparent control within the reception center, a presence that breaks silence and isolation, questioning the very function of the space: this "noise" forces the center to confront what it normally tends to exclude or ignore: the plurality of voices, the unmediated tensions, the fragmented vitality of the bodies inhabiting it.

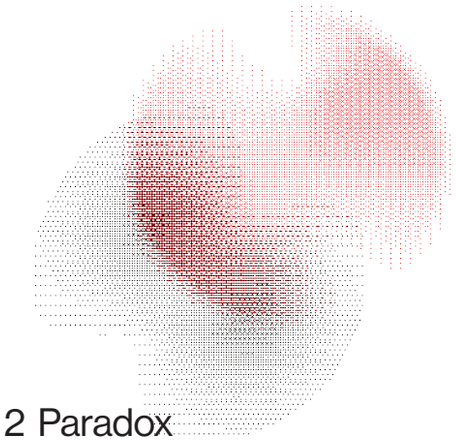
Questa tesi nasce da esperienze che ancora non si sono chiarite del tutto, da domande aperte che rimbombano dentro un'Italia e un mondo che stanno per essere travolti da trasformazioni improvvise e violente. Paesi interi chiamati a diventare rifugio per chi scappa da guerre, cambiamenti climatici, persecuzioni, sfollamenti. In un contesto geopolitico sempre più instabile — dove solo pochi giorni fa lo Stato israeliano ha bombardato l'Iran — appare sempre più insostenibile che i richiedenti asilo restino confinati a un ruolo marginale, esclusi dalla progettazione stessa degli spazi sociali e politici. Come è possibile che una realtà così complessa e urgente continui a essere definita da una logica binaria? Come può l'accoglienza reinventarsi e diventare davvero *terza*? Al culmine di questo lavoro estenuante dove mi sono spostata ben oltre la nostra disciplina e in più direzioni, posso offrire soltanto alcune interpretazioni del *terzo* con cui ho sentito di interagire. Posso raccoglierle, astraendole, e iniziare a tracciare una prima mappa di interazioni per un nuovo progetto dell'accoglienza. Qui si chiude la mia tesi ma prosegue la mia curiosità, **verso un decalogo della *paraccoglienza*.**

This thesis was born out of experiences that still haven't fully settled, from open questions that continue to echo across an Italy and a world on the verge of being swept up by sudden, violent transformations. Entire countries are being called upon to become a refuge for those fleeing war, climate change, persecution, displacement. In an increasingly unstable geopolitical landscape — where just days ago the Israeli state bombed Iran — it is becoming ever more unsustainable that asylum seekers remain confined to a marginal role, excluded from the very design of social and political spaces. How is it possible that a reality so complex and urgent continues to be defined by a binary logic? How can hospitality be reinvented and truly become third? At the end of this exhausting journey in which I moved far beyond the boundaries of our discipline and in many directions, I can only offer a few interpretations of the *third* that I felt I was interacting with. I can gather them, abstract them, and begin to trace a preliminary map of interactions toward a new project of hospitality. This thesis ends here, but my curiosity continues, **towards a decalogue of *paraccoglienza*.**

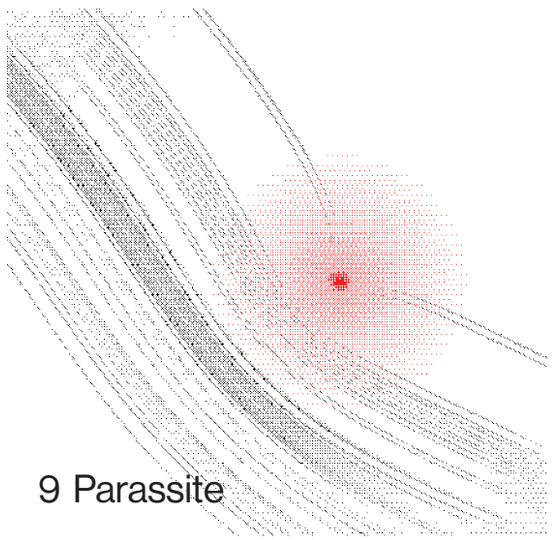
Paraccoglienza, an incomplete decalog

A decalog is a list of ten points. A decalogue of *paraccoglienza* is a list of design gestures that can be made in a third project of accoglienza, a list through which design is configured as an act of creating conditions for relation rather than fixing solutions. I have defined only three of these gestures based on the three memories briefly relived through the last pages of this thesis. One gesture is **paradox**. This gesture creates a space where two opposing conditions coexist without immediate resolution. It embraces contradiction as part of the design, allowing ambiguity and complexity to shape how the space is experienced and understood. Another gesture is **paranormal**. This gesture challenges what is normally accepted as reality. It produces an experience that feels almost uncanny or magical, altering how people inside the space and those outside perceive it, questioning the usual boundaries between inside and outside, real and unreal. A third gesture is **parasite**. It is something added on, an interference, a presence that breaks through the surface of control and order. The parasite destabilizes the system by introducing noise, tension, and unpredictability, forcing the host environment to confront the multiplicity of voices and the vitality it otherwise silences. It is a gesture of rupture and possibility.

3 Paranormal



2 Paradox



9 Parassite

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