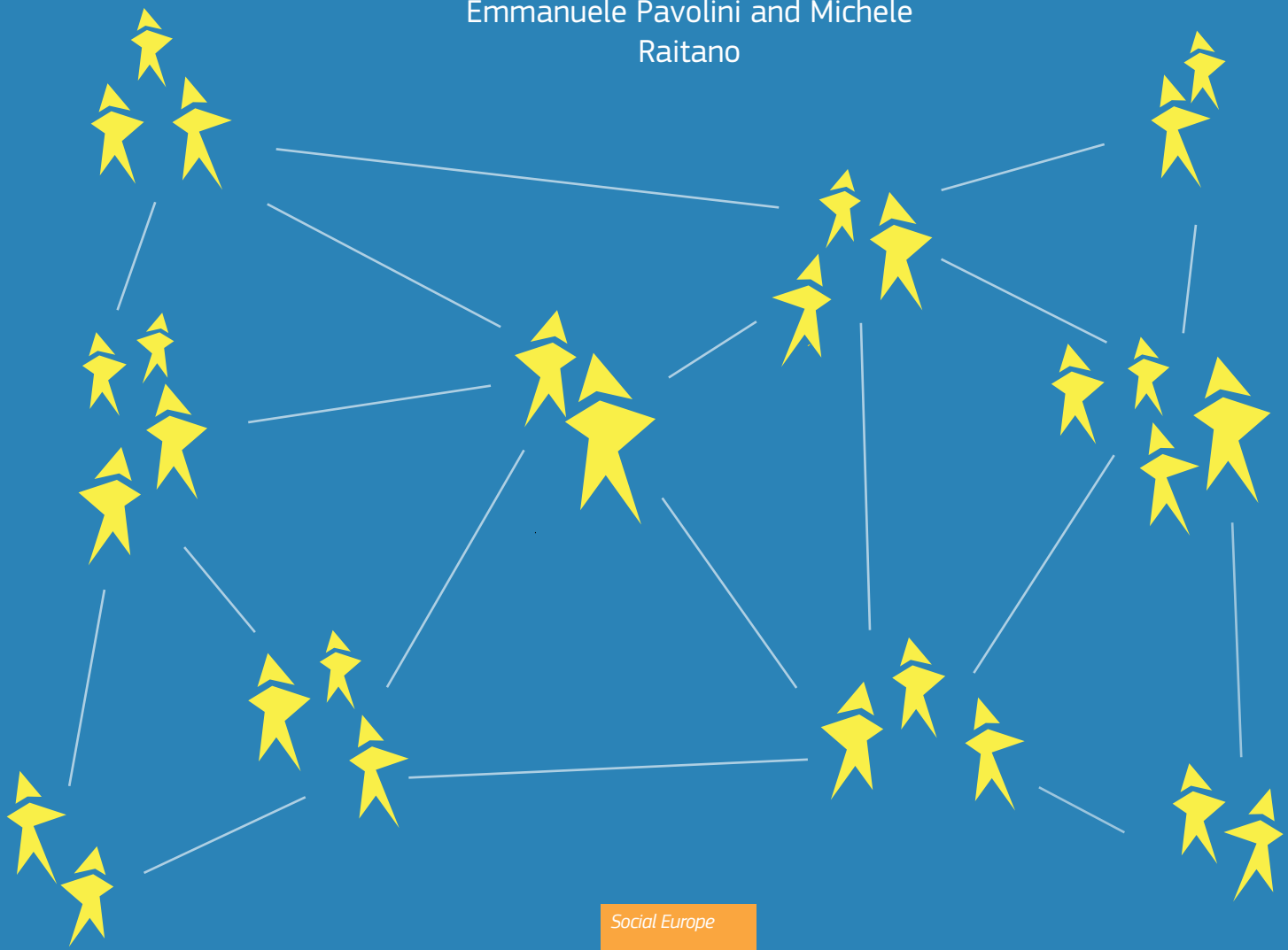
European Commission

EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY NETWORK (ESPN)

National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion

Italy

Matteo Jessoula, Marcello Natili, Emmanuele Pavolini and Michele Raitano



Social Europe

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion
Directorate C — Social Affairs
Unit C.2 — Modernisation of social protection systems
Contact: Giulia Pagliani
E-mail: Giulia.PAGLIANI@ec.europa.eu

European Commission
B-1049 Brussels

European Social Policy Network (ESPN)

ESPN Thematic Report on National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion

Italy

2019

Matteo Jessoula, Marcello Natili, Emmanuele Pavolini and Michele Raitano

Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion

2019

The European Social Policy Network (ESPN) was established in July 2014 on the initiative of the European Commission to provide high-quality and timely independent information, advice, analysis and expertise on social policy issues in the European Union and neighbouring countries.

The ESPN brings together into a single network the work that used to be carried out by the European Network of Independent Experts on Social Inclusion, the Network for the Analytical Support on the Socio-Economic Impact of Social Protection Reforms (ASISP) and the MISSOC (Mutual Information Systems on Social Protection) secretariat.

The ESPN is managed by the Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER) and APPLICA, together with the European Social Observatory (OSE).

For more information on the ESPN, see:
http:ec.europa.eusocialmain.jsp?catId=1135&langId=en

Quoting this report: Jessoula, Matteo, Natili, Marcello, Pavolini, Emmanuele., Raitano, Michele. (2019), ESPN Thematic Report on National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion – Italy, European Social Policy Network (ESPN), Brussels: European Commission.

Contents

Summary

Housing distress is widespread in Italy due to the traditionally limited public investment in the housing field – exacerbated by both the Great Recession and the subsequent slow recovery, which have caused the impoverishment of several categories of families experiencing housing hardship. Existing data are consistent in outlining the comparatively high level of housing need in Italy.

Particularly critical is the situation of homeless (defined in Italy as 'roofless' and/or 'houseless') individuals; that is, the first two macro-categories of the 'ETHOS[1] Light' classification. According to the latest ISTAT[2] survey conducted in 2014, there were 50,724 homeless people in 158 large Italian city and towns (corresponding to 0.24% of the population in these municipalities): they were mainly men (86%), living alone (77%), foreigners (58%), aged 35-54 (50%) and jobless (72%). The survey also revealed that while night shelters and services to meet basic needs (food/clothing/medicines, showers, soup kitchens and one-off extraordinary financial support) are quite widespread – despite marked territorial heterogeneity – high-intensity support and integration services are much less common. The main providers are third-sector organisations (for profit and not), often replacing public administration's interventions in the field.

To overcome such a traditional 'emergency' approach, in December 2015 Italy introduced new 'guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality'. The guidelines were aimed at favouring the adoption of a new approach, based on the Housing First (HF) principles. In Italy, this should consist of: i) recognising the specific needs and rights of homeless people; ii) guaranteeing an adequate home as an immediate 'first' service; and iii) building an individualised intervention for homeless people, aimed at providing them with tools to cope with material needs, and strengthening social ties and individual skills, with the final aim of allowing them to regain control of their own lives. Importantly, specific funding lines were introduced to favour the implementation of this approach throughout the country.

This is relevant, since limited national funding and marked territorial heterogeneity constitute the main weaknesses of the system for tackling homelessness and housing exclusion in Italy. The introduction of national guidelines and specific funding lines to implement them is thus certainly welcomed. At the same time, the governance of the system presents relevant weaknesses, a situation that a national agency – monitoring and evaluating progress in the implementation of this new strategy throughout the country – would contribute to counteracting.

Moreover, the limited availability of public dwellings and the endemic scarcity of public resources devoted to the public housing sector significantly limit the possibility of fully developing an HF and/or housing-led approach to tackling homelessness. Italy currently devotes a comparatively low level of resources to the housing function and has one of the lowest stocks of social and public housing in Europe, which in the last two decades has become increasingly residual: no system based on immediate access to permanent and independent apartments can be built on such a weak policy legacy. Increasing expenditure in this policy field therefore constitutes a priority, combined with a growth in the stock of public and social housing – including through the effective restoration of dwellings in precarious condition – and the (re)introduction of a fund to support low-income tenants, sufficient to cover an adequate share of poor families.

In addition, experts have traditionally pointed to the limited development of anti-poverty policies and services in Italy as a strong barrier hindering homeless people's recovery opportunities, as well as the possibility of fully implementing an HF strategy. In this regard, since 2015 some improvements are clearly visible: Italy has finally introduced a fully fledged minimum-income scheme and uniform national standards for the provision of integrated social services for the poor. However, some of the eligibility conditions might

[1] European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion.

[2] Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (National Institute of Statistics).

end up excluding from the new anti-poverty benefit – the so-called citizenship income – precisely those individuals most in need: the homeless. This issue is particularly pressing for homeless foreigners, who constitute the majority of homeless people in Italy.

1 The nature and extent of homelessness and housing exclusion

In Italy, the 'guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality', officially adopted by the State-Regions Conference in November 2015 and later by the Council of Ministers in December 2015, provide the official definition of homelessness, which is based on a restrictive reading of the original ETHOS classification. Thus, in Italy, only 'roofless' and 'houseless' individuals are properly considered homeless, as opposed to people living in either insecure accommodation or inadequate housing (ISTAT 2012, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies 2015). Although official documents never mention the ETHOS Light classification, the two categories mentioned above ('roofless' and 'houseless') largely correspond to the three ETHOS Light categories of 'people living rough', 'people in emergency accommodation' and 'people living in accommodation for the homeless' (see Table A1 in the Annex).

This decision implies that ethnic minorities such as Roma, Sinti and Travellers are not counted as homeless – even though they often live in conditions of housing hardship. The Council of Europe Roma and Travellers Division estimated (2 July 2012) that between 120,000 and 180,000 individuals belonging to these communities live in Italy, corresponding to 0.24-0.27% of the total resident population. In 2016, around 26,000 Roma, Sinti and Travellers resided in 'camps' where they faced extremely degraded conditions at the margin of society (Associazione 21 Luglio 2017, Strati 2011). Recent surveys have confirmed that the situation in local camps is far below minimum housing standards (Associazione 21 Luglio 2017).

The most recent survey of homelessness in Italy was conducted in 2014 through close cooperation between ISTAT, the Italian Federation of Organisations for Homeless People (fio.PSD), Caritas and the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies. The results (ISTAT, 2015) revealed that 50,724 homeless people in 158 large towns (corresponding to 0.24% of the population in these municipalities) had used at least one of the social services – such as canteens and night shelters – provided between November and December 2014. This corresponded to a very slight growth with respect to the only other available data based on a comparable survey conducted in 2011, which counted 47,648 homeless individuals (0.23% of the resident population).

The 2014 survey revealed that, in Italy, there were more homeless people in the northern region (56%) than in the centre (24%) and the south (20%). This is not entirely surprising, as the majority of the population resides in the north, and the biggest cities – where homeless people tend to concentrate – are also located in the north. Indeed, most homeless people lived in Milan (23.7%) and Rome (15.2%). Palermo had the third highest number of homeless people (5.7%, compared with 8% in 2011), followed by Florence (3.9%), Turin (3.4%), Naples (3.1%, compared with 1.9% in 2011) and Bologna (2%).

The prevailing profile of homeless people in 2014 was the following: mostly men (86%), foreigners (58%), people aged 35-54 (50%) and jobless (72%). Most homeless people lived alone (76.5%), while 6% lived with a partner or a child, and 17.2% with other family members and/or with friends; over half of them (51%) reported that they had never been married. Women made up 14.3% of the homeless population: almost half of them were Italian (46.1%), aged 45.4 on average, and homeless for 2.7 years on average.

Compared with 2011, the 2014 survey recorded an increased duration of homelessness in Italy: the percentage of people who had been homeless for less than three months fell from 28.5% to 17.4%, while those who had been homeless for more than two years increased from 27.4% to 41.1%, and the percentage of those who had been homeless for more than four years rose from 16% to 21.4%. This growth was mainly due to an increase

in the average duration of homelessness among foreigners (from 1.6 to 2.2 years), since the average duration for Italians remained stable at 3.5 years.

Although most homeless people were also jobless, 28% of them said they worked – meaning they undertook activity in exchange for a salary or monetary compensation, including irregular work. This figure was stable compared with 2011, and with no significant differences between foreigners (28.6%) and nationals (27.2%). Most of those who worked (70%) were employed for fewer than 20 days a month, for an average wage of €311 (foreigners) and €319 (nationals). In addition, slightly more than a quarter of homeless women said that they were working (28%), for an average of 15 days a month, earning about €329. Compared with 2011, the number of those who claimed to have a stable job fell from 3.8% to 2.3% in 2014. These data highlight that the homeless, when working, are mostly employed in temporary, occasional, low-qualified and frequently unsafe jobs in the service sector (cleaner, porter, carrier, loader/unloader or waste collection, gardener, window cleaner, dishwasher, etc.), in construction (labourer, bricklayer, etc.), or in some specific production sectors (labourer, carpenter, blacksmith, baker, etc.) (ISTAT 2015). Despite the number of homeless people having irregular jobs, it is also important to notice that between 2011 and 2014 there was a significant increase in the share of those who had never worked (from 6.7% to 8.7%), especially among foreigners (from 7.7% to 10.4%). These data suggest that in Italy the share of young migrants was increasing among the homeless, as illustrated by Caritas (Caritas 2018; see below).

Particularly interesting data emerged from the ISTAT survey regarding homeless people's main sources of income. In fact, only 17.4% declared earning no income at all – a share that was twice as high among foreigners (22.2%) as among nationals (11.2%). Among income earners, 28% earned their income from (mostly irregular) work; 32.1% received support from family and/or friends; and 37.7% either from people they did not know or from volunteers. Social benefits (excluding pensions) had a rather residual role, since fewer than 1 out of 10 (9.4%) said that they received support from the municipality or other public bodies. These data further confirm the relevance of family, kinship networks and third-sector organisations in the fight against extreme poverty in Italy, while showing the severe gaps in Italy's public anti-poverty system, which lacked a comprehensive minimum-income scheme until 2018 (see Section 3; Natili 2019, Raitano et al. 2018).

The loss of a stable job, together with separation from a spouse and/or children, are the most relevant events in the path of progressive marginalisation leading to homelessness in Italy (Braga and Corno 2011); poor health (disability, chronic disease, addiction) are also important in this respect, although less common. From 2011 to 2014, there was a sharp increase (from 59.5% to 63%) in the share of homeless people who experienced separation, a trend that was slightly more marked among foreigners (from 54.4% to 57.8%) than among nationals (from 67% to 69.6%). The loss of stable employment was still one of the most typical causes of homelessness: it affected 56.1% of the homeless in 2014 (compared with 61.9% in 2011) – while ranging between 48.4% among foreigners (55.9% in 2011) and 66.1% among nationals (70.6% in 2011). Only a minority of people reported that they had experienced none or only one of these events, confirming that homelessness was the result of a multifactorial process (ISTAT 2015).

The social and physical conditions of homeless people seem to have worsened between 2011 and 2014. Indeed, the number of homeless people unable to respond to the interview increased: in 2014, 14.1% of respondents had difficulties in interacting directly with those conducting the survey and the basic information was collected with the help of social workers, whereas only 9.3% had experienced such difficulties in 2011. The large majority of the respondents with interaction difficulties were homeless people with physical limitations or disabilities (illnesses or mental disorders) and/or addiction problems (70.3% of cases, compared with 76% in 2011); however, the increase mentioned above was also partly related to the growing presence of people with a reduced knowledge of the Italian language (ISTAT 2015).

Another important source for analysing homelessness in Italy is the Caritas report of 2018, which describes the conditions of extreme poverty affecting the 28,697 homeless people

who turned to the 1,982 Caritas counselling services in 2017 – which cover more than 80% of the national territory. This source confirms the high share of foreigners among homeless people (67%) compared with nationals (33%) and the strong presence of men compared with women, the latter representing less than 30% of the homeless population. An important finding of this report is that, in recent years, homelessness grew significantly among young people: in 2017, 33% of the people interviewed were aged 18-34. In most cases, these young homeless people were also foreigners, as only 1 out of 10 was a national. Conversely, homelessness was decreasing among the elderly, as the number of those aged over 65 declined from 5.5% in 2016 to 4.6% in 2017.

In terms of social characteristics, most beneficiaries of the Caritas counselling services had been married: 34.4% were still married, 9.4% had separated and 7.3% had divorced. At the time of the interviews, 43.2% of homeless people were single, and 44.9% of them had children. Finally, 80% of those who provided valid responses were unemployed. In line with the findings of the ISTAT survey, the Caritas report emphasises the duration of extreme poverty: 33% of people had turned to Caritas for more than three years, and 20% for one or two years. These data highlight the shortcomings of the current system of services for people in extreme poverty, which are unable to design and implement an effective social integration path (Avonto et al. 2018; see Section 3).

Indeed, in the 'need survey' conducted by Caritas, the absence of housing services emerged as a clear determinant of hardship: some even reported serious housing problems related to precarious housing conditions (5.5%), eviction (3%), general housing problems (10%), and problems with their residence permit (10%) (Caritas 2018). In addition, immigration appeared as a specific cause of homelessness, not only because the majority of homeless people were foreigners, but also because many reported specific problems related to obtaining the status of refugee or asylum-seeker and/or the need to regularise their residence permit.

Beyond these surveys, a number of indicators reveal the extent of housing hardship in Italy, mainly resulting from two structural factors. The first is the Great Recession and the following phase of slow economic recovery, which have caused the impoverishment of several categories of people and families experiencing housing hardship (evicted tenants, jobless people or workers lacking job security, and single-income or income-less families) (Lancione et al. 2017). The second is traditionally limited public investment (especially until 2015) in the housing sector (Baldini 2010, Jessoula et al. 2018, and Minelli 2009).

Existing data are consistent in pointing to the comparatively high level of housing need in Italy during the Great Recession (2008-2014) and in the subsequent years. In fact, in each of the years 2010, 2013 and 2016, Italy performed at least as badly as, and mostly worse than, the EU average on all three indicators of housing hardship: 1) arrears of mortgage or rent payments; 2) population living in overcrowded households; and 3) severe housing deprivation rate, here calculated by reference to the enforced inability to pay for at least two out of four selected housing characteristics (Table 1). Approved evictions for arrears more than doubled between 2005 and 2014, going from 33,768 to 69,250 (Ministry of Interior 2016); whereas the situation slightly improved in 2017, when the total number of approved evictions for arrears fell to 54,829 (Ministry of Interior 2018) and the housing deprivation rate fell to the EU average (3%). However, in 2017, only one third of those who were estimated to be in need found a place in public housing (Housing Europe 2017), while municipal waiting lists across the country included more than 700,000 pending applications for social housing by households who met the (tight) eligibility requirements (Ascoli and Bronzini 2018).

Table 1: Housing conditions in Italy, selected years (% population)

	Arrears of mortgage or rent payments			Overcrowding rate			Housing deprivation rate (2 items)		
	2010	2013	2016	2010	2013	2016	2010	2013	2016
EU-28	4.1	4.2	3.6	17.7	17.0	16.6	4.3	3.9	3.6
Italy	4.5	4.8	4.2	24.3	27.1	27.8	4.3	5.3	4.3

Source: Eurostat online database [last extracted 7 May 2019].

2 Relevant strategies and policies tackling homelessness and housing exclusion

2.1 The Italian strategy to tackle homelessness and housing exclusion

In Italy, the homeless have the same rights (and duties) as any other citizen. The Italian legal system does not assign a special status to people experiencing housing exclusion and/or hardship. While this has a positive side, since it avoids discrimination and implicitly recognises the full dignity of homeless people as citizens and human beings, it is also a sign of the limited attention paid to homelessness, and the traditional lack of specific measures to protect individuals from marginalisation and social exclusion.

At the national level, the first legislative reference to social policies in favour of people in serious marginality was in the Law no 328/2000 (Art. 28). However, this provision was only aimed at financing limited interventions in the two years after the adoption of the law. Thus, it did not introduce wide-ranging institutional public responsibilities for supporting homeless people; nor did it guarantee continuity of funding in this policy area for the subsequent years. Moreover, with the 2001 reform of Title V of the Constitution[3] (Constitutional Law no. 3/2001), social assistance policies were allocated as a residual competence of the regions. Regions were thus entitled to draft legislation in the field of extreme poverty, while the central government lost its primary competence in the field of social assistance policies – apart from the definition of minimum standards (*livelli essenziali delle prestazioni*) to be guaranteed in the whole national territory following agreement between the government and the Council of Regions (Naldini and Saraceno 2008).

However, after the adoption of the constitutional reform governments did not define such minimum standards of social assistance and, consequently, Italy has long lacked national policies or programmes directed towards regulating services for homeless people (Gaboardi et al. 2018b, Lancione et al. 2017). In addition, at regional level, public interventions aimed at tackling serious marginality are limited as well as poorly funded. Consequently, municipalities have traditionally been responsible for planning, managing and delivering programmes and services to counteract serious marginality and homelessness in the absence of both national and regional legislation, generally resulting in a heterogeneous and inefficient system (Baldini 2010, Caruso 2017, Galanti 2018).

In recent years, Italian institutions have tried to reduce this fragmentation through administrative reforms and coordinated action across different government levels (Lancione et al. 2017). In particular, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies approved the 'guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality in Italy' in December 2015. With this document (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies 2015), Italy officially adopted the HF approach, which identifies the house – intended as a stable, safe and comfortable place to settle – as the starting point for any social inclusion path for the homeless. The guidelines recommended that this transition 'from the street to the apartment' be combined with

[3] Relating to regions, provinces and municipalities.

social services supporting people for as long as is necessary for them to achieve a state of well-being and social integration.

By giving priority to the 'right to housing' over any other welfare or therapeutic interventions, this approach is an innovative departure from the existing system(s) of social and health services for the homeless in Italy (Cortese and Zenarolla 2016). Moreover, the launch of the new strategy implied overcoming the traditional emergency approach – that is, the extraordinary deployment of temporary resources to meet primary needs – in favour of a more structural one. This should consist in: i) recognising the specific needs and rights of homeless people; ii) guaranteeing an adequate home as an immediate 'first' service; and iii) building individualised interventions aimed at providing tools enabling homeless people to cope with material needs, and strengthening social ties and individual skills, with the final aim that homeless people regain control of their own lives.

This strategy builds on the adoption of what in the guidelines is defined as a 'strategic and integrated model'. In such a model, the political level should assume a strategic role in planning a 'multi-dimensional' strategy aimed at integrating different policy areas behind a common objective: to counter serious marginality and build opportunities for people in serious marginality to recover their well-being and autonomy. Indeed, the guidelines emphasise the need to overcome a rigid division of competences between different public bodies and/or government levels. Transcending a sectoral approach, political actors should plan comprehensive interventions simultaneously affecting several elements of deprivation (lack of a home, work, competences, trust, etc.) (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies 2015). Different policy areas (social assistance, health, housing, labour policy, justice and public security) should therefore contribute to the fight against severe marginalisation and homelessness. This strategy therefore relies on (as well as presupposes) both vertical cooperation (between the state, regions and municipalities) and horizontal cooperation (between different public bodies, non-government organisations and private actors).

Beyond the emphasis on planning and integration, particular attention in the guidelines is given to the search for accommodation for homeless people. In fact, in line with the HF approach, finding housing solutions throughout the territory – not placing people in emergency accommodation and overnight shelters – is considered necessary to reduce the duration of homelessness. This requires those operating the HF programme to engage in 'continuous community work' – that is, working with home-owners, local associations and/or mediating with neighbourhood authorities.

More precisely, the national government issued the following guidelines, setting out the need for local authorities to:

- have free apartments located in various parts of the city (possibly close to public spaces and 'lively' neighbourhoods);
- ensure separation between social and/or physical treatments (e.g. psychological, psychiatric, or recovery programmes from alcohol and/or drug addiction) and access to housing (understood as the right to housing);
- build teams of professionals with different profiles, who are able to plan and implement an integrated intervention, differentiated according to the specific target and the type of intervention required ('intensive' or 'supportive');
- respect individual self-determination; and
- follow a 'recovery' approach (i.e. supporting the person in recovering social relations with the community of reference, resuming a 'social role' and reconstructing a sense of belonging).

The guidelines also place particular emphasis on ensuring the long-term financial sustainability of HF projects. In particular, the government expects local actors to:

- set up public funds for housing maintenance, open to voluntary contributions by both private individuals and beneficiaries of HF services;

- include financial training in the integration path, aimed at guaranteeing that the recipients devote an appropriate share of resources to housing expenses;
- support recipients in the search for all possible forms of earnings, starting with employment;
- take advantage of all the opportunities for structural financing offered by EU, national and/or regional funds, as well as private foundations, supporting the acquisition, restoration and maintenance of housing solutions to be allocated to HF projects; and
- in the case of beneficiaries accommodated in privately owned houses, ensure (through adequately trained mediators) emergency interventions and/or mediation services in the case of conflicts or other problems that might arise between owners and tenants.

These are valuable goals, requiring a high level of investment and a strong political commitment by local authorities in this sector (Tosi 2018). The guidelines also stress that at the local level monitoring and evaluating practices should be introduced. However, apart from some very general guidelines, there are no precise indications in this respect; for instance, it is not clear which housing indicators should be used to monitor the implementation of the strategy – either the EU indicators of housing cost overburden, overcrowding, severe housing deprivation, arrears of mortgage or rent payments, or other national indicators. Furthermore, Italy has not introduced national funding or a national strategy to monitor homelessess and/or housing exclusion. Thus, it is currently not possible to assess the level of implementation of the guidelines aimed at introducing the HF approach in Italy.

2.2 Public expenditure on housing in Italy

In order to be effective, the launch of such a strategy should be complemented by a significant increase in resources devoted to housing. However, Italy traditionally allocates a comparatively limited amount of resources to this function (Baldini 2010, Minelli 2009), and they were further reduced during the Great Recession due to the adoption of cost-saving measures aimed at reducing public expenditure (Galanti 2018, Lungarella 2016). In 2016, Italian expenditure on housing was €10.10 per inhabitant – much lower than in countries such as France (€274.80), Germany (€210.10), Denmark (€335.90) or the United Kingdom (€464).

In particular, Italy has one of the lowest stocks of social and public housing in Europe. According to Bricocoli and Cucca (2016), only 4% of the housing stock is in public hands, against 36% in the Netherlands, 22% in the UK and 20% in the EU on average. Indeed, the public housing stock shrank from 1 million dwellings in 1991 to 900,000 in 2001, about 800,000 in 2007 (Cittalia 2010) and slightly more than 740,000 in 2015. In addition, many of these structures are in a precarious condition and have been declared unfit for habitation (Federcasa, 2015). Thus, the public housing sector is exceptionally small by European standards and 'close to collapse' (Baldini and Poggio 2014).

Inadequate public monetary transfers to support low-income tenants (Baldini 2010, Minelli 2009) exacerbate the situation. A national fund to support low-income tenants was introduced only in 1998, with the aim of reducing to 14% the percentage of family income absorbed by rental payments. This housing allowance did not introduce a proper right for potential beneficiaries, since it was contingent on (limited) resource availability. Consequently, both its coverage (maximum 5% of the population) and its effect were limited (Baldini and Poggio 2012).

With the onset of the Great Recession, resources dedicated to this fund – already quite meagre in the early 2000s – decreased significantly: the fund was about €360 million in 2001, then dropped to €181 million in 2009, before being completely emptied in 2012-13. Subsequently, the fund was re-financed with only €50 million in 2014-15, and it was later exhausted. In the absence of national resources, many municipalities have struggled to

continue financing the scheme, while others have abandoned it. Without the participation of central government and/or the regions, however, both the number of beneficiary households and the monetary amounts transferred fell, while the number of discretionary practices by local services increased (Baldini and Poggio 2014). Thus, housing allowances are provided by some municipalities only, as well as according to different criteria, and families in equal need are treated differently – some of them are supported effectively while others receive limited or no help at all (Filandri and Moiso 2018). Overall, only 3.7% of households pay subsidised rents in Italy (Housing Europe 2017).

Between 2015 and 2018, new special funds to support housing costs were introduced, specifically targeted at indebted households. In particular, a fund was introduced for a temporary suspension of rent payments and of evictions (Laws No 124/2013 and 80/2014), together with a fund dedicated to support households in the process of being evicted for arrears (Law No 102/2013). Low-income households unable to pay their rent because of an objective reduction in their economic means could receive a benefit up to a maximum of €8,000 (€12,000 from 2016) to pay their debts (Poggio and Boreiko 2017). The national resources allocated to this fund were €30 million in 2014 and 2015, €60 million in 2016, only €11 million in 2017. In 2018, the government increased the resources of this fund to €45.9 million.

Furthermore, following the introduction of the guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality in 2015, a funding line for the period 2016-2019 was launched, with the aim of supporting services and initiatives dedicated to homeless people promoted by regional and local authorities. EU resources were key in this respect, since initially they entirely financed the funding line. More precisely, in 2016, a first share of funding was allocated (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, public notice No 4/2016, 3 October 2016), consisting of: €25 million under the national operational programme 'Inclusion' within the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) partnership agreement 2014-2020, and €25 million from the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD). In September 2017, with the introduction of a national minimum-income scheme (Law No 33/2017) an additional €20 million was allocated to support 'extreme poverty and homeless people'. This funding line structurally finances HF initiatives promoted by regional and local authorities according to the same criteria developed in partnership with the ESIF and the FEAD in the public notice No 4/2016 mentioned above. This new fund guarantees the continuity of the crucial measures financed with EU funds and defines an 'institutional space' for policies tackling homelessness in Italy.

3 Analysis of the current patterns of service provision and challenges in implementing Italy's responses to homelessness and housing exclusion

As outlined in Section 2, in Italy municipalities have traditionally been responsible (in the absence of guidelines from national or regional legislation) for planning, managing and delivering services and interventions aimed at tackling severe marginality – thereby generating an inefficient and territorially differentiated system. Local contexts, the urban dimension, the extent of housing needs, and the presence/absence of third-sector organisations (Caruso 2017), as well as local political leadership (Galanti 2018), significantly influence outcomes in this sector.

Accordingly, in Italy there are various types of services that make up the local system for tackling serious marginality and exclusion. The Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, in the aforementioned guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality, identified 32 types of intervention and divided them into five macro-areas:

- services to meet basic needs (food/clothing/medicines, showers, soup kitchens, public showers, mobile road units, one-off extraordinary financial support);
- night-time reception services (emergency accommodation, temporary accommodation, night shelters, transitional supported accommodation);
- day care services (day care centres, centres for socialisation and social integration, recreation centres, etc.);
- social services (counselling and outreach services for the homeless, addiction support services, etc.); and
- support and integration services (high-intensity support services, labour market services, etc.).

The survey of homeless people carried out in 2011 and 2014 by ISTAT is the only source of information on the diffusion and actual availability of these services in Italy. The 2014 results showed the territorial heterogeneity in the supply of social services throughout the national territory: more than one third of services (35.2%) were located in the north west, a quarter (24.1%) in the north east, 19.1% in the centre, and 15.1% and 6.5% in the south and the islands respectively.

In 2014, out of the different types of services provided, canteens were the most used, being attended by 88.8% of the homeless people interviewed over the 12 months preceding the interview – with no major differences between nationals (87.8%) and foreigners (89.5%). Importantly, 61% of the homeless benefited from the distribution of clothing, 40.2% from medicines and 34.7% from food. Night-time reception services were also quite widespread: 68.1% of homeless people slept in a night-time reception structure at least once in the month preceding the interview (71.2% in 2011). Between 2011 and 2014 there was also a fall (from 22.8% to 15.3%) in the number of people who slept in non-conventional places – such as cars, caravans or train wagons. This fall was particularly significant among foreigners (from 22.9% to 12.6%). In addition, among foreigners there was a reduction in the share of individuals sleeping rough (from 44.2% to 40.9%).

Compared with 2011, the share of homeless people claiming to have used 'mobile road units' (i.e. outreach services) in the 12 months preceding the interview increased from 27.6% to 36.4%, a growth particularly evident among foreigners (from 27.6% to 39.8%). As outlined by the European Observatory on Homelessness (EOH 2018), there is a strong variation in the extent to which these services are formally organised and in the range of support they provide. Between 2011 and 2014, the share of homeless people utilising 'social integration' centres or similar daytime services that focus on job orientation/ searching, health counselling and social networking, also increased from 35.7% to 42.7%. Similarly, the share of homeless people (38.8%) attending day time centres which provide non-housing basic services also increased slightly between 2011 and 2014, a growth particularly marked among foreigners (31.5% in 2011 and 35.5% in 2014).

As for high-intensity support services, the survey by ISTAT underlines that fewer than 1 out of 2 (47.1%) homeless people turned to social services in 2014 – it was 39.8% in 2011 – and even fewer used public employment centres (PES) (41.4% versus 45% in 2011) The fall in the share of homeless people using PES was particularly evident among foreigners (down from 45.2% in 2011 to 39.4% in 2014). Particularly worrying, also, were the data concerning access to health services. Between 2011 and 2014, the share of homeless people utilising some form of health service fell from 54.7% to 53.9%, a drop largely explained by reduced access by foreigners (from 48.2% to 45.9%). In this regard, it is worth mentioning that there was a gap of 20 p.p. between use of health services by nationals (64.2%) and foreigners (45.9%).

Despite the fact that the literature in this field has focused on case studies and models of intervention – and it is thus difficult to provide a general overview of the social services for homeless people in Italy – the ISTAT survey suggests that emergency and temporary responses to homelessness still prevail over more structural ones. Indeed, the EOH also includes Italy in the category of 'Low and medium intensity non-housing focused support and some intensive, housing-focused support' (EOH 2018), highlighting both the general absence of in-depth support services and the presence of some notable exceptions. Actually, specialised support for the homeless is randomly available, and only in some territorial contexts such as the case of Turin (Caruso 2017). Preventative systems based on housing-led as well as HF approaches are quite rare, depending on the initiative of specific municipalities and/or third-sector organisations. Even in these cases, limited funding hampers the dissemination as well as long-term sustainability of these interventions. Similarly, the development of new forms of social housing in cooperation with non-profit organisations displays high territorial heterogeneity (Poggio and Boreiko 2017).

Such fragmented provision of social services clearly contributed to the prevalence of emergency interventions over more structural ones, and created territorial heterogeneity. As outlined above, in Italy, the national framework for social assistance neither sets binding criteria nor guarantees the provision of effective social services throughout the country. These are provided and regulated either at the regional or (mostly) at the local level, although in a fragmented and diversified manner, depending on the size and institutional capabilities of municipalities (Heidenreich et al. 2014). Thus, it is often third-sector organisations (for profit and not) that take care of the homeless, often replacing and not (as it should be) supporting public administration. In fact, in Italy, most services for homeless people have traditionally been arranged by private organisations, whether confessional or, more recently, lay organisations committed to the promotion of civil rights and solidarity.

In this regard, the introduction since 2016 of specific public funding to tackle homelessness (see Section 2) represented a significant change, as the state finally took full responsibility in this policy field. Furthermore, the launch of the guidelines for tackling severe adult marginality provided local social services with protocols for using such funds, potentially fostering the diffusion of the HF approach throughout the country. It is worth noting that these guidelines are now binding for both regions and local authorities commissioning and implementing services for homeless people supported by public funds (EOH 2018). This may help to counteract the territorial heterogeneity illustrated above. Nevertheless, the absence of a monitoring procedure prevents both: (a) the gathering of systematic evidence and information concerning the actual results of these important policy changes; and also (b) assessments of the effectiveness of existing responses in providing access to permanent accommodation solutions, and/or the ability of existing services to provide comprehensive and flexible support according to people's needs.

While waiting for the full implementation of the new national guidelines, a crucial role in this domain is played by non-government organisations working with homeless people, cooperatives, faith-based organisations and banking foundations. Particularly telling in this respect is the pilot programme launched by the steering group of the fio.PSD, which contributed to the creation of the 'Network Housing First Italia' (NHFI) in March 2014 (Consoli et al. 2016, Cortese and Zenarolla 2016, Molinari and Zenarolla 2018). This new network actually launched a two-year period of experimental initiatives guided by the HF approach, which ended in December 2016 (Gaboardi et al. 2018a, Lancione et al. 2017, Molinari and Zenarolla 2018). The pilot involved 35 different projects in 10 Italian regions spread throughout the country (Calabria, Emilia-Romagna, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Liguria, Lombardy, Piedmont, Sicily, Tuscany, and the autonomous province of Trento and Veneto). Importantly, the NHFI did not benefit from any national funding: a self-financing model was used, whereby the organisations involved had to pay the fio.PSD a fee for joining the network (as well as benefiting from its training sessions and materials), and they had to self-finance the implementation of their own project (Lancione et al. 2017).

Over the two years, the pilot involved 393 adults and 138 children (i.e. a total of 531 people) (Molinari 2018). Families constituted 40.2% of the sample: 53 couples with children, 20 single-parent families and 9 couples without children. Consistent with the Italian situation described above, women represented only 30.7% of the recipients. With respect to citizenship, among the adults, 57.3% were nationals and 42.7% were foreigners, mainly non-EU nationals. In almost all cases, participants had lived in Italy for a long time. As to their housing situation, before joining the project 36.9% had been roofless, 31.8% houseless, 25.1% had lived in insecure accommodation and 6.2% in inadequate housing. The pilot was mainly targeted at people who had experienced homelessness for a long time: when the programme started, participants had experienced housing deprivation for 23 months on average, with a marked difference between single individuals, who had lived in a condition of housing deprivation for 30 months on average, and families (9 months).

The results of the pilot are quite telling about the possibilities and shortcomings of the HF approach in Italy. Most of the housing solutions were found in the private rental market (70%), 16% among religious properties, and only 14% in the social/public rental sector. Despite that, the results are quite promising: in a relatively short period, 21.5% of adult beneficiaries (98 people) 'left' the programme – more than 62% of them because they had achieved economic and/or working autonomy, finally attaining housing independence[4] (Molinari 2018).

Research carried out by Gaboardi et al. (2018a) on a small sample of participants (55 people) in the pilot reveals that 22% experienced significant improvements in their health condition, while for 10.1% it deteriorated. Significant improvements could also be detected in terms of social integration: about 80% of respondents reported having met people for coffee or dinner in the month before the interview; 78% reported feeling 'at home' where they lived; 67.7% reported having made new friends outside the house, while 36.9% reported knowing some of the people living in the neighbourhood.

In line with these findings, the survey revealed a very high level of satisfaction with the services received: 4.55 points on a scale from 0 to 5 (Gaboardi et al. 2018a). Interviewees particularly appreciated the availability of accommodation and operators, while the few who provided negative feedback emphasised the problems of cohabitation with other guests[5] and/or the lack of available employment.

As to success in creating individualised integration paths, 74.3% of recipients participated in some types of programme, but only in 65.4% of these cases was this an in-depth path towards social integration (Molinari 2018). The difficulty in creating personalised projects – which is common in the Italian context – is also related to the lack of support from public bodies. In fact, in many cases, agencies belonging to the NHFI network did not receive financial support to run these programmes. Only in half of the cases did municipalities contribute to such initiatives, and even less support was given by health agencies (6.1%) and other private bodies (6.1%) (Molinari 2018). Not surprisingly, territorial differences were marked: the average monthly cost of these programmes was €626.90 per beneficiary, but it ranged from about €201 in Caltanisetta (Sicily) to about €1,479 in Milan (Lombardy) (Mazzeo et al. 2018). The difference in costs was also reflected in the availability of services for beneficiaries.

Two researchers from the University of Padua also completed a 'fidelity assessment' between April and June 2016 (Gaboardi et al. 2018b), using the method and tools of the multi-country HF fidelity study (Aubry et al. 2018). This assessment involved four HF programmes in different geographical areas: Verona (in the north), Bologna and Rimini

[4] The remaining 38% left the programme for one of the following reasons: failure to cooperate with operators; rejection of the programme; failure to comply with the HF pact; violent or deviant behaviour; family breakdowns or separations; unspecified 'personal' reasons (Molinari 2018).

[5] In Italy, due to the limited availability of apartments, some beneficiaries of HF programmes did not live in independent accommodation but in shared apartments – in contrast to the HF approach, which requires participants to be placed in independent apartments.

(centre), and Siracusa (south). Several important results emerged. First, in the absence of national funding, collaboration with the city council is fundamental for facilitating access to resources and social housing units for HF services. Second, for the same reason, establishing cooperation with the most relevant service providers in Italy – Caritas in particular – increases the number of housing units available to the programmes and may also be useful in facilitating client access to employment (Gaboardi et al. 2018b). By contrast, the expensive private housing market, landlords' distrust, as well as difficulties in accessing funds for programmes to cover expenses other than housing, were identified as major barriers to implementing HF programmes. Indeed, as outlined by Tosi (2018), the scarcity of accessible housing opportunities – social housing, low-cost or very low-cost housing on the private market – is a structural barrier to inclusion of homeless people that explains the small scale of many HF programmes in Italy.

In this regard, it should be emphasised that the limited availability of public dwellings and the endemic scarcity of public resources devoted to the public housing sector significantly constrain the possibility of fully developing any HF and/or housing-led approaches to tackling homelessness. As outlined in Section 2, Italy has one of the lowest stocks of social and public housing in Europe, and the Italian public housing system is becoming more and more residual: it is therefore difficult to imagine how a system based on immediate access to permanent and independent apartments can be built on such shifting sands. Indeed, in the pilot NHFI project only 14% of homeless people found an apartment through the social rental sector. A major investment in this policy field seems, thus, a precondition for effectively switching from an emergency response to an HF approach.

Relatedly, experts have traditionally pointed to the lack of a minimum income in Italy as a strong barrier hindering both homeless people's recovery opportunities and the possibility of fully implementing a HF strategy in Italy (Gaboardi et al. 2018b, Cortese and Zenarolla 2016). In this matter, however, Italy has taken important steps forward in recent years (Raitano et al. 2018, Natili 2019, Saraceno 2019): the Stability Laws for 2017 and 2018 reinforced the Italian anti-poverty strategy by introducing a new, fully fledged minimum-income scheme, called inclusion income (REI) (Raitano et al. 2018). REI was a means-tested monetary benefit based on household ISEE[6] (an indicator of equivalised economic conditions that took into account both income and wealth), conditional on signing a 'social contract' aimed at promoting active inclusion through individualised plans and service provision. However, due to budgetary constraints, the Stability Laws allocated €1,747 million and €2,189 million to finance REI in 2018 and 2019 respectively, and not all individuals in absolute poverty were entitled to REI. In 2018, only 462,000 poor households received it (INPS 2019) – corresponding to 46% of eligible households according to government estimates – or about 26% of households living in absolute poverty in Italy. As concerns the benefit amount, REI – which topped up household income – was not generous on a cross-country comparison (Natili 2019), since the maximum amount was €187.50 a month for a single-member household; €294.50 for a two-member household; €382.50 for a three-member household; €461.50 for a four-member household; €534.37 for a five-member household; and €539.82 for larger households.

Subsequently, the introduction of the so-called citizenship income (*reddito di cittadinanza*, RdC) under the Stability Law for 2019 – actually replacing REI from May 2019 – has helped to overcome both these limitations, since RdC is endowed with more resources than REI and is comparatively more generous. The basic benefit amount increases with family size, and the maximum amount (topping up household income) is: €500 a month for a single-member household; €700 for a two-adult-member household; €800 for a three-member household (couple plus a child aged less than 15); €900 for a four-member household (two adults plus two children aged less than 15); and €1,000 for a five-member household with three children aged less than 15. Importantly, RdC also provides a €280 supplement to all individuals in poverty paying rent – whereas a €150 increase in the RdC basic amount is provided to beneficiaries who make mortgage payments – thus specifically addressing the

[6] *Indicatore della situazione economica equivalente* (indicator of the equivalent economic situation).

issue of housing distress. However, it is not entirely clear whether this top-up is also available to homeless people, as they normally have neither rent nor mortgage payments. Furthermore – and perhaps more relevantly – eligibility criteria may be too strict, and may exclude the neediest groups, such as the homeless. Firstly, 10 years of residence in the country are required in order to be entitled to RdC, thus mostly excluding foreigners. Secondly, homeless nationals often have intermittent periods of residence or have no residence certificate: therefore, the Italian legislation allows people (on paper) to claim benefits by providing a so-called fictitious residence, a virtual address which should allow homeless people to obtain a residence permit. However, only slightly more than 200 out of 8,000 Italian municipalities have established such a fictitious residence and, consequently, many homeless cannot receive the main anti-poverty benefit.

To sum up, in Italy, an emergency approach has traditionally characterised services to tackle homelessness and housing exclusion. Since 2015, a new strategy, based on HF and intensive-quality services, has been officially adopted; and new funds devoted to the effective implementation of this strategy have been introduced. However – as outlined in Sections 2 and 3 – the endemic scarcity of public resources dedicated to the public housing sector and the limited availability of public dwellings, as well as territorial heterogeneity in the provision of services to tackle homelessness, significantly limit the possibility of fully developing the new strategy. In the light of such weaknesses and shortcomings, we would therefore recommend the following action.

- Improve the overall governance of this policy field, as well as developing a monitoring strategy. This might involve the creation of a national agency to act as a 'control room' responsible for monitoring the effective implementation of the strategy throughout the country.
- Increase expenditure on the housing sector in order to: 1) expand the stock of public and social housing, including through the effective restoration of dwellings in a precarious condition; 2) (re)introduce a fund to support low-income tenants, sufficient to cover an adequate share of poor families (Toso 2018); and 3) invest adequate resources in hiring and training social workers specialised in the integration of the homeless.
- Guarantee all homeless people (both nationals and foreigners) effective access to anti-poverty monetary benefits – especially the RdC.

References

Ascoli, U., and Bronzini, M. (2018) 'Il welfare, la casa, l'abitare: lo scenario nazionale. Nota introduttiva', *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali – Italian Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 4, pp. 9-24.

Associazione 21 Luglio (2017) *Rapporto Annuale 2017*. Rome: Associazione 21 Luglio Onlus.

Aubry, T., Bernad, R. and Greenwood, R. (2018) 'A multi-country study of program fidelity to Housing First', *European Journal of Homelessness* 12(3).

Avonto, C., Consoli, M.T. and Cortese, C. (2018) 'La grave emarginazione adulta' in Caritas (2018) *La povertà in attesa,* Maggioli.

Baldini, M. (2010) *La casa degli italiani,* Bologna: il Mulino.

Baldini, M. and Poggio, T. (2012) 'Housing policy toward the rental sector in Italy: a distributive assessment', *Housing Studies* 27 (5): 563-581.

Baldini, M. and Poggio. T. (2014) 'The Italian housing system and the global financial crisis', *Journal of Housing and the built environment*. 29(2): 317-334.

Braga, M. and Corno, L. (2011) 'Being homeless: evidence from Italy', *Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia*, 70 (3), pp. 33-73.

Bricocoli, M. and Cucca, R. (2016) 'Social mix and housing policy: local effects of a misleading rhetoric. The case of Milan', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 53, Issue 1, pp. 77-91.

Caritas (2018) *La povertà in attesa,* Maggioli.

Caruso, N. (2017) *Policies and Practices in Italian Welfare Housing: Turin, up to the Current Neo-Liberal Approach and Social Innovation Practices,* Cham: Springer Nature.

Cittalia (2010) Comuni e la questione abitativa. Le nuove domande sociali, gli attori e gli strumenti operativi. Second Edition.

Consoli, T., Cortese, C., Molinari, P. and Zenarolla, A. (2016) 'The Italian network for implementing the "Housing First" approach', *European Journal of Homelessness* 10(1) pp.83-98.

Cortese, C. and Zenarolla, A. (2016) 'Housing First: una sfida per il contrasto alla grave marginalita e l'accesso alla casa anche in Italia', *Autonomie locali e servizi sociali,* Vol. 1, pp. 179-193.

EOH (2018) *Homelessness Services in Europe,* European Observatory on Homelessness (EOH), Brussels: FEANTSA.

Federcasa (2015) *L'Edilizia residenziale pubblica: Elemento centrale della risposta al disagio abitativo e all'abitazione sociale*. Rome: Federcasa, 2015.

Filandri, M. and Moiso, V. (2018) 'L'insostenibile peso dell'abitare. Un'analisi sulla relazione

tra povertà e housing affordability in Italia' *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali – Italian Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 4, pp. 59-76.

Gaboardi, M. Santinello, M. and Disperati, F. (2018a) 'I risultati dei programmi Housing First in Italia: salute, integrazione e soddisfazione' in Molinari P. and Zanarolla A. (eds) (2018) *Prima la casa. La sperimentazione di Housing First in Italia,* Milano: Franco Angeli.

Gaboardi, M., Santinello, M., Stefanizzi, A., and Iazzolino, M. (2018b) 'Assessing the fidelity of four Housing First programmes in Italy', *European Journal of Homelessness* 12(3), pp. 179-198.

Galanti, T. (2018) 'Weaving nets: housing and leadership in two Italian cities', *Social Policy and Administration,* First published online 27 September 2018.

Heidenreich, M., Petzold, N., Natili, M. and Panican, A. (2014) 'Active inclusion as an organisational challenge: integrated anti-poverty policies in three European countries', *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, Vol. 30 (2), pp. 180-198.

Housing Europe (2017) *The State of Housing in Europe*, Brussels: Housing Europe, 2017.

INPS (2019) *Reddito di Inclusione. Mesi di competenza gennaio – dicembre 2018.* Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Previdenza Sociale (Available in Italian at: https://www.inps.it/docallegatiNP/Mig/Dati_analisi_bilanci/Osservatori_statistici/Osservatorio_REI/Report_gennaio-dicembre_2018.pdf)

ISTAT (2012). *Le persone senza dimora. Anno 2011.* Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. (Available in Italian at: https://www.istat.it/it/files//2012/10/Senza_dimora_9_10_2012-1.pdf)

ISTAT (2015) *Le persone senza dimora. Anno 2014.* Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT). (Available in Italian at: https://www.istat.it/it/files/2015/12/Persone_senza_dimora.pdf?title=Le+persone+senza+dimora+-+10%2Fdic%2F2015+-+Testo+integrale.pdf.)

Jessoula M., Pavolini E., Raitano M. and Natili M. (2018) *ESPN European Semester Report. Italy. 2018-2019*, Brussels.

Lancione, M., Stefanizzi, A. and Gaboardi, M. (2017) 'Passive adaptation or active engagement? The challenges of Housing First internationally and in the Italian case', *Housing Studies*, Vol. 33 (1), pp. 40-57.

Lungarella, R. (2016) 'La questione delle abitazioni al tempo della crisi. Lo strabismo delle politiche', *Archivio di Studi Urbani e Regionali*, XLVII, Vol. 115 (1).

Madama, I. (2010) *Le politiche di assistenza sociale,* Bologna: il Mulino.

Mazzeo Rinaldi, F. and Mudanò, A. (2018) 'Valutare le risorse dei programmi Housing First: il sistema OsValdo' in Molinari P. and Zenarolla A. (eds) (2018) *Prima la casa. La sperimentazione di Housing First in Italia,* Milano: Franco Angeli.

Minelli, A. (2009) *Le politiche per la casa*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Ministry of Interior (2016) *Gli sfratti in Italia. Andamento delle procedure di rilascio di immobili ad uso abitativo. Anno 2015*. Rome.

Ministry of Interior (2018) *Gli sfratti in Italia. Andamento delle procedure di rilascio di immobili ad uso abitativo. Anno 2017*. Rome.

Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (2015) *Linee d'indirizzo per il contrasto alla grave emarginazione adulta in Italia,* Rome.

Molinari, P. (2018) 'Le persone accolte nei progetti italiani' in Molinari P. and Zanarolla A. (eds) (2018) *Prima la casa. La sperimentazione di Housing First in Italia,* Milano: Franco Angeli.

Molinari, P. and Zenarolla, A. (eds) (2018) *Prima la casa. La sperimentazione di Housing First in Italia,* Milano: Franco Angeli.

Naldini, M. and Saraceno, C. (2008) 'Social and family policies in Italy: not totally frozen but far from structural reforms', *Social Policy and Administration*, Vol. 42 (7). pp 733-748.

Natili, M. (2019) *The Politics of Minimum Income. Explaining Path Departure and Policy Reversal in the Age of Austerity*, Palgrave MacMillan.

Poggio, T. and Boreiko, D. (2017) 'Social housing in Italy: old problems, older vices, and some new virtues?', *Critical Housing Analysis*, Vol. 4 (1).

Raitano M., Natili M. and Jessoula M. (2018) 'Two decades on, Italy finally introduces a national minimum income scheme', *ESPN Flash Report*.

Saraceno, C. (2019) 'Reddito di Cittadinanza. Le forti criticità sulla povertà minorile', *Welforum.* (Available in Italian at: https://welforum.it/il-punto/welforum-it-sul-reddito-di-cittadinanza/reddito-di-cittadinanza-le-forti-criticita-sulla-poverta-minorile.)

Strati F. (2011) *Promoting Social Inclusion of Roma. A study of National Policies.* (Available at: http://www.cestim.it/argomenti/03rom-sinti/11_07_it_strati_promoting_the_social_inclusion_of_roma.pdf.)

Tosi, A. (2018) 'Alla ricerca di un welfare abitativo in Europa', *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali – Italian Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 4, pp. 43-58.

Annex

Table A1: ETHOS Light categories defined as homeless in Italy

Operational category		Living situation		Definition	Defined as homeless in Italy
1	People living rough	1	Public space/ external space	Living on the streets or in public spaces without a shelter that can be defined as living quarters	1.YES
2	People in emergency accommodation	2	Overnight shelters	People with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation	2. YES
3	People living in accommodation for the homeless	3 4 5 6	Homelessness hostels Temporary accommodation Transitional supported accommodation Women's shelter or refuge accommodation	Where the period of stay is time-limited and no long-term housing is provided	3. YES 4. YES 5. YES 6. YES
4	People living in institutions	7 8	Healthcare institutions Penal institutions	Stay longer than needed due to lack of housing No housing available prior to release	7. NO 8. NO
5	People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing	9 10 11	Mobile homes Non-conventional buildings Temporary structures	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence	9. NO 10. NO 11. NO
6	Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing)	12	Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence	12. NO

Table A2: Latest available data on the number of homeless in Italy

Operational category		Living situation		Most recent number	Period covered	Source
1	People living rough	1	Public space/ external space	28,773	21 Nov.– 20 Dec. 2014	ISTAT (2015); conducted only in the 158 larger Italian municipalities
2	People in emergency accommodation	2	Overnight shelters & Temporary accommodation	25,939	21 Nov.– 20 Dec. 2014	Ibid.
3	People living in accommodation for the homeless	3 4 5 6	Homelessness hostels Temporary accommodation Transitional supported accommodation Women's shelter or refuge accommodation	23,367 in homeless hostels and/or temporary accommodation (i.e. living in situations 3 or 4).	21 Nov.– 20 Dec. 2014	Ibid.
4	People living in institutions	7 8	Healthcare institutions Penal institutions	Not available		
5	People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing	9 10 11	Mobile homes Non-conventional buildings Temporary structures	16,217 in non-conventional buildings	21 Nov.– 20 Dec. 2014	Ibid.
6	Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends	12	Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence	Not available		