

An inhuman cost

**Public spending
to combat
illegal immigration
in Italy**

A report by Lunaria

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



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AN INHUMAN COST

PUBLIC SPENDING TO COMBAT ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IN ITALY

A Report by Lunaria

Executive Summary

Between 2005 and 2012 Italy spent more than one billion six hundred thousand euros on policies aimed at combating illegal immigration: a considerable public expenditure that proved largely ineffective and violated the fundamental rights of migrants. The Report produced by Lunaria offers a detailed analysis of the costs involved in 'rejection policies' and outlines the reasons why a change of route should be deemed an urgent priority.

1. Introduction

Cast off, expel, deport: these are the main hallmarks of European countries' so-called policies to combat illegal immigration.

These policies come at a cost, although in Italy few people are willing to discuss it. Instead, public debate - particularly on a political and institutional level - focuses on the cost of hosting and of inclusion policies for migrants and on immigration's allegedly negative impact on the sustainability of our welfare system - despite the fact that the - limited - number of related studies currently available challenge such an assumption.

At a time when a fixation with reducing public spending has conferred priority status to spending reviews, it is important to conduct a more in depth analysis of the policies that govern migration and the inclusion of nationals of tertiary countries. An appraisal of public resources devoted to 'rejection policies' as compared to those given over to hosting and social inclusion, allows us to gain greater insight into the matter and rehabilitate a debate which so far has been driven more by electoral strategies than by an accurate analysis of available data.

This is what Lunaria is researching, drawing from the experience acquired in the course of the 'Sbilanciamoci!' campaign, in its "**Rights are not an expense**" ("*I diritti non sono un costo*") project. The somewhat provocative title was a deliberate choice. Undoubtedly, guaranteeing fundamental human rights - civil, political and social rights - has a 'cost' for the State. However, rights are not commodities or should not be seen as such when it comes to guaranteeing them to foreign nationals. A society that deems ensuring decent living conditions to its members to be a priority has to (or should) consider such expenses unquestionable and non-negotiable.

And yet this does not occur: violations of civil, social and labour rights seem to have been common practice within national and European institutions well before the beginning of the global financial crisis of 2007. Austerity policies are hitting more precarious European citizens particularly hard, all the more so in southern Europe. Income inequality is increasing, and cuts to public spending prescribed by EU institutions tend to target social policies.

This socio-economic context is therefore not entirely conducive to a discussion on how to guarantee the rights

of foreign nationals. And yet it is precisely in such a context that we should strive to identify in what areas money is truly being wasted if we do not consider guaranteeing human rights to be a luxury, but rather a priority for any democratic State that wishes to avoid discrimination between its indigenous citizens and those who, having been born elsewhere, enter or attempt to enter its territory.

In this survey we illustrate the first set of results produced through our research. It remains an initial and unquestionably incomplete review of the cost of rejection policies, conducted on the basis of available official documentation.

The main focus is on spending plans aimed at ensuring control of sea and land borders, detaining migrants in Identification and Expulsion Centres (*Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione*, CIEs) and developing cooperation with tertiary countries in order to combat illegal immigration. These are the most active areas when it comes to combating illegal immigration, part of a strategy largely determined by the European Union agenda and its dedicated funding programmes, developed with the stated purpose of supporting members states' decisions in this field. The amount of public resources spent on such measures is relatively small if you look at overall Italian public spending. It becomes significant, however, when compared to public resources allocated to hosting and social inclusion, the focus of our next report.

The issue dealt with in this first report is a complex one. The fragmentation of responsibilities among various Ministries, the lack of transparency in the management of resources mentioned in the budget, the limited number of financial reports available and the reluctance of the relevant authorities to provide detailed data, not to mention poor planning, make it difficult - according to the Italian Court of Auditors - to compile an exhaustive record of public resources allocated to policies aimed at combating illegal immigration.

Nevertheless, we believe that the data and information we have gathered can help to shed light on a sensitive matter which institutional actors and the general public should approach with greater transparency, so as to facilitate a more studied review.

Such an evaluation should, first of all, consider the gap between how policies to combat illegal immigration are represented and sold to the public by governments, the procedures adopted to implement them and the concrete results achieved.

Since the approval of Act 40/98, the priority of Italy's national legislation on illegal immigration has been to combat illegal immigration itself. The main rationale behind this course of action - consisting of a progression of laws that increased sanctions against those who illegally enter or reside in the country - was to symbolically reassure the general public. The new laws failed in both in their stated and in their actual purpose. A failure which in hindsight is not entirely surprising.

Migratory trends are determined by a number of unpredictable factors, most of which are well beyond the control of the affected countries. Throughout history, the militarisation of sea and land borders and the adoption of repressive legislation have proved ineffective in stemming migratory flows. The USA - with one of the world's highest rates of immigration - are the clearest example of this: draconian regulations have not succeeded in stopping millions of South American migrants from illegally spilling over the border.

The gap between living standards in the countries of origin and immigration, the continued predominance of forms of labour which tend to use migrants to fill the need for a less qualified and more labour-intensive workforce, the widespread use of in the black labour involving illegal immigrants, provide important incentives to international migration. Ironically, the most effective way of combating illegal immigration is to

increase channels of legal entry into the country and introduce provisions that make it possible for those who have already reached their country of destination to legalise their position. Italy serves as a good example for this.

A careful study of the spending plans adopted by our country to combat illegal immigration must take all this into account by considering the huge expense that the system currently in place for regulating migration policies entails in terms of human lives and fundamental rights violations.

2. Structure of the report

The Report produced by Lunaria provides a **review of the cost of policies aimed at combating illegal immigration in Italy**. It is the first part of a study involving a detailed, carefully researched comparison between the public resources invested in this area and those allocated to hosting and social inclusion for third party nationals (these will then be the object of a second report to be published soon). The aim is to provide enough elements to rewrite the debate on migration policies. **The Report is divided into four chapters** and is based on an analysis of official documentation (laws, regulations, guidelines, directives, reports) issued by Italian, EU and international institutions, and of texts and reports published by research centres and civil society organisations at a national and European level.

In the first chapter, we provide evidence which can help to assess the effectiveness of the system in place in Italy for combating illegal immigration; the second chapter examines public spending on sea and land border control; the third looks at resources allocated to the running of Identification and Expulsion Centres (CIEs), while the fourth studies cooperation policies with tertiary countries to prevent illegal immigration. These are the four main areas covered by legislation on illegal immigration in Italy, an approach which is largely influenced by the European Union (EU) agenda.

On the basis of the points examined in the course of these four chapters, the conclusion attempts to make some closing considerations and provides specific policy recommendations.

3. Combating Illegal Immigration

Since the '90s, and particularly since the adoption of the first organic law on the subject in 1998 (L. 40/98), Italy developed a system of migratory policies the foremost priority of which is to control and contain migratory flows. Closing and militarising land and sea borders, deporting and pushing migrants back to their countries of origin, building detention centres geared at making expulsions more effective, developing cooperation and readmission agreements with migrants' countries origin and tightening the mechanisms of legal entry into Italian territory are the fundamental facets of these policies. However, **the targets of these measures were not met**: between 1986 and 2009 more than one million six hundred thousand foreign nationals (1,661,291) were issued with a residence permit through various ad-hoc provisions. Such a high number of migrants legalising their position after entering the country appears even more significant when compared to the number of illegal immigrants detected within Italy by law enforcement authorities: 540,389 between 2005 and 2011, in a decreasing trend in the course of time (119,923 in 2005 and only 47,152 - less than half the number - in 2011). For the entire 2005-2011 period, 13.6% (73,563) of migrants were sent back and 26.1% (141,020) expelled - significantly smaller percentages than the 60.3% (325,806) of migrants who disobeyed the expulsion order issued by Italian authorities. Thus, the total number of **migrants expelled from the nation-**

al territory (turned back at the border or issued with expulsion orders) amounts to 39.7% of those estimated to be illegally living in the country. This figure progressively declined between 2005 and 2008, and grew again from 2009 onwards, reaching 53.4% in 2011 - the year of the so-called 'North African emergency' and the resulting vast deployment of men and resources for surveillance purposes. Hence, despite a considerable investment of resources to control sea and land borders, check the documents of migrants located within the national territory, set up and run Identification and Expulsion Centers, proceed with forced repatriations and cooperate with third countries in combating illegal immigration, a high number of undocumented migrants detected by Italian authorities was not effectively expelled from the country. Moreover, in 2012 more than one hundred and thirty four thousand applications were submitted to regularise undeclared foreign workers - only three years after the previous bill, issued in 2009: figures that bear witness to the fact that there is still an **extremely high number of migrants living on Italian soil without a residence permit** who will remain invisible until they are given a chance to regularise their status.

4. Sea and Land Border Control

The **External Borders Fund** is one of the European funds created within the *Framework programme on solidarity and management of migration flows* for the period 2007-2013. The authority in charge of the Fund for Italy is the Interior Ministry and its beneficiaries are the Polizia di Stato, Guardia di Finanza, Marina Militare, Corpo delle Capitanerie di Porto, and the Foreign Ministry. Possible uses for the Fund proposed by the Ministry of the Interior include: purchasing and developing technology systems to combat counterfeiting, to examine visas, to patrol shores and sea traffic and to improve communication between relevant offices in the field of immigration; buying vehicles especially equipped to monitor coastlines and patrol boats to control sea routes; expediting procedures to apply for visas in consulates; organising training activities for public officials. The Fund was endowed with a **significant investment of resources: between 2007 and 2012, 331 million euros were invested** - 165.5 million in EU contributions and 166.3 from the Italian state. The annual allocation of funds follows an uneven trend, increasing significantly from 2010 onwards: in 2012, the amount invested (around 105 million) had almost doubled compared to 2007.

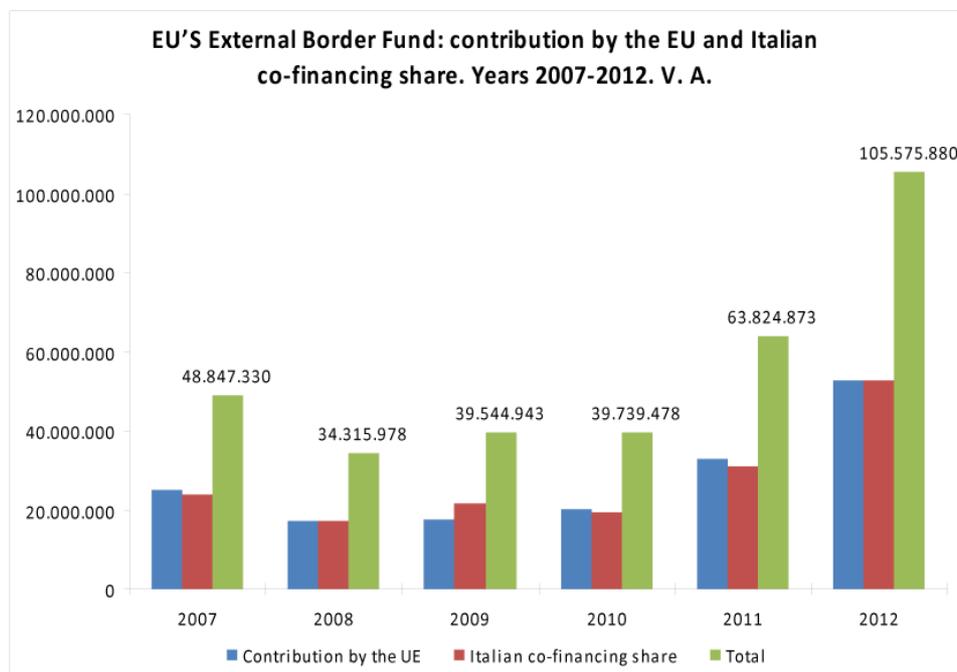


Table 1 EU'S External Border Fund: contribution by the EU and Italian co-financing share. Years 2007-2012. V. A.

Year	Contribution by the EU	Italian co-financing share	Total
2007	24,910,329.82	23,936,999.82	48,847,329.64
2008	17,153,194.23	17,162,783.63	34,315,977.86
2009	17,712,943.00	21,832,000.00	39,544,943.00
2010	20,265,224.00	19,474,253.60	39,739,477.60
2011	32,715,581.00	31,109,291.85	63,824,872.85
2012	52,787,940.00	52,787,940.00	105,575,880.00
Total	165,545,212.05	166,303,268.90	331,848,480.95

Source: calculations by Lunaria on the basis of data drawn from the 2007-2013 Multiannual Programme and the 2007-2012 Annual Programmes, External Borders Fund

TABLE 2 External Borders Fund: main expenditure items. Years 2007-2012. V. A.

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	TOTALE
Technology systems	37,769,730	22,202,380	19,461,226	16,402,509	25,297,831	32,356,245	153,489,921
Aeroplanes, helicopters	0	0	12,574,000	8,100,000	30,000,000	45,000,000	95,674,000
Motor vehicles	3,908,000	0	0	7,709,630	1,527,176	14,000,000	27,144,806
Patrol boats, patrollers	3,418,000	7,732,000	0	3,078,379	1,882,616	4,000,000	20,110,995
TOTAL	45,095,730	29,934,380	32,035,226	35,290,518	58,707,623	95,356,245	296,419,722

Source: our calculations on the basis of data drawn from the 2007-2012 Annual Programmes, External Borders Fund

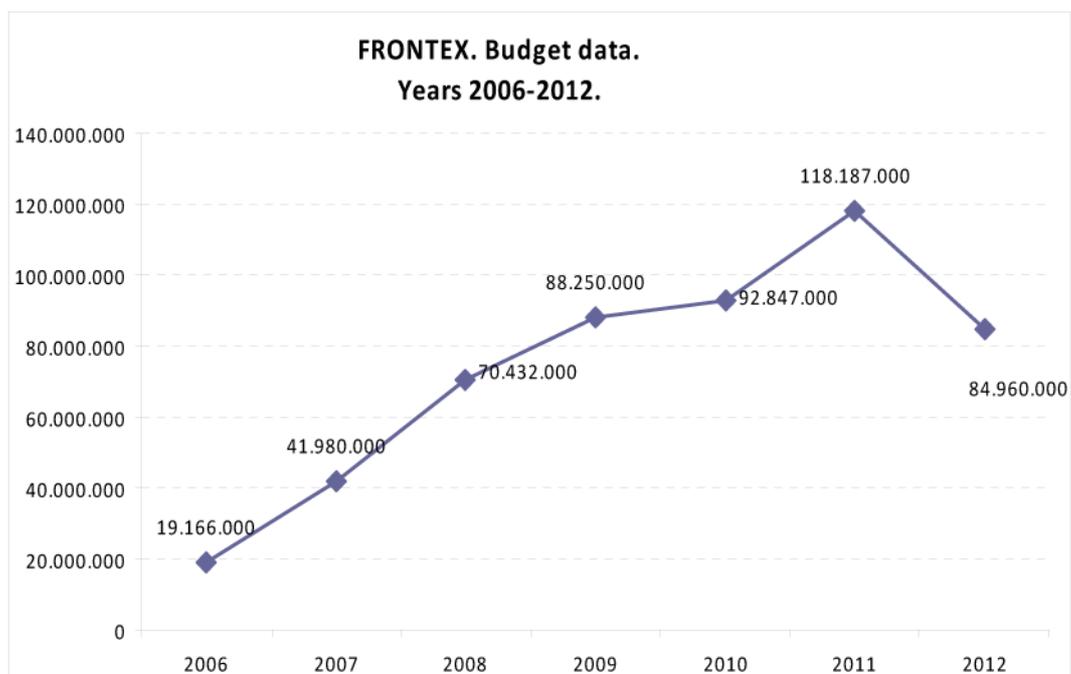
The **National Operative Programme (PON) "Security for the Development of Southern Italy"** is one of the Programmes - coordinated by the Interior Ministry in conjunction with the Polizia di Stato, Polizia Penitenziaria, Carabinieri, Corpo Forestale and Guardia di Finanza - that Italy set up as a means of implementing the EU's cohesion policy and improving security and law enforcement in our six southern regions (Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Puglia, Sardinia, Sicily). In the **2000-2006** period, PON **mainly focused on managing the impact of migration by combating illegal immigration**. Quantifying the resources used by the Programme in its fight against illegal immigration and in patrolling national borders is not an easy task. Nevertheless, we managed to identify a number of projects which centered specifically on this area. These were mostly aimed at developing technology systems to help law enforcement authorities patrol borders and identify migrants. 111 million euros were invested in them - one half provided by the EU and the other by the Italian State.

Table 3 PON "Security for the Development of Southern Italy". Years 2000-2006

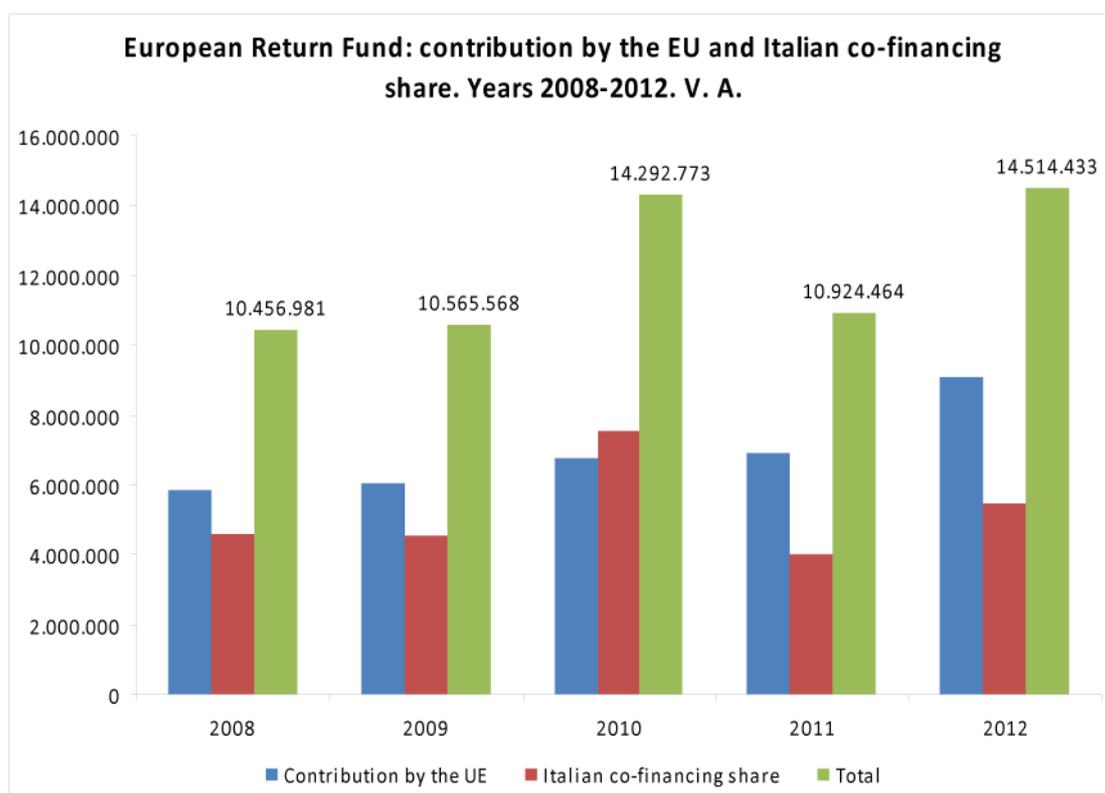
Axis/Objectives	ERDF contribution	Public contribution by the State	Total
AXIS 1 "Developing and upgrading information and communication technology in the field of security"			
I.4 Upgrading the information Justice system	13,194,721.28	13,194,721.28	26,389,442.55
AXIS 2 "Promoting and supporting the rule of law"			
II.1 Disseminating the rule of law	42,245,503.70	42,245,503.70	84,491,007.40
AXIS 3 "Technical assistance"			
III.1 Technical assistance, monitoring and evaluating activities	99,947.62	99,947.62	199,895.24
TOTAL	55,540,172.60	55,540,172.60	111,080,345.19

Source: our calculations on the basis of data drawn from the PON "Security for the Development of Southern Italy". Years 2000-2006

In reviewing funds set up to back policies for combating illegal immigration, it is also necessary to include **FRONTEX**, the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, which **plays a major role in European border control and surveillance activities**. In recent years, **Italy has taken part in dozens of joint operations** coordinated by Frontex and aimed both at combating migration flows from countries such as Greece, Turkey, Malta, Libya, Tunisia, Nigeria, and at forcibly expelling illegal migrants. In financial terms, FRONTEX's budget has witnessed a sharp increase, going from 19.1 million euros in 2006 to 84.9 million in the annual 2012 budget, after peaking at 118,1 million in 2011 (the year of the "Arab Spring"). Between 2006 and 2012 the Agency was allocated **515.8 million euros in total**. The distribution of funds between the three main expense items sees operational activities receiving the largest cut (69% of resources on the average) as compared to personnel and administrative costs. The distribution of funds benefits sea border patrols, though the gap tends to narrow over time (from 67.5% in 2006 to 46.1% in 2012). The funds given over to repatriation operations follow an opposite trend (2% in 2006 and 18.8% in the 2012 budget), whereas land and airport border surveillance activities tend to attract fewer investments.



The **European Return Fund** is another fund created within the EU Framework programme on solidarity and management of migration flows, and is aimed at supporting integrated return management by member States. The Fund mainly provides backing for the implementation of voluntary and forced returns, for information services for migrants, for the training of public officials and NGOs and for measures to prepare and assist migrants in their return, as well as their reintegration in their country of origin. As is the case with the External Borders Fund, the European Return Fund is financed by means of contributions from member States, which account for a percentage (50% to 75%) of the overall cost. In Italy, the competent authority is the Interior Ministry. **Between 2008 and 2012, 60.7 million euros** were invested - 34.6 million in EU contributions and 26 millions provided by the Italian state. Most of the money - more than **37 million euros** - was spent on **forced repatriations**, while the **Projects for Assisted Voluntary Return** received a total of **19.3 million euros**.





5. Cooperation with Third Countries to Combat Illegal Immigration

The “global” approach to migration which lies behind the vision and choices of the EU, places policy pertaining to immigration and asylum within the framework of the European Union’s foreign policy with particular reference to attempts at cooperation between the migrants’ countries of origin, transit and destination. From this point of view, partnerships with the countries of origin tend to focus on the question of readmission agreements, cooperation in combating illegal immigration and external border control. Furthermore, the implementation of EU policy guidelines also entails the creation of EU funding programmes, some of which **directly involve Italy**. A study of these programmes allowed us to identify **13 projects** set up to promote specific activities in the field of **combating illegal immigration**, including training for police officers employed in migration flows management, forms of support for assisted voluntary return, the gathering of data for investigative and intelligence purposes, the supply of technical machinery and equipment. The funds devoted to these projects amount to **38.2 million euros in total, 33.3 of which provided by the EU**. As well as EU funding, there is also **national investment**: our analysis of the Spending Review of the Italian State allowed us to examine the chapters on public spending and determine the specific amount of funds set aside for cooperation with and assistance to third countries on matters concerning immigration and asylum, and for the implementation of agreements and international collaborations to combat illegal immigration. **Between 2005 and 2012, a total of 117.6 million euros were invested, 111.9 (95%) of which was allocated to cooperation with a view to combating illegal immigration.**

6. Identification and Expulsion Centres

Identification and Expulsions Centres (CIE) were created to ensure the effective implementation of compulsory expulsion orders issued to foreign nationals without a residence permit, in cases in which the order cannot be immediately enforced. Detainees in these centres are deprived of their personal freedom and detained in structures which bear a striking resemblance to prisons, surrounded by police officers who prevent them

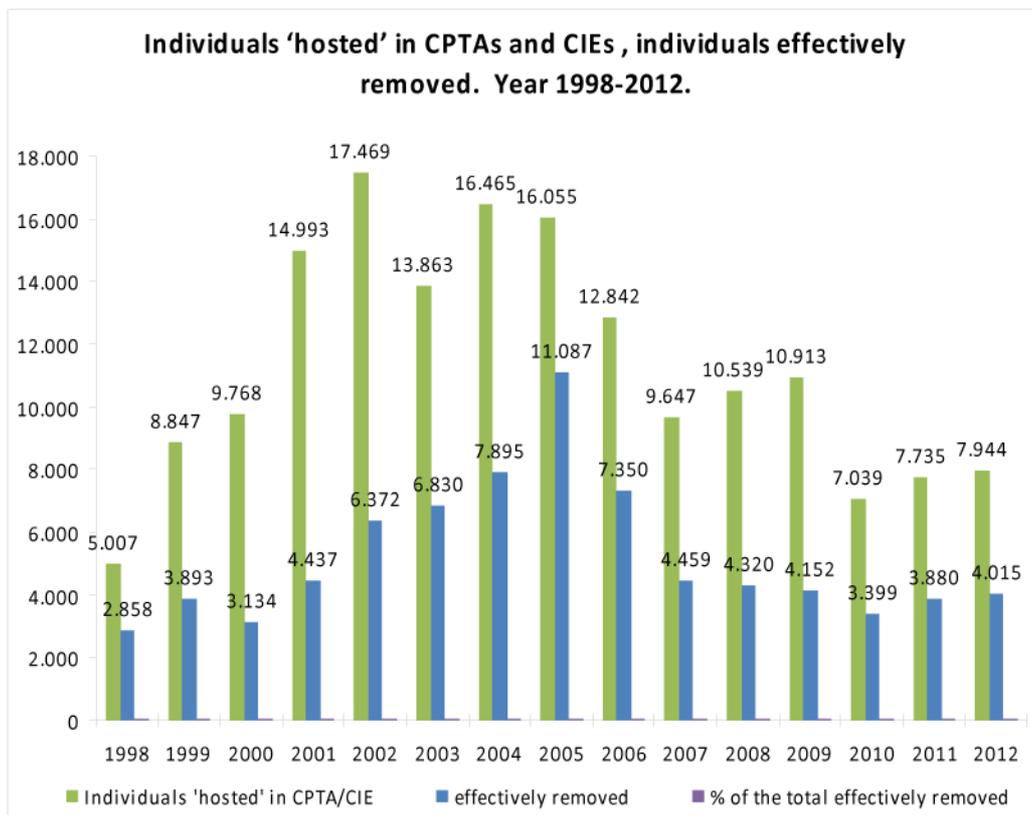
from setting foot outside. Initially set at thirty days, the maximum detention period in the centres was increased to eighteen months. CIE are part of a system which includes Centers for First Aid and Shelter (*Centri di Soccorso e Prima Accoglienza, CSPA*), Hosting Centers (*Centri di Accoglienza, CDA*), and Asylum Seeker and Refugee Hosting Centers (*Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati, CARA*). The distinction between these facilities is often blurred. In theory, they should be fulfilling different requirements, in practice the same facility often serves more than one function. The system in place to fund and run CIE must be studied within this framework, as the chapters of the Annual State Budget which issue funding to these centers do not allow us to distinguish data on CIE from the overall bulk of funding granted to the system as a whole (*CDA, CSPA, CARA, CIE*). Between 2005 and 2011 the State invested **roughly one billion euros in total** - 143,8 million euros per year on average - **for the construction, running and upkeep of these centres.**

Table 4 Ministry of the Interior. Expenditure Commitments for Cda, Cpsa, Cie, Cara. Years 2005-2011. V.A.

	Chapter 2351 (+2253)	Chapter 7351	Total
2005	54,383,226.81	19,400,000.00	73,783,226.81
2006	69,253,899.29	6,500,000.00	75,753,899.29
2007	87,861,073.57	1,850,000.00	89,711,073.57
2008	140,096,548.31	18,000,000.00	158,096,548.31
2009	127,790,045.00	73,591,677.00	201,381,722.00
2010	123,403,359.90	126,047,256.00	249,450,615.90
2011	139,460,145.56	19,141,441.00	158,601,586.56
TOTAL	742,248,298.44	264,530,374.00	1,006,778,672.44

Source: General Financial Statement of the Italian State, final figures (years 2005-2011).

Most of the funds - 742.2 million euros (73.7%) - were used to cover the costs of setting up, rendering active, leasing, and running the facilities, and for their everyday upkeep. The remaining portion, 264.5 million euros (26.3%), was devoted to building, buying, completing and renovating the buildings themselves. **With regards to CIE** in particular, we estimate that the cost of standard management amounts to at least 25.1 million euros annually - an estimate based on the data that can be taken from public procurement notices for CIE management as defined in the general conditions of November 2008. To this cost, we must then add: ordinary and extraordinary upkeep costs (which cannot be calculated for CIE in isolation); surveillance costs, amounting to at least 26.3 million euro per year; mission costs for officers escorting migrants during forced expulsion operations, totaling, on average, 3.6 million euros per year. Hence, **the minimum cost** that can be ascribed with certainty to the CIE administrative detention system is of **at least 55 million euros per year**. If we look at these figures, CIE seem far from achieving their stated goals: **from a total of 169,126 individuals 'hosted' in CIE** between 1998 and 2012, **only 78,081** (46.2% of the total) were **effectively expelled** from Italian territory.



Moreover, following the spending review of December 2011, the Interior Ministry cut funding to CIE, thus considerably reducing the standard of per capita/pro die expenditure (30 euros plus VAT) compared to past years and determining a worsening of detainees' living conditions. **Budget cuts** force service providers to lower their funding packages to levels which **do not ensure a minimum quality standard**: poor quality of food, no access to legal information, lack of guarantees when it comes to healthcare, delays in personnel payments are all immediate consequences of tenders designed to prioritise cost reduction. Hence, there are **no justifiable grounds for retaining the CIE system**, not when it comes to ensuring the effective implementation of expulsion orders, to boosting the system's economic sustainability nor to guaranteeing the fundamental human rights of those detained.

7. Conclusions

Analysing national and EU funding for policies aimed at combating illegal immigration is not an easy task. The fragmented distribution of funds and a lack of transparency in the official documentation available to us make it difficult to determine what items are relevant in this context.

Based on our study, we can state with certainty that at least 1.668 billion euros were invested (1.3 billion by the Italian state and 281.3 million by the EU) in external border control, the development of technology systems to improve surveillance, the implementation of repatriation programmes, the running of the entire system of centers hosting undocumented migrants, and cooperation with third countries to combat illegal immigration. To this we must add the resources allocated to the FRONTEX European agency, where the costs directly connected to activities for combating illegal immigration in Italy cannot be separated from the total budget.

Table 5 Public resources allocated to policies for combating illegal immigration

Type of resource	Period of reference	National resources	EU resources	Total
External Borders Fund	2007-2012	165,545,212	166,303,269	331,848,481
PON Security for the Development of Southern Italy	2000-2006	55,540,173	55,540,173	111,080,345
European Return Fund	2008-2012	34,654,527	26,099,691	60,754,219
CIEs, CPSAs, CDAs, CARAs	2005-2011	1,013,968,194	0	1,013,968,194
Cooperation with third countries	2005-2012	117,675,520	33,387,087	151,062,607
TOTAL		1,387,383,627	281,330,220	1,668,713,847

Source: calculations by Lunaria

The Spending Review of the Italian State combines data on the running cost of the Centres for Identification and Expulsion with that relating to other types of centres that are part of our complex system for hosting undocumented migrants. However, if we consult public procurement notices for the running of CIE, data published by the Court of Auditors and parliamentary records, we can estimate their cost at **55 million euros**.

This review allows us to draw some final conclusions and to recommend specific areas to focus on.

Lack of transparency. The funding and implementation of policies to combat illegal immigration are characterised by a definite lack of transparency. The budget chapters are low on detail, there is very little official documentation monitoring and reviewing these activities available to the public and the competent authorities - particularly the Interior Ministry - have proved reluctant to reveal data and information to third parties.

Limited results. The measures implemented throughout the years to combat illegal immigration have achieved limited results. In the years in question, Italy has continued to host thousands of undocumented foreign nationals, as illustrated by the high number of applications submitted when provisions were introduced to legalise employment and consequently issue residence permits.

From a strictly accounting/technical perspective, we therefore recommend:

- that the **Court of Auditors** carry out new surveys which are specifically focused on the management of resources designated for migration flows management, such as those carried out for 2002, 2003 and 2004;
- that the **Budget Commissions of the Lower Chamber and Senate** promote initiatives aimed at ensuring greater transparency in its accounts concerning the chapters of the Spending Plan on public investment that goes into countering illegal immigration;
- that **Members of Parliament** periodically put parliamentary questions to the Interior Ministry, asking for information and data on the costs sustained for sea and land border control, removal operations, cooperation with tertiary countries and CIE management. The type of data required should be specified in detail, and data should be provided on an annual basis in order to facilitate comparison.
- that **authorities in charge prepare and publish annual reports monitoring and evaluating** activities conducted and expenses sustained in situations involving EU funds;

- that monitoring and evaluation reports to be drafted so as to make it possible to **identify the separate budget allocations** relating to the various activities undertaken (escorting officers, surveillance officers, travel expenses, board and lodging, etc.) and determine concrete results (number of repatriated migrants, number of flights arranged for the purpose of repatriation, number of vehicles purchased, etc.).
- that the chapter of the Budget on “centres for immigrants” be moved - as recommended by the Court of Auditors - from target 5 “Immigration, hosting and guaranteeing rights”, and its related “programme” 5.1 “Guaranteeing rights and measures for the development of social cohesion”, to target “Public order and security”.
- that the **Interior Ministry** publish the results of public procurement notices issued on the running of Centres for Identification and Expulsion and of other types of centres on its institutional website, specifying the name of the highest bidder, the offer they made and the duration of the agreement.
- that the text of agreements undersigned by Prefects and service providers in charge of running CDA, CPSA, CARA and CIE be published on the website of the Interior Ministry.
- that the **Interior Ministry** bring back its annual report detailing activities undertaken in the field of immigration, compiled with a level of accuracy at least comparable to the Report it published in 2007. In particular, the report should provide data in time series on the results achieved by the measures introduced to contrast illegal immigration. It would also be desirable for such a report to publish data on acts of discrimination and racism by law enforcement authorities reported by foreign nationals and on proven cases of serious human rights violations.

Policy recommendations

The administrative detention system plays a minor role in effectively contrasting illegal immigration but at the same time exposes migrants to serious violations of their fundamental human rights that are unacceptable for a State abiding by the rule of law. **Shutting down CIE is urgent, possible and advisable**, partly in terms of clamping down on wasteful spending.

- Until a bill ordering the closure of these centres is passed, it is an urgent priority to **reduce the maximum length of detention in CIE** bringing it back to 30 days, and to implement the directive making it compulsory to identify foreign nationals interned in Italian prisons within the prisons themselves, without sending them to CIE upon release. For the time being, as long as the system is still in place, the Interior Ministry should at least avoid issuing public procurement notices for the running of CIE that, because of the low pro die/per capita budget, make it impossible to provide the services needed to guarantee the dignity and human rights of detainees.

The limited success of repressive policies aimed at contrasting illegal immigration suggests that it would be advisable to **review, as soon as possible, the entire body of law regulating entry and residence for foreign nationals** in our country. The priorities of migration and immigration policies should be reversed, placing full and unfettered respect of the fundamental human rights of migrants at the top. In light of this, it would be

advisable to:

- Ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 18th, 1990;
- Increase channels for legal entry into the country, for both work and study purposes;
- Introduce *ordinary and personalised mechanisms* to regularise the status of migrants, making it possible for a residence permit to be granted when a person can prove that he or she is an integral part of Italian society;
- Minimise the risk of falling back into illegality for documented migrants, partly by extending the duration of residence permits;
- Limit forced repatriations as much as possible, as recommended by EU Directive 2008/115/EC;
- Adopt an coherent agenda on the right to asylum, in line with Article 10 of the Italian Constitution;
- Guarantee effective access to asylum procedures for migrants rescued at sea;
- Ensure that migrants living in our territory on a stable basis can fully enjoy citizenship rights, by reforming Act 91/92 on citizenship and granting them the right to vote in administrative elections.

Proposals similar to those illustrated above have been mooted in recent years by other civil society organisations, but the relevant institutions have thus far failed to respond.

Lunaria is an independent nonprofit association, active since 1992, inspired by the values of participation and democracy, protection of human and social rights, equality and solidarity. It carries out grass-root and international activities - including training, communication and research - in the following fields:

economic alternatives, civil society and the third sector

immigration, anti- racism and social inclusion;

international voluntary service and youth exchanges.

Since 1996 Lunaria has been involved in research and activism on international migrations and against racism, working together with a broad network of local groups, national organizations and European campaigns. Research and social studies have supported initiatives for the protection of immigrants' rights, policies of social inclusion, actions against discriminations and xenophobia.

