

[CO]HABITATION TACTICS

Imagining future spaces in architecture, city and landscape

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS



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Ambiguities of social housing policy and immigrant housing demand: the case of Bari

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abstract

This paper focuses on the implementation and effects of recent housing policies in a city located in southern Italy currently experiencing problematic and enormous housing pressure: Bari. The extreme fragmentation of housing demand, the emergence of new population groups at risk for social exclusion and the general reduction in public spending have stimulated new policies to tackle the housing emergency. Alongside traditional public housing policies, in recent years new hybrid forms of policies have emerged that can be defined as Social Housing. Within this framework, the study focuses on the housing condition of immigrants in detail.

keywords Housing Policy, Social Housing, Immigrants

Introduction: The debate on immigration between the past and the present

A comparison of the current debate with the first systematic reflections in Italy on the issue of immigrant housing likely indicates more reasons for continuity than for change. We must go back more than 25 years, to the beginning of the 1990s when the territorial aspects of immigration in Italy significantly began to interest not only researchers but also became part of the political agenda. This can be symbolically linked to 1991 when the ship *Vlora* disembarked precisely in the port of Bari, carrying 20,000 people fleeing Albania in a state of serious crisis. Since that episode, the resistant attitude of politics and society seems to have remained constant in addressing the presence of the immigrant population as a structural element – above all from the residential point of view – treating it mostly as a “phenomenon” and “emergency”. Therefore, particular attention – often ideologically-driven – has been paying to the analysis of migration flows, of the quota system, of the adequacy of asylum and reception system on the basis of the different categories of immigrant (refugee and asylum seekers, economic immigrants, unaccompanied minors, trafficking victims etc.).

Methodology: beyond case studies

One aspect of this continuity is the analytical and methodological approach to the topic that often refers, both in the publications of 25 years ago and in more recent ones, to case studies examining exemplary actions and innovative social housing projects in relation to current national policies, mostly promoted by associations, organisations or local authorities and administrations (Tosi, 1993). The case study and best practices approach has continued to be the most suited methodology within a framework of very fragmented and differentiated regional and local actions and solutions. These cases could be considered as interesting experiments from below, as well as indicators of activism and social creativity, but these ones are also the sign of the weakness of comprehensive and long term housing policies targeting immigrants, as well as the sign of difficulty in establishing theoretical synthesis. It's not by chance that in Italy there are very few studies able to systematize the analysis of the new housing demand of immigrants with the exception of the numerous classifications of such emblematic cases resulting from comparative analysis. But these analysis – both those dating back to the 1990 and the recent ones – shows that there are constant aspects that need to be asked. One of these constants is the extremely differentiated situation between the North and the South of Italy: these cases are mostly concentrated in the North and are cases that also show a high degree of innovation in responding to housing problems. The decision to observe

and describe the case of Bari is therefore dictated to be a local, southern context, where this delay is particularly marked. We want to overcome the logic of the best practices analysis that tends to hide the critical aspects and, due to the limited number of cases, the issue of social housing related to immigrants is generally considered as a trace and a 'contrast-agent' that can highlight the characteristics and weaknesses of local system. It would be appropriate for this purpose to adopt a systemic approach such as that used by 'field theory', especially oriented to the analysis of the bureaucratic field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1994), and by its variants as New Institutionalism (Meyer and Scott, 1983; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). These are two of the main theoretical perspectives used to understand organizational behavior as situated in and influenced by other organizations and wider social forces – especially broader cultural rules and beliefs – and to understand how their structures tend to be reproduced. What is proposed in this paper is only a first step of this analysis as it is limited to describing the characteristic and actions of the relevant actors in the institutionally defined arena of organizations of the Metropolitan city of Bari, sketching only how these are connected to each other within a meso-level social order. These relevant actors are those who ultimately 'produce' territory a) social actors (third sector, social enterprises etc.) b) economic actors (construction companies, foundations, financial fund etc.) and c) institutional actors – political and administrative ones in particular. The reconstruction of the local system that potentially and in fact configures the field of social housing has been based on recognition of the policy and regulatory acts, also considered as local declination of more general regulation, and on recognition of the field and typology of the interventions realized by economic and social actors.

The national housing policy framework

It is impossible to say that nothing has changed since the 1990s, both in terms of housing policies and welfare, especially in relation to the immigrant population, or that some fundamental characteristics of Italian society have not changed. In fact, we cannot speak strictly of housing policies addressed to immigrants because they are still configured, as mentioned, mainly as reception policies, which have also undergone significant changes:

- a) in the intervention methods in the municipalities with greater migratory pressure, where programs have been concentrated since the early 90s for the creation of preliminary reception centres and services, and therefore also financial contributions¹ for reaching various types of housing dispersion, accompanied by a quota system which aims to also include the smaller municipalities of metropolitan areas and internal regions;
- b) in the introduction of alternative temporary housing modalities to the Reception centres (see SPRAR – Protection System for Asylum Applicants² – and CAS – Extraordinary Reception Centres), addressed to subjects with asylum rights and therefore holders of residence permits which should have an 'integrated' character, that is to say, to provide activities aimed at the immigrant's insertion in the labour market and more generally in the social and cultural fabric.
- c) in the enlargement and variety of subjects to involve in the reception policies, not only third-sector subjects³ but also private economic subjects. This last aspect - which is part of the more general process of horizontal subsidiarity – is in fact progressively characterising not only reception policies but also housing policies tout court.

The most recent legislation⁴ has in fact outlined a new housing governance structure whose main feature, in view of the drastic reduction of resources, seems to exist with relative flexibility and puts fundamental trust in the virtuous relationship between the public sector and the private social sector.

As mentioned, this led to the restructuring of the public housing system as a matter of priority in response to the fiscal crisis of the State and the need to rebalance the budgets of local public administrations or public housing agencies rather than a growing housing demand, and one of its most relevant outputs has been the reduction of public housing assets through a policy of privatisation that began in 1993⁵. More than before, it has above all constrained social renting to the poorest population sectors. This market dynamic is associated with other decisive, backward elements of public action, including a policy that – as in other southern European countries – has favoured access to property over supporting the rental market, has deregulated the private rental sector and has also favoured methods for providing economic subsidies to families to support rental expenses or the purchase of a first home with respect to the new housing offer⁶.

This has come to undermine the fairly rigid division of sectors/actors and relative competencies that supported the housing policies system for decades in which, in summary:

- a) the private sector has contributed the housing supply on the free market, for families that were able to sustain the costs;
- b) the State and its territorial sub-systems have dealt with the housing needs of the most fragile classes through so-called 'subsidised-housing' carried out directly by the State and regions through the municipalities or local social housing agencies, with exclusively or mainly public financial means and essentially aimed at providing homes to rent at limited costs
- c) the cooperative sector has produced homes at lower-than-market prices. More specifically, this is 'facilitated-

building' carried out by private subjects with public funding tenders and is intended to provide homes to rent or purchase to social categories with medium/low income.

The obsolescence of this system can be traced back to at least two phenomena that have become part of the previously-mentioned long-term fiscal crisis of the State: on the one hand, the private real estate sector is grappling with important shares of unsold property assets, and on the other hand the housing demand has contracted in the mid-market - also including the facilitated-building of the cooperative world - while it has grown in the low-end of the market, as evidenced by the number of applications for the allocation of public housing units, contributions for rent, etc. In other words, the composition of this demand has changed, affected by progressive social polarisation and the greater economic 'fragility' of the middle class, or certain groups belonging to this category (youth, single-parent families, single-income families, elderly living alone...). This fragility has intensified with the economy's recession and the relative increase in the necessary housing expenses compared to family income.

Social Housing. As is widely argued, the crisis of the 'impoverished' middle class still in a relative state of solvency that is instead offered a solution with the structuring of a new housing governance model that, as mentioned, has found a declination in social housing policies. The term 'social housing' in Italy identifies a wide range of initiatives and has become increasingly significant on the basis of some legislative changes which occurred in the last few years⁷. In fact, these initiatives still have an experimental character, as they are aimed at the enhancement of the housing supply while trying to respond to an increasingly complex and fragmented demand for which it seems that neither the State nor the market can provide answers. It is however possible, for example as was done by Nomisma Research Centre in 2010, to outline some predominant features that distinguish the forms of social housing compared to those of traditional public housing. Firstly, a) the attraction of private resources in various ways: with the possibility of selling private housing within the context of residential transformations and urban regeneration, with the land granting or building rights, also through equalisation mechanisms ('perequazione urbanistica'), with the establishment of public guarantee funds to support rent, etc.; b) the promotion of social mixing which serve to avoid concentrating disadvantaged populations, for example through the introduction of a wide range of rent costs within the same building, and not merely social rent costs; c) enlarging the group of possible actors who can be involved in these operations, in particular economic and financial ones such as foundations, even of banking origin, real estate funds, albeit of an ethical nature, venture capital companies, etc. This has weakened the clear distinction between profit and non-profit by introducing these subjects within the sphere of 'social enterprises' and in the new and cloudy section of the 'social market economy'; d) the extension of the concept of social housing, which is now no longer limited to the offer of a roof and therefore the solution to a primary need, but supplemented by a series of services and actions aimed at responding to further, differentiated needs: work, leisure, social integration, etc.

The synthetic reconstruction of the social policies framework relating to housing seems necessary in order to understand the consideration and weight that the immigrant component takes on within it; indeed, to understand how its transformations have substantially left immigrants' possibility to access homes dependent on market rules. Although the Consolidated Act on Immigration establishes⁸ that any immigrant holding a regular residence permit not only has the right to access reception centres but also social housing on a temporary basis while waiting to find ordinary and definitive accommodations, and to public housing units on an equal footing with Italian citizens, in reality this right has largely been rejected. The emergency-based logic of the reception centres has had a minimal and often improper impact on immigrants' housing needs, and they have had even less access to public housing. This has brought the housing issue of immigrants who have not had access to the free housing market to be treated with regulations and administrative and bureaucratic structures that have largely been inherited from the system that has historically managed the problem of poverty in Italy. The identification of immigrants as poor has placed interventions for immigrants within the definition of normal social interventions, also in the housing

1 / Italian Law of 28.2.1990, no. 39, art. 11 envisages "the supply of contributions to the regions that prepare, in collaboration with the municipalities with increased settlement, programs for the creation of First reception centres and services"

2 / See Italian Law no. 189/2002.

3 / Starting from Law no. 40 of 1998 which identifies spaces for collaboration between administration and voluntary associations and organizations.

4 / See Italian Law no. 9 of 2007, Italian Ministerial Decree of 22 April 2008, the 2008 House Plan and the 2009 National Housing Building Plan (DPCM of 16/07/2009).

5 / Recent data reports a strongly negative relationship between the disposal of properties and new acquisitions of 3 to 1.

6 / See the 2008 Home Plan

7 / See the 2008 Budget Law (Italian Law no. 244/2007) and the 2009 National Housing Building Plan

8 / Italian Law no. 286 of 25 July 1998, "Consolidated Act of the provisions concerning the regulation of immigration and rules on the foreigner's condition".

field, and is therefore the responsibility of social services and councils for social policies. In fact, this situation was already outlined by Zincone in his studies carried out in the early 2000s and has not fundamentally changed.

Immigration and housing policies: local actors

In the context of Bari, there are no obvious signs of the political and strategic integration of migrants' diversity as an added value in terms of social capital and in function of the 'repositioning' of this local system with respect to the global one, understood as a competitive system (Schiller, Çağlar, 2011). The presence of immigrants is still mainly treated as a social problem requiring the identification of adaptation methods, usually through sporadic and residual actions rather than systemic ones relating above all to the issue of their arrangement and redistribution throughout the territory of the metropolitan area and its capital. At the same time the regulatory system, which translates into a local interpretation and declination of general norms, but also the system of territorial political-administrative responsibilities and in general the shared "rules of the game" that are at the base of economic and social actors' participation in the policies (Bourdin, Lefeuvre, Melé, 2006), become the barely flexible and weakly innovative structures of these adaptation methods.

Metropolitan Government. A first critical level is identified on the metropolitan scale, or rather in the weak integration and confused responsibilities relating to immigration that are evident in the relationship between the governance of the metropolitan city and that of the capital, Bari. The clearest issue is the government of the metropolitan city's lack of political delegations or specific responsibilities in relation to the presence of migrants and the housing demand and problems expressed by the same, especially the absence of a strategic vision on the issue. This has led to anomalous extensions of actions responding to the housing emergency by the Welfare Department of the entire metropolitan area's capital, especially with regard to low-threshold housing (homeless or emergency shelter).

This criticality is even more evident when considering that the distribution of the immigrant population residing in the metropolitan city of Bari is highly dispersed: this is a first distinctive and constant feature compared to all the other Italian metropolitan cities. The relationship between the immigrant population residing in the capital city at 1 January 2017 (about 13,000) and in the rest of the metropolitan area (about 42,000) makes Bari the metropolitan city with the lowest population percentage residing in the area's urban hub, 31.13%, well below the averages and medians of the Italian metropolitan cities which are between 48 and 52%. It should be also taken into account the volume of the temporary presence in institutional first and second reception centres that is very high when compared to that of most Italian provinces, as well as the number of residence permits that have a quota of long-term residents which is lower than the national average (47.8% compared to 59.5%). If we associate these data with those related to the low presence of minors (19% compared to 24.2% for non-EU citizens in Italy), the low percentage of non-EU citizens born compared to the total number of births (5.2% compared to 15.2% in Italy) and the lowest employment rate, the metropolitan area of Bari is configured as a 'passing' territory rather than a residential one, with a low stability rate for presences compared to the other southern provinces (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, 2016).

City Government. Descending to a more specific administrative level to observe the system of those Welfare Department responsibilities which are dealing with housing policies in the capital's municipal administration, the picture is characterised by extreme segmentation: a) the Urban Planning Department is also responsible for private housing, b) the Estate Administration Department is responsible for public housing and c) the Welfare Department is responsible for low-threshold reception services. All three Departments could propose solutions that relate to social housing in different measures and with different methods, as they all certainly make it one of their main guidelines, at least in terms of proposals and programming, similarly to how all three departments could make proposals addressed to the immigrant housing demand. The facts instead show a reality entirely lacking any initiative that could be included in the types of social housing – except for a proposal made by private subjects together with ARCA (Regional Agency for Home and Living), and thus remain fundamentally 'on paper', which would be configured as PIRU (Integrated Urban Regeneration Plan) to implement in the C.E.P. San Paolo district of Bari. Above all these facts show how a symbolic system and a system of dispositions – which have an important function in defining 'field' for Bourdieu and Neoinstitutional scholars – are pervasive. These systems involve both the political agenda and that of the local media and public opinion closely involving social housing and housing/social mix (Edilizia Residenziale Sociale) and considering areas of innovations where it is not easy to define what's really new. These facts demonstrate also how most of the measures adopted respond to the strong general housing pressure characterising the municipality of Bari⁹ in an overly insufficient manner compared to the overall demand, even if inadequate for including the migrant target. They are not those relating to public housing, whose mechanisms for selecting entitled families are affected by the discriminating national rules, but also by a local context with an elevated number of families which have been evicted or in a state of overdue payments or default that actually benefit in terms of ranking and special lists¹⁰. It is not the subsidised housing supply nor rent-

controlled or rent-to-buy housing for the excessively high threshold of fixed housing purchase prices, as required by law through local agreements between municipal administration and owners' associations.

This situation also shows us how the homelessness strategy, the tenancy strategy and the housing strategy that each local authority is required to produce are important elements of the local 'field' that we are analysing. Elements that keep it in a stable order. It is evident how a) it is strong the resistance to change the social housing (understood as public housing and housing mix) allocation process and criteria even for the fact that has up to now avoided conflicts between native population and immigrants, b) persistent is the effort to not disrupt the balance between the construction sector, real estate actors and private owners interests and local political administration. This economic sector has historically represented the most influential lobby in the city and in the recent economic slowdown that has severely harmed it particularly strong has been the support and the protection against risk that it has received from local policy.

Private sector. The private sector is, in our opinion, one of the weak link in the system, considering above all how laws and regulatory acts related to social housing provide for conditions in which the risky can be controlled. Some scholars (Cowan, Pantazis and Gilroy, 1999) have considered the way social housing allocation embeds risk-based assessment and management within its processes. These have been designated to assess the risks posed by particular individuals and low-income groups both to the management of social housing as well as to the safety of the community. If a person or a group are regarded as 'risky' they are likely to be excluded from social housing. In regard to the case of Bari, it has been said that immigrants have difficulty accessing not only subsidised housing but also facilitate-building and rent-controlled housing, as these homes are mainly intended for purchase rather than rent and have unsustainable costs for families. This is because the regulations favouring housing mix as a form of equalisation between the public and private sectors discourage the production of this mix as a way of differentiating the entrepreneurial risk. Entrepreneurs do not take risks – perhaps by introducing innovative models of social housing - when building housing for the weaker and immigrant categories, but only – and with adequate concessions from public administrations as a counterpart – for categories with a sufficient degree of solvency. On the other hand, the private sector is taking on an important weight in the Bari area for emergency housing rather than for medium or long-term housing, putting collective property residences that have been unused for some time into the real estate circuit. This phenomenon is particularly affecting the coastal districts of Bari, where predominantly abandoned hotels have been used and others have been proposed for possible use as temporary shelters.

Among private subjects, financial institutions must also be considered - above all banks, banking foundations and real estate funds – which, unlike in northern Italy, are particularly absent in the south and in the Bari area among the social housing actors. It is no coincidence that not a single bank responded to a 2011 municipal call aimed at creating a guarantee-fund management service to implement the Youth Housing project called F.RHO.G¹¹, and all the solicitations to set up other guarantee funds as a mechanism to increase the supply of properties on the rental market have fallen on deaf ears. The only case to examine is an initiative, the second in southern Italy, which includes the participation of a real estate fund - Esperia, created by Cassa Depositi e Prestiti - which is the only fund aiming to support initiative for the reduction of housing deprivation in the regions of southern Italy, as required by the National Housing Building Plan. The initiative involves the construction of 230 apartments in the Santo Spirito district north of the centre of Bari, is labelled as social housing and is the outcome of an agreement protocol among ARCA, Confcooperative Puglia and the builder's association ANCE Bari-Bat, but is ultimately an housing mix case that has already been extensively tested in the city and includes rent-controlled and rent-to-buy housing units together with apartments sold on the free market.

City Welfare Department and Third sector. This framework helps us understand how the immigrant housing demand has on the one hand extended to the free market, and on the other hand - in relation to the low income or indigent part of this portion of the population - on the low threshold supply under the responsibility of the Welfare Department. This strong pressure, together with individual sensitivities rather than strategic policies or forms of "integrated planning", have probably been the factors that have prompted the introduction of innovations in the sphere of services and social housing, which are in fact under the responsibility of the Welfare Department and

9 / With CIPE Resolution no. 87 of 13/11/2003, Bari and over half of the municipalities of its metropolitan area are considered high "housing tension" municipalities, which affects rentals and especially a) the tax benefits that the owners who enter into agreed rental contracts can enjoy, and b) on the deferral of evictions, especially for certain categories of disadvantaged tenants.

10 / Out of 1948 applications for accommodation accepted in the last call that dates back to 2012, those of immigrants were only about 6.50% (empirically detected from the list of 125 applicants), but only a few families were actually assigned a house, and not without creating conflicts with those who were not assigned a house and claimed their priority right 'as Italians'.

11 / Co-funded by the Ministry of Youth Policies, the initiative is aimed at increasing the availability of accommodations for rent for youth (individuals, couples, immigrants, students far from home or Erasmus students) under the age of 30.

are generally addressed to homeless people and to reduce 'serious adult marginality', but in fact register 70% of the user base consisting of foreign immigrants (out of a total of about 500 homeless). These innovations have essentially resorted to reducing housing pressure a) to extensive subsidiarity models (extended, in fact, to families, informal networks, the third sector, individual citizens, etc.) which aim to replace collective and institutionalised forms as much as possible (temporary shelters, reception centres, etc.), and b) to forms of self-management and co-housing, even if partial or assisted, both to reduce operating costs and to encourage 'active' migrant integration processes.

With the exception of some autonomous local charitable initiatives, this approach produced only two different social housing cases that involved Third Sector organizations: such experiences must be regarded fundamentally as public initiative that are carried out by associations and cooperatives. The first is a multi-purpose centre (la Casa delle Culture), opened in 2016 after a renovation of an unused public school situated in a peripheral district of the city. It includes temporary accommodation for 25 immigrants and cultural and multicultural activities. But the most interesting initiative of this approach was to introduce, through recent municipal calls, new policies to combat the serious adult marginality that refer to the model known as Housing First that has already been used for some time in Anglo-Saxon countries. It is a co-housing model, but above all a rapid-rehousing model that overturns the traditional progressive path the traditional policies adopt (from the sidewalk to the dormitory, to the communities, to the apartment groups), immediately assigning a house and starting from there to build a path of re-entry into the various dimensions of individual well-being. This action is not only consistent with the objectives of the European programming inspiring the programs of Italian cities, but it is explicitly requested as a priority option in two of the main National Operational Plans (PON): Inclusion PON and Metro PON.

At the moment, only five Community Houses – inhabited by immigrant families – are open in the city of Bari which are inspired by the Housing First model, and the results of the new call for proposals are not yet known; but above all these are signs of changes in the most recently proposed policies, beyond those of the Community Houses¹², subjected to funding by the municipal administration within the 2014-20 PON Metro which refers to Housing First¹³. We could consider a third case of social housing, located in the second belt towns of the Bari metropolitan area. This is a project (Agri-culture) of working and housing inclusion (co-housing and self-construction) of 10 immigrants in the rural area. It is financed by a banking foundation, carried out by 2 social cooperatives and 1 cultural association and supported by 2 municipality that gave them land to be cultivated and buildings to be renovated in concession.

In short, the initiatives of social housing in the Metropolitan area of Bari summed up in these three case, two of which involved almost the same social organizations. Further initiatives are, as we have said, in the planning stage or under discussion at political level.

The local system framework described here also show how the local third sector has some weak point, especially when compared to the situation of other local contexts, in particular those of Northern Italy where the reference model proposed by several organization is that of the American Community Development Corporation (Provasi, 2004), widespread in the sector of affordable housing production, mixed income and inclusionary housing.

It would be sufficient to consider an exemplary case among the northern experiences mentioned (as that of Casa Amica of Bergamo, founded in 1993 as an association and transformed into a Foundation in 2009) by noting comparatively how these differ from the southern ones a) for a broader and more heterogeneous composition of founding members and supporters (Province of Bergamo, 7 municipalities of the same province, 4 associations of immigrants, association of builders, 3 trade unions, dioceses, etc.), b) for a support action to the housing policies of local institutions – that entailed, on the one hand, an institutional recognition (by the Lombardy Region as well as by the Prefecture that has appointed the association as president of the Territorial council on immigration) and, on the other, the opportunity of carrying out lobbying activities using a professional management staff, c) for the impact that they have in local development to the extent that they are able to mobilise a multiplicity of financial, social and cultural resources, e) for the impact that they have in the local housing market, through residential property portfolio acquisition and development operations¹⁴, d) by proposing a plurality and often integrated housing models – ranging from collective residences to community housing, from brokerage to local integrated participation and partnership etc.

The social entrepreneurship in the context of Bari expresses different structural characteristics that play a fundamental role in the local 'field' of social housing.

Firstly, it doesn't consider explicitly housing needs as a possible field of action. More than in other parts of Italy some cultural, political and economical factors – partially described above – have directed the social enterprises development towards care-home and social welfare sectors¹⁵. Secondly, the limited number of organizations operating in this field has given rise to initiatives with a low innovative character. They mostly developed as mere providers of reception or information services envisaged by European, national and regional policies, with particular attention to the profitability of tenders, then in almost total dependence on public funding/programmes.

Thirdly, social entrepreneurship involved in social housing initiatives is characterized fundamentally by temporary organizations with low level of structuring, formalized as Temporary Association with specific-purpose (A.T.S.). Lastly, it is impossible to avoid highlighting the absence of interventions promoted by the immigrants themselves, such as cooperatives aimed at self-construction – with the exception of three cases that mostly consist of the illegal occupation of unused buildings that have remained in stand-by for years, in a suspended situation between institutional promises for transformation into innovative forms of housing and threats of eviction and restoration of the building's previous use.

Conclusions

A field refers to a configuration of relations between positions, it is characterized by a high level of specificity: it possesses its own history, a particular configuration of agents operate within it and induces its own habitus and upholds a distinctive set of beliefs. The housing welfare system, that we have considered focusing on housing situation of immigrant in the context of Bari, engages not only the state, but also market mechanisms and many agencies within the civil society. Housing Welfare systems don't only differ according to how 'developed' they are, but according to the way their diverse elements are connected. The local field described in that way is characterized by a general 'habitus' that has reduced the potential innovativity of social housing because a) the symbolic capital system has changed its meaning in a rhetorical exercise, b) the local government aims to reproduce itself preserving the consensus of native population, of real estate actors and private landlords c) the latter are very reluctant to take risks – that are perceived to be very high in the field of social housing d) the cultural capital of the social enterprises recognise social housing as an opportunity only partially. The model of housing welfare field revolves around the structure of distribution of diverse types of capital, and around the mechanisms through which various types of capital are converted into each other. On these conversions strategic actions should be taken to change and develop the field.

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12 / *Community Homes (Axis: 3 - Services for social inclusion, Action: 3.1.1 - Integrated actions to combat housing poverty) aimed at adults without dependent children and/or separated fathers.*

13 / *Apartment and co-housing groups (Axis: 3 - Services for social inclusion, Action: 3.1.1) for families with children aged 0-36 months.*

14 / *Through the realization of new houses or the requalification of those already existing to be reassigned or sold at moderate prices to families in need, italians and immigrants.*

15 / *This trend had already appeared in the 1990s and 2000s when a new phase of urban and housing policy on regional level opened. These policy was aimed to realize integrated urban and housing regeneration programs, both urbanistic and socio-economic (the EU 'Urban' Program in 1990s and regional program PIRP in 2000s), but they have registered the almost complete absence of third sector.*

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