

# Migration and integration policies at the local level

Developments, contradictions, and conflicts in South Tyrol

Andrea Carlà and Johanna Mitterhofer

Diversity Governance Papers  
ISSN 2975-2175  
DiGoP 01/2024

**Recommended Citation**

Andrea Carlà and Johanna Mitterhofer, Migration and integration policies at the local level: developments, contradictions, and conflicts in South Tyrol, Diversity Governance Papers DiGoP 01/2024, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen, Italy, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.57749/pkye-7q51>.

**Eurac Research**

Institute for Comparative Federalism and Institute for Minority Rights  
Viale Druso/Drususallee 1  
39100 Bolzano/Bozen  
Italy  
digop@eurac.edu  
[www.eurac.edu/digop](http://www.eurac.edu/digop)

**Editorial Team:** Elisabeth Alber, Sergiu Constantin, Georg Grote, Karl Kössler, Petra Malfertheiner, Francisco Javier Romero Caro

**Authors:** Andrea Carlà and Johanna Mitterhofer

© Eurac Research, 2024



This publication is under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

## DiGoP Advisory Board

The advisory board of the Diversity Governance Paper series is composed of the members of the Research Group on [Constitutionalism and Societal Pluralism: Diversity Governance Compared](#) within the International Association of Constitutional Law IACL.

Elisabeth Alber, *Institute for Comparative Federalism, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Nicholas Aroney, *The University of Queensland*  
Tracy Beck Fenwick, *Australian National University, Canberra*  
Eva Maria Belsler, *Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg*  
Paul Blokker, *University of Bologna*  
Ilze Brands Kehris, *Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights, UN, New York*  
Michael Breen, *School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne*  
Joshua Castellino, *Minority Rights Group International and University of Derby*  
Sergiu Constantin, *Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Yonatan Fessha, *University of the Western Cape, Dullah Omar Institute for Constitutional Law, Governance and Human Rights, Cape Town*  
Anna Gamper, *University of Innsbruck*  
James Gardner, *University at Buffalo School of Law*  
Georg Grote, *Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Andrew Harding, *National University of Singapore*  
Rainer Hofmann, *Goethe University Frankfurt*  
Soeren Keil, *Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg*  
Karl Kössler, *Institute for Comparative Federalism, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Joseph Marko, *University of Graz*  
Roberta Medda-Windischer, *Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Sean Müller, *Institute of Political Science, University of Lausanne*  
Jaclyn Neo, *Faculty of Law, National University of Singapore*  
Francesco Palermo, *Faculty of Law, University of Verona and Institute for Comparative Federalism, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Johanne Poirier, *Faculty of Law, McGill University, Montreal*  
Patricia Popelier, *Law Faculty, University of Antwerp*  
Günther Rautz, *Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Petra Roter, *Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana*  
Asha Sarangi, *Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*  
José María Serna de la Garza, *Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, National University of Mexico*  
Ayelet Shachar, *Faculty of Law, University of Toronto*  
Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, *Åland Islands Peace Institute*  
Nico Steytler, *University of the Western Cape, Dullah Omar Institute for Constitutional Law, Governance and Human Rights, Cape Town*  
Nenad Stojanović, *University of Geneva*  
Markku Suksi, *Department of Law, Åbo Akademi University*  
Alexandra Tomaselli, *Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Alice Valdesalici, *Institute for Comparative Federalism, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Asanga Welikala, *Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law, Edinburgh Law School, University of Edinburgh*  
Jens Woelk, *University of Trento and Institute for Comparative Federalism, Eurac Research, Bolzano/Bozen*  
Stefan Wolff, *Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham*

## **Abstract**

Situated within the local turn in migration studies, this contribution analyzes the development of policies towards migration, integration, and asylum in South Tyrol from their inception in 1998 to 2021. An Italian province with German and Ladin-speaking population and a sophisticated autonomy to protect their language/culture, South Tyrol witnessed the increasing arrival of migrants and more recently of asylum seekers. By looking at the evolution of South Tyrolean policies, the article highlights issues of continuity and changes in the developments of migration and integration policies at the sub-state level.

The analysis reveals the evolution, contradictions and challenges of policies dealing with governance of migration at the local level. In particular, it traces: the intersection between migration issues and the politics of substate nationalism; the conflicts between levels of governance that emerged over time; and the links and common traits between the evolution of migration and integration policy and the development of asylum-related policy.

## **Authors**

Andrea Carlà is a senior researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights at Eurac Research. His research explores the interplay among ethnic politics/minority protection, migration studies and security issues, focusing in particular on the concepts of (de)securitization and human security and their application to minority issues.

Johanna Mitterhofer is a researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights and the Centre for Migration and Diversity at Eurac Research. Her research explores the challenges and opportunities of life in diverse societies, focusing in particular on non-discrimination and second-generation youth. She is also interested in heritage politics, minority rights, and border studies.

## **Keywords**

South Tyrol, Migration Policy, Refugee Policy, Sub-state Level, Policy Change.

# Migration and integration policies at the local level

## Developments, contradictions, and conflicts in South Tyrol

### Introduction

The past years witnessed an increasing number of research embracing the local turn in migration studies, analyzing the development of integration policies, and, to a lesser extent, immigration policies at the local level (Caponio and Borkert, 2010; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, and Scholten, 2017). Departing from methodological nationalism that considers migration-related policies as a prerogative of the nation-state and focuses on different national models and paradigms (Scholten and Penninx, 2016, 92; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002), such scholarship highlights the distinct local dimension of this policy field. Indeed, many policy aspects concerning migration, especially integration processes, unfold at the sub-state level, while distinct local factors cause significant policy variations (Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero, 2014). Furthermore, it is necessary to consider intergovernmental relations and how governments in multi-level states coordinate in regard to migration issues (Adam and Hepburn, 2019; Caponio, Testore, and Wisthaler, 2019).

In particular, within this local turn, many scholars have explored how migration and integration issues and policies intersect with the politics of substate nationalism and the relationship between majorities and national minorities in regions ranging from Quebec to Scotland or Catalonia (Banting and Soroka 2012; Adam 2013; Barker 2015). Such an intersection presents great variety and complexity. On the one hand, in regions with sub-state nationalist claims, several factors influence the policies and attitudes of these regions and their “local” population towards migration and migrants, including demographic trends, economic dynamics, local party ideology and party competition, the extent of sub-national autonomous government powers, and the relationship with the central state (e.g. Medda-Windischer and Carlà 2015; Jeram, van der Zwet and Wisthaler 2016; Zuber 2022). On the other hand, it should be considered how migrants themselves navigate the complexities of such sub-state nationalist contexts (Carlà and Nicolson 2023). However, to our knowledge current scholarship misses a comprehensive overview of how migration and integration policies in sub-state nationalist regions might develop and change over time.

This article builds on this line of research and aims at filling this gap in the literature by analyzing the policies towards migration, integration as well as asylum developed in South Tyrol, and how such policies have evolved. We draw on existing literature on migration, integration, and asylum policies in South Tyrol (see e.g. Mitterhofer, Wisthaler, & Stawinoga, 2016; Medda-Windischer, 2015; Wisthaler, 2016), policy documents and supplementary expert interviews with three key anonymous stakeholders in the field of migration and integration in South Tyrol.

South Tyrol is an Italian province characterized by the presence of German and Ladin-speaking populations and an extensive political autonomy to protect their language and culture, which has contributed to appeasing the ethnic tensions that characterized the province in the past. Since the mid-1990s, the province has witnessed the arrival of increasing numbers of migrants from foreign countries, who today amount to about 10% of the population. In addition, due to the increase in the number of asylum seekers reaching Europe in 2015/2016, thousands of people have passed through South Tyrol; a few thousand of them have remained in the province. At the peak of this development, with the decision of the Austrian government to increase the control at its borders with South Tyrol, concerns about the impact of the intensified movement of people in the region have increased. The recent COVID-19 pandemic has distorted attention from migration issues.

Initially, the South Tyrolean government has tended to avoid dealing comprehensively with migration issues, leaving space for the actions of civil society and alternative actors. In the early 2000s, South Tyrol started to engage in integration policy making, which included enacting, in 2011, a provincial law on the integration of the migrant population. Previous research has shown that the South Tyrolean approach to migration issues seems to interplay negatively with the politics of substate nationalism of the province (Medda-Windischer, 2015; Wisthaler, 2016). At the same time, the province presents the highest scores regarding the index for the integration of the migrant population in Italy (Di Sciuillo, 2020).

In light of such complexities, the paper will offer a genealogy of the measures and policy actions taken in the province to manage migration and the arrival of asylum seekers and to favor the integration of the migrant population in South Tyrolean society from their inception at the end of the 1990s to the recent COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>1</sup> By looking at this evolution, the article contributes to current literature bringing to the fore issues of continuity and change in the development of migration-, integration-, and asylum-related policies at the sub-state level.<sup>2</sup> Our inspiration draws from scholarship on historical institutionalism and insights into patterns of institutional stability and change to trace how South Tyrolean policies have evolved. Furthermore, following Caponio, Testore, and Wisthaler (2019), we analyze policies towards different categories of migrants (economic migrants and asylum seekers), which are often analyzed separately.<sup>3</sup> In this way, the article compares these policies and highlights how issues concerning different categories of migrants intersect.

The analysis pursues three main goals. First, using legal and policy documents, it will trace the evolution of South Tyrolean policies, highlighting whether and how their priorities and focuses have shifted over time. Second, it addresses intergovernmental relations in matters concerning migration in South Tyrol, highlighting the conflicts between levels of governance that emerged over time, examining, in particular, national and international judgments on provincial laws and decentralized competences on migration and integration in South Tyrol. Third, the paper presents the peculiarities of the South Tyrolean system of the reception and accommodation of asylum seekers and their integration, as these policies are developed and implemented by a different provincial office than that responsible for the integration of other migrant groups. The analysis of the South Tyrol case will reveal the evolution, contradictions and challenges of policies dealing with the management of migration at the local level in a territory characterized by sub-state nationalism and extensive political autonomy.

Before proceeding with the analysis, we present below some data regarding migration in the territory and a brief introduction on South Tyrolean institutions. We also describe the competencies of the province in matters regarding migration issues.

## 1 South Tyrol

### 2.1 South Tyrol's demographic context

According to the last 2011 census, South Tyrol's population was composed of 69.4% German-speakers, 26.1% Italian-speakers and 4.5% Ladins. In addition, in the last twenty years, South Tyrol's citizenry has

---

<sup>1</sup> Specifically, the analysis covers from 1998, when the provincial government first took relevant actions in matter of migration from foreign countries, until 2021.

<sup>2</sup> To clarify, we do not intend to highlight explanatory variables behind South Tyrolean approach to migration issues, or the specificities of South Tyrol vis-à-vis other sub-national regions. Existing literature has already analyzed these aspects (see e.g., Wisthaler, 2016; Zuber, 2022). The paper's main contribution is to trace the evolution and critical moments in the development of South Tyrolean policies in matter of both migration and asylum seekers. Such longitudinal comprehensive analysis is missing in current literature on South Tyrol or presented only in pieces.

<sup>3</sup> At times, the analyzed policies address both asylum seekers and refugees. When this is the case, we clarified it in the text.

become more diverse due to the arrival of many migrants from foreign countries. South Tyrol experienced migration relatively late compared to other parts of Italy. In 1990, there were only 5,099 migrants, and most came from Germany and Austria. Since 1993/1994, the migrant population has increased rapidly, initially with the arrival of people from south-eastern Europe (mainly former Yugoslavia and Albania). In the new century, South Tyrol suddenly experienced migration from all over the world, including a large influx from eastern European countries, especially Romania and Slovakia, in 2007. The Figure below shows the increase in the number of migrants in the last two decades. At the end of 2021, there were about 56,891 migrants from more than one hundred countries, representing 10.6% of the total resident population (IDOS, 2022, 381). Migrants from European Union countries constituted about one-third of the migrant population. Another third came from other non-EU European countries, 18.3% from Asia, and 13.3% from Africa. The main five countries of origin were Albania (11.0%), Romania (8.2%), Germany (8.0%), Pakistan (7.0%), and Morocco (6.5%). Among the 33,779 non-EU migrants, 36.5% had a fixed-term resident permit, of which 23.5% were given for protection (6.1% to asylum seekers) (IDOS, 2022, 377, 381).

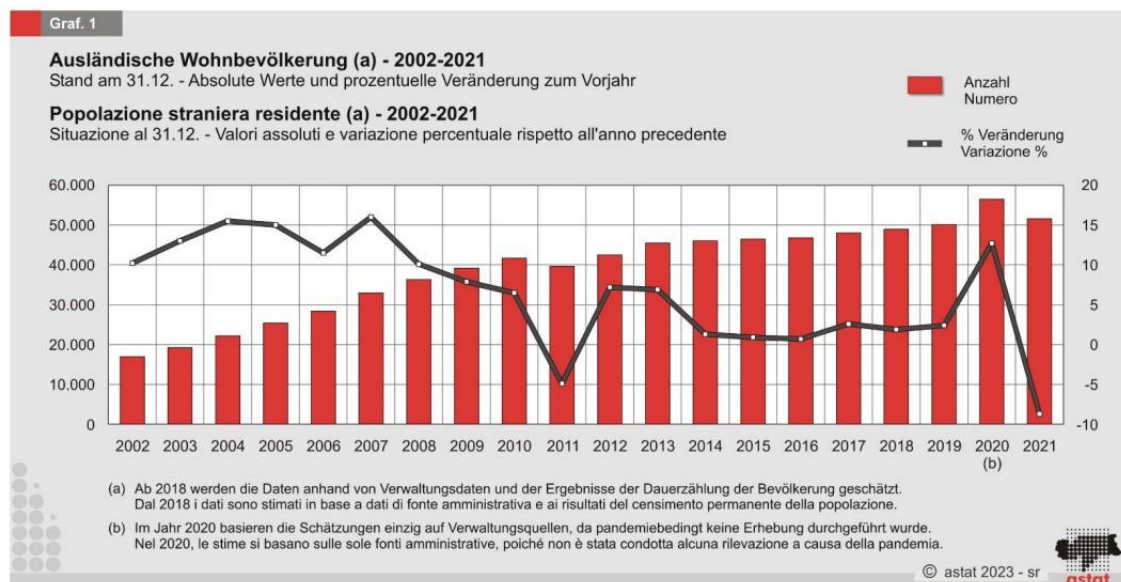


Figure 1: Resident foreign population in South Tyrol 2002-2021 - absolute number and % variation compared to previous year. Source: ASTAT (2023).

## 2.2 South Tyrol's political context

Inside the Italian institutional framework, South Tyrol (*Provincia autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige/Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol*), inhabited by Italian, German and Ladin-speaking populations, has peculiar features since (together with the neighboring province of Trento) it is the only autonomous province with extensive powers and financial resources.<sup>4</sup> Since 1972, a sophisticated power-sharing consociational system has appeased ethnic tensions that sprang in the 1950s and 1960s, protecting the German and Ladin-speaking populations. Besides political autonomy, the main elements of this system include proportional representation of the linguistic groups in legislative and executive provincial government bodies; the so-called 'ethnic quota system,' namely the distribution of public employment and public resources among the linguistic groups in proportion to their numerical strength, which is calculated based on a declaration of linguistic affiliation; mandatory bilingualism (trilingualism in Ladin

<sup>4</sup> South Tyrol, together with the Province of Trento, forms the autonomous region of Trentino-Alto Adige/ Südtirol. In addition, in Italy there are four more autonomous regions.

areas) of public signs, toponyms, public documents and public officers; and education in the mother tongue of the pupils obtained through the creation of separate school systems: Italian-language schools, German-language schools and trilingual schools in the Ladin valleys. Such a system has brought peace, but, at the same time, it has, in part, preserved the linguistic divisions among the population for various aspects of social and political life. The presence of migrants interacts with this institutional framework and the divisions between South Tyrolean linguistic groups. In this regard surveys show that people living in South Tyrol perceive cohabitation between people with and without migrant background to be worse than that between the German, Italian and Ladin linguistic groups, and that people with migrant background have few contacts with people without migrant background (Medda-Windischer and Membretti, 2020).

In the Italian institutional system, the central state has competencies over border control and matters concerning citizenship and political rights, as well as the criteria for acquiring refugee status. Since 1998, a quota system annually determines the number of third country nationals who are allowed a regular permit to work and reside in the country. The central state also provides a general framework for migrant policy, i.e. the laws and procedures governing the accommodation of migrant residents (see e.g. Ambrosini, 2013; Caponio & Graziano, 2011; Colombo & Sciortino 2004; Zincone 2011). Nevertheless, regions play a major role in this field, being responsible for several areas that are fundamental for the inclusion and integration of the migrant population in society, such as social services, health services, and social housing. In the next section, we will present the evolution of South Tyrolean laws and policies towards migration and migrant integration.

## 2 South Tyrolean policies toward migration

South Tyrol's policies on migration and migrant integration can be divided into three periods. Until 2008, there was a period of "partial disengagement", in which the provincial government did not pay much attention to the issue of migration, which was not one of its priorities. This was followed by a period of "disordered engagement" in which the provincial government started to address more comprehensive migration issues. Prioritizing the need to limit migration and its social and cultural impact, the provincial government often took restrictive measures and actions that caused various conflicts with the central government, national legislation, and EU rules. Finally, after the 2013 provincial election, the new provincial government showed initially a more positive stance toward migration, encouraging the participation of civil society in shaping policies regarding migrants. However, soon this period was shaped by the principle "to demand and to support" and the provincial government turned to a civic integration approach that emphasized migrants' duties and commitment to integrate into society. At the same time, this last period has been dominated by the current refugee crisis, which the province has dealt with reluctantly and disorderly, as happened previously in regard to the migrant population.

### 2.1 Partial disengagement (1998-2008)

In the 1990s, the specific cultural characteristics of South Tyrol contributed to underestimating the effects of migration in the province and to a "partial disengagement" by the provincial government. The provincial Plan for actions on labor policies for the years 1997-1999, elaborated by the provincial Bureau of Labor, contained the opinion that the necessity to know two languages in order to work in various economic sectors "might limit the phenomenon of migration" in South Tyrol (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Ripartizione Lavoro, n.d.) (translation by the authors). The Plan assumed that migrants would prefer monolingual realities. When this forecast proved to be wrong, and migrants started to arrive in

great numbers in South Tyrol, the *Südtiroler Volkspartei* (SVP), a German-speaking catch-all party that has dominated South Tyrolean political life and controlled South Tyrolean government since the end of World War II, downplayed migration issues, because migrants tended to attend Italian schools and interacted mainly with the Italian speaking group. Consequently, the province did not implement its power in the area of integration law and policy, delaying for many years the enactment of a Provincial law on migrant integration, enacted only in 2011; one of the last Italian provinces to have such a law. Such delay is most surprising in light of the eagerness of the provincial government to exercise and expand its political autonomy. Thus, for a long time, the province did not have an action plan or a comprehensive framework to deal with migration. However, some important policy actions were taken, such as the creation of linguistic centers in schools to provide linguistic support to migrant students in 2007. Since 2000, the role of intercultural mediator was introduced, a profession requested by the Italian legislation, which plays the role of bridge between migrant families and the 'host' society. Symptomatic of this period of partial disengagement is the story of the Provincial Observatory on Migration, a provincial institution that included a Center for the Protection against Discrimination and was supposed to provide analysis and policy proposals on migration in South Tyrol and be a point of reference for the management of migration issues. Opened in 2003, the Observatory was closed in 2008, probably because of a lack of political will, lack of interest and fear of upsetting the electorate (see Medda-Windischer, 2015).

This partial disengagement and the delay in developing a comprehensive South Tyrolean approach to migration were due to various factors. First of all, as said, migration was seen as an Italian problem, and a NIMBY (Not-In-My-Back-Yard) approach developed, leaving to the Italian community the task of dealing with the issues and problems deriving from foreign migration (Medda-Windischer, 2011). Furthermore, as pointed out by Medda-Windischer (2015, 105), the delay in developing a comprehensive South Tyrolean approach to migration might also be due to "the fear of opening up a Pandora's box of all the unresolved divisive issues underlying the relationship between the main German- and Italian-speaking linguistic groups". Finally, the presence of Italian-speaking right-wing parties supporting restrictive policies toward migration and the emergence of German-speaking nationalist political forces (in particular *Die Freiheitlichen*) that present xenophobic discourses, shared by some members of the SVP, might have contributed to an avoidance of addressing what was seen as a minor, but potential controversial topic, at the provincial level.

At the same time, during this period of partial disengagement, the province took some actions with regards to asylum seekers and refugees. The Provincial Social Plan 2000-2002 provided for a Refugees Center to offer first reception, counselling, and accommodation to refugees and asylum seekers, and to help them integrate in South Tyrol and/or return to their original country. However, rather than creating provincial offices, these functions were delegated to the Social Services Agency of Bolzano/Bozen and NGOs, who have managed the various offices (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, n.d., 191-200; Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Ripartizione politiche sociali, 2005, 185-187; Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Ripartizione famiglia e politiche sociali, 2010, 55-59).<sup>5</sup> Additionally, in 2000 the province presented a provincial plan for refugees and asylum seekers which included various measures to assist refugees and asylum seekers, especially concerning housing (Oberbichler & Niedrist, 2017; Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, 2000).

## 2.2 Disordered engagement (2008-2013)

Towards the end of the 2000s, migration entered the South Tyrolean political agenda and soon became a contentious topic. This is due in part to the success of *Die Freiheitlichen* in the 2008 provincial election,

---

<sup>5</sup> In particular, the Social Services Agency of Bolzano and NGOs have managed the First Reception Service, the Reception Center for Refugees in Transition and the Center for Refugees. In addition, there is a Center for the Reception of Foreign Unaccompanied Minors.

which became the second main party, getting 14.3% of the votes. Migration also became a contentious topic due to pressures from other right-wing parties in both the Italian and German-speaking political arena and increasing concerns around migration expressed by the general population. Indeed, between 2005 and 2009 migration was considered among the three priority problems of the country by most South Tyroleans, and in 2006 and 2007 a majority of South Tyroleans (43.6% and 45.8% respectively) considered it the priority problem (ISTAT, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009, 2010).<sup>6</sup> In addition, debates about migration soon became entangled in debates about the old linguistic cleavage that characterizes South Tyrol (Mitterhofer, 2023; Wisthaler, 2016; Zinn, 2018). Various Italian-speaking and left-wing interethnic parties used migration to criticize the South Tyrolean system of protecting minorities for maintaining divisions among the linguistic groups.<sup>7</sup> German-speaking right-wing nationalist parties (and at times the SVP) raised the concern that migrants may weaken the position of the German-speaking group as migrants tended to learn Italian, rather than German, thus integrating in the Italian-speaking group. These parties saw this as “threatening” the German character of South Tyrol and its measures to protect the minorities such as the school system and ethnic quota system.

In this environment, the South Tyrolean government started to engage more comprehensively with the matter of migration in regard to both immigration control and migrant policy finally enacting a provincial law on the integration of the migrant population in 2011. The provincial focus centered on actions aimed at restricting or shaping the influx of migrants to people considered to be ‘culturally’ more adapt to South Tyrolean society and limiting the negatively perceived social and cultural impact of migration on South Tyrolean society. However, influenced by this fear toward migration, these activities were not well planned, and the South Tyrolean government ended up clashing with Rome as well as with European courts.

In 2008, the South Tyrolean government fleshed out its approach to migration in a document with 16 guidelines (Giunta Provinciale, 2008). Most of the guidelines focused on migrants as a labor force, emphasizing the need to control the number of migrants while only allowing migration when it was strictly necessary. Among the guidelines were limits to the quota of migrants for South Tyrol, increasing the autonomy of South Tyrol from the central government in Rome in matters of migration, and reducing the necessity of foreign workers by encouraging the employment of South Tyrol’s unemployed population or, alternatively, giving priority to EU migrants. Most of these guidelines however, remained on paper and could not be implemented since many concerned the control of migration, which is a competence of the central state. More relevant and with longer effects were those guidelines that focused on limiting social benefits for migrants by, for example, introducing the criteria of long-term residency, using separate waiting lists for locals and migrants in the allocation of public housing, and restricting family reunification. Such guidelines reverberated in following provincial actions, and in particular in the 2011 provincial law.

In this regard, in 2009, the provincial government changed the criteria for determining the allocation of funds for housing benefits according to whether the applicant was an EU or non-EU citizen. However, funds allocated for the former group were used up before those for the latter. The rule was also the result of an attempt to adapt the ethnic quota system, according to which resources for public housing are distributed based on the numerical strength of each language group, to the presence of the migrant population (Palaoro and Colletti, 2013). Whereas EU-migrants are considered part of the South Tyrolean (Italian, German, or Ladin) groups, non-EU migrants are counted as a fourth group. This rule was appealed at the European Court of Justice, which considered it against EU law when applied to migrants with long-term resident permits, who in the EU legal framework enjoy equal treatment as EU citizens in

---

<sup>6</sup> The authors were not able to access this type of statistic in previous and following years. However, other surveys show how migration has remained a public concern in the following years as well. For example, according to a 2016 survey, two-thirds of South Tyroleans did not agree that the presence of migrants is positive since it allows the confrontation with other cultures and half of the respondents thought that the increase in the number of migrants favors the spreading of terrorism and crime (ASTAT, 2016, 85).

<sup>7</sup> For example, as stated by Brigitte Foppa, spokeswoman of the Green party, migrants are “the main indicator that our society is very different from the rough scheme imposed by the ethnic quota system” (see Carlà 2015, 93).

regards to core benefits.<sup>8</sup> Before the ruling of the Court, the provincial government amended the rule,<sup>9</sup> but housing benefits continued to not fully meet the needs of migrants (Dall'Ò, 2016).

Meanwhile, in 2009 the Italian center-right government, focusing on the need to protect the “Italian values”, introduced a mandatory Italian test in order to obtain long-term resident permits, and the so called *accordo di integrazione* (integration agreement), a point system in which migrants declare their commitment, among other things, to learn the Italian language (Caneva, 2014, Russo Spina and Carbone, 2014). South Tyrol demanded a German language test and the study of German as an alternative to the Italian language. The Italian government opposed this idea, as long-term resident permits are valid in the entire country and not only in bilingual South Tyrol. According to Karl Zeller, SVP representative in the Italian Parliament, demanding only an Italian test was a violation of the principle of bilingualism and the South Tyrol system to protect minorities (see Camera dei Deputati, 2011). Instead, in March 2012, the South Tyrol government brokered an agreement with the central government that would include in the criteria of the *accordo d'integrazione* optional German classes in addition (rather than as an alternative) to the mandatory Italian classes for migrants who live in South Tyrol.

Finally, in 2011, after long and heated debates, the provincial law on the integration of the migrant population was enacted. The law, called *Integrazione delle Cittadine e dei Cittadini Stranieri* (Integration of Foreign Citizens), establishes a new institutional framework, including a new antidiscrimination center and a Provincial Council for Immigration, a body composed of representatives of the migrant population as well as local institutions, in order to favor the consultation and participation of migrant communities in the management of migration. In addition, it provides guidelines on how to integrate the migrant population and demands the elaboration of provincial multi-year plans on migration. In terms of integration, the law specifies that it entails “a process of mutual exchange and dialogue” and identifies as a goal “the mutual recognition of cultural, religious and linguistic identities” (translation by the authors). However, these statements are not further elaborated. Instead, the drafters of the law were inspired by the following four principles (Carlà, 2013). First, there is the principle of “fordern und fördern / sostegno a fronte di impegno” (to demand and to support), embraced by the SVP, according to which migrants have rights as well as duties, in particular the duty to know and adapt to the host society. Second, migrants should know and learn local languages (both Italian and German) and culture. In this regard, when the law was debated in the provincial parliament, members of German-speaking right-wing parties raised the issue that migrants affect the South Tyrol system to protect minorities and proposed unsuccessfully to include measures to impede migrants from integrating with the Italian-speaking group. Third, it is necessary to monitor the labor market in order to regulate the demand for foreign workers. The fourth principle is the gradual access to social benefits, according to which non-EU migrants are entitled to some economic benefits only after five years of continuous residence on a stable basis in South Tyrol.

The law has been considered an empty box, criticized by right-wing political forces for being too generous, and by progressive political forces and migrant associations for being too restrictive, and bemoaning the lack of participation of the civil society in the elaboration of the law (Carlà, 2012, 131). More problematically, the Italian government appealed the law, and in 2013, the Italian Constitutional Court ruled against the criteria of five years of continuous residence to access welfare benefits, deeming it to go against the principle of reasonableness and equality. Furthermore, the Court ruled against other measures of the law (including a measure in favor of supporting the arrival of non-EU migrants for the purpose of scientific research and an article stating that the process of family reunification needs to respect the hygienic and housing requirements and income criteria established by the province) for regulating matters that are part of the planning of migration flows, and thus of competence of the state.

---

<sup>8</sup> European Court of Justice, judgement C-571/10, 24 April 2012, *Servet Kamberaj v. Istituto per l'edilizia sociale della provincial autonoma di Bolzano and Others*. The ruling concerned the case brought forward by an Albanian national, Mr. Kamberaj (supported by several NGOs), resident in South Tyrol and holder of a long-term resident permit, whose application for housing benefit was rejected in 2009. For details see Medda-Windischer, 2015.

<sup>9</sup> The new provincial rule clarified that the housing benefits were granted within the limit of the budget available, and thus were not a “subjective right” (Medda-Windischer, 2015, 116, note 68).

## 2.3 *Fordern and Fördern* (To demand and to support) (2013-2021)

After the 2013 provincial election, Philipp Achammer, a then young member of the SVP showing a (at the time) positive attitude toward migration, became the provincial Councilor for German Culture, Education and Integration. Initially, it seemed that under his leadership, the South Tyrolean approach to migration could have changed. Indeed, in line with Achammer's desire to ponder how to best manage peaceful cohabitation in light of a linguistically and culturally enriched society, the competent provincial office started to work on the development of a pact for integration, with the involvement of the civil society and migrant organizations, to establish rights and duties of all, and foster cohabitation in name of diversity. However, for some time, such a new line of work was problematic, mainly due to bureaucratic problems and office weakness, such as the fact that local existing expertise was not valorized and the provincial employees with good knowledge of the topic were left to go to other offices. A first draft of the pact based directly on the inputs from the civil society was put aside.

In July 2016, Achammer presented the final pact entitled *Convivere in Alto Adige. Un patto per l'integrazione* (Living together in South Tyrol. A pact for integration), whose starting assumption is the observation that cultural diversity is both a form of enrichment and a challenge to cohabitation in the province (see Amministrazione Provincia Bolzano, 2023). In the pact, integration is understood as "regulated coexistence," "availability to commitment and personal initiatives", and "enrichment and opportunities" and the focus is on how migrants can contribute to the local society (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Servizio coordinamento per l'integrazione, 2016; translation by the authors).<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the pact relaunches some of the principles of the 2011 provincial law on integration, in particular the concept "to demand and to support," reinforcing the idea of a give-and-take relationship. In this relationship, the provincial government should do more for the migrant population, whereas migrants should commit to actively integrate, in particular, commit to learning the local languages. Therefore, while the pact seemed to provide a fresh, innovative and participatory approach to the topic of migration, it ended up embracing the existing principles of the 2011 provincial law. In line with the period of disordered engagement, the provincial priority remained to contain the social and cultural effects of migration on South Tyrol.

Presenting the Pact, Achammer mentioned that migrants' proven willingness to integrate could be linked to the granting of additional social benefits (Amministrazione Provincia Bolzano, 2016). Following his statement, in 2018, the province started to adopt measures that follow a civic-integration approach. Civic integration policies, which in the past decade had been adopted by various countries across the EU, focus on the duty of migrants to conform to society, even through illiberal means, by meeting certain integration requirements, such as taking classes and training through which they learn the country's language, values and specific cultural features (Joppke, 2007). Specifically, access to some economic benefits in South Tyrol was to be linked to proof of migrants' knowledge of local language, culture and society – achieved, for instance, by attending specific courses on South Tyrolean culture and society and passing language exams (Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, 2018; 2022). This new criterion to access some economic benefits seems to have replaced the criteria of five years of residency considered unconstitutional by the Italian Constitutional Court.

At the same time, during the period of disordered engagement, concerns emerged about how the settlement of migrants intersected with the South Tyrolean system to protect minorities. In particular, the increasing presence of migrant students in German-language schools was considered a challenge to teaching and school resources.<sup>11</sup> Starting in 2017, the provincial government, guided by Achammer, who was also responsible for the German-speaking school system, started to discuss and introduce measures

<sup>10</sup> The pact highlights also the need to involve the different levels of the provincial administration, as well as municipalities and the civil society.

<sup>11</sup> This concern regards the choice as well made by many Italian-speakers to enroll their children in German-language school in the hope to better learn German, whose knowledge is important in the South Tyrolean job market.

to direct the choice of parents regarding in which school to enroll their children (Salto, 2017).

Meanwhile, 2014 saw a considerable increase in the number of asylum seekers in South Tyrol, as happened in the rest of Italy and other EU countries. South Tyrol, due to its location at the border with Austria, witnessed the arrival by train of thousands of asylum seekers on their way to northern Europe. This, combined with the announcement of the Austrian government to close its borders, including those with Italy, rendered the issue of the reception and accommodation of asylum seekers -- hitherto largely absent from the political agenda -- a central topic of the political agenda, which also influenced public discourses about, and attitudes toward, other migrants.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 Reception, accommodation, and integration of asylum seekers in South Tyrol

In 2013, South Tyrol counted 58 asylum seekers. Just a few years later, in 2017, provincial reception structures accommodated between 1400 and 1650 persons, mostly from countries in Central Africa as well as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh; however, the number decreased to 880 in November of 2019 (data from Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano and Eurac Research, 2017; Dalla Pria, 2019; Rabini, 2018). In the wake of the 2014 humanitarian crisis in Syria, the Italian State imposed a quota of asylum seekers on all regions and provinces, including South Tyrol. Thus, South Tyrol is required to host 0.9% of asylum seekers who have applied for international protection in Italy, a quota based on the size of the province's territory, GDP and population. This resulted in approximately 900 so-called "extraordinary" asylum seekers, who were added to the "ordinary" asylum seekers, namely those who applied for international protection within the province at the *Questura* (Police office), whose amount was limited to approximately 150.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, South Tyrol is a transit area along the path of many people, including minors, trying to reach Central and North-European countries through the Brennero/Brenner Pass.<sup>14</sup> It is estimated that in 2014 around 50 migrants travelled every day from the train stations of Bolzano/Bozen, the provincial capital, and Brennero/Brenner, some hundreds in 2016, but since 2017 the number has decreased to few dozens or less (Rabini, 2018; Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano and Eurac Research, 2017). Moreover, in their attempt to pass the border, some asylum seekers ended up staying in South Tyrol, especially in Bolzano/Bozen.

As happened in regard to the influx of migrants in the 1990s, the province's response to handle the increasing arrival and subsequent presence of asylum seekers on the territory was reluctant and slow.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, though asylum seekers have been arriving to Italy and to the province of South Tyrol since the 1990s, the provincial approach to the issue followed mostly the logic of emergency with extraordinary measures aimed at containing the problem rather than providing comprehensive solutions (Weissensteiner, 2016; Fondazione Alexander Langer, ASGI and Antenne Migranti, 2017; Rabini, 2018). As a result, a coherent, long-term structural policy framework has been largely missing.

While asylum and control of migration are competencies of the state, South Tyrol's autonomy grants to the province significant powers in the coordination and management of the reception of asylum seekers

---

<sup>12</sup> For example, research shows that some political discourses in the province mixed the category of asylum seekers and refugees with other group of migrant people, from undocumented migrants to economic migrants, perceiving all of them as a threat, stressing the need for measures to control the movement of people and/or claiming more competence from the State to manage the migratory (see Engl and Wisthaler 2020; Carlà 2023).

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, the response to information request nr. 474/2014 by the Provincial Councilor for Social Affairs, Martha Stocker, on 30 September 2014. Accessed 24 May 2023. [http://www2.landtag-bz.org/documenti\\_pdf/idap\\_316755.pdf](http://www2.landtag-bz.org/documenti_pdf/idap_316755.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> There has been as well a flux of asylum seekers who reach South Tyrol/Italy from Austria.

<sup>15</sup> Similar attitudes are found as well in the response at the national level.

in its territory, as well as in the provision of integrative measures and assistance for foreign citizens, including asylum seekers and refugees (Weissensteiner, 2016). Elsewhere, the *Prefetto* (the representative of the State at the local level) decides on the distribution of these asylum seekers in the region. The autonomous province of South Tyrol, however, in 2016 signed an agreement with the *Commissariato del Governo* (the representative of the State in South Tyrol, instead of the *Prefetto*) to manage the reception of those asylum seekers relocated to the province through the national quota-system. This agreement allows for a margin of autonomy with regards to the selection of locations for reception centers and the distribution of asylum seekers within the province (Pelacani, 2016).

In particular, South Tyrol did not enroll for many years in the national system of reception of asylum seekers and refugees (*Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti asilo e Rifugiati* – SPRAR, today SAI – *Sistema di Accoglienza e Integrazione*), financed by the state and managed by local entities, which follows a philosophy of diffused reception in small size accommodations that guarantees the provision of several services and has been recognized as a good practice of reception. Instead, in addition to a humanitarian assistance service established at the Brennero/Brenner border at the end of 2014, the provincial government relied on the creation of big reception structures, mostly in the city of Bolzano/Bozen, where until the end of 2016, most of the asylum seekers were concentrated (Rabini, 2018). In these structures, many necessary services, like legal help, psychological support, and proper accommodation, were not guaranteed. In addition, problems of public order emerged at times, promptly highlighted by local newspapers, increasing the concerns of South Tyrolean population. In the second stage, a few smaller reception structures, managed by two local NGOs (Caritas and Volontarius), were organized in other municipalities, though without common standards, since an emergency approach continued to prevail in the town of Bolzano/Bozen (Saltarelli, 2017; Weissensteiner, 2016).

Only in 2018, the province joined the national SPRAR system, thanks to the pressure from local activists and NGOs, which argued that this would lead to a normalization of the reception of asylum seekers, away from emergency- or crisis-based approaches and encouraged municipalities and local entities to apply to it (see, e.g., Fondazione Alexander Langer, 2016). This diffused system, common to many other Italian provinces and regions, represented a move away from a focus on control and containment in a few large centers, toward a system that – in theory – should facilitate the integration of asylum seekers into the local society. Unfortunately, in 2018, the Italian government resized and restricted the criteria to access the SPRAR system (renamed SIPROIMI), limiting it to those with refugee status and excluding asylum seekers. Such a decision was criticized by the province and other South Tyrolean local entities (Dalla Pria, 2019, 113). In 2020, the system (and the admission criteria) changed again and was renamed SAI.

Another criticism directed at the province has regarded the inadequate number of places in the reception centers. Indeed, an increasing number of persons who filed their asylum application with the *Questura* of Bolzano/Bozen – and therefore are, according to the EU Directive 2013/33/EU, eligible for a place in the reception centers – did not find a place, and ended up living on the streets of the province's capital. Notoriously in this regard, in September 2016, the province enacted a rule, so called “*Circolare Critelli*,” that excluded some vulnerable people (those who were previously present in other EU countries and Italian regions) from accessing reception services (see Fondazione Alexander Langer, ASGI and Antenne Migranti, 2017). The lack of political will and ability to proactively deal with this situation was particularly evident in the reluctance to provide adequate shelters to the effectively homeless asylum seekers during the winter months. Only after pressures from local NGOs and citizens did the province decide to address the so-called “*Cold Emergency*” by opening additional shelters for the homeless asylum seekers, though the number of places remained insufficient. In 2015-2016, about 330 persons, decreased to an average of 180-200 in 2017, have remained outside of the system, sleeping in parks and under bridges when they could/would not find shelter in emergency structures (data from Dalla Pria, 2018; Rabini, 2018).

In response to criticisms regarding the insufficient attention to the so-called *profughi fuori quota* (asylum seekers outside both the national and provincial quota systems), the province justified its

approach by referring, on the one hand, to the danger of “attracting dozens of desperate asylum seekers” from other provinces with the promise of assistance and services (translation by the authors).<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, it also highlighted that the provision of services to these asylum seekers, while guaranteed on the national level, is not the responsibility of the province: “A reception system is only sustainable when there is a systematic and regulated territorial distribution of asylum seekers (guaranteed through the so-called quotas and the resulting distribution by the State). From the provincial point of view, the principle that the territory where people move to voluntarily should be responsible for their accommodation would lead to the collapse of the whole reception system, and put an uneven burden on some regions, in particular the border areas” (“Response”, 2016; translation by the authors).<sup>17</sup>

With the unfolding of the COVID-19 pandemic, the response of the province in regard to asylum seekers remained chaotic. While some politicians, as happened in other parts of Europe, raised concerns about migrants bringing the virus and the pandemic situation at reception centers, asking for more controls (see Andros, 2021), the province did not take any specific measures to support asylum seekers during the pandemic. The only exception was the decision to open the shelter for the winter cold during the daytime. However, asylum seekers were asked to take a COVID-19 test in order to enter the shelter, and while waiting for the results, they remained on the street, where some of them were sanctioned for not respecting the lockdown measures.<sup>18</sup>

Observers saw in the province’s actions a model of reception based on the principles of precarity and dissuasion so that people would not be attracted to come and take roots in South Tyrol (Saltarelli, 2017; Fondazione Alexander Langer, ASGI and Antenne Migranti, 2017, 13).<sup>19</sup> In particular, the response of the province to the “Cold Emergency” has been described as a third, and thoroughly inadequate, form of reception of asylum seekers which does not meet the minimum standards for the reception of applicants for international protection laid down in EU Directive 2013/33 (Pelacani, 2016). As pointed out by Weissensteiner (2016), “instead of considering the reception [of asylum seekers] a structural phenomenon which requires an organic response and a single system with common standards, today we have a hybrid system of reception centers and different standards” (translation by the authors). Emphasis is placed on crisis-management measures focused on providing basic services (e.g. accommodation, subsistence), while there is a lack of coordinated, forward-thinking policies prioritizing asylum seekers’ integration into the host society and the labor market. Thus, measures such as language and employment courses or legal and psychological assistance have often been inadequate and frequently depended on volunteers rather than paid professionals.

## Conclusions

This paper sought to provide an overview of policy-making in the field of migration and migrant integration, as well as policies toward asylum seekers in the province of South Tyrol, Italy. It traces the development of these policies, highlighting conflicts regarding the distribution of competences between levels of governance, as well as the related contradictions and tensions in the governance of ‘new’ diversity in a territory inhabited by ‘old’ minorities.

The development of policies governing the new forms of linguistic, cultural and religious diversity happened, as shown above, rather reluctantly, and, at least at first, in a rather uncoordinated way that

---

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Luca Critelli, Head of the Department for Family and Social Affairs of the province of South Tyrol, in Mattioli (2016).

<sup>17</sup> See the response to information request 1830/2016 by the Provincial Councilor for Social Affairs, Martha Stocker, on 12 April 2016. Accessed 24 May 2013. [http://www.meltingpot.org/IMG/pdf/doc01397420160418112101\\_1\\_.pdf](http://www.meltingpot.org/IMG/pdf/doc01397420160418112101_1_.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> Conversation with local expert Martina Gianola.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that these shortcomings of the provincial system of reception were compensated by the work of volunteer groups and local associations that have taken several actions to improve the situation and have provided humanitarian helps.

relied on the involvement of civil society and alternative actors. Due to political reluctance or opposition, more structural and structured responses focusing on the longer-term integration of people with migrant backgrounds in local society have taken a much longer time to be developed and implemented. Furthermore, South Tyrolean policies have been, at times, disjointed from national and European regulations, seen in the province as not fitting nor understanding the features and needs of South Tyrol society. The resulting conflicts have been resolved by Italian and EU courts to the detriment of South Tyrol, contributing to the disorderliness of South Tyrolean actions.

Such disorderly engagement continues to reverberate in more recent policy decisions. Despite the intention of some political actors to bring some changes to South Tyrol's approach to migration issues, South Tyrolean policies have depended, followed and built on previous policy choices (i.e. the principle to demand and to support, which has been further elaborated in civic integration measures). Thus, over time, the main concern of provincial government's policies has centered on migration as a challenge to the provision of services and culture and society more broadly, and on defensive strategies to limit its impact. This dynamic has been affected by the increasing arrival and settlement in the province of asylum seekers, whose concerns might have hindered the political will and attempts to deal with migration and the migrant population differently.

At the same time, the reception of asylum seekers followed the trend traced in the making of policies regarding other categories of migrants. Today, policies and actions for the reception, accommodation and integration of asylum seekers seem to follow the past developments of South Tyrolean migrant policies. In both cases, early measures were directed primarily at the short-term provision of services and assistance, with migrants and asylum seekers considered a temporary phenomenon, the result of an emergency or crisis. In both cases, we witnessed tensions between South Tyrolean policies and Italian and/or EU rules.

Probably the highly politicized and often emotional debates surrounding the topic of migration, further deteriorated by the increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2016, has hindered changes in the governance of migration towards more inclusive approaches. More research is necessary to explore the specific factors guiding policy decisions. In any case, this portrayal is nothing peculiar to South Tyrol; similar trends can be observed across Europe. What we see specifically in the South Tyrolean case is that the decentralization of competencies on migrant policy and reception of asylum seekers enjoyed by the province has not sped up or facilitated the enactment of proper long-term policies to provide a full inclusion of the migrant population. On the contrary, the proximity of the decision makers to the specific needs, peculiarities and vibes of South Tyrolean society, including the old linguistic cleavage, seems to have represented an obstacle, adding complexity to an already delicate issue.

## References

- Adam, I 2013, 'Immigrant Integration Policies of the Belgian Regions: Sub-state Nationalism and Policy Divergence After Devolution', *Regional & Federal Studies*, vol. 23, no. 5, pp. 547–569, doi: 10.1080/13597566.2013.789024
- Adam, I & Hepburn, E 2019, 'Intergovernmental relations on immigrant integration in multi-level states. A comparative assessment', *Regional & Federal Studies*, vol. 29, no. 5, pp. 563–589, doi: 10.1080/13597566.2018.1524376
- Ambrosini, M 2013, 'Fighting discrimination and exclusion: civil society and immigration policies in Italy', *Migration Letters*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 313–323, doi: 10.59670/ml.v10i3.130

Amministrazione Provincia Bolzano 2016, *Dalla Giunta: un patto e criteri per incentivare l'integrazione*. Press release. July 19, <https://news.provincia.bz.it/it/news-archive/553245>

Amministrazione Provincia Bolzano 2023, *Un patto per l'integrazione*. Accessed May 24, 2023. <https://www.provincia.bz.it/famiglia-sociale-comunita/integrazione/un-patto-per-l-integrazione.asp>.

Andros, A 2021, 'Focolaio tra i senzatetto, la Lega: C'è affollamento. Andriolo: norme rispettate', *Corriere dell'Alto Adige*, March 26.

ASTAT 2016, *Indagine sulla famiglia 2016*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Alto Adige: Bolzano/Bozen.

ASTAT 2023, 'Popolazione straniera residente 2021', *Astatinfo*, 12.

Banting, K & Soroka, S 2012, 'Minority nationalism and immigrant integration in Canada', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 156–176.

Barker, F 2015, *Nationalism, Identity and the Governance of Diversity*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Camera dei Deputati 2011, *Resoconti dell'Assemblea*, Seduta n. 500. July 13.

Caneva, E 2014, 'The integration of migrants in Italy: an overview of policy instruments and actors', *INTERACT RR 2014/05*. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute: San Domenico di Fiesole.

Caponio, T & Borkert, M 2010, *The local dimension of migration policymaking*, Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam.

Caponio, T & Graziano PR 2011, 'Towards a Security-Oriented Migration Policy Model? Evidence from the Italian Case', in E Carmel, A Cerami & T Papadopoulos (eds.), *Migration and Welfare in the New Europe*, The Policy Press: Bristol, pp. 105-120.

Caponio, T, Testore, G & Wisthaler, V 2019, 'Intergovernmental relations on immigrant integration in Italy. Insights from Piedmont and South Tyrol', *Regional & Federal Studies*, vol. 29, no. 5, pp. 635-654, doi: 10.1080/13597566.2018.1478292

Carlà, A 2012, 'Old and new minorities: Migration politics in South Tyrol', *Report Project ALIAS: Autonomy, Labour and Integration in South Tyrol*, Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Carlà, A 2013, 'La provincia di Bolzano e lo sviluppo di una politica di migrazione per territori abitati da minoranze tradizionali', in R Medda-Windischer & A Carlà (eds.), *Politiche Migratorie e Autonomie Territoriali. Nuove Minoranze, Identità e Cittadinanza*. Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Carlà, A 2015, 'Tensions and Challenges Between New and Old Minorities: Political Party Discourses on Migration in South Tyrol', in R Medda-Windischer & A Carlà (eds.), *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia*, pp. 65–99. Brill/Nijhoff: Leiden.

Carlà, A 2023, 'Migration and (De)Securitisation Dynamics at the Local Level: Discourses and Practices in South Tyrol', in ML Jakobson, R King, L Moroşanu & R Vetik (eds.), *Anxieties of Migration and Integration in Turbulent Times*. Springer: Cham.

Carlà, A & Nicolson, M 2023, 'Negotiated belonging in sub-state nationalist contexts: young adult migrant narratives in Scotland and South Tyrol', *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2.

Colombo, A & Sciortino G, 2004, 'Italian immigration: the origins, nature and evolution of Italy's migratory systems', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 49-70.

Dalla Pria, F 2018, 'Lungo la rotta del Brennero: Il modello di accoglienza', in IDOS, *Dossier statistico immigrazione 2018*, pp. 147–148. IDOS: Roma.

Dalla Pria, F 2019, 'La creazione dell'illegalità'. *Il Cristallo*, 1.

Dall'Ò, N 2016, 'Eigentlich zum Schämen'. *FF*, 50.

Di Sciullo, L 2020, *Indici di inserimento sociale, occupazionale e sanitario degli immigrati in Italia*, IDOS and INMP: Roma.

Engl, A & Wisthaler, V 2020, 'Stress Test for the Policy-Making Capability of Cross-Border Spaces? Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Euroregion Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 467–485.

Fondazione Alexander Langer 2016, *Il Sud-Tirolo: territorio di accoglienza, di transito e di confine*. July 18. <https://www.alexanderlanger.org/it/907/3928>.

Fondazione Alexander Langer, ASGI, & Antenne Migranti 2017, *Lungo la rotta del Brennero*, Bolzano/Bozen.

Giunta Provinciale 2008, *Considerazioni e proposte della Giunta provinciale*.

Hepburn, E & Zapata-Barrero, R 2014, 'Introduction: Immigration policies in multilevel states', in E. Hepburn & R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *The politics of immigration in multi-level states*, pp. 3–18. Palgrave Macmillan: London.

IDOS 2022, *Dossier statistico immigrazione*. IDOS: Roma.

ISTAT 2007a, 'La vita quotidiana nel 2005', *Informazioni*, 4.

ISTAT 2007b, 'La vita quotidiana nel 2006', *Informazioni*, 12.

ISTAT 2008, 'La vita quotidiana nel 2007', *Informazioni*, 10.

ISTAT 2009, 'La vita quotidiana nel 2008', *Informazioni*, 7.

ISTAT 2010, 'La vita quotidiana nel 2009', *Informazioni*, 5.

Jeram, S, van der Zwet, A & Wisthaler, V 2016, 'Friends or Foes? Migrants and Sub-State Nationalists in Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(8), 1229-1241. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2015.1082286.

Joppke, C 2007, 'Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe', *West European Politics*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 1–22. doi: 10.1080/01402380601019613.

Mattioli, A 2016, 'La Provincia di Bolzano: «Troppi profughi fuori quota»', *Alto Adige*, September 5.

Medda-Windischer, R 2011, 'Gestione della diversità delle 'nuove minoranze' in Alto-Adige/Süd Tirol', in R. Medda-Windischer, G. Hetfleisch & M. Meyer (eds.), *La migrazione in Alto Adige e Tirolo*. Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Medda-Windischer, R 2015, 'Migration and old Minorities in South Tyrol: Beyond a 'Nimby' Approach?', in R. Medda-Windischer & A. Carlá (eds.) *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia*. Brill/Nijhoff: Leiden.

Medda-Windischer, R & Carlà, A 2015, *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia*. Brill/Nijhoff: Leiden.

Medda-Windischer, R & Membretti, A 2020, Rapporto sulle migrazioni. Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Mitterhofer, J 2023, 'Acts of Belonging: Second Generation Youth in South Tyrol, Italy', *Migration Letters*, 20(2), 263–274. doi: 10.59670/ml.v20i2.2116

Mitterhofer, J, Wisthaler, V & Stawinoga, AE 2016, *Zusammenleben in Südtirol: Vielfalt in den Gemeinde: Ein Überblick über Integrations- und Inklusionspolitiken auf Gemeindeebene*. Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen. <https://bia.unibz.it/esploro/outputs/report/Zusammenleben-in-Südtirol-Vielfalt-in-den/991005772846501241#file-0>

Oberbichler, S & Niedrist, F 2017, 'Flucht nach Südtirol: Der politische Diskurs seit 1990', in Pfanzer, E & Rupnow, D (eds.), *Einheimisch – zweiheimisch – mehrheimisch. Geschichte(n) der neuen Migration in Südtirol*. Raetia: Bolzano/Bozen.

Palaoro, A & Colletti, M 2013, 'Nuove' minoranze in Alto Adige/Südtirol: impatto sugli strumenti a tutela delle 'vecchie' minoranze', in R. Medda-Windischer & A. Carlà (eds.), *Politiche Migratorie e Autonomie Territoriali. Nuove Minoranze, Identità e Cittadinanza*. Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Pelacani, G 2016, *L'organizzazione dell'accoglienza e assistenza di rifugiati e richiedenti protezione internazionale stanziali e in transito nelle Province Autonome di Trento e Bolzano e la Regione Tirolo, e dell'Euregio Tirolo – Alto Adige – Trentino*.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano Piano sociale provinciale 2000 – 2002. Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano, n.d.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano 2000, *Landesplan für Flüchtlinge*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano 2018, *Delibera 11 settembre 2018, n. 902. Integrazione: prestazioni della Provincia e partecipazione a misure di integrazione*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano 2022, *Delibera 20 settembre 2022, n. 678. Criteri per l'accesso di cittadine e cittadini non comunitari alle prestazioni aggiuntive della Provincia*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano Servizio coordinamento per l'integrazione 2016, *Convivere in Alto Adige. Un patto per l'integrazione*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano Ripartizione famiglia e politiche sociali. *Relazione sociale 2010*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano Ripartizione Lavoro. *Piano triennale degli interventi di politica del lavoro 1997 – 1999*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano Ripartizione politiche sociali 2005, *Relazione sociale 2005*, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano & Eurac Research 2017, *Richiedenti asilo e rifugiati in Alto Adige*, Eurac Research: Bolzano/Bozen.

Rabini, C 2018, *Relazione sull'attività della Referente per i richiedenti asili e rifugiati*, Consiglio Comunale di Bolzano: Bolzano/Bozen.

Russo Spena, M & Carbone, V 2014, 'A misura di integrazione: l'accordo ed il piano per l'integrazione nel sistema delle politiche migratorie', in M. Russo Spena & V. Carbone (ed.), *Dovere di integrarsi: cittadinanze oltre il logos multiculturalista*, 431-97. Armando.

Saltarelli, S 2017, 'Nuovi sviluppi nel sistema di accoglienza in provincia di Bolzano', *Il Cristallo*, 1.

Salto, 2017, 'Das fünf Punkte Paket', *Salto*, 25.07.2017, <https://salto.bz/de/article/25072017/das-fuenf-punkte-paket>.

Scholten, P & Penninx, R 2016, 'The multi-level governance of migration and integration in Europe', in B. Garcés-Masareñas & R. Penninx (eds.), *Integration processes and policies in Europe: Contexts, levels and actors*, edited by, 91–108. Springer.

Weissensteiner, M 2016, 'Protezione e modelli di accoglienza: Il Sudtirolo tra dinamiche locali, europee e globali', *Il Cristallo*, 1.

Wimmer, A & Schiller, NG 2002, 'Methodological nationalism and the study of migration', *European Journal of Sociology*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 217–240.

Wisthaler, V 2016, 'South Tyrol: The Importance of Boundaries for Immigrant Integration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(8), 1271-1289. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2015.1082290.

Zapata-Barrero, R, Caponio, T, & Scholten, P 2017, 'Theorizing the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: A case study in immigrant policies', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, vol. 83, no. 2, pp. 241–246.

Zincone, G 2011, 'The Case of Italy', in G. Zincone, R. Penninx & M. Borkert (eds.), *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam.

Zinn, D 2018, *Migrants as Metaphor: Institutions and Integration in South Tyrol's Divided Society*. CISU.

Zuber, C 2022, *Ideational Legacies and the Politics of Migration in European Minority Regions*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.