



*The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe:
Causes, effects, and future engagement strategies
(MigRom)*

REPORT ON THE EXTENDED SURVEY

University of Verona

January 2015

Stefania Pontrandolfo

Marianna Agoni

Suzana Jovanovic

Lisa Pagotto

Anna Maria Meneghini

Leonardo Piasere

The research leading to these results comes from MIGROM, "Dealing with diversity and cohesion: the case of the Roma in the European Union", a project funded by the European Union under the 7th Framework Programme (GA319901)

1.0. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Communities surveyed

The Italian team has continued to follow the two case studies selected for the pilot survey:

- Marianna Agoni has carried on with ethnographical visits to some families coming from the District of Dolj, and, with Suzana Jovanovic, have continued to record and to translate interviews in the Romani language with families of the Roma community from the Districts of Olt living in Milan and Lombardy (Northern Italy);
- Stefania Pontrandolfo has carried on with ethnographical work with some families of the Roma community from Craiova living in Bari, Puglia (Southern Italy).
- From January 2015 Sabrina Tosi Cambini has started an ethnographical fieldwork with some families of Rudari coming from Dobrugia and currently living in Firenze.
- From January 2015 Eva Rizzin has started a research about public attitudes to Roma and Italian national and local policies towards Roma.

1.2. Team Structure

Verona University team composition:

Task: Project Coordination

Prof. Leonardo Piasere

Task: Management

Federica Corvaglia: administrative assistant - Period: 1 February 2013 - 31 January 2015

Task: Attitudes survey

- Dr. Anna Maria Meneghini: senior lecturer
- Dr. Lisa Pagotto: research fellow (AdR - *Assegno di ricerca*) - Period: 1 September 2013 – 31 August 2014.

Task: Extended survey

- Marianna Agoni: research fellow (AdR - *Assegno di Ricerca*) - Period: 1 June 2014 – 31 May 2015.
- Suzana Jovanovic: Roma research assistant (*Borsa di ricerca*) - Period: 5 May 2014 - 04 May 2015.
- Dr. Stefania Pontrandolfo: main project researcher (RTD - *Ricercatore a Tempo Determinato*) - Period: 1 April 2014 – 31 March 2017.
- Dr. Eva Rizzin: Roma research assistant (*Borsa di ricerca*) - 1 January 2015 – 31 March 2017.

- Dr. Sabrina Tosi Cambini: research fellow (*AdR - Assegno di Ricerca*) - Period: 1 January 2015 – 31 December 2015.

1.3. Extended survey strategy

The extended survey was carried out by researchers and Roma assistants in the period going from April to December 2014, through the ongoing collection of interviews in the Romani language and ethnography.

In addition to this, the Italian team started to intensify the research into local policies in the two case studies with the aim of comparing them.

Lastly, the Italian team worked to carry out the Attitudes Survey:

- jointly with the French team, the ongoing analysis of the data from media survey started;
- jointly with the French, the Spanish and the British teams, the administration and the collection of the on-line questionnaires started.

2.0. THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON ORIGIN COMMUNITIES (Marianna Agoni and Stefania Pontrandolfo)

2.1. Returnees

Action for Cluj team

2.2. Transfer of resources: effect on origin communities

Action for Cluj team

2.3. Transfer of resources: patterns among migrants

As an introduction to the presentation of the initial ethnographic data resulting from the Extended Survey, it must be pointed out that the research was conducted through various methods on three groups of people (therefore, three social networks) who are currently experiencing differentiated migratory contexts and patterns. Firstly, we can generally differentiate a group of families originating from some small towns in the Dolj District, with whom Marianna Agoni is conducting an ethnographic fieldwork. These families live in extremely precarious living conditions in unauthorised camps of tents and huts that are constantly evacuated and rebuilt between the Bovisa, Villapizzone and Quarto Oggiaro areas in the north-western suburbs of Milan. We will see below how continual evacuations and evictions affect the projects and migratory courses of these people in various ways. Secondly, we can differentiate a group of families originating from several cities in the District of Olt, from which the greater part of interviews in Romani language were collected by Marianna Agoni and Suzana Jovanovic. These families, although having had a lengthy experience of migration and similar living conditions to the first group of families, are currently living in rented houses or accommodation provided by private social associations or in temporary reception centres/ Social Emergency Centres (C.E.S.) in Milan and the Milanese hinterland. Once again, we will see how the different living and working conditions considerably affect individual projects and migratory courses. Lastly, we can differentiate a set of families originally from the city of Craiova, who are living in the only authorised camp in Bari, with whom Stefania Pontrandolfo is conducting ethnographical research and where some interviews in Romani language have been collected together with Dainef Tomescu. Although these families are living in a camp made up of self-built huts, they have been living in reasonably stable conditions for over ten years, which naturally affect their future prospects.

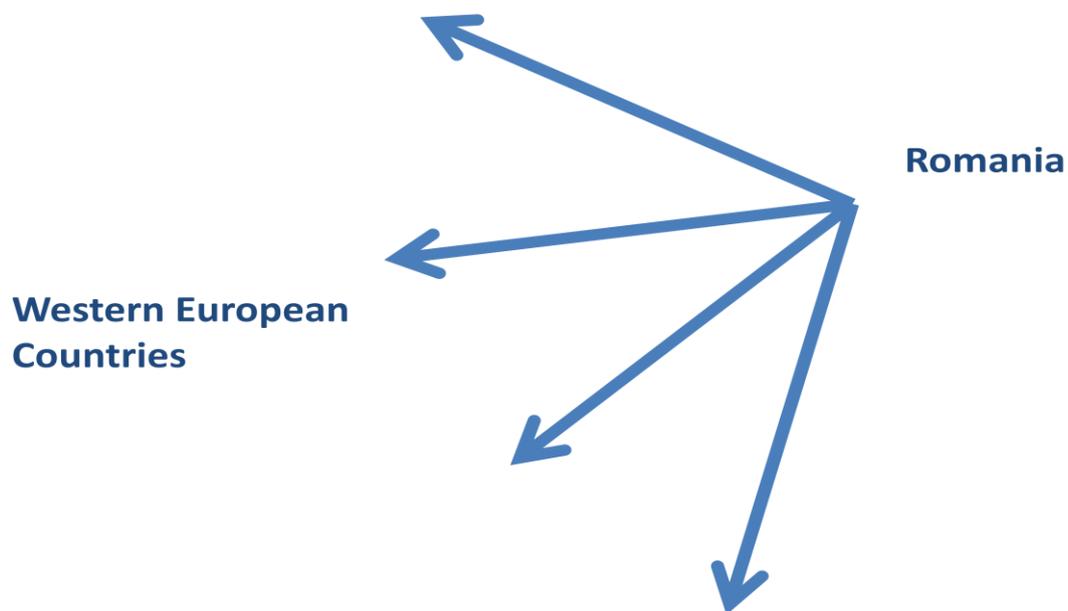
The Italian team is particularly focussing on the migration stories of these groups. In fact, the main objectives of the study include, on the one side putting forward the internal point of view of the migrants themselves, (highlighting, among other things, their particular way of telling their stories, the topics that they consider to be important, the relational aspects of the account itself); and on the other, describing the migratory patterns that the migrant communities concerned in the study carry out. After the initial analyses, in fact, we can already outline the various specific migratory patterns that the communities have practised, some of which were also found in other recent studies on groups of Romanian Roma in other countries in western Europe (see, for example, the work done on Romanian Roma migration in France by Dion, 2014). These patterns include a first type, which we could define as trans-frontier (fig. 1), which features frequent comings and goings between Romania and some bordering countries (like, for example, Serbia and Bulgaria), which was practiced in the last years of the Ceaușescu regime and the very first years after its fall in all the communities met during the study in Italy. This pattern is not currently being practised, unlike other patterns that started to be more common as of the mid 1990s, when migration towards western European countries began.

Fig. 1. Trans-frontier migratory pattern



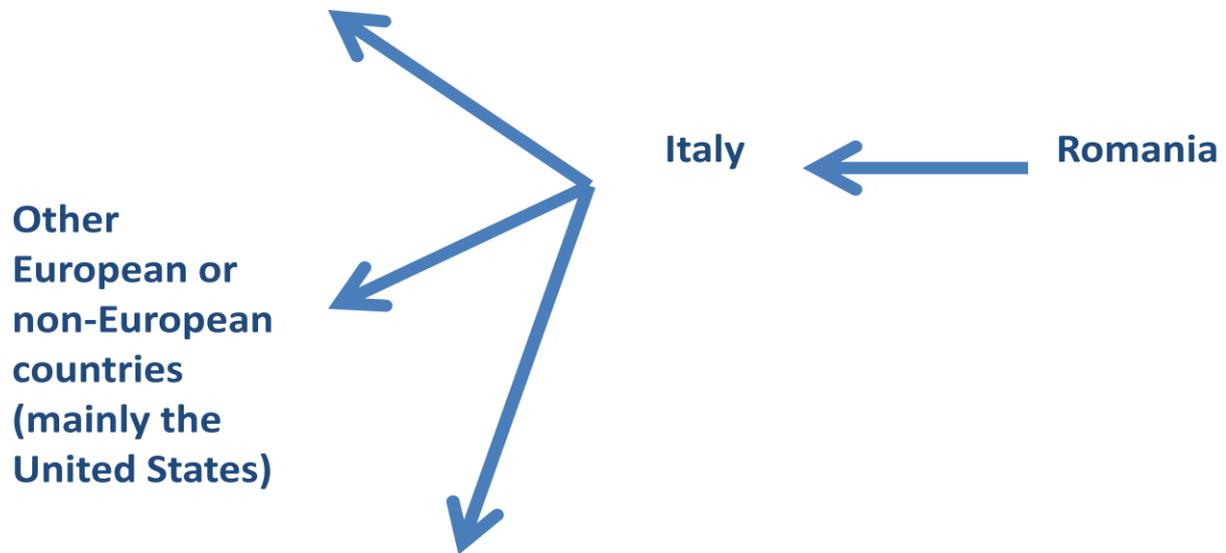
The second migratory pattern, which we could define as trans-national, carried out in all the social networks found in the field, feature movements from Romania towards western European countries, although for periods of various lengths, as we will see, depending on the living conditions on arrival.

Fig. 2. Trans-national migratory pattern



In some cases, however, those migrating can stay for lengthy periods in Italy when the living conditions and economic strategies allow for it (for example, in the community we met during the study in Bari), to then leave again after several years (especially the younger generations born in Italy) headed towards other European or non-European countries (mainly the United States). This is the last migratory pattern found in the field study, which we could define as radial (fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Radial migratory pattern



In this paragraph, as in those below that deal purely with ethnographic topics, we will attempt to briefly present some of the features of the migratory conditions and patterns of the three groups of people met during the research.

In reference to Milan and Bari, the first thing to underline is that almost all the persons we met during our field study, and those interviewed, state that, if they had the economic possibility, they would stay in Romania and, would like to be able to provide for their children and maintain their families by working in their own country and living near their relatives in their own house. Many, in fact, foresee, plan or hope to return to live in their own country as soon as they have managed to achieve certain aims, including, and above all, a house for themselves and one for their children and their families, or when they have managed to save a certain amount of money. In fact, as predominantly emerges from all the accounts, in Italy the people at least have the chance to manage and survive by working, begging, receiving help from private people and NGOs, while in Romania, they have nothing at all. There is no work or, if there is any, the pay is too low.

Moreover, this chronic lack of work, and resulting economic difficulties, is the basic reason why they leave and follow their countrymen who have already left to seek their fortunes elsewhere, returning to Romania to flaunt what for them are status symbols of wealth, success and modernity - cars, fashionable clothes, new houses, big ceremonies. Although the majority of people continue to hope and think that sooner or later they will return to Romania for good, dreams, projects, life prospects and above all, migratory strategies, can change with the passing of time and as conditions concretely change, and this can urge people to stay in Italy more permanently. They find work, set up home in rented accommodation or in an authorised camp, are received into centres (these latter places do not usually allow people to be absent for long periods of time, e.g. in the C.E.S. established by Milan Council, a maximum of 30 days absence out of 200 are allowed) and have the chance to keep their children with them, while those who live in unauthorised settlements continue to move frequently and regularly between one country and the other.

One of the basic characteristics of the many of the families' migration is its temporariness due to their frequent comings and goings between Italy and Romania and because their movements are not seen as definitive or too long term, but rather as a period of time needed to achieve personal objectives.

On the one hand, almost all the families from Dolj, who live in several unauthorised settlements on the outskirts of Milan, spend three to six/seven months in Italy, interrupted by one or two, or perhaps even longer, stays in Romania, usually at Christmas, Easter and in August and September. Besides the desire to spend time at home with the children and family they left behind in Romania, there can be various reasons to go back and stay: to visit a relative who has health problems, to go to a wedding or baptism, to buy materials and oversee the construction of a house, to renew documents. Particularly during the cold months, the decision to leave is often due to frequent evictions, especially when the people lose all their belongings and the law enforcement authorities follow them around the city, stopping them from finding a new arrangement.

On the other hand, many of the people encountered during the study, in this case originating from the areas of Dolj and Olt, consider and speak of their migration to Italy as a temporary phase of their existence, necessary for achieving plans and concrete objectives which, once achieved, will terminate by their definitive return to Romania to get on with their lives, in their own homes and with their own families. A phase through which they intend to earn and save something to ensure a better life for their children, the renovation or construction of a house, which is still the main

investment, or buying a car, while projects and the future are always thought of, and imagined as, in their own country. In reality, however, despite thoughts and desires, migration often becomes and remains fundamental for maintaining the family's daily life, as does achieving and maintaining those «standards of consumption that life abroad has made indispensable and desirable» (Vietti 2012, p. 150). And so the definitive return to Romania is continually postponed to a more or less distant future and the people continue to spend a good part of the year in Italy, suffering greatly from being away from their loved ones, especially when, for whatever reason, whether for family or employment, they cannot return home for long periods.

The close tie with their homeland and, therefore, the temporariness of their stay in Italy, are ideally and concretely confirmed and nurtured by a series of daily practices, that allow them to be there, even if they are not. Classic symbols of the families' high degree of mobility and the constant effort to maintain constant relations with those leaving and those staying behind, are the buses that go back and forth, taking people and goods between Romania and Italy and vice versa. Going round the city, looking through garbage bins and slipping into the city dump in search of items that may still be in good condition, and then arranging everything that can be recovered into bags - clothes, kitchen utensils, plastic flowers, food and beauty products - is a daily task, carried out while thinking of what might be useful in Romania, since the best and more valuable things are usually sent there. Periodically, the migrants send their families big parcels containing sweets, chocolate bars, cakes, coffee, oil, rice, tomato puree, tins of beans, shampoo, detergents, ornaments, clothes, blankets, pans, plates as well as mobile phones, bicycles, chairs and armchairs, fridges and televisions. Even long and frequent telephone calls to parents, children and siblings help to make people feel closer and keep them updated on what is happening at each end, how the children are and how construction on the house is going. Visiting internet points and looking at musical video clips or baptism and wedding photographs, listening to *manele* music, love songs and ballads, going shopping in Romanian product stores and eating their traditional dishes are all ways of bringing a bit of Romania to Italy. The tightly packed parcels, long conversations on the mobile, money sent via Western Union, are all tangible and positive practices that allow the people to be at home even when they are far away. They can thus feel the closeness of their parents and take part in the family's daily life, despite the hundreds of kilometres that separate them, and they can build and constantly maintain networks and relationships on the other side of the border.

The families who are living in continually evacuated and rebuilt unauthorised settlements on the outskirts of Milan, and which mainly consist of migrants from municipalities in the Dolj district, see their immigration as something temporary, and therefore, the migratory and social-economic strategies that follow are also linked to a series of structural factors that characterise their existence in Italy and that partly depend on the practices and policies carried out against them. Of these factors, we would principally mention the living conditions, which do not allow for a permanent arrangement, or for them to keep their children with them without enormous sacrifice. Living in an unauthorised settlement means living in extremely precarious and unstable conditions, constantly waiting for the next evacuation, no matter how much the people try to make it a homely place to live in, one to be shared with relatives, friends and fellow countrymen. Life in a hut and tent camp is an accepted and acceptable solution only as a temporary strategy within the terms of a project that foresees going home within a few months. The second most influential factor that affects the lives of these people is their insertion in a particular niche of the economy, the highly unstable one of begging, which allows people ample room for manoeuvre and a certain mobility but, at the same time, does not ensure them with a regular income with which to pay a rent and have their families close by.

The importance of these elements in influencing migratory strategies and people's perception of their stay as something temporary, also emerges clearly in comparison to those families that live in more stable situations, whether it be in private houses, rented apartments or reception centres, and who have been included, more or less precariously, into the employment market and have brought their children to Italy and enrolled them in schools. In fact, as several interviews, mainly with people coming from the Olt area, showed, with the passing of time, trips back to Romania for some families become less frequent, relations with their own country tend to fade and the definitive return is postponed to a distant future until some even declare that they no longer want to go back and to have thought about selling their home there (see, for example, the interview *Gorgonzola (MI)_01_28-09-2013*). Of course, homesickness remains and the link with Romania is a daily one. They watch Romanian TV programmes, they eat Romanian food, they phone their parents in their hometowns, they send money and parcels with food and clothing, and every now and then, they receive tins of fruit, preserved vegetables and boxes of medicine, but their own lives, and above all those of their children, are increasingly considered as being in Italy. In fact, the parents often say that they are here for the children so that they can build a better future for themselves by attending Italian schools and perhaps finding a good job. As one person interviewed

said «at the beginning I thought about going back because all my family was there. I thought I'd stay about a year, a few months, and then go back. But now things have changed. Things have got worse and I don't want to go back any more [...] at the beginning, up until almost 2010, I went back and forth. I stayed one, two or three months in Italy and then I went back to Romania. I stayed there one or two months, and then I came here. But I don't do that now. My children are here now, and my family...» (interview *Gorgonzola (MI)_01_28-09-2013*). Sometimes though, when things start to deteriorate and become less certain, when work becomes more scarce, when there is no money for the rent and it gets hard to maintain the family (see, for example, interview *Agnadello (CR)_01_29-10-2013; MI_04_18-12-2013; MI_08_01-05-2014*), or when, after years of being used to spending several months in Milan and the rest of the year in one's own country, despite everything, one still feels that one's place is in Romania, near the children and grandchildren (interview *MI_01_17-12-2013*), nostalgia and the desire to go home, with relatives and family members, come flooding back, and clash with the knowledge that, even there, life would be very hard. On the other hand, as one woman, a grandmother with 21 grandchildren, says, she and her husband came to Italy to earn a bit of money because there was no more work in Romania. But the objective is still to provide a home for the children and their families in their own country, and if they had the chance, that is where they would stay, altogether (interview *MI_01_17-12-2013*).

In the case of the families who have been living in Bari for about fifteen years and who are permanently settled in a Council-authorized camp, things are different again. Although reference to Romania is, also in this case, constant, the fact of belonging to Romanian culture, often underlined and highlighted in the words of those met during the study, and the cultural practices similar to those used by the migrants living in Milan (e.g. buses that go back and forth between Italy and Romania, Romanian music, phone calls, regular trips, Romanian food, etc.) have also been activated by the Roma living in Bari to strengthen and continue to build ties with their homeland in their daily lives, we can see that the permanent presence of these families in the Bari territory has produced some differences and, above all, a kind of generational layering in relations with Romania. In particular, the stability of living (despite all the limitations that a settlement of self-built huts can have) in permanent conditions for about ten years in the same place has allowed families to reunite with some of their extended family members. In fact, the Bari camp is made up of a set of related families who, over the years, have gradually joined the families who first set out to migrate to Bari (Dainef Tomescu's family in particular, refer to text below). The

meeting up of families, in the migratory context, who had been closely living together in Romania in the same Craiova area (a residential area mainly for Roma called *Fața Luncii*) has, in a certain sense, recreated an authentic community in Bari where the sharing of common areas and a spatial and socio-cultural closeness similar to that of Romania, can be found in the camp. It is exactly this closeness that makes Romania an active presence, to all effects, in the daily life in Italy. Another element to be highlighted, and an effect of the long-term and stable living conditions of these families, is the fact that, over time, parents, with all their children, have arrived to join their families. While in the initial phases of their stay in Italy, these families left their smaller children (or the eldest, depending on the necessity or individual decision) in Romania with other members of the family (as did many migrants in Milan who still live in unauthorised settlements), once the camp in Strada Santa Teresa was authorised and the people had permission to stay there, they were joined by all the members of their families. Moreover, as of that moment, many children have been born in Bari, only going back to Romania once a year for their summer holidays. The schooling procedure that has continually involved the children from the camp and the same city schools for about fifteen years, means that many of the children now speak three languages: Romani as their mother tongue, Romanian as their second language and Italian (which they mainly learn at school) as their third. Teaching the Romanian language to children (who continue to think of Romanian as their "gagikanes") is a fundamental indication of the parents' desire to maintain a strong link with their country of origin, living a social and cultural life in Italy that is, in many ways, so "Romanian", and yet it is a given fact that the children are growing up in an Italian socio-cultural lifestyle within which they also acquire different expectations than those of their parents. In fact, what seems to be happening in Bari is that, while those in their 30s and 40s still maintain a strong link with Romania and regularly express the desire to return to their homeland sooner or later, those in their 20s, who have lived the greater part of their lives in Italy rather than in Romania, more than aiming at returning to their country of origin (and they are well aware of the structural and long-lasting socio-economic problems there), they are more inclined towards emigrating to other European or non-European countries, which they see as more useful than Italy for achieving their ambitions and improving their living conditions. While those in their 30s and 40s speak of Italy as a place to live a "nice life" compared to the standards of poverty they had experienced when they were in Romania, the younger generations, compare their current living conditions in Italy not to those of other Romanians living in Romania, but to their relatives or countrymen who have emigrated to other countries and have had better luck. This is why many young ones leave,

even if only for a short time, to seek their fortunes in other European countries or in the USA and their parents, with some children and often with their grandchildren, stay on at the camp.

3.0. NETWORKS AND MIGRATION HISTORY (Marianna Agoni and Stefania Pontrandolfo)

3.1. Networks as pull factors

Most of the Roma met during the research said that their migratory experience started at the end of the 1990s (from 1997 to 2000). According to them, the economic crisis inherited from the Ceaușescu regime and worsened by the entrance of Romania into a free market system (in the political framework of a weak and young democracy), was the decisive push factor for their migration towards Western Europe. Another important push factor, in their words, was the desire "to be like the others" ("*essere come gli altri*"), (see the *Report on the Pilot Survey*), that is, to be able to drag themselves out of a situation of need and poverty, provide for their families and improve their life conditions in Romania by buying or building themselves a house, for instance.

From some of those interviewed, it appears that their destination was not initially Italy having first "tried out" migration towards other countries (such as Serbia, Germany, Spain and France) before deciding to stay longer in the Italian territory.

In some cases, only one member of the family, usually the head of the household, initially went abroad making very frequent round trips. This way of moving was particularly common before Romania's entry into the European Union, and also due to the immigration restrictions foreseen by the Italian Law. The wife and children migrated later, even after several years, and sometimes even ten years passed before the family was reunited.

Departures always follow migratory chains built, above all, on networks of families, but also on friendship and neighbourhood relations. The departure point of these chains is always the *țigania* and it is always organised with relatives or neighbours. Their help is a crucial factor for survival during the initial period in Italy. The term "survival" is not an overstatement since the majority of newly arrived Romanian Roma in Italy have to adapt themselves to living in shacks or tents in makeshift settlements, in abandoned factories, on uncultivated land or under the bridges of large urban roads, and so on. All of the Roma interviewed had experienced an "unauthorised camp" as their first form of dwelling, even if some of them now live in different conditions (authorised camps or flats or reception centres).

Research for the Extended Survey led to discovering, for example, the story of the migratory chains from one small village in the Dolj District. In 2002, when, after the Ceaușescu regime fell,

the borders began to re-open and the possibility to migrate became a reality, the first to leave the village were two women heading for Milan and one of the first "unauthorised settlements" in the Bovisa area, relying on several acquaintances (from a small municipality in Olt and related to one of the women's son's wife) who were already specialised in transporting people between Romania and Italy. The two pioneers then started the migratory chain and so family members, relatives and neighbours then followed. In those initial years, until Romania became part of the European Union, migrants were allowed to stay in Italy for a maximum 90 days within a six month period, at the end of which, they were to return to Romania, which is why people moved constantly from Milan to their homeland. Every time they returned to Romania, the migrants told their friends and families about Italy, showing off their earnings, sorting out their houses and bearing gifts of sweets, clothes and shoes, thus encouraging those still in Romania to leave and try their luck. Since then, many families that come to Milan from the village have set up home in "unauthorised settlements" on the outskirts of the city between the boroughs of Bovisa, Villapizzone and Quarto Oggiaro, moving and scattering due to constant evacuations. In some case, they share spaces with people from other towns in the Dolj and Olt districts with whom they are often inter-related. Even if they set up camp in another area of the same settlement, it creates a certain social sense that reproduces what they left behind in Romania (on the one side families from Dolj, on the other, people from Olt). In other cases, they set up a few tents under a flyover with strictly related family member, such as parents, children, brothers and brother-in-laws.

The study has, however, led to uncovering stories about particular social groupings within the migratory context rather than the homeland one, i.e. social networks that have been created among people coming from Romania but who did not know each other before coming to Italy. Usually these groupings form when people share similar experiences in the migratory context. This is the case, for example, of the extended family of the so-called *Tismanari* who live at the Strada Santa Teresa camp in Bari together with other Roma families.

The oldest of the family came to Bari at the end of the 1990s together with some of his family members and settled in an unauthorised camp in the south west of the city where he experienced some conflicts with the other inhabitants of the place. His regular encounters and economic cooperation with some women in Dainef Tomescu's family (both this man and Mrs. Tomescu used to beg in the same place in Bari at the beginning of their stay - a subway to the city's main station - and therefore met regularly and, after some discussion on the use of the place for *manghel*, came

to an agreement so that they took turns to be there at different times). This led to a long-lasting relationship that ended up with the old man moving into Dainef's camp with his wife, and the later arrival of his children and their families. Currently then, as well as people from Dainef Tomescu's extended family or his network of Romanian Roma acquaintances, this extended family of *Tismanari*, which they met in Italy and who come from a small town in the Olt district, also live at the Strada Santa Teresa camp.

3.2. Migration and community history

Action for Cluj team

4.0. CHANGES TO FAMILY STRUCTURE (Stefania Pontrandolfo)

4.1. Generation profile

Of the families we met and interviewed in Milan, the first people arrived in Italy about 10-12 years ago and, although some young men initially left Romania alone, they later were able to bring their families to Milan. In other cases, the pioneer arrivals were gradually replaced by their sons, who were children or adolescents at the time, and they in turn were eventually joined by their own wives and children while the parents stayed in Romania to look after the house they had built with money earned in Italy and, above all, to take care of their grandchildren. It is a general topic that adapts and changes according to the family's needs and possibilities: where the head of the family has found a job and a house, or in any case, more permanent accommodation, it is more likely that he will have called his sons, daughter-in-laws and grandchildren to join him, while only the elderly remain in Romania (and this is what has mainly happened among families from the Olt district). However, where people still live in unauthorised settlements, subject to regular evacuations and begging, the practice of alternating migration among members of the same family is more common, so that there is always someone in Romania to look after the children, land and house (and this is more often the case among families from the Dolj district).

As for families living in some tent and hut settlements, it is usually the husband and wife who emigrate to Italy, sometimes alone, while others bring their youngest children with them or even the older ones, especially when evacuations stop for a while and the tents are upgraded to huts. But much more often, the parents decide to leave their children at home, in the hands of grandparents, uncles and aunts or older siblings. In their words, leaving them in Romania means protecting them. On the one hand they do not want their children to live in a camp, in extremely precarious living conditions, while «at home they can be clean and looked after», or experience evacuations and forced evictions. On the other, they are afraid that, if they take the children with them to beg they will be taken away, as has happened to some women (see the previous report for this point). Of course, the fact of having to leave the children in Romania and not being able to look after them directly and watch them grow, causes enormous suffering for both men and women, and during the lengthy phone calls home, the children often ask their parents to come back while the parents constantly try to fill the gap of their absence by sending parcels of sweets and toys, by buying presents or organising big baptism celebrations. On the other hand, it is important to remember that some people can migrate because there are people who stay behind,

often the more elderly. Who goes and who stays is decided within the household, which is organised according to the needs of each individual extended family group and migration is possibly alternated. In fact, when possible, the migratory process adopted is alternating between family members, who, in turn, spend some time in Italy and some in Romania, usually in such a way as to ensure that there is always someone at home looking after the children, house and land, also to avoid burglaries and damage. It is often the husband and wife that do the alternating and while it is often the men who leave first, some of whom have spent long periods in Italy alone, nowadays, in several cases, it is the women who migrate alone, or with the youngest child, while the husband stays in Romania with the rest of the family. This is not only because some men are ashamed to beg, but almost always because the women earn more at it because, in our minds, they are more vulnerable, need to be emancipated (Pinelli 2010) and are more deserving of help than the men. Of course the women are never really alone. At the camp there is always a relative to turn to and with whom to share a meal, who looks over them and, to a certain extent, even controls them. It is a question of honour and above all, shame. Therefore, we are not only looking at forms of transnational parentage, where the children are often reared by grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, but, as in the case of other female migrations, also a form of transnational maternity and renegotiation dynamics in gender relationships.

As already mentioned, and as emerged from many interviews, the migratory and family strategies change with the passing of time and above all, when people manage to rent an apartment or are offered alternative housing solutions in reception or social emergency centres. Practically all those interviewed had experienced brief or long periods in unauthorised camps, subject to evacuations and forced evictions, obliged to move continually from one area to another in the city and were also used to moving frequently between Italy and Romania. Like many families from some of the municipalities in the Olt district, getting a house, apartment, container or a bed in one of the emergency centres set up by Milan Council, can represent one, or even the chance, to think about staying more permanently and therefore to bring the family back together. Once a more stable arrangement and a job that can ensure a more or less secure income, have been found, the parents can get their children to come to, or stay in, Italy and perhaps even call other relatives, siblings, cousins, grandchildren, while it is the elderly who stay in Romania, often with a few children to look after and the new houses, built with hard-earned money in Italy, are boarded up and uninhabited.

As already mentioned, the context of the families living in Bari is different in that the stability of the settlement has allowed, over the years, the parents, who migrated first with a few children, to be joined and reunited with all the other children and also with other members of the extended family that now live in the same camp (brothers and sisters with their own families). At the moment only the more elderly living relatives (grandparents) are living in Romania with some younger siblings who have not emigrated but have decided to stay in Romania in their elderly parents' homes.

4.2. Reproduction

In the first place, we must underline the difficulty of accessing precise personal data on the Romanian Roma families that have migrated to Italy and who we met during this study, as well as the consequent difficulty in processing the analyses on a large scale in terms of population pyramid, child bearing and family planning by female age. This difficulty arises for several reasons. First of all, there are no consultable personal details at the Italian municipal offices where the people involved in the study are living: there are no official documents regarding the majority of Romanian Roma migrants that we met during the study, even though they are people who have lived in Italy for several years. The lack of personal documentation is closely connected to the living conditions that this people are experiencing, the majority of whom, with no fixed abode in a physical house, or with no permanent employment contract, have been living in Italy for some time without having ever acquired registered residency and therefore without being registered at the municipal office of the town they are living in.

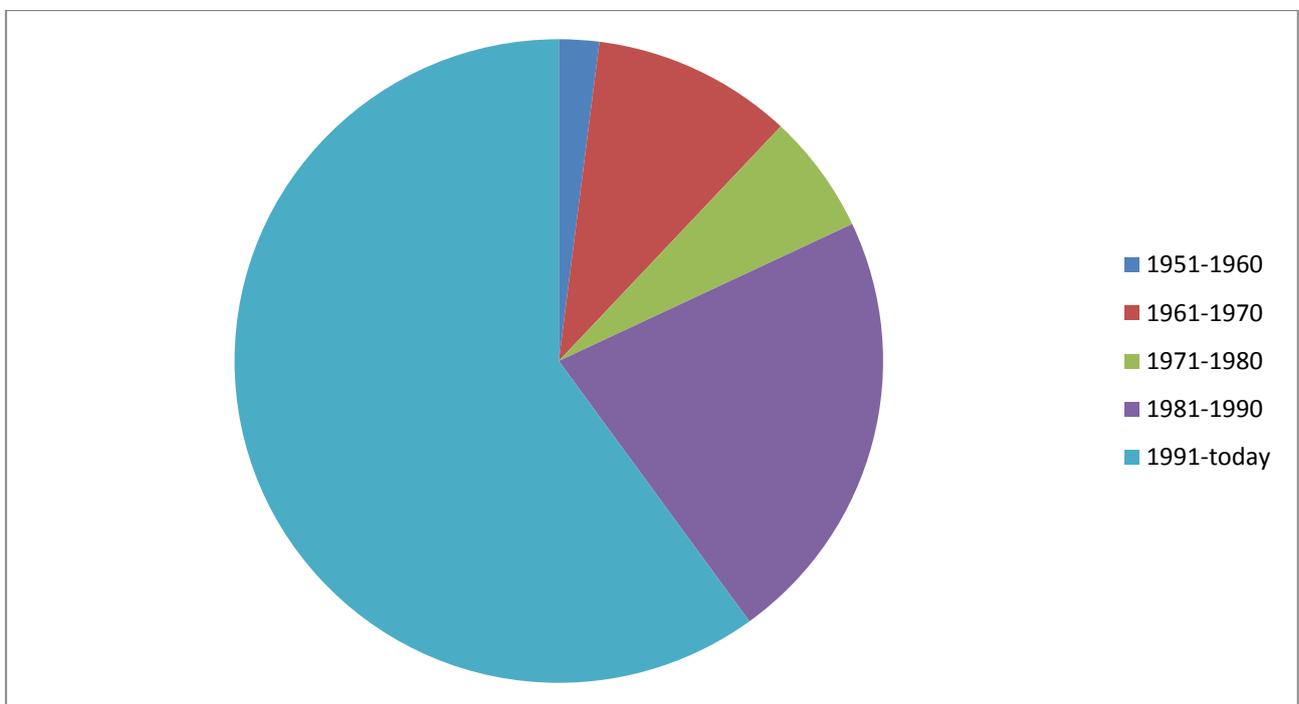
Secondly, we have no access to the personal detail documents that are certainly registered at the municipal offices of their towns of origin, which would be extremely useful in reconstructing the stories of these migratory families. For this reason, the Italian researchers plan to activate a study of the Romanian archives at a later stage of the survey.

Lastly, the only available source for the Italian research team is the data collected through interviews and ethnographic conversations. To this regard, we must underline the difficulty on the one hand in collecting data on the family members of the various people interviewed (who, in most cases, preferred to talk about themselves rather than others for privacy reasons). On the other hand, the women often preferred not to speak about their pregnancies or family planning decisions during the interviews, with the tape recorder on, and perhaps in the presence of other members of the family, due to reserve and shame. For this reason, the majority of data regarding

these topics were collected during highly confidential ethnographic conversations. The result of all this is that we have highly relevant information qualitatively-speaking but, quantitatively, it is rather unrepresentative. In other words, the definite personal information that we have at the moment regards a relatively small group of people (exactly 100), on the basis of which we will be presenting our initial statistical processing.

Fig. 4 below shows the age-bracket subdivision of the people met during the study for whom we have definite details.

Fig. 4. Age-bracket subdivision on a sample of 100 people



As the graph shows, 60% of the sample includes people born after 1991, therefore mainly children or adolescents or young adults, while only a very small percentage (2%) was born in the 1951 to 1960 age bracket. 12% were born between 1961 and 1980 (10 born between 1961 and 1970 and 6 born between 1971 and 1980). Therefore, emigration mainly involves young couples born after 1980 and their children.

From the stories collected during the fieldwork through particularly detailed ethnographical conversations or interviews, we have selected a sample of 23 women of whom we know the current age, marriage age and age at their first child. We subdivided the women into cohorts: only

one was in the group of women born between 1951 and 1960, which indirectly confirms the fact that the more elderly people in the family normally stay in Romania; 5 women were in the group born between 1961 and 1970; 3 in the group born between 1971 and 1980; 12 in the group between 1981 and 1990; 2 in the group born after 1991. As can be seen, the majority of those in the sample are women who are now between 20 and 30 years of age.

Considering the difference in the numbers of women in each cohort, we think it is reasonable to make an initial comparison between the set of women in the first three groups (from 1951 to 1980) and the youngest.

In terms of first marriage, the average age of the women in the groups born between 1951 and 1980 is 18.42 years, while the average age of the first marriage for the women in the groups born after 1981 is 17.91 years.

It can therefore be stated that there is no great difference between the various generations in terms of age at the first marriage, which is around 18 years in all cases.

In terms of the number of children per woman, the average number of children for those in the groups born between 1951 and 1980 is 4.66, while the average number of children for the women born after 1981 is 2.92.

The birth rate has therefore not decreased in the younger generations, who have spent most of their married lives in Italy, if we consider that their reproduction cycle is still ongoing. Anyway the research allowed us to collect many stories (especially during ethnographic conversations rather than interviews) of women who regularly and voluntarily interrupted pregnancies or used contraceptive methods like the spiral, for family planning reasons. In some cases, stories emerged of these women's visions of a high number of children being associated to a situation of undesirable poverty, which are typical views of demographic transition systems in western countries.

5.0. LOCAL POLICY

THE CASE STUDY OF BARI (Stefania Pontrandolfo)

Introduction

Bari is a city with a population of over 320,000 inhabitants located on the Adriatic coast in the South East of the Italian peninsula. It is the capital of the Apulia Region and of its own province (see maps 1-2). It is one of the most important cities in southern Italy and holds third place behind Naples and Palermo for size and the number of services. It can be reached by all the principle communication means (it has a port, an international airport and several national and local railway stations) and has one of southern Italy's most important universities.

Map 1. Geographical position of Apulia



Map 2. Geographical positions of Bari Province and City

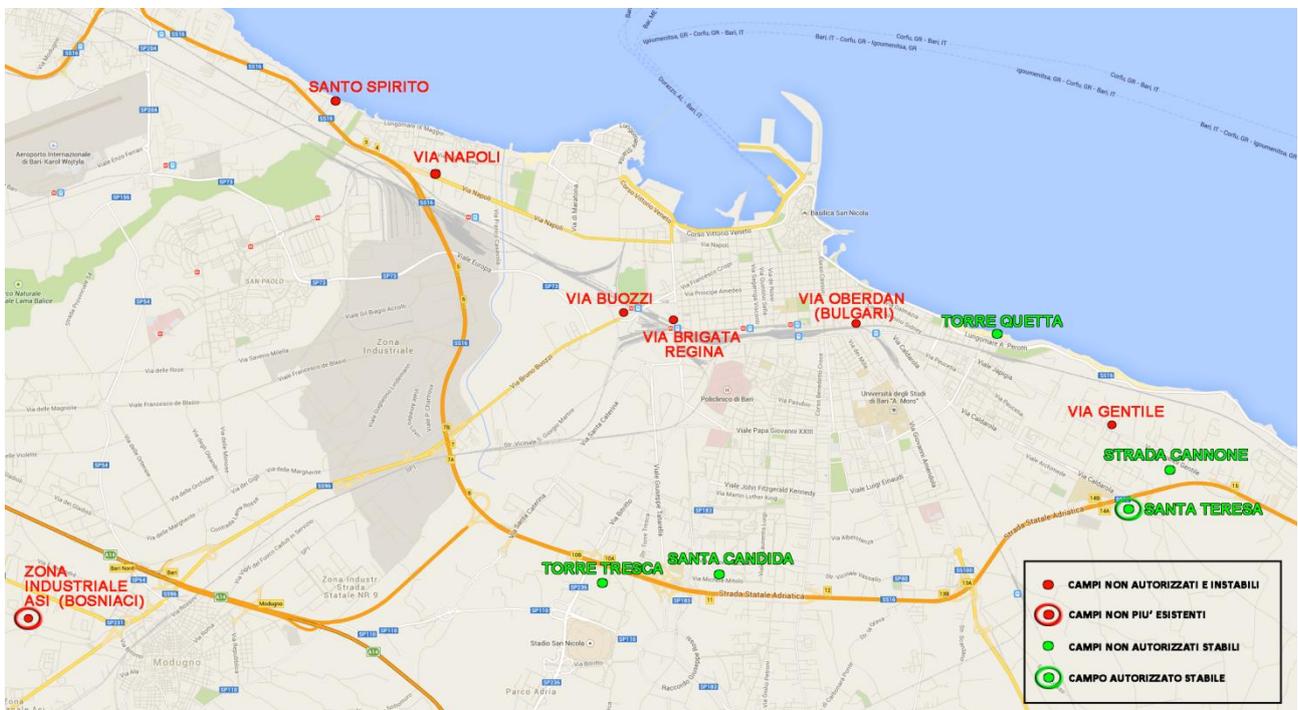


There have been several communities of Romanian Roma people in Bari since the mid 1990s. Below we will provide an initial presentation of the history of these presences and their relations with the local authorities, reconstructed on the basis of the sources that we have managed to find as of date (see maps 3 and 4 to locate the areas and the settlements referred to). Of course we will further our analysis of the Bari context by adding more elements and information during the coming months of research.

Map 3. Bari City boroughs



Map 4. Roma settlements in the Bari City area



Communities currently settled at the Strada Santa Teresa 1 camp in the borough of Japigia

Sources

We have several sources available in reference to the history behind the presence of this set of families which were, in fact, the pioneers of Romanian Roma migration to Bari.

For occurrences from 1997 up to 2006, we can mainly count on the direct testimony of those Roma people who played a leading role in the different events, especially Dainef Tomescu and his family members. As we will see, Dainef Tomescu played an important part right from the onset of negotiations with the Bari Council and went on to create for himself the role of the community's political representative. In 2003 he published, through the Sinnos publishing house in Rome, a bilingual book (in Romanian and Italian) called *Intorno al fuoco* (Around the Fire), an autobiography that tells the story of his life up to his first years in Italy. Dainef Tomescu was a research assistance for a while for the MigRom Project and still collaborates by hosting one of the project researchers at the Strada Santa Teresa camp in the borough of Japigia.

Besides the testimonies of the Tomescu family members, we will also use reconstructions published in a book by Matteo Magnisi, a councillor from 1999 to 2004, who was engaged in the tertiary sector as a trainer and volunteer and who always supported the Romanian Roma community settled in the Japigia area during their negotiations with Bari Council and helped them with their projects. In 2012, he published, through the Stilo publishing house in Bari, his book *Rom oltre il campo. Storie di inclusione e formazione* (Roma beyond the camp. Stories of inclusion and education) in which he describes the various experiences of the community since its arrival in the city. This book contains the most detailed information on the history of relations between the community and the municipal authorities for the period before 2005 and is, in any case, updated to 2012.

A similar, yet less detailed reconstruction based on a lengthy interview with Matteo Magnisi himself, can be found in Valeria Lamarca's degree thesis (Bari University, Faculty of Educational Science, Degree Course in Professional Education in the field of juvenile difficulties, deviance and marginality, academic year 2007-2008).

Lastly, we can find pictures and scenes of the everyday life of the Romanian Roma who arrived in Bari between 1997 and 2000 in a film entitled *Japigia gagí*, produced in 2001 by Giovanni Princigalli, who was then a university student at Bari University's Faculty of Literature and who lived with the community in an unauthorised camp while he filmed an ethnographic documentary.

He installed and has maintained friendships with these families (in 2014 he published a case edition of a trilogy of documentaries on this Romanian Roma community in Japigia).

Administrative reports on the community kept at Bari Municipality's Immigration Office as of 2005 were also added to these sources.¹

See map 5 below to locate the settlements these families occupied in Bari city and the provincial territory during the years referred to.

Map 5. Map showing the different settlements occupied by the families currently living in the Strada Santa Teresa, 1 camp.



¹ The administrative documents consulted do not date back to before 2005, the year in which Bari Municipality's Immigration Office began to archive documents on the presence of Roma in the city. We were granted permission to access these documents through a collaboration agreement set up in the initial stages of the MigRom Project, which is currently being made official by the setting up of a Agreement between Bari Council and Verona University's Department of Philosophy, Education and Psychology.

History

Several Roma families originating from Craiova (from the district of Dolj in the historical Oltenia region) have been living in Bari since at least 1997. The Dainef Tomescu family, together with a few other inter-related families, arrived in Bari in November 1999. The group initially set up an unauthorised camp made of huts built from recovered materials near via Torre Tresca (south-west Bari). At the time, the city was being governed by a centre-right council led by a Mayor from the Forza Italia political party, Simeone Di Cagno Abbrescia, who had been re-elected for his second mandate in June 1999. This council did not look kindly on the Roma settlement inside the city and reacted by evicting it in August 2000. The family group (consisting of about thirty members, including ten children) moved to the nearby San Nicola football stadium area (again in south-west Bari). Following yet another eviction at the beginning of September, the families moved to the Japigia borough (south Bari) onto private ground in via Gurakuqi.

Since 1999 and the Dainef Tomescu family's arrival, the political actions of these families have been supported by two young volunteers, Giuliana Martiradonna and Gianni Macina, who have played an important role in guiding some of the families' decisions that have proved politically effective over time. In particular, on their advice, the families enrolled their children at local schools during the initial months of their stay in Bari in the hope that this would deter further evictions. In fact, the role of these volunteers and the strategic importance of sending the children to school, thus providing a good card to play in negotiations with the local authorities, is highly recognised and clearly expressed in the testimonies of those involved (see, for example, Tomescu, 2003: 126; Magnisi, 2012: 13). Therefore, on 18th September 2000, 9 children attended their first day at school at the educational facilities in Japigia. However, despite the onset of the Roma children's schooling process, on 21st September 2000, the families were evicted once again (only to return to the same place a few days later due to the tolerant and friendly attitude of the private landowner). In this situation however, the Roma families began to act alongside new political allies: the priest from the "Resurrezione" parish in Japigia, don Franco Lanzolla, and the local councillor, Matteo Magnisi, elected on a civic list. On 15th December 2000, encouraged by volunteers Giuliana Martiradonna and Gianni Macina, a delegation of four municipal councillors, nominated by the City Council and presided over by Matteo Magnisi, arranged "a heated debate" with Bari Mayor Simeone Di Cagno Abbrescia "to find a logistic solution for the group of families camped in via Gurakuqi. The Roma asked for permanent authorisation to stay in the city having, on the volunteers' insistence, already vaccinated and enrolled their nine children in the local

schools. The Mayor demonstrated a cautious inclination to face the nomad family issue and to find solutions, although only limited to those Roma families settled in the Japigia borough camp. He did, however, declare to be against setting up a Roma camp within the city" (Magnisi, 2012: 19-20).

As of 31st January 2001, on the advice of the Bari Roman Catholic Curia, a representative from the Caritas charity organisation and don Franco Lanzolla, joined negotiations between the Mayor and the city councillors. Caritas stated that it would be able to invest 300,000,000 lire (about 150,000 Euros) to install prefabricated homes for the Roma in the via Gurakuqi camp, but asked the Council to foot the bill for connecting up the water, electricity and sewage supplies and services.

On 5th February 2001, negotiations resumed with the Deputy Mayor, who had been delegated to follow the Roma issue, while on 18th February, a fire, which originated from a gas oven malfunction, destroyed several camp huts. For the first time, the Roma families were put up temporarily in the "Resurrezione" parish theatre.

In March 2001, the Bari Diocese decided to give the Roma families some of its land on which the prefabricated homes could be installed and asked the Council to do the necessary urbanisation work. The Deputy Mayor communicated the impossibility of modifying the town planning in this area due to part of the Church land being legally bound to the future construction of a railway station (still not built). The Roma were pressurised into leaving by the local police and the Police Commander asked the owners of the land to clear the area. In the mean time, the number of Roma families had increased due to the arrival of other relatives and the number of people in the camp, with its fifteen or so huts, amounted to about 80 (see *Japigia gagi*).

After a few months, it was announced that the camp in via Gurakuqi would be evacuated on 2nd October 2001 but the operation was postponed due to the large number of journalists. The Roma families, convinced that it would only be a matter of time, marched to Bari Town Hall to make their requirements known to the Mayor. The Deputy Mayor and Social Office Councillor received the two family heads, Dainef Tomescu and Marin Bambaloi, and two volunteers, saying that the eviction was entirely due to hygiene and sanitation reasons and not at all racist. The Deputy Mayor proposed the following agreement: the Council would re-consider the possibility of re-housing the families on the aforementioned Church land providing that the families temporarily moved from the Japigia area so that it could be cleared and that only 30-40 people would come back, while the rest could camp in small groups in other places in the city.

On 3rd October 2001, at a meeting at the "Resurrezione" parish, attended by don Franco Lanzolla, Giuliana Martiradonna and Gianni Macina, the Directors of the two educational authorities in the Japigia borough and a delegation of Roma, including Dainef Tomescu and Marin Bambaloi, talked over the possibility of splitting up the community in order to comply to the Deputy Mayor's pact. The difficulties that the Roma expressed were their family ties. From their point of view, asking someone from their family to leave, unless due to serious internal conflict, was unthinkable. Nevertheless, the Italians at the meeting explicitly asked the Roma to find an agreement for their separation, perhaps using the 'first come, first served' factor, since the political situation at the time was making it necessary (see *Japigia gagí*). After serious internal conflicts (still unresolved today), on 7th November, the community split up. Part of the families left the Japigia camp and set up a temporary camp near via Torre Tresca, in the so-called 'canalone' area, while other families connected to Dainef Tomescu's, remained. The factor that prevailed in deciding who was to stay and who not, was not 'first come, first served' but based on those who were able to install the closest alliances with the *gagé* during negotiations (Tomescu, personal comment).

An initial eviction took place on 9th November and bulldozers moved in to destroy the Japigia camp huts. Several Roma found shelter for the night at the "Resurrezione" parish halls, while others slept in vans parked on the evacuated land. The next day, however, the local police proceeded with the second eviction and all 33 Roma still on the Japigia ground were once more hosted at the "Resurrezione" parish. On 12th November, the Roma themselves decided to occupy the Church land and tried to put up tents. However they were immediately turned away by the local authorities (Municipal Police, Carabinieri and Police). In the evening the Roma gave in and went back to the parish (see *Japigia gagí*).

On the 13th, the Diocese intervened by housing the Roma in a facility on its property in Triggiano. Between November 2001 and early 2004, these families were put up in several facilities belonging to Caritas in Triggiano, Palombaio, Giovinazzo and San Giorgio. A project by the Japigia parish vicariate, at that time under the leadership of don Biagio Lavarra, gave Dainef Tomescu a job as sexton at the San Sabino parish, which was then under don Angelo Cassano. His salary for the job was given over to the needs of the community (Magnisi, 2012: 28; Tomescu, 2003: 128). Nevertheless, at the beginning of 2004, the Caritas facilities hosting the families became unavailable and therefore the Roma decided to return and set up camp on the old ground in Japigia. Again in early 2004, after a hard political battle with the City Council, "in the budget forecast, it has at last been decided to create a serviced area for that community which, after

several evictions, has returned to the Japigia camp. Unfortunately, the event was spoiled by Mayor Di Cagno Abbrescia's despicable comment "Better dogs than Roma" as he would have preferred to use the resources for a dog's home. However, the result of an unexpected transversal vote in the troubled City Council approved the budget and, for the first time in the city's history, a sum was allocated to equip an area specifically for the Roma " (Magnisi, 2012: 14).

Once again in early 2004, things really began to change for these Roma families. During a local municipal electoral campaign in which many Bari citizens took part, the future Mayor, Michele Emiliano (elected with a huge majority from among the centre-left candidates on 12th June 2004 and who was to remain Mayor after a second mandate until May 2014), showed a strong interest in the Roma situation. The stories of those involved at the time (Roma and others) often speak of the moment when Emiliano made his first tour of a Roma camp in the city. During the electoral campaign, Matteo Magnisi took Emiliano to visit a small camp in Modugno. A businessman from the area, Mario De Palma, had, in fact, allowed a few of the Roma community's families from Japigia to shelter for a time in his industrial area after they had been evicted, and had even taken on a few of the men to work in his company (DIPAS). In Magnisi's words, "After a chat with the businessman, we took Emiliano to the camp behind the company where a baby girl had recently been born. Emiliano took the child in his arms and began to cry like a baby! [...] I still get emotional about it even now!" (Lamarca, 2007-2008: 122-123). The Roma still hold a vivid and highly emotional memory of the moment when the future Mayor met the Roma, was not afraid to mix with them and was even moved by them (Tomescu, personal comment).

As of February 2005, the new Council, with Michele Emiliano as its new Mayor, after debating with a Roma community delegation, and on the request of Dainef Tomescu, endeavoured to find a place for them to settle and to launch an inclusion project, which was also greatly demanded by Pasquale Martino, the then Councillor for Education, Juvenile Policies, Childcare Policies, Reception and Peace. In August 2005, the Reception and Social Solidarity Councillors organised a conference at the offices of Municipal District no. V (which included the Japigia borough) which was attended by the President and Director of the District, the Town Planning Councillors and Municipal Police, representatives from the Juvenile Court, Bari Police Headquarters, the Provincial Education Office, priests from the "Resurrezione" and "San Marco" parishes and several volunteers who had always supported Roma integration. During the conference, all those present showed their willingness to share in the Council's proposed pilot integration project. At the same time, the families, led by Dainef Tomescu, were allowed to settle on the council's property

(registered in the land registry office under map no. 52 as lots number 176-177-178, with a surface area of 1142 m² and inserted in the Inventory of available patrimonial assets), located in the borough of Japigia, in Strada Santa Teresa, at the end of via Caldarola, near Bari ring-road exit 14a (highway 16). The land was provided with minimal services, such as chemical toilets and electricity. Council resolution no. 267 of 5th April 2006, finally approved the experimental activation of a pilot project for integrating the Roma into Bari city through the allocation of the first funds for carrying out the necessary structural work in the aforementioned area. As of that moment, Bari officially had the only Roma camp authorised by the Council. Council deliberation no. 86 of 7th February 2007 then allocated the necessary funds to complete the structural work at the Strada Santa Teresa camp. In fact, between 2007 and 2009, the following were completed: fencing, water and electricity supply connections, bathrooms, showers and washing facilities, Imhoff tank installation (there is no direct connection to the sewage system), containers for waste collection, solar energy light poles, grit surfacing.

In July 2007, the settlement consisted of 24 families with a total of 87 people housed in self-built huts made of recovered materials. At the same time as the 2007 resolution, the Council planned intervention projects to support the inclusion of the Roma families living in the camp. The Analytical Report on the Roma Japigia village project dated 24th July 2007, signed by Councillor Martino, states the Bari Council's intention to fulfil the following objectives during the next year:

- monitoring of the people present;
- information initiatives, orientation and assistance to the beneficiaries in the legalisation procedures of their juridical status (registry of their personal details, residency, permits for new community members, National Health Service access);
- monitoring of the inhabitants state of health:
 - children - vaccinations, information and parent sensitization in terms of the most common pathologies during childhood;
 - women: information on female pathologies at various ages;
 - men: information on male pathologies at various ages;
- orientation and access to work, including assistance in setting up a type B cooperative;
- assignation of institutional municipal social service workers to carry out orientation activities;
- educational support;
- play and recreational activities for children proposed by the social services;

- professional training courses for linguistic and cultural mediators financed by the Apulia Regional Authorities.

From 2007 to date, many of the above objectives have been fulfilled despite the daily hardships and problematic relations with local institutions that these families are still subject to.

At the moment the camp counts about 170 people of which more or less 50 are children. There are about thirty families living on a piece of land that has no buildings as such but is full of olive trees. They live in self-built huts made of recovered materials, constructed next to each other in a circle on the camp grounds. They are equipped with electric stoves, gas cookers and furnished to look like apartments. Now and then the precariousness of these home-made constructions comes to light during periods of particularly violent bad weather or other incidents (e.g. in April 2012, bad weather and strong winds blew off the roofs and destroyed some of the huts (Magnisi, 2012: 24); on 2nd November 2014, a fire caused by a short circuit destroyed 6 huts). In these circumstances, it is the Roma families themselves who set to work and rebuild their lodgings. There is, however, no lack of solidarity from the Council and the local citizens and various types of aid are given to the camp, but the structural precariousness of the housing, which was meant to be temporary 7 years ago, continues to exist. We will subsequently attempt to fathom out how the Council has still not managed to intervene in the building of more stable lodgings for these families, but firstly, we will describe the many projects and some of the initiatives that were carried out with this community between 2007 and 2014 in Bari.

Key projects carried out from 2007 to 2014

Key projects in the scholastic field

- The community children continued with their scholastic education at the Japigia 1 Education Authority ("Don Orione" and "San Francesco" primary schools and "Giovanni Verga" secondary school) with a school bus facility and school lunches.

- Scholastic support project (language and didactic support) for the Roma children enrolled at the "Don Orione" primary school, managed by the *Vox Populi* association, led by Angelo Mastrogiacomo, with volunteers working a 36-hour week with about ten children in the first to fifth years (from 2007 to 2010).

- Inter-cultural and training projects for adults organised by Corsina Depalo a teacher at the "San Giovanni Bosco" primary school in Giovinazzo (BA) - The work was presented at the "Dai banchi alla città" (From school desks to the city") study seminar at Bari University's Faculty of Education Science on 29-11-2011 (for further information, refer to the following site: <http://go-bari.it/universita-e-scuola/5211-dai-banchi-di-scuola-alla-citta.html>).

- *National Project for the Inclusion and Integration of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Children* sponsored by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies with the collaboration of the Ministry of Education, University and Research, operational implementation organised by the *Istituto degli Innocenti* in Florence, in 13 Italian cities, including the Apulian capital. In Bari, the project was co-financed and coordinated by Bari Council's Welfare Office and activated in collaboration with the *Giovanni Paolo II Onlus* Foundation, Bari Council's Foreign Juvenile Office and the Japigia1 Comprehensive Education Authority.

First edition of the project: 2013-2014

Second edition of the project: 2014-2015

(for further information, refer to the following site:
<http://www.fondazionegiovannipaolo2.it/?rscevento>)

Several extracurricular training courses

- Seminar for lawyers, magistrates, social and legal workers, administrators and citizens, entitled *Roma, if you know them, you don't avoid them*, held on 26th November 2010 at Bari University's Faculty of Law by the *Il carcere possibile* association, led by Virginia Castellaneta, which aimed at looking at the Roma phenomenon from a juridical-humanitarian point of view.

- The *Increase operator skills in terms of Roma* project, sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior - Department for Civil Freedom and Immigration, financed with funds from the National Operative Programme (NOP) "Security for Development - Objective Convergence 2007-2013" - operational objective 2.6 "Contain the effects of deviance manifestations". The operational implementation of this project was entrusted in 2011 to the *Consorzio nazionale di cooperative sociali NOVA Onlus*, a national association, which organised the project into training schemes for public and private operators in the tertiary sector entitled *Com.In.Rom - Skills for the social inclusion of Roma in Italy*. This project was carried out in 2012 in 14 cities in the regions of Campania, Calabria, Apulia and

Sicily, including Bari where about 500 public security and social service workers, together with other tertiary sector workers that have contacts with the Roma, were involved.

Employment support projects

The creation of a cooperative society has proved to be one of the most advanced actions in the entire Japigia Roma community inclusion initiative in Bari. We have several sources of information regarding the story behind this cooperative, first and foremost, the founders of the cooperative itself. Once again Dainef Tomescu was the main instigator and organiser of the project, so much so that the cooperative is named "Artezian", after his *romano anav*. However, we will mainly refer to Matteo Magnisi's reconstruction of the facts, including lengthy quotations, since it is particularly detailed and precise.

«The "Artezian" cooperative, with registered offices in Bari, at via Clinia 4/a, originated from the "Artezian Project" presented to the Apulia Region by the "Occupazione e solidarietà" (Employment and Solidarity) social cooperative in Bari [founded by Matteo Magnisi himself], an associate of the "Meridia" cooperative Consortium as part of the Fondi POR Puglia Regional Funds Programme, 2000-2006 - measure 5.3 Action c. entitled Global Grant "Small Subsidies". The founders of the "Artezian" cooperative belong to the Japigia Roma community. On 18th March 2008, five members of the community - Daniel Tomescu, Paul Serdaru, Marius Caramizaru, Ileana Rafaila and Ligia Tomescu - signed the Company Act at the Confcooperative Puglia offices in the presence of a notary, Giuseppe Moretti, President of "Occupazione e solidarietà", several volunteers and Gianfranco Visicchio, President of the "Meridia" consortium. The choice of company type depended on the type of production and cooperative society in that it was not possible to class it as a type B cooperative society due to the absence of a legal provision for people belonging to an ethnic minority within the sphere of disadvantaged subjects. Nevertheless, the goal was still reached, even if there were only 5 people (three men and two women): the employment prospects could involve the entire Japigia Roma community and even Roma from other communities. "Occupazione e solidarietà" played a supporting role in the founding of "Artezian" by participating in the "Small Subsidiaries" tender in 2007 and presenting the project - which began in 2008 - that has now led to the new cooperative society operating in the cleaning and clearance sector for small removals, goods transportation, gardening and material recovery, and to the management of a small dressmaker workshop for the Roma women's tradition » (Magnisi, 2012: 35-36).

Before the cooperative was established, some of the Japigia Roma underwent a business training and orientation experience at the Confcooperative Consortium Leader as well as a period of work experience at the "Meridionale Servizi" cooperative in Bari in order to acquire practical skills. A loan from the Banca Popolare Etica in Bari allowed the cooperative to buy the necessary vehicles for its removal and small clearance activities (Magnisi, 2012: 36-38). The first jobs that the new cooperative took on were obtained thanks to continual dialogue and constant collaboration with other organisations within the territory, for example, during the party organised for the opening of the cooperative at the Strada Santa Teresa camp, which was open to various institutional figures and every Bari citizen, the cooperative obtained its first job (painting the rooms at the "Marco Polo" Business and Linguistic Institute located in the Poggiofranco area of Bari, on request of Prof. Guida, the School Director at the time) (Lamarca, 2007-2008: 138). Other jobs followed: the painting of public and private places, house-clearance and dismantling of bulky materials, furniture and furnishing recovery, cleaning.

"Nowadays the Artezian cooperative is forced, like other small businesses, to face the current economic crisis. But once again perseverance has paid off. A closer alliance with the "Occupazione e solidarietà" cooperative has been installed to acquire further public and private market shares. One manager of this latter cooperative, Bartolo Moretti, has worked closely with "Artezian" in terms of support in searching out potential commitments. In February 2012, the "Artezian" cooperative became a type B cooperative for the inclusion of disadvantaged subjects " (Magnisi, 2012: 39).

- Collaboration between the Bari association "Ri-belle" and the "Artezian" cooperative has also led to the setting up of an "Arte della recreazione" (Art of recreation) workshop, financed within the regional "Bollenti spiriti" (Boiling spirits) tender which saw 12 women - 6 Roma and 6 female citizens from Bari old town - undertake a dressmaking training course.

- Dainef Tomescu's position took on even further importance due to his daily training and practical experience as a linguistic and cultural mediator:

- he interpreted on various occasions for Bari Court and Police Headquarters as well as at the city hospitals;

- he took part, as a teacher, on the linguistic mediator course organised at the "Marco Polo" Business and Language School in Bari;

- he took part on a training course on racism sponsored by UNAR at Palazzo Chigi (in Rome);
- he took part on the "ROMED" Inter-cultural Mediator training course sponsored by the European Union, which terminated in January 2013 in Brussels obtaining a Certificate recognised by the European Council.

Healthcare projects

- The Bari Azienda Sanitaria Locale (ASL- Local Health Authority) guarantees that every child receives the obligatory and anti-flu vaccinations. A team consisting of doctors, paediatricians and a municipal social assistant has also been set up and regularly visits the Roma settlements to instruct the families on healthcare and to assist them in the use of the territorial public health services.

- Anyone who has a residency permit or an employment contract in Italy has the right to enrol himself and his family in the Italian National Health Service (*Servizio Sanitario Nazionale Italiano*). Therefore, the Roma who have an employment contract or residency permit also have access to the same healthcare services available from the National Health Service as Italian citizens. Basically they have the right to a family doctor.

At the Roma camp in Strada Santa Teresa in Japigia, there are about twenty people registered as residents (with Italian identity card and access to all the National Health Services), in other words, all those who are or were employed by the "Artezian" cooperative for a period of time. All the others are non-residents and do not have access to the National Health Service. They do not have a family doctor assigned to them.

Among these, those with no residency permit or employment contract, but with Romanian medical insurance, can access the public health facilities for a period of three months (but do not have a family doctor). Those who are not enrolled in the Italian Health Service nor the Romanian one, can access emergency care, childcare, maternity care, voluntary abortion, vaccinations and infectious disease care by using the so-called Code E.N.I. (*Europeo non iscritto*), even if they are obliged to accept all its limitations (for example, anyone suffering from some kind of chronic disease, such as diabetes, is not able to have regular check-ups in public medical facilities in Italy).

The E.N.I. code was set up by the Apulia Regional Authorities in 2008 (for further information, see the following website: <http://www.meltingpot.org/Circolare-Regione-Puglia-del-7-maggio-2008.html#.VGofKfmG-So>).

Housing projects

- *Social Inclusion and Integration project for a Roma Community in Bari: the construction of temporary lodgings*, as part of the National Operational Programme (PON) "Security for Development - Convergence Objective 2007-2013" - operational objective 2.6 "Contain the effects of deviance manifestations". The project was approved by the Ministry of the Interior in 2012 but has still not been fulfilled because, due to protests from Bari citizens against allocation proposals in various local areas, Bari Council has not yet managed to find an area of the city on which to build the new village.

Sources on the history of other Roma communities in Bari

The sources regarding the other Roma communities in the Bari territory, which we will describe below, mainly come from the administrative reports kept at Bari Council's Immigration Offices (see reference, note 1).

Community currently settled at the Santa Candida camp in the borough of Poggiofranco

The first notification of the presence of another set of Romanian Roma families, this time from the Suceava district (in Bucovina), dates back to 2007. They had set up camp on private property near the Church of Santa Candida, built into the rock, in the borough of Poggiofranco (south-west Bari). In this case too, from the time of their arrival an initial collaboration was installed with the inter-institutional network made up of the area's parishes, private social associations and volunteers. The schools immediately stepped in as well as representatives from the Council at the area's local authority offices. Thanks to the intervention of the local parish priests, who initially gave the families access to water in their parishes, and to the tolerance of the private landowner, the families settled permanently at Poggiofranco. Again, due to the mediation of the local priests and volunteers, the children were enrolled in the local schools and the municipal territorial services at the Council Local Authority Office III were contacted.

As of 2007, a school insertion project at the local schools, which intended to act as a bridge towards improving Roma family integration into the city's social network, was activated. Besides the local schools, this project «"...in the middle"... That particular step which acts as a bridge to unite two opposite river banks» also involved Bari Council's Picone-Poggiofranco Local Authority

Office III, the Centro di Ascolto per Famiglie (Family Listening Centre) belonging to the same local authority office, the local parishes and the "Progetto città" (City Project) Social Cooperative. The initial results achieved in 2007-2008, in terms of the insertion of children into the schools and dialogues with the families, led to the projects being renewed for 2008-2009, as well as the drawing up of a Memorandum of Intent (2008-2010) which involved the following parties to various extents:

- Bari Council Office for Public Education, Juvenile Policies, Childcare Policies, Reception and Peace
- Bari Council Office for Social Policies
- Bari Council Picone-Poggiofranco Local Authority Office III
- Family Listening Centre at Local Authority Office III
- "Montello" Primary School Centro Risorse Interculturali di Territorio (CRIT - Territorial Intercultural Resource Centre)
- "Poggiofranco" Primary School
- "Tommaso Fiore" Secondary School
- I.T.C.L.S. "Marco Polo" Business and Language Institute
- C.O.N.I. in Bari (Italian National Olympic Committee)
- "San Marcello" and "Maria Santissima Addolorata" parish churches in the borough of Poggiofranco

The Picone-Poggiofranco Local Authority Office III undertook to connect the interventions of the various partners in the Memorandum of Intent.

The Bari Council Office for Public Education, Juvenile Policies, Childcare Policies, Reception and Peace undertook to ensure:

- a daily school bus service and school lunches at the full time school;
- assistance for the families in terms of permits, healthcare and other bureaucratic practices.

The Bari Council Office for Social Policies undertook to activate services and interventions in collaboration with Local Authority Office III.

The Family Listening Centre at Local Authority Office III undertook to activate support for parenting and activities for children and families organised by professional tutors at the schools.

The "Montello" Primary School Territorial Inter-cultural Resource Centre (CRIT) and the I.T.C.L.S. "Marco Polo" Business and Language Institute undertook to provide support to the school network for school insertion activities and Italian as a second language studies for the entire academic year.

C.O.N.I. undertook to activate social sports activities.

The parishes undertook to carry out dialogue and reception activities.

However, this collaboration between institutions and families and the commitment on a territorial and local level of the various players involved in the negotiations and reception, seemed to take taken a turn for the worse in 2011 mainly due to the problems that are still unresolved in terms of living conditions at the settlement. About ten families, more or less 140 people with a large number of children, are still living in the non-authorized camp at Santa Candida on land that has no electricity, water supply or toilets. The only problem that has been partially resolved by the installation of a public fountain near the camp on the part of the Council, is the water supply.

Community currently settled at the Parco San Marco - Strada Cannone camp in the borough of Japigia

The "Resurrezione" parish in Japigia notified Bari Council Social Services of the presence of a new settlement in the area in February 2011. It regarded a small group of families that had detached from another settlement due to conflicts within the community (they probably came from the authorized Strada Santa Teresa camp), and who then squatted in the abandoned, derelict buildings and built new huts on the adjacent ground in an area near to Strada Cannone called "San Marco". For the first time the Council received protest letters and complaints from the borough residents about this camp, especially due to the lack of hygiene (no electricity, water or toilets). The Council intervened by trying to talk to the families in the area through the "Resurrezione" parish priest and by sending its Social Service workers to investigate their needs and Bari Health Service workers to inspect the hygiene and sanitation conditions of the camp as well as the health of the people living there (the children received the standard vaccinations). In March 2012, the families were temporarily given shelter at the Stadio della Vittoria, Bari city's old football stadium (north Bari) but they then returned to the "San Marco" camp. In August 2012, the situation became drastic. Following further protests from the local citizens, protests from the ground's owner, demands for a Councillor to intervene and further Health Service and Carabinieri inspections, an eviction order was issued for 12th September 2012. Despite the 2012 eviction, during which the huts were destroyed and access to two of the unsafe buildings was denied, the ten families previously camped on that ground returned there a few months later. At the moment, about seventy people, including around thirty minors, are living there.

Community currently settled in the Strada Torre Tresca camp (near the Baby Park and Canalone area) in the borough of San Girolamo and the Torre Quetta camp in the borough of Japigia

Again in 2011, the Council received notifications of two new unauthorised Romanian Roma family settlements. The one located near the so-called "Canalone" in Strada Torre Tresca (previously inhabited by other families who had later moved to other camps) was occupied by about thirty people including around ten minors. The camp at Torre Quetta in the Japigia area, next to the coastal road, hosted about fifty people of which around twenty were children.

New presences, new spontaneous settlements

During 2013, the Council received various notifications of small settlements sprouting up in different areas of the city. These were groups of people from Romania, presumably Roma, who abusively squatted in apartments or abandoned buildings or built huts once again in the Japigia area (in via Gentile), as well as along the city railway lines going towards Foggia (near via Bruno Buozzi), and Brindisi (near via Brigata Regina), in via Napoli (north Bari) and in the outer belt areas of the city such as Santo Spirito (on the coast north of Bari).

Lastly, and at least since the beginning of 2013, other Roma originating from Bulgaria (Tomescu personal comment) also appeared in Bari, but we have no information about these people especially since the Council was not notified of them. However, at the beginning of November 2014, Bari Carabinieri arrested several people from Bulgaria on charges of trafficking in human beings and exploiting handicapped persons for begging purposes. These exploiters and the exploited were living in abandoned buildings owned by one of Bari's mafia bosses, who was known to be the boss of the Japigia area. The news of this Carabinieri operation reported in the local and national press is highly ambiguous in terms of the presumed involvement of Roma individuals in criminal activities. In most cases, only "Bulgarian citizens" are mentioned among those arrested, but some reports define these people as "Bulgarian citizens of Roma origin". Therefore, there are still doubts about whether the Roma were really involved in these criminal activities or not.

Community settled in the via Milella camp, in the ASI industrial area between the Municipality of Modugno and the San Paolo area of Bari until 2013

An exceptional case in the history of Roma in Bari regards the only non-Romanian group of families that arrived in Italy from Bosnia in the mid 1990s and lived for several years in the

Modugno camp (a municipality on the outskirts of Bari) in via Gelsomini. Following an eviction in 2008, the Modugno Council asked Bari Council to collaborate in managing the emergency. The agreement reached foresaw the setting up of a new, serviced camp in via Milella, in the ASI industrial area (i.e. belonging to the Apulian Industrial Development Consortium), next to Bari's San Paolo area. Management of the new camp's structures (water, electricity, toilets) was still to be the responsibility of Modugno, while the land on which the camp was to be established, was the responsibility of Bari Council, as were the social services, and the schools to which the families were to refer to were those of Bari Council's San Paolo Local Authority II. Separately managing the affairs of this camp created many problems: from 2010 to 2012, Bari Council received notifications of the camp structure's state of degradation (non-functional toilets, lack of water supply for the cisterns, etc.). Every time Bari Council was notified of these problems, it replied that they were the responsibility of Modugno. Many families began to leave the camp, some were taken into council lodgings in Bari's San Paolo area. The remaining families were moved out on 18th October 2013. At the moment the camp no longer exists and the families either live in council accommodation or have left the city.

Conclusions

Currently about 500 Roma people are living in Bari, most of them from Romania and settled either in the authorised camp in Strada Santa Teresa or other unauthorised camps. Besides the Bulgarian Roma, of whom there is very little information and only due to the local news, and a few families of Bosnian origin that have remained in Bari, it is certain that many other Romanian Roma migrants live in there. However, although we are unable to provide estimates on the number of Roma families who live in rented or purchased properties, we can say that many of the Roma we know of in Bari up to this point of the study declare that they prefer to live in the camps rather than in apartments in order to lower the expense of living in Italy and to be with their relatives and fellow countrymen.

The problems experienced in these settlements are very different:

- in the Strada Santa Teresa camp, having a person to represent the camp and who acts informally as a mediator between the community and the institutions, ensures a certain tranquillity and stability despite the fact that the camp is still not hooked up to the sewer system, the toilets are still insufficient for the number of people that need to use them and are now in a state of

degradation compared to when they were first installed, and that self-built huts are still the only possibility of accommodation;

- the main problems in the unauthorised camps are definitely the lack of a water and electricity supplies and toilets. These problems obviously affect the stability of the numbers living there (much more flexible and characterised by a greater number of comings and goings to and from Romania) and, for example, the children's education and access to healthcare.

At this moment of the study, we can, however, say that, of all the local institutions, the most active in political terms for the Roma question has been the municipal administration. In fact, we know that the Apulian Regional Authorities have decided not to issue a special law on the Roma, unlike other Italian regions. The only provision issued by the Apulian regional authorities in recent years, which was not specifically issued for Roma, but which has greatly affected their daily lives, is the setting up of the E.N.I. code to ensure emergency healthcare for those citizens not listed on their own specific national health service registers. Lastly, the Regional Social Policy Observatory carried out an initial census on the Roma communities in the regional territory in 2008 which showed that there were 19 Italian and foreign Roma settlements in Apulia (map 6) of which 7 were in Bari province (map 7)².

Map 6. Distribution of Roma settlements in Apulia

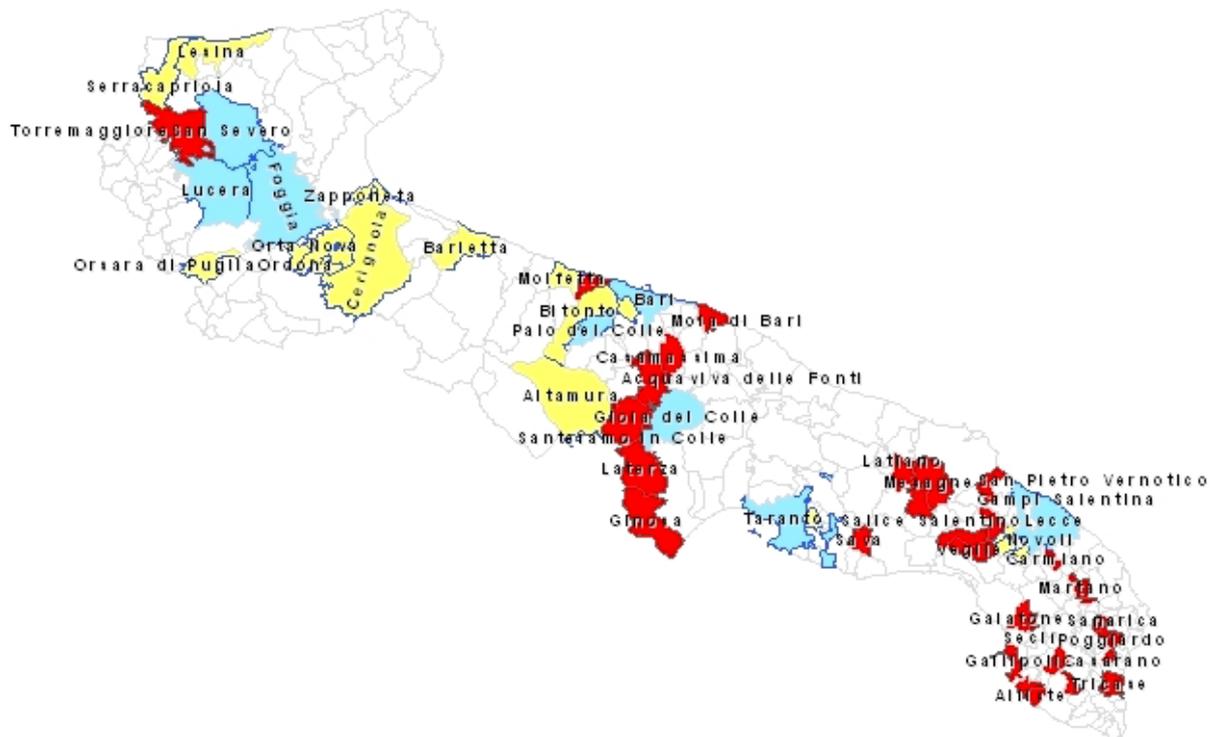
In RED: Italian Roma settlements

In YELLOW: Non-Italian Roma settlements

In BLUE: Roma settlements with mixed nationality

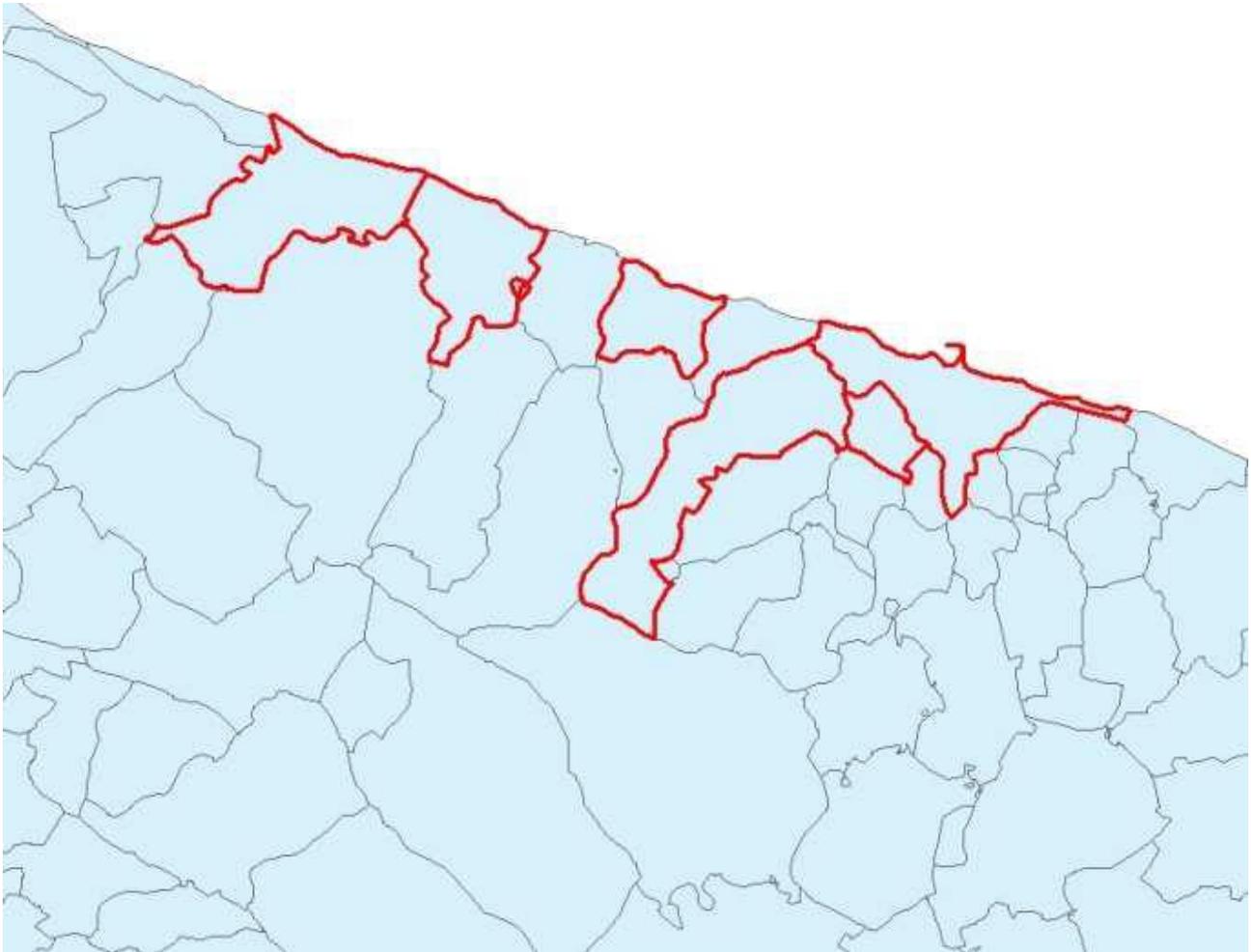
Source: IREF institutional and association data processing, (IREF, 2010)

² For further information, see the IREF report website where the results of this census are published: http://www.irefricerche.it/File/File/REPORT/Oltre%20il%20separatismo%20socioabitativo_report.pdf



Map 7. Roma settlements in the Bari area

Source: IREF institutional and association data processing, (IREF, 2010)



As of now, we are not aware that the Bari Provincial Authorities have carried out any actions towards the Roma populations even though the capital of this Apulian province has the largest number of presences.

We have, however, observed that Bari Council, at least since 2004, has proved highly open to dialogue and positive interventions in aid of the Roma communities in the urban territory. The impression we have, however, is that, since 2011, the Council has been in a deadlock situation, suspending any further interventions in favour of the Roma while still maintaining tolerant behaviour towards the communities living in the city since it has decided not to carry out any evictions unless in exceptional circumstances.

What are the reasons behind the suspension of these often virtuous initiatives that the council administration and the community now living in Strada Santa Teresa began over recent years? In light of the above reconstruction of the history of Roma presence, we can state a large number of reasons. Above all the increase in the number of Roma within the territory. Since 2011, in fact, the number of unauthorised settlements, whether known and registered by the local authorities or not, has risen considerably. It was this new situation of higher numbers that caused the first friction with the local Bari population. Although there were complaints and protests from Bari citizens even in the initial stages of negotiation with the Japigia Roma community, the Council, with the help of community mediators, tertiary sector organisations and the Bari church authorities, managed to find an effective compromise with the local population. On the other hand, a few years later, it was the Bari citizens' protests that stopped the PON Project, which foresaw the construction of a new, serviced and equipped Roma village, from being activated. The project, approved and financed in 2012, has still not begun because the Bari Council has not yet identified an area on which to build it. Every proposal to date has come up against powerful opposition from the citizens living in the areas concerned. Another rather significant problem is the absence of Roma individuals at the various unauthorised camps able to interact politically with the institutions and negotiate in an effective manner like Dainef Tomescu did for the Strada Santa Teresa camp. The absence of Roma intermediaries able to activate a politically effective dialogue and negotiation process in the other camps is one of the factors highlighted by the local authorities that makes managing the Roma presence in Bari difficult. A further, but no less important reason for the current difficulties that the council administration is experiencing, regards several illegal situations uncovered at some of the unauthorised camps.

The last act of Mayor Emiliano was, however, an attempt to coordinate the efforts with other institutions, particularly the Apulia Regional Authorities, in order to improve management of the problems related to Roma presences within the urban territory, which were becoming increasingly complex, by setting up a Permanent Technical Committee whose aim it would be to programme services and interventions in favour of the Roma (resolution no. 938 of 24th December 2013). This Technical Committee, however, never had the chance to meet in 2014, partly due to the end of the Mayor's term of office and new municipal elections that were held in May 2014. The study intends to continue by monitoring the work of the newly elected council, led by its new Mayor, Antonio De Caro, elected from the centre-left groups.

THE CASE STUDY OF MILAN (Marianna Agoni)

Introduction

Milan, after Rome, is the second largest city in Italy in terms of inhabitants with a resident population of 1,328,992 people. The capital city of the Lombardy region, Milan is one of the top economic and financial centres in Italy and has always been a magnet for migrants from other Italian cities and regions, as well as many other countries.

Below we will provide an initial presentation of the history of Roma presences in the city of Milan and their relationships with the local authorities, the Regional laws «for the protection of populations belonging to traditionally nomadic and semi-nomadic origins», as well as those for «authorised nomad camps» and the unauthorised settlements that exist within the territory³. This will be followed by a reconstruction of the policies adopted in recent years, from the «Pact for a safe Milan» to the «Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Project 2012-2014», including the «Nomad Emergency» policy, which will include accounts of dismantled camps, forced evictions and families that are constantly searching for a place to rebuild a hut or at least put up a tent for the night. It is essential to immediately point out that any plans, projects and policies programmed and carried out by Milan Council have never specifically concerned "Romanian Roma" but have always been aimed at every type of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti population within the territory, including Italian, foreign and displaced citizens, that have been living in the city for decades, if not centuries, that have recently arrived or are simply just passing through, that are living in «authorised nomad camps» or in tents or huts in unauthorised settlements. Families with absolutely diverse juridical, economic and social situations, persons with migratory aspirations and projects and with extremely different ways of life.

³ One of the sources we referred to in order to reconstruct a picture of the authorised and unauthorised camps within the city, was the Report of the Local Milan Police Force, Territorial Problem Unit, «Nomad camps, unauthorised settlements, areas and abandoned buildings. Critical areas relating to the Milan Municipality territory», 15th March 2013.

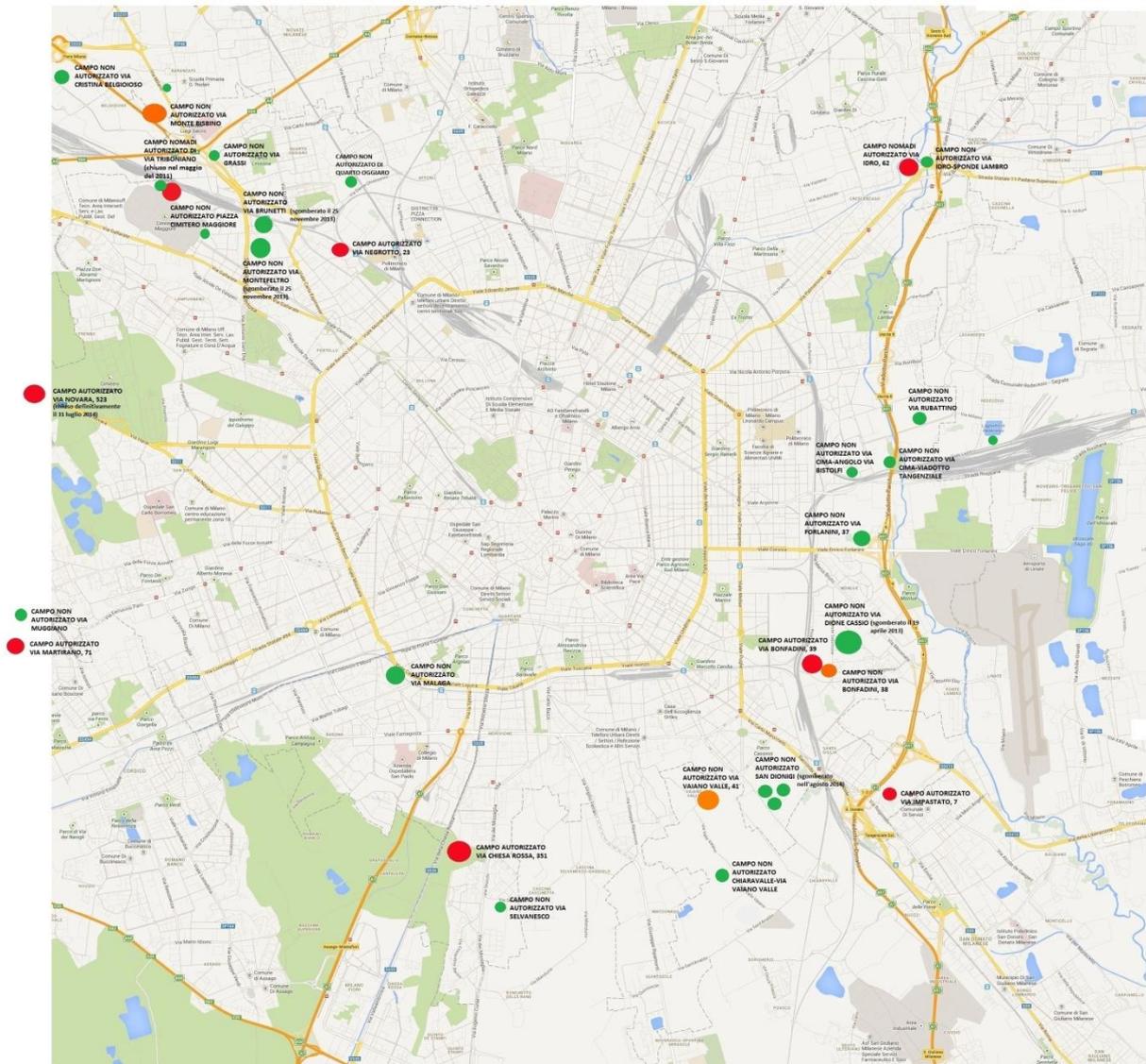
Map 8. Geographical position of the Lombardy Region and Province of Milan



Map 9. Province of Milan



Map 11. Authorised nomad camps and some of the unauthorised settlements in Milan



Historical accounts: laws, regulations, authorised and unauthorised camps

The first things to underline in regard to the Roma and Sinti populations in Milan, are the varieties of situations and the complexity of the realities that changed, developed or set in over the years and decades, concerning and involving groups with extremely different social, economic and juridical backgrounds and living conditions, even if often grouped into one single category by the policies that tried to manage, govern and integrate them.

Italian Sinti, Lombards, Piedmonts, Venetians, up until about twenty years ago, were mainly amusement park or circus workers. They moved among different cities and regions, stopping in Milan only at certain times of the year. Many of them have now abandoned this activity, stopped travelling and bought the lands on which they live permanently in camper vans, caravans and prefabricated houses. After the second world war, and in order to escape persecution at the hands of the Ustasha, the first families of Harvati Roma, originating from Istria, Croatia and Slovenia, started to appear in the city. As of the 1960s, they began to settle in different areas of the city outskirts where council areas were later built and serviced. Still in the mid 1970s, several Roma families from the Abruzzi, who mainly came from the provinces of Isernia and Campobasso, arrived. Most of these people moved to the camp in via Bonfadini in 1987 where they are still living now. Since the mid 1970s, and above all after the conflicts of the 1990s, Roma families from ex-Yugoslavia, particularly Xoraxané from Bosnia, arrived in Milan finding accommodation in the various, more or less authorised camps, to later settle in part of the camp in via Triboniano. Kosovars and Macedonians, on the other hand, mainly settled in via Novara. The end of the 1990s and the beginning of 2000, with intense peaks in 2002, saw the migration of thousands of Romanian Roma to Italy and Milan due to the abolition of the Schengen Area visa and Romania's entry into the European Union in 2007, who mainly settled in unauthorised camps.

Milan Council set up a Nomad Office in 1984 to deal with questions linked to existing and quite stable and consolidated Roma settlements. The duties of this Office included: population census, identification of their needs, the study of solution proposals and the promotion of initiatives for inserting these Gypsies into the Milanese social-economic reality. But, with the exception of the camp in via Negrotto, which had already been officially recognised in 1968 when the "Opera Nomadi" asked the Council to employ those living in the camp as land recovery workers to redevelop the area, and various other initiatives carried out in the 1970s, up until the end of the 1980s, the municipal administration allowed the camps and settlements to spring up quite spontaneously, evacuating them only now and then. In 1988, on ordinance of the then Mayor Pillitteri, stopping and camping throughout the municipal territory was banned and, in 1989, a Regional Law entitled «Regional action for the protection of populations of traditionally nomad and semi-nomad origins»⁴ was issued. Taking for granted that Roma and Sintis were nomads, or rather, recognising what was defined as the «right to leading a nomadic life», with this law, the region aimed at protecting «the cultural patrimony and identity of "traditional nomad and semi-

⁴ Regional Law no. 77/1989 Lombardy Region, website <http://www.sucardrom.eu/regionale.html#lombardia>

nomad ethnic groups"», and to favour access to healthcare services and education as well as employment, with the aim of encouraging their autonomy and self-sufficiency. It invited «individual or associated municipalities interested in nomad presences» to provide stopping and transit areas within their territories, giving them financing to create said areas until 1999, and to activate projects to favour the sedentary process of nomad communities. The text pointed out that the site of the camps must avoid any form of alienation in order to «facilitate access to services and the nomad populations' participation in social life». Furthermore, the law foresaw the setting up of a Technical Committee composed of, among others, three experts in nomad culture, to assist and work alongside a Regional Council for Nomadism «in order to identify a place for meeting, confrontation and the definition, evaluation and verification of strategic objectives as well as criteria and methods on which to process the regional intervention plan». In actual fact, this Council only functioned sporadically and for a short period of time.

With the exception of the municipal area in via Bonfadini 39, created in 1984 (Council Resolution no. 56901 of 8th February 1984), even though the families did not actually go in until 1987, it was during the years after the regional law was approved that the other municipal camps were equipped. Set up on State-owned land to receive the Roma families from the Abruzzi who had settled nearby in the 1960s, while each family unit, according to the original project, had been assigned an area of 200 m² on which to park their caravan, the camp in via Bonfadini is now made up of self-built brick and wood houses, prefabricated homes and caravans. One of the so-called unauthorised yet consolidated camps is located next to the authorised camp, between via Bonfadini and via Zama. In order to provide a place for Sinti and Harvati Roma families who had been settled on some land set aside for public gardens within the Martesana Park, in 1989 (Council Resolution no. 259714 of 25th July 1989) the camp in via Idro 62 was founded on fenced State-owned land and divided into squared lots for caravans, camper vans and brick-built houses. The camp in via Negrotto 23, which has been a recognised settlement area since 1968 (with Resolution no. 72391 of 23rd February 1968, the Council had set up a working site for unemployed nomads, expropriating the residents in Villapizzone of some areas used as allotments), was lived in by both Sintis and Roma from ex-Yugoslavia (Serbs, Croatians and Bosnians, mainly kañarja, kalderasha and xoraxané). The area only received water and electricity supplies and toilets in 1990. It is subdivided into 16 square lots where brick houses have been built next to caravans and camper vans. Some of the families who initially settled in this area later moved to via Monte Bisbino, another unauthorised but consolidated camp in Milan, where, between 1992 and 1993, following

the acquisition of land intended for farming, many families abusively built brick houses. The area in via Martirano 71, already occupied abusively by Sinti and kañarja Roma families from ex-Yugoslavia in 1987 (with Council Resolution no. 56901 of 8th February 1984, it was decided to equip the area, but the camp was occupied before the work was completed in mid August 1987), was renovated in 1991 and once again is a fenced area of State-owned land with caravans, prefabricated houses, brick and wood houses. Since 1997, some Roma families from Bosnia and Serbia have settled in via Vaiano Valle 41, in an unauthorised but consolidated and tolerated settlement where, at the site of a privately owned but abandoned farmhouse, huts were built which, over the years, have become wooden houses. The authorised camp in via Chiesa Rossa 351, once more assigned to Sintis and Harvati Roma who had lived abusively on private land in via Palizzi-Fattori for 25 years, was finished in 1999 (the area had already been identified with Council Resolution no. 56901 of 8th February 1984, but only definitively approved with Council Resolution no. 511 of 4th March 1999) even though the inhabitants only moved there at the beginning of 2002. This area has 42 nominally assigned square lots in which mobile homes, caravans, camper vans and some brick-built houses can be found. Many of the families that live in the via Martirano, via Chiesa Rossa, via Idro, via Negrotto and via Monte Bisbino camps are related or, in any case, inter-connected. Lastly, in 2003, some Harvati Roma families of Slovenian origin, after renting State-owned land for 20 years in via Bonfadini, (Council Resolution no. 692320 of 22nd October 2003) moved to the authorised camp in via Impastato 7, where 3 prefabricated houses are located among camper vans and caravans.

In the mean time, in July 1997, the so-called «gypsy question» broke out in Milan. The Council voted for a limited number of gypsies in Milan and decided that no more than 1,200 nomads could reside within the urban territory. In 1999, the «Regulation on gypsy minority settlements in the Milan Municipality territory»⁵ was adopted which, as can be read in the municipal council report, governed «the assignment and identification of areas and the requirements of camps, the behaviour regulations, the competences and duties of the various Municipal Administration Departments ». After specifying that the term «gypsies» referred to those belonging to «minorities of Roma and Sinti ethnic groups», the regulation established that a family must satisfy the requirements in order to obtain a place in a camp, i.e. it had to belong to these minorities or have a family relationship or live-in relationship with a person of Roma or Sinti origin, be an Italian

⁵See Tajoli, L., Lorenzetti, R., Verza, G., 1999, *Zingari a Milano*, supplement to *Vivere Oggi* issue no. 10/1999, Milan or <http://fc.retecivica.milano.it/Palazzo%20Marino%20LD/Palazzo%20Marino:%20com'era/l'Amministrazione/Il%20Consiglio%20Comunale/Deliberazioni/Del.%26Moz.%201998/Delibere%201998/S0041534C-01291941?WasRead=1>.

citizen and not own any other property. The fact that Roma and Sinti were not nomads was recognised, affirming that residency in the camp could be permanent. On the other hand, the characteristics that the camps had to have by regulation, were certainly not compatible with an idea of permanence. «Fittings that have the characteristics of mobility, transportability and autonomy are allowed inside the camp [...]; mobile living structures may be anchored to the ground as long as they are easily removable [...]; any kind of bricklaying is excluded in any case». Naturally, the assignment of a place in the camp could be withdrawn should any violation of the regulation occur, should there be any delays in payment of the fees, should any incorrect behaviour arise and in the case of crime. Moreover, among other things, the regulation foresaw the election of a camp coordinator who would be responsible for maintaining the structures, monitoring and notifying any healthcare, education and professional training needs, as well as the development of community life within the camp and the control of any guests. The Municipal Police Force was to keep watch over everything.

In 2000-2001, the arrival in Milan of thousands of Roma from Kosovo, Macedonia and then Romania led to the setting up of a further two municipal camps alongside the various unauthorised camps: via Novara (for Kosovars and Macedonians) and via Triboniano – via Barzaghi (for Romanians and Bosnians). It was during the late 1980s that the area in via Triboniano, via Barzaghi and the Cemetery, in the north-west outskirts of the city, began to experience authorised or unauthorised settlements of Roma groups from Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia, as well as Roma with Italian citizenship⁶. During the 1990s, the number of people who gradually settled in the via Barzaghi area continued to grow, due to the wars in ex-Yugoslavia and the Council and Law Enforcement decisions which allowed newly arrived families and people evacuated from other places to stay in this camp, without giving the area the actual official look of a serviced camp and without guaranteeing services and infrastructure. By September 1999, the area in via Barzaghi had become a gigantic shantytown and an initial evacuation took place in October of the same year but, having no other alternative, many people stayed in the area and began to re-build the settlement. In May 2000, the Police and Carabinieri once more evacuated the area but, in the spring and summer, via Barzaghi began to fill up again with the same people who often arrived on the suggestion of others or even accompanied by law enforcement authorities. At the beginning of 2001 there were over one thousand people living in via Barzaghi and it was «the largest

⁶For a reconstruction of the events and the evacuations that involved the settlements in via Triboniano - via Barzaghi, refer to Vitale, T., 2008, "Etnografia degli sgomberi di un insediamento rom a Milano. L'ipotesi di una politica locale eugenetica" in *Mondi migranti. Rivista di studi e ricerche sulle migrazioni internazionali*, no. 1, pp. 59-74

shantytown without infrastructure in north Italy and one of the largest in Europe. An expanse of wooden, cardboard, metal sheet and plastic hovels, with no services, no water and no electricity. And surrounded by several open tips» (Vitale, 2008: 67). August 2001 saw the third evacuation. About 200 Kosovar and Macedonian Roma, above all those in possession of a residence permit as refugees, were sent to the newly equipped camp in via Novara 523, in a fenced State-owned area divided into 20 square lots and just as many containers, to which, over the years, wooden and brick buildings have been added, while the Bosnians and Romanians stayed where they were. In order to give them a place to live, in November of the same year, the authorised camp in via Triboniano was created. This was also fitted out with containers which, at the beginning, should have received about 50 Bosnian Roma and 260 Romanians. But the number of evacuees from via Barzaghi and other unauthorised camps was at least double that. Therefore, in just a few months, another one hundred people or so occupied the areas bordering on the camp which were incorporated into the authorised zone. In the following years, new arrivals from Romania caused the number to continually increase and, in 2005, they counted almost one thousand. Faced with this situation, in 2006 a Memorandum of Intent was signed between the new Council Administration, the Prefect's Office, the Police Headquarters and the Provincial and Regional Authorities to activate a systematic intervention Plan which led to the defining of a «Sociality and Legality Pact», which every family had to sign in order to stay, as well as the creation of a «social and security protection group», composed of council workers and employees from the Fondazione Casa della Carità charity organisation. Furthermore, a redevelopment project for the area was also activated and, after a census of the families living in via Barzaghi - via Triboniano, whether authorised or not, it was decided to extend the camp giving it a fourth area, of which three would be for Romanian Roma and one for Bosnians. At the beginning of May 2011, the camp in via Triboniano was closed and, at the end of July 2014, the via Novara camp came to the same end: both areas are being used for Expo 2015.

Besides authorised, legally consolidated and tolerated camps, there have always been unauthorised settlements of tents and huts on public and private land, under bridges, along rivers, next to railway tracks, in abandoned buildings and unused factories, whether small, hidden or visible, dotted around the city, in the suburbs or bordering with the municipalities in the Milanese hinterland. Milan is one of the Italian cities with the highest presence of Romanian Roma migrants who, according to our estimates (see the *Report on the Pilot Survey*), amount to about 3,000 people and, if between 2001 and 2011, about one thousand found a place to stay at the

authorised camp in via Triboniano - via Barzaghi and the unauthorised camp that has developed alongside, and if many families have found rented or private accommodation, the majority of Romanian Roma in the city has always lived and still lives in unauthorised settlements made up of huts and tents that are continually being evacuated and rebuilt, when possible, close to the one that had just been taken down. It is exactly due to their precariousness and instability, essentially caused by constant evacuations and frequent and forced evictions, it is difficult to reconstruct a detailed map and a history of the unauthorised settlements that continually appear, disappear and re-appear in the Milan suburbs, or a history of the families that live in them. By referring to the information collected during the initial stage of the *MigRom* Study Project, we can only attempt to sketch a picture of some of the zones where Roma families coming into the city from Romania have settled since the beginning of 2000 (refer to map 11). These are mainly in the eastern area of Milan, including the boroughs of Lambrate, via Cima and via Rubattino, where strips of free land alternate with unused industrial areas near the River Lambro or under the Milan East ring-road, the borough of Forlanini, between viale Ungheria and Linate airport, and the municipality of Segrate, passing through the via Redecesio area. In second place is the south-eastern area of the city, going towards the municipality of San Donato and particularly in the area between Corvetto and Rogoredo, especially in via San Dionigi, where about 250 people have been living for 10 years, and between Vaiano Valle and Chiaravalle, where there is a large number of derelict farmhouses. In the third place, the area that includes the boroughs of Ghisolfi, Bovisa, Villapizzone and Quarto Oggiaro, the north-west zone of Milan near the relative railway stations and unused factories, and then area going from viale Certosa up to the Cemetery and stretching as far as the borders with the municipalities of Novate Milanese and Rho. Several unauthorised settlements can be found dotted around other areas of the city and in some bordering municipalities, including Legnano, Sesto San Giovanni, Cinisello Balsamo, Bollate, San Donato and Segrate.

Recent history: pacts, emergencies and projects

In regard to the policies and actions carried out by Milan Council towards the Roma and Sinti populations within the territory, a significant turning point occurred as of 2007 with the drawing up of a «Security Agreement» and, above all, since 2008 with the signing of the so-called «Nomad Emergency» policy.

On 18th May 2007, in the presence of Deputy Minister of the Interior Marco Minniti, the Mayor and Prefect of Milan, Letizia Moratti and Gian Valerio Lombardi, signed the «Agreement for a Safe

Milan»⁷. The introduction cites that the citizens of Milan «are demonstrating a growing sense of insecurity - determined by the current state of public order and safety - [...] susceptible to changing the habits of daily life and liveability in the city», especially in the peripheral zones and boroughs. Besides the onset of phenomena that are the expression of widespread social unrest, like the consumption and trafficking of drugs and prostitution, the city of Milan «suffers from the numerous presence of unauthorised, non-community citizens and nomads, who have permanently settled within the territory, using unauthorised structures in unused areas and buildings». Therefore, as stated in art. 1, the Mayor and Prefect «shall endeavour to promote [...] coordinated actions aimed at the containment and resolution of widespread criminal activities, unauthorised squatting, unauthorised nomad camps, illegal trafficking, female and juvenile abuse, fraud against the elderly and urban degradation». Art. 2 of the agreement, entitled «nomad camps», specifies that, in order to activate the September 2006 «Memorandum of Intent for drawing up a strategic Roma emergency plan in the city of Milan», the parties propose that the government should nominate the Prefect of Milan as Extraordinary Commissioner, granting him the extraordinary powers to deal with this emergency. For his part, the Prefect shall endeavour to establish, with representatives from the Council, Province and Region, a «Work Group» which should «study the nomad phenomenon as well as permanent ethnic groups, differentiating the two realities and operating, with the aim of breaking up the settlements, also in terms of each area's capacity for absorption». In order to improve control within the territory and combat unauthorised squatting and settlements, art. 11 provides for an increase in law enforcement, the use of a Flying Squad composed of State Policemen and Carabinieri, as well as the installation of a video-surveillance system in the areas at most risk within the city.

In Rome, on 1st November 2007, a woman lost her life after being abused a couple of days previously by a young man identified as a Romanian Roma living in an unauthorised camp not far from the murder location. Due to this and a series of other news events, which involved Romanian citizens in 2007⁸, talk returned immediately to the topic of an insecure situation and alarming criminality caused by the arrival in Italy of immigrants from Eastern Europe, particularly from Romania. In the wake of this tragedy, in a climate kindled by political and media campaigns

⁷«Agreement for a Safe Milan», Ministry of the Interior, http://www1.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/13/2007_05_18_Patto_per_Milano_sicura.pdf

⁸«Romanians and violence 2007, a black year», 1st November 2007, <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/10/sezioni/cronaca/tor-di-quinto/romeni-violenza/romeni-violenza.html>.

which used Romanians as their new scapegoats, referring to them as dangerous and violent criminals, the Prime Minister at the time, Romano Prodi, urgently summoned the Cabinet to draw up a decree that would give prefects the power to expel community citizens more easily and quickly for security reasons. The President of the Republic, on the proposal of the Prime Minister, the Minister for the Interior and the Minister of Justice, issued Legislative Decree no. 181 of 1st November 2007, «Urgent provisions regarding estrangement from the national territory due to public safety requirements»⁹. This recalls Legislative Decree no. 30 of 6th February 2007 «Activation of EC Directive 2004/38 relating to the right of Union citizens and their families to circulate and stay freely within the territory of the member States»¹⁰. It reviews some points and particularly modifies and tightens up those articles that concern «provisions for estrangement from the national territory for reasons of public order or State security». With an act by the Prefect, convalidated by the Judge of Peace, community citizens could be sent out of Italy and not allowed to return for three years and even be imprisoned for violating this prohibition, for reasons pertaining to public safety «whenever the Union citizen or a member of his/her family, whatever his/her citizenship, has acted in such a way as to compromise the safeguarding of human dignity or the fundamental rights of a human being or public safety, thereby making his/her permanence in the national territory incompatible with ordinary society». On 2nd November 2007, after publication in the Official Gazette, the Decree came into force and the first expulsions could be carried out¹¹. «Government representatives presented the decree as the necessary answer to growing social alarm caused by the arrival in Italy of a conspicuous number of Romanian immigrants and the appearance of unauthorised settlements inhabited mainly by Romanians of Roma origin in every major Italian city» (Sigona, 2008: 87). On 19th December, the government declared itself against converting this Decree into Law, but ten days later, it issued Legislative Decree no. 249 of 29th December 2007, «Urgent measures concerning the expulsion and estrangement due to terrorism and for reasons pertaining to public safety»¹². This new provision draws widely on the previous one, but also includes the possibility to expel community citizens from Italy for terrorism prevention reasons, imposing the prohibition of re-entry into Italy for five to ten years. Since neither Decree no. 181/2007 nor Decree no. 249/2007 were converted into

⁹Leg. Decree no. 181 of 1st November 2007, <http://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/decreti/07181d.htm>

¹⁰Legislative Decree no. 30 of 6th February 2007, <http://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/07030dl.htm>

¹¹«Romanians, expulsions allowed. "the first five thousand go"», 2nd November 2007, <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/10/sezioni/cronaca/tor-di-quinto/scattano-espulsioni/scattano-espulsioni.html>

¹²Leg. Decree no. 249 of 29th December 2007, http://www.governo.it/Governo/Provvedimenti/testo_int.asp?d=37907

laws, the real modifications to Legislative Decree no. 30 of 6th February were introduced with the adoption of Legislative Decree no. 32 of 28th February 2008 «Modifications and integrations to legislative decree no. 30 of 6th February 2007, implementing EC Directive 2004/38 relating to the right of Union citizens and their families to circulate and stay freely within the territory of the member States»¹³, whose general intent was to strengthen control over the presence of those benefitting from free circulation in Italy and to make estrangements, due to the lack of legitimate requirements for entry and permanence, as well as for reasons of public order and safety, easier. Therefore, in an increasingly more aggressive climate, especially towards Romanian citizens who had immigrated to Italy and in particular Romanian Roma, instigated by the political campaigns and media reports at the time, the «Agreement for a safe Milan» and the «Agreement for a safe Rome» acted as a propellant for the «Declaration of the state of emergency in relation to nomad community settlements in the regional territories of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy»¹⁴, signed on 21st May 2008 by the then Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi. The decree text refers to the «situation of extreme criticality that has occurred in the territorial region of Lombardy, due to the numerous presence of unauthorised non-community citizens and nomads», whose settlements «due to their extreme precariousness, have led to a situation of serious social alarm». It also refers to the situation «in the city of Milan, where the presence of nomads is estimated to be about six thousand units and where, within the city itself, unauthorised camps, where the large majority of the nomad population converge, have sprung up in abandoned industrial areas». This situation, which also concerns the provinces of Rome and Naples, «has caused an increase in social alarm, with serious episodes that place public order and safety in serious danger», cannot be faced with the instruments provided by ordinary regulations. According to Italian legislation, a state of emergency can be declared in the case of «natural calamity, catastrophe or other events that, by intensity and extension, must be faced with extraordinary means and powers » (Law 225/1992, art. 2, first paragraph). Therefore, by comparing the presence of nomads and unauthorised settlements to a catastrophe or calamity, the Nomad Emergency policy was declared, for which it was necessary to resort to exceptional measures.

«Recognising the need to proceed to the adoption of extraordinary and derogatory measures aimed at rapidly overcoming the emergency [...] and the necessity to activate every initiative

¹³Legislative Decree no. 32 of 28th February, <http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/08032dl.htm>.

¹⁴«Declaration of the state of emergency in relation to settlements of nomad communities in the regional territories of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy», Italian Government, http://www.governo.it/Governo/Provvedimenti/testo_int.asp?d=39105.

aimed at guaranteeing respect of the fundamental rights and dignity of the people», on Prime Minister ordinance no. 3677 of 30th May 2008, «Urgent civil protection measures to face the state of emergency in relation to nomad community settlements in the territorial region of Lombardy»¹⁵, these exceptional means and powers were entrusted to the Prefect of Milan, nominated as the delegated Commissioner to activate all the necessary interventions to manage the emergency.

The measures provided for by the Ordinances and the «Guidelines for activating Prime Minister ordinances nos. 3676, 3677 and 3678 of 30th May 2008 regarding nomad community settlements in the regional territories of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy»¹⁶ of July 2008, in order to deal with the «serious situation of hygienic, sanitary and socio-environmental degradation» of unauthorised and authorised settlements, were thus compiled. These measures «aimed [...] at removing the situation of degradation and at promoting conditions of legal liveability [...] allowing access to social, assistance, health and education services, especially in regard to minors who are more greatly exposed to the risk of abuse and exploitation».

The interventions provided for by the Ordinances, which «should not concern specific groups, subjects or ethnic minorities, but all those present in authorised or unauthorised settlements», include:

- monitoring of authorised camps and the identification and evacuation of unauthorised ones;
- a census of the people and family units living in them, also by means of photographs and fingerprints, with particular attention to the identification of minors, «carried out through these findings, for the purposes of their protection, also in relation to parental or would-be parental abuse»;
- the identification and eventual estrangement or expulsion of «subjects that have received restrictive orders on their personal freedom, unauthorised non-community persons found in the camps [...] and/or community citizens against whom reasons pertaining to public safety subsist», with the aim of identifying those persons who can legally live in authorised camps and of eliminating every unauthorised settlement;

¹⁵« Urgent civil protection measures to face the state of emergency in relation to nomad community settlements in the territorial region of Lombardy», ordinance no. 3677, Ministry of the Interior, http://www1.interno.gov.it/mininterno/site/it/sezioni/servizi/legislazione/protezione_civile/0986_2008_06_03_OPC_M_30_05_08.html?pageIndex=4

¹⁶«Guidelines for activating Prime Minister ordinances nos. 3676, 3677 and 3678 of 30th May 2008 regarding nomad community settlements in the regional territories of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy», http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/15/0095_censimento_campi_nomadi_le_linee_guida.pdf

- the identification of suitable sites on which to locate authorised camps, if necessary;
- the promotion of interventions to favour social inclusion and integration «with particular reference to support measures and integrated projects for minors as well as actions aimed at combating cases of illegal trafficking, begging and prostitution».

Moreover, the Ordinance texts specify that the Commissioner should see to the adoption of every useful and necessary measure to overcome the state of emergency, even by making exceptions to some of the regulations. As Amnesty International writes¹⁷, emergency ordinances authorise prefects, «whenever they deem indispensable, to make exceptions to specific laws that protect human rights, including legal provisions on public safety in the Consolidated Act for legislative and regulatory provisions on expropriation for public utility and legislation on the safeguarding of health, as well as several provisions of Law 241/1990, which foresee fundamental protection for persons damaged by administrative measures» (Amnesty International, 2011: 13). Law no. 241 of 1990, a law on administrative transparency, is one of the only legal safeguards against forced eviction. In fact, this law protects the right of persons damaged by administrative measures to be informed of such damage and be notified of such in order that they can make a claim. Overriding this law means allowing people to be evicted from their living quarters with no notification whatsoever, without being informed or consulted, with no protection of their right to a suitable abode, thus excluding Roma and Sinti, who may also be Italian citizens, to the equal rights that other persons are guaranteed. And, when an unauthorised settlement is evicted, this happens on a regular basis.

The census and identification of «all those living in nomad camps», began immediately after the civil protection ordinances were signed and concerned the cities of Milan, Rome and Naples, giving rise to heated disputes and criticism to which the then Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni, promptly replied affirming that the Government's objective was «the protection of those living in these situations of degradation, to bring them out of the shadows, to give them a future»¹⁸. Therefore, following «European Parliament Resolution of 10th July 2008 on the census of Roma on an ethnic basis in Italy»¹⁹ (which contains many of the argumentations stated in «European

¹⁷Amnesty International, 2011, *"Zero tolerance of Roma". Forced evictions and discrimination against Roma in Milan*.

¹⁸«Nomad camp census. Interventions adopted to overcome the state of emergency», http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/site/it/sezioni/sala_stamp/speciali/censimento_nomadi/.

¹⁹«European Parliament Resolution of 10th July 2008 on the census of Roma on an ethnic basis in Italy», <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-20080361+0+DOC+XML+V0//IT>.

Parliament Resolution on the Roma situation and free circulation in the European Union»²⁰ adopted on 7th September 2008), which particularly highlighted the risks connected to the possibility of resorting to photographic and fingerprints as an identification means, also for Italian and juvenile citizens, not only violating the regulations against discrimination, but also the internal and community directive on the protection of personal details, and in regard to what an indignant Maroni said about the nomad camp census by remarking that in this way «the Italian government intends to give dignity back to thousands of "children living in the shadows", children who are sexually exploited, children who are unseen, sold and exploited by parents who cannot be defined as such»²¹, the Guidelines contain more specific indications and allow the fingerprints of minors to be taken when it is not possible to identify them by any other means. On October 22nd, the Prefects of Milan, Rome and Naples delivered a detailed report on the census operations carried out in the three cities, which stated that there were 167 camps, inhabited by 12,346 people of which 5,436 were minors. In Milan 2,128 people were recorded of which 1,331 were living in authorised camps and of which over half were Italian citizens. Evacuation of unauthorised settlements began, or rather, continued, at the same time as the census in the authorised camps and the then Deputy Mayor, Riccardo De Corato, promised that this would be a non-stop procedure.

While evictions at unauthorised settlements continued to increase and the gradual dismantling of various «authorised stopping places» was programmed, on 5th February 2009, Prefect Lombardi in Milan issued the «Regulation of the areas assigned to nomads in the territory of the Municipality of Milan»²², which substituted that of 1999. The regulation mainly established that the only persons who could live in the camps were «nomads [...], and those connected to such by direct kinship or cohabitation» as long as they were Italian, European or foreign citizens with a valid residency permit. Furthermore, in order to be admitted, it was necessary to demonstrate that the person had insufficient income for any other housing means and to adhere to the «Sociality and

²⁰«European Parliament Resolution on the Roma situation and free circulation in the European Union», <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+MOTION+B7-2010-0493+0+DOC+XML+V0//IT>.

²¹«Nomads. Maroni: 'The census is a way of providing identification and therefore rights. The Italian government will go ahead'», http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stamp/2100_500_ministro/0771_2008_07_10_tre_falsita.html?back=%2Ftools%2Fsearch%2Findex.html%3Faction%3Dsearch%26matchesPerPage%3D10%26displayPages%3D10%26index%3DProgetto+Online%26sort%3D%26searchRoots%3D%252Fit%252F%26searchPage%3D%26%26text%3Dnomadi%26start%3D%26end%3D%26type%3Dgeneric.

²²«Regulation of the areas assigned to nomads in the territory of the Municipality of Milan», Ministry of the Interior, http://www1.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/16/0845_regolamento20090205.pdf.

Legality Agreement». The guests are expected to respect a series of rules, like keeping the structures in a good condition, desist from building verandas, practise separate household waste collection, desist from making a disturbance after 10 pm, paying the household bills. While the 1999 regulation foresaw that a person could stay in a camp permanently, staying in the temporary areas now had «the duration of one year, extendable in the case of a conduct integration programme in collaboration with the Social Services [...]. In no case could the duration of the stay exceed three years». A family's authorisation to stay in the camp could always be revoked if one member received a criminal sentence, if the lodgings were abandoned for more than one month, if the children were not sent to school, if the person refused to adhere to an employment insertion programme, or again, should the person cause serious disturbance to camp life or to the citizens, and for not respecting the «Sociality and Legality Agreement». If a family had its residency permit taken away, it was obliged to leave the camp within twenty-four hours without any other accommodation alternative being offered. On the other hand, Nomad Emergency allowed the authorities to disregard the legal regulations concerning administrative procedures. The management of the areas was entrusted to a committee, composed of a representative from social services, one from the urban safety sector, an official chosen by the Mayor, and a local police chief or someone delegated by him. The committee had many duties: to check adhesion to the «Sociality and Legality Agreement», verify school attendance, «the integration process into the city system and decisions in terms of admittances, revocations and the estrangement of guests from the camp», by carrying out two inspections a year. A social manager also operated within the areas «carrying out protection and social promotion activities», including rule obedience monitoring, the assignment of an identification card to each resident, verification of the identity of residents' guests and friends, whose visits had to come to a close by 10 pm, and the registration of any absences of more than forty-eight hours, all in collaboration with the local police and social service officials. Lastly, the regulation specified, «in order to prevent and eliminate serious dangers that may threaten public safety and urban security, the temporary stopping areas can be closed by the Council at any time should any reason of public interest arise».

Although the state of emergency was initially declared until 31st May 2009, in reality, a Prime Minister Decree of 8th May 2009, extended it to 31st December 2010 and it was also extended to the Piedmont and Veneto regions. On 17th December 2010, another decree «Extension of the state of emergency in order to continue initiatives involving nomad community settlements in the

regional territories of Campania, Lazio, Lombardy, Piedmont and Veneto» postponed the end of the emergency until 31st December 2011.

Demands and requests to cancel the Nomad Emergency decree and ordinances, in view of their profoundly discriminative nature towards Roma and Sinti, were made by the residents of several camps to the Administrative Court in Rome, then to the Civil Court in Milan, but were denied in both cases.

On the request of Herkules Sulejmanovic and Azra Ramovic, two residents at the Casilino 900 camp in Rome, and the ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre) to cancel the Nomad Emergency decree and ordinances, the Regional Administrative Court of Lazio, with verdict no. 6352 of 24th June 2009²³, restricted itself to cancelling the Prime Minister ordinances merely for the part that allowed people, including minors, to be identified by means of photographs and fingerprints, and some aspects of the new regulation for authorised camps in the Region of Lazio and Milan Municipality («Regulation of the areas assigned to nomads in the territory of Milan Municipality», 2009). Thus doing, the Regional Administrative Court of Lazio did not recognise the profoundly discriminative nature of the measure, considered legitimate because there were grounds for social alarm and therefore also for the nomination of the prefects as delegated commissioners, with extraordinary powers, to manage the emergency, sustaining that the measures were intended to improve the nomads' social integration and that there was no discrimination since the measures foreseen by the emergency «are not specifically aimed at members of a determined ethnic group but at all those who, whatever their nationality or any other individual characteristic, are living in the settlements» (Regional Administrative Court of Lazio, verdict no. 6352/2009). In June 2009, several inhabitants of the authorised camp in via Triboniano presented an instance that requested the Civil Court of Milan to issue a precautionary measure that would declare the discriminatory nature of the Nomad Emergency decree and relative ordinances, and to call for the government to revoke these acts and for the extraordinary commissioner to refrain from conducting any of the activities provided for in these documents, making an exception to the laws in force. Just like the Regional Administrative Court of Rome, the Civil Court of Milan also rejected the request, sustaining that the situation described in the decree and ordinances met the requirements established by Law 225/1992 and that no discrimination existed since the interventions foreseen did not target a particular ethnic group but all those living in these settlements whatever their

²³Verdict no. 6352 of 24th June 2009, Regional Administration Court of Lazio, http://www.giustizia_amministrativa.it/DocumentiGA/Roma/Sezione%201/2008/200807785/Provvedimenti/200906352_01.XML

nationality or other individual characteristics (Court of Milan, civil section I, 2nd March 2011, docket no. 2008/59283). The ERRC then made its counterclaim, accepted by the Council of State judges who, with verdict no. 6050 of 11th November 2011²⁴, declared Nomad Emergency to be illegitimate and cancelled the ordinances nominating the extraordinary commissioner and all subsequent commissarial acts were invalidated due to lack of power. With sentence no. 6050, the Council of State recognised the absence of true and tangible information that could lead to the affirmation of the existence of a cause-effect connection between the presence of Roma and Sinti settlements and an extraordinary situation of social insecurity and danger. However, it did not recognise any motives or intentions in the declaration of a discriminatory nature nor in the operations carried out in the name of Nomad Emergency, and therefore the profoundly discriminative nature of the adopted measures. On 12th February 2012, the Prime Minister, in the person of Mario Monti, the Civil Protection Department, the Ministry of the Interior and the Prefect Offices of Rome, Naples and Milan, presented a claim to the Supreme Court of Appeal to ask for the Council of State's verdict to be cancelled, affirming that the measures adopted to manage and overcome the Nomad Emergency were a lawful response to an emergency situation which had to be face with extraordinary means and powers. Therefore, with ordinance no. 1760 of 9th May 2012²⁵, the Council of State decided to suspend some of the effects of its own previous verdict while waiting for the Supreme Court of Appeal's judgment. On 11th May 2012, with a joint declaration, the Associazione 21 luglio, Asgi, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and Open Society Justice Initiative asked the government to renounce its claim against Council of State verdict no. 6050 and to abandon «every initiative aimed at continuing the effects of the Nomad Emergency, a state of emergency that granted extraordinary powers to Prefects regarding Roma and their settlements in five Italian regions and that had been judged as illegitimate by the Council of State in November 2011»²⁶. With verdict no. 9687 of 2nd May 2013²⁷, the Supreme Court of Appeal definitively rejected the Government's claim and confirmed Council of State verdict no. 6050 and therefore the illegitimacy of the «Declaration of a state of emergency in relation to

²⁴Verdict no. 6050 of 11th November 2011, Council of State, http://www.giustizia_amministrativa.it/DocumentiGA/Consiglio%20di%20Stato/Sezione%204/2009/200906400/Provvedimenti/201106050_11.XML

²⁵Ordinance no. 1760 of 9th May 2012, Council of State, http://www.giustizia_amministrativa.it/DocumentiGA/Consiglio%20di%20Stato/Sezione%204/2009/200906400/Provvedimenti/201201760_15.XML

²⁶«Joint statement: necessary to relegate "Nomad Emergency" to the past», <http://www.amnesty.it/dichiarazione-congiunta-necessario-relegare-emergenza-nomadi-al-passato>.

²⁷Verdict no. 9687/13 of 2nd May 2013, Supreme Court of Appeal, http://www.asgi.it/wp_content/uploads/public/corte_cassazione_9687_13.pdf.

nomad community settlements in the regional territories of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy». Nomad Emergency in Milan is officially over, even if, as we will see later, authorised settlement closure and dismantling operations and many of the other measures continue to be adopted and carried out.

The famous «Security Package» presented by the Northern League Minister of the Interior, Maroni, in May 2008 and approved in July of the same year, foresaw 100 million Euros allocated in 2009 «in order to activate urgent initiatives for reinforcing urban security and the protection of public order, on the basis of conventions between the Ministry of the Interior and the Municipalities concerned»²⁸ (Law no. 133 of 2008, art. 61/18). For the funding, Milan Council's administration presented the «Project for the redevelopment, security and reduction of areas assigned to nomad camps, the social integration of the relative populations and elimination of some areas» which, approved by the Ministry of the Interior in July 2009, obtained a considerable Euro 13,115,700 (from the European Social Fund for policies for the protection and inclusion of Roma communities)²⁹. Of this money, in accordance with the so-called «Maroni Plan», 9 million Euros were allocated to «structural interventions on the camps», such as «safety improvements, rearrangement and reduction of the number of residents in the camps in via Idro, via Chiesa Rossa and via Martirano; reduction in the number of inhabitants and the closure of the camps in via Barzaghi and via Triboniano; closure of the camps in via Bonfadini, via Negrotto and via Novara; the installation of a video-surveillance system in the camps » (Amnesty International, 2011: 33). The remaining 4 million Euros were assigned to «social interventions, such as «reception of unaccompanied minors; assistance to camp residents in their search for employment» (Amnesty International, 2011: 33).

Therefore, while evacuating unauthorised settlements continued to be the order of the day, after having worked for months to reduce the number of people, which, between authorised and unauthorised, had amounted to about 1,000, on 2nd May 2011, (just in time for the coming administrative elections), the authorised camp in via Triboniano was definitively and officially

²⁸«Security Package Regulations and associated documents (updated on 17th March 2010)», http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/19/0928_100319_Norme_pacchetto_sicurezza.pdf.

²⁹«Fund for urban security and the protection of public order (art. 61, paragraph 18, Law no. 133/2008)», http://www.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/assets/files/17/00056_Fondo_sicurezza_urbana-graduatoria.pdf.

closed with a document signed in the Prefect's Office by Mayor Moratti and Minister Maroni³⁰, another reason being that the ground the camp was on, was needed for works connected to Expo 2015. Although many found themselves out on the street and went back to live in the various unauthorised camps around the city³¹, the families that had lived regularly in the Triboniano camp and, more importantly, were considered to have the requirements foreseen in the 2009 regulation, were offered various alternative accommodation solutions, even if almost all for just one year, as part of a series of projects conducted by the Fondazione Casa della Carità charity organisation, which had managed "Social Protection" within the camp since 2007³². Some families were housed in apartments offered by associations, some were given help to pay rent (€5,400 for 12 months), others were allocated an ALER (Lombardy Housing Association) council house (8 through the normal list and 19 assigned to Casa della Carità use, after months of heated debates resulting from the claims of ten families, Civil Court of Milan ordinances and counterclaims by the Council³³), and lastly, others were offered the chance to return to their own countries with a contribution of Euro 15,000 per family and the promise not to return to Italy (however, as the municipal administration told us, the majority of these families did return to Milan). The «aided re-entry» or «voluntary repatriation» project involved 49 Romanian families (mainly from the districts of Olt, Dolj and Gorj) and was managed by the Fondazione AVSI (International Voluntary Service Association) and its Romanian partner Fundația Dezvoltarea Popoarelor (FDP), in collaboration with Milan Council and Casa della Carità, which offered to «support social reinsertion and reintegration» in the areas of origin: the children were to go to school, the adults were to be given help to find work, possibly through professional training initiatives and the

³⁰«The nomad camp in via Triboniano in Milan is closed», 2nd May 2011, http://www1.interno.gov.it/mininterno/export/sites/default/it/sezioni/sala_stampa/notizie/minoranze/00825_2011_05_02_sgombero_campo_nomadi_Triboniano.html

³¹«The evacuees from Triboniano build a new shantytown in a wood», 4th October 2011, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2011/10/04/news/in_un_bosco_la_nuova_baraccopoli_degli_sgomberati_dal_triboniano-22640305/

³²<http://www.casadellacarita.org/progetti-rom>

³³ «Milan, Minister Maroni's diktat "No council housing for nomads», 27th September 2010, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/09/27/news/milano_il_diktat_del_ministro_maroni_nessuna_casa_popolare_ai_nomadi-7479258/ and «Eleven houses already allocated to Roma with contracts signed in August», 28th September 2010,

http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/09/28/news/undici_case_gi_assegnate_ai_rom_con_i_contratti_sottoscritti_ad_agosto-7528087/ and «Court of Milan: Milan Council must allocate 25 ALER houses to Triboniano Roma families», 22nd December 2010, <http://www.meltingpot.org/Tribunale-di-Milano-II-Comune-di-Milano-deve-assegnare-i-25.html#.VG5e65V0zVI>. Ordinance of 20th December 2010, Civil Court of Milan, http://www.meltingpot.org/IMG/pdf/ordinanza_tribunale_milano_20122010.pdf; Ordinance of 24th January 2011, Civil Court of Milan, http://www.asgi.it/wp_content/uploads/public/tribunale_milano_ordinanza_24012011.pdf

families were to receive a subsidy of 150-200 Euros for 12-18 months during which the persons involved promised not to leave their country³⁴. On the whole, however, «the authorities took decisions on the type of alternative accommodation which they intended to provide without consulting the camp residents» (Amnesty International, 2011: 37), or, in any case, by delegating the job of finding suitable proposals for the various families to associations and tertiary sector organisations. On the other hand, the 2009 regulation foresaw the possibility for Milan Council to close camps without too many problems, simply due to «questions of public interest». And, in fact, following the closure of the Triboniano camp, reports of those days state that the Mayor and Prefect of Milan had announced the wiping out of unauthorised settlements and the reduction or closure of other authorised ones because it was «the only policy that gave families security and, at the same time, gave authorised nomads a real chance to integrate»³⁵. In fact, the closure of another three authorised camps in via Bonfadini, via Novara and via Negrotto was planned by the end of December as well as the transformation of the via Idro camp into a transit area.

At the end of May 2011, with the centre-left party winning the administrative elections, many people hoped that things would change in Milan and that the forced evictions would stop. In fact, in June of the same year, a delegation from the newly-established Roma and Sinti Council in Milan met with Mayor Giuliano Pisapia, the Councillor for security and social cohesion, Marco Granelli, and the Councillor for social policies and healthcare promotion, Pierfrancesco Majorino, where it asked for evictions that had no other solution to be blocked, to review the Maroni Plan and to use funds set aside by the European Union, taking greater advantage of the human resources within the Roma and Sinti communities.³⁶ In reality, the closure of some authorised camps, especially those in via Novara and via Bonfadini, and the transformation of the via Idro camp into a transit area «for Roma families that effectively lead a nomadic life»³⁷, was still one of the new administration's priorities, so much so that Granelli affirmed his desire to continue with the

³⁴«The Triboniano nomad camp is closed. The AVSI and partner FDP's pilot project is a success», 9th September 2011, <http://www.avsi.org/2011/09/09/chiuso-il-campo-nomadi-triboniano-un-successo-il-progetto-pilota-di-avsi-e-del-suo-partner-fdp-3/>

³⁵«Roma, announcement: the camp in via Triboniano is permanently closed», 2nd May 2011, <http://certosa.milanotoday.it/quarto-oggiaro/triboniano-chiuso-campo-rom-2-maggio-2011.html>

³⁶ On 16th June 2012, the Roma and Sinti Council in Milan sent the council «From emergency to normality. The Milanese Roma and Sinti Council's proposal», a proposal on which to work with the administration to activate the general lines of the «National strategy for the inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti. European Commission communication no. 173/2011».

³⁷«Roma. Granelli: 'Unauthorised camps are an everyday conflict. A plan for the associations is imminent'», Press release of 24th October 2011, <http://www.comune.milano.it/dseserver/webcity/comunicati.nsf/weball/05D72D2A3442F3E7C1257933005C0DD6>.

Maroni Plan measures³⁸. Camps are not dignified places in which to live and, for the safety of the residents and the city, they need to be dismantled, naturally offering the inhabitants alternative accommodation facilities because «we want to avoid further unauthorised settlements»³⁹. In the mean time, in fact, the evacuation of unauthorised settlements had continued because they were in dangerous places, because the hygiene and sanitary conditions were deplorable, because illegal activities were rife. However, the Councillor particularly wanted to underline that the people would not be left on the streets but offered «Council opportunities for the homeless, especially beds in dormitories for the men and hospitality in communities for the women and children». The evicted people rarely accepted these solutions because it meant splitting up the family units.

On 6th July 2012, tertiary sector organisations concerned in the matter were invited to meet with Roma, Sinti and Caminanti representatives to present the «Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Project 2012-2015. Milan Council proposal», which «includes part of the actions to complete the 2009-2011 Nomad Plan managed by the Prefect of Milan [...], intends to be part of a national scheme [...] with the document "National strategy for the inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti", activated by European Commission communication no. 173/2011, and is considered in the much broader [...] "Welfare Development Plan" [approved by the Council on 25th September 2012]»⁴⁰.

At that meeting, after having outlined the current situation of the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti populations and the authorised and unauthorised camps within the Milanese territory as well as the general aims and objectives of the Project, Councillors Granelli and Majorino asked the government to release what was left of the 13 million Euros allocated to the «Maroni Plan» for the «Project for the redevelopment, security and reduction of areas assigned to nomad camps, the social integration of the relative populations and elimination of some areas» in the city of Milan. The money amounted to 5.6 million Euros «needed to finance unauthorised camp reduction, actions for the temporary and emergency reception of Roma families and living, work and education schemes managed by the Tertiary Sector as part of ordinary administrative policies for citizens».

The Councillors illustrated «the municipal administration guidelines for intervening in questions concerning the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti people in Milan and the basis for processing a final

³⁸ Ibidem

³⁹ Ibidem

⁴⁰ «Granelli and Majorino: 'the Government releases Maroni Plan funds'», 6th July 2012, http://www.comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale%2C+polizia+locale%2C+protezione+civile%2C+volontariato/governo_sblocchi_fondi_piano_maroni

Project which would need a confrontation phase with the competent Council commissions, the various institutions concerned and the various forms of association and Roma, Sinti and Caminanti representation». Therefore, in the days that followed, the «Proposal for the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Project 2012-2015» compiled by the municipal administration, was sent to tertiary sector organisations, to Roma, Sinti and Caminanti representation groups, the various Councils within the area and was presented to the Milan Council Councillors Commission for their comments, proposals and contributions in order to draft «the most mutually shared document possible». Meetings, debates and specific in-depth discussions, which led to a variety of text modifications and integrations, continued until the beginning of November 2012.

The 23rd November 2012 saw the approval of Council Resolution no 2445⁴¹ «Approval of the guidelines for Council administration interventions regarding Roma, Sinti and Caminanti populations in Milan and of the agreement with the Milan Prefect's Office». Besides the Guideline text, and as an essential and integral part of the measure, a further two documents were attached to the resolution:

-«General lines of Intent between the Milan Prefect's Office and Milan Council for the completion of some of the interventions provided for in the "Project for the redevelopment, security and reduction of areas assigned to nomad camps, the social integration of the relative populations and elimination of some areas", which have not been finished, and are included and coherent with Milan Council's "Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Guidelines"»;

-«Technical report attached to the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Guidelines in reference to:

1. the collaboration and co-planning with Milan Council of social interventions aimed at the social, cohabitation and employment inclusion of Italian and foreign persons and families (EU community and non-community) who, due to circumstances, find themselves homeless, and primarily to those hosted in emergency and/or low threshold Milan Council facilities managed by the Central Department for Urban Security, Social Cohesion, Social Policies and Healthcare Promotion;
2. presentation of the indications and operative lines for "Villaggio Martirano" management procedures».

The management and activation of the Guideline measures was entrusted to the «Security and Social Cohesion, Local Police, Civil Protection and Voluntary» department and to the «Social Policies and Healthcare Promotion» office and a stable coordination was installed between the

⁴¹Council Resolution no. 2445 of 23rd November 2012, <http://www.comune.milano.it/albopretorio/ConsultazioneDelibere/showdoc.aspx?procid=44493>

two within the sectors of «Services for adults, social inclusion and immigration», «Services for minors and families», «Security, voluntary services, social cohesion and civil protection» and the Milanese local police force. This coordination made use of the collaboration of other Council administration sectors, particularly the offices for «Housing, State Property and Public Works», «Education and Training», «Town Planning and Private Construction», «Employment Policies» and «Decentralisation». As for questions of legality, safety and public order, a stable collaboration between the Milan Prefect's Office and the Law Enforcement Agencies, particularly the Police Headquarters and the Carabinieri, was set up as well as with UNAR (National Racial Anti-discrimination Office) because of anti-discrimination and social inclusion schemes. Furthermore, the two principal Council departments and Coordination Office set up a round table and further collaboration with Roma, Sinti and Caminanti representatives, with the Roma and Sinti Council and with competent non-profit organisations operating in the sector.

Together with a series of general aims regarding the promotion of the full inclusion and integration of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti populations, and of their civil cohabitation with the local people, as well as opposition to, and the overcoming of, any form of discrimination, degradation and illegality, both in the authorised camps and unauthorised settlements, the objectives outlined in the final version of the Guidelines are:

1) **Data collection** - «to create [...] a dynamic and updated database [...] in order to have knowledge of the families and individuals living in all the authorised and spontaneous settlements».

2) **Ordinary management of authorised camps: in respect of the Regulation and integration promotion** - «there are 7 authorised camps in the Municipality of Milan: Bonfadini, Chiesa Rossa, Idro, Impastato, Martirano, Negrotto and Novara, for which the following actions are foreseen: review of the Regulation [...] and the procedures that guarantee its full activation [...]; structural and periodical checks, to be carried out by the Local police, [...] in order to ascertain respect of the regulation in force [...] and to oppose the presence of any criminal activities; [...] activation of the intervention of a tertiary sector organisation, at the camp, to promote integration of minors in schools as well as social, employment and cohabitation integration [...] also by experimenting forms of "permanent social surveillance"».

3) **The overcoming of camps as a permanent accommodation solution: inclusion and cohabitation scheme** - «to overcome the authorised camp model as a permanent accommodation solution by starting a process in which family units and individuals receive help in finding more

dignified and integrated solutions in the city [...]. The model camp could be used only for those family units that effectively carry out a nomad style of life and for whom one or two transit camps will be set up; to identify spontaneous camps, whose closure must be a priority, and encourage the family units and individuals that were residing there to move to other accommodation solutions. [...] various social schemes can be activated for individuals and family units regarding living conditions and work [...] with the aim of favouring civil cohabitation processes and with particular attention to the total development and responsibility awareness of the persons involved, starting with the creation of an appropriate and effective cultural mediation. [...] the Council Administration, where people prove to be living permanently on Milan Council territory, intends to work to promote, where necessary, the acquisition of residency as an indispensable element for the onset of effective social inclusion processes. Where, however, living conditions in Milan Municipality are not structured and permanent, it is deemed possible and opportune to verify the conditions in order to promote voluntary and accompanied repatriation schemes».

4) Integration of minors into the school system - «to guarantee every opportunity of access to school services [...]; to create the conditions, within educational structures and camps, so that schooling schemes are fast and can be carried out positively; to develop actions aimed at recovering any lack of schooling and at providing professional and employment guidance».

5) Interventions for cultural development and sensitization - «to create a sensitization campaign [...] focussed on the values that characterise the culture and traditions of the communities in question as well as their rights and the positive effects of improving social cohabitation. [...] to provide actions that include active participation and responsibility awareness [...] so that the individuals and families in these communities can reflect on the feelings and messages that their actions determine in the daily lives of the surrounding community, can begin to behave in a way that favours positive relations [...] and limit the kind of behaviour that generates a negative perception».

6) Management of authorised temporary-stay camps - «to create one or two temporary-stay areas specifically for Roma, Sinti and Caminanti family units who effectively carry out a nomadic lifestyle».

7) The opposition to, and overcoming of, spontaneous settlements in unauthorised and irregular conditions - «there are several spontaneous settlements in the city of Milan which are unauthorised and irregular. Some are consolidated and others of only recent construction. Some are medium to large in size while others are small. Some are on municipal property and others in

private areas. [...] they do not ensure dignified living conditions [...] and do not allow for the achievement of an adequate level of social integration [...] The intention, therefore, is to provide an intervention plan to restore the illegally inhabited areas [...] the estrangement of the people living in the spontaneous camps will be managed by the Council Administration in collaboration with the Law Enforcement Agencies by means of: -correctly informing [...] each family unit, highlighting the impossibility of camping in the area and inviting them to leave; -communication of the possibility [...] of accessing, temporarily and with the valid requirements, Council facilities for people with no fixed abode [...]; -the estrangement of the family units still present [...] using Law Enforcement Agencies and the local police force [...]. If the areas corresponding to the spontaneous settlements are of public property, they will be made safe and used for the purposes foreseen [...] in order to prevent further unauthorised occupation. [...] If the areas corresponding to the spontaneous settlements are of private property, the Council Administration will invite the owner [...] to conform [...] to cleaning up the area and immediately make it safe».

8) Creation of low threshold, temporary experimental emergency reception facilities for family units to guarantee permanent and progressive overcoming of living in camps- «to create and activate low threshold, provisional emergency facilities to temporarily receive family units with the following characteristics: community facilities with a collective reception capacity of maximum 120 people [...]; the consumption of pre-packed meals, or meals prepared exclusively in local communal kitchens; maximum stay for each family unit for a period of 40 days, renewable for a maximum of 4 times; the stay will only be free of charge for the first period [...]; subscription to the rules in order to access the facility [...]. The facilities will be managed by Milan Council's Civil Protection Department, together with a tertiary sector organisation [...] and with the presence of the local police force. In order to start up an effective scheme for the gradual onset of an autonomous living and working life for every individual and/or family received into the facility, the intention is to activate [...] activities to support, promote and accompany them [...]. This scheme will be classified in a project by and no later than the first reception phase and the person's subscription and activation is a binding condition for access to the various reception phases».

9) Opposition to further settlements in the Municipality of Milan - «to prevent and oppose additional settlements [...]. This action consists in the local police force and Law Enforcement Agencies' widespread control of the territory and the creation of the necessary prevention interventions which are the responsibility of the Council Administration and the Law Enforcement Agencies».

10) **Opposition to unauthorised and illegal activities** - «Milan Council considers it necessary to be committed to the constant and structured opposition of these unauthorised and illegal actions, both directly [...] and indirectly, asking the Law Enforcement Agencies to make extraordinary efforts [...], also through the coordination of the Provincial Committee for Public Order and Safety».

Lastly, it is foreseen that the actions and interventions shall be carried out using the Council Administration's own resources, including external resources deriving from Agreements between the Council and the Milan Prefect's Office in the case of any funds remaining from the « Project for the redevelopment, security and reduction of areas assigned to nomad camps, the social integration of the relative populations and elimination of some areas».

And thus came Council Resolution no. 457 of 15th March 2013⁴², which approved the «Convention with the Milan Prefect's Office for the management of the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Project 2012-2014» and the relative available funds.

The total expenditure for activating the interventions and actions provided for by the Guidelines for 2013 and 2014 came to Euro 5,991,000, of which Euro 5,691,000 with funding from the Ministry of the Interior, transferred to the Milan Prefect's Office, which will endeavour to place the money at the disposal of Milan Council, and Euro 300,000 set aside in the balance for the Central Department for Social Policies and Healthcare Promotion - Services for Adults, Social Inclusion and Immigration sector. Art. 1 of the convention specifies how the funding assigned to the various activities was to be subdivided:

Activity 1. Data collection Euro 20,000.

Activity 2. Social inclusion and cohabitation scheme Euro 4,207,000 of which:

first action: overcoming the camps Euro 90,000 euro, aimed at completing the action of securing the authorised camps in via Martirano and via Chiesa Rossa and making them suitable;

second action: Social Emergency Centres Euro 2,092,000 of which Euro 1,752,000 for managing the social emergency centres, Euro 40,000 for special workers and Euro 300,000 for renovation and maintenance expenses;

third action: schemes for accommodation inclusion or assisted repatriation to the country of origin Euro 1,635,000 of which Euro 1,285,000 for accommodation assistance and Euro 350,000 for interventions on the lodgings;

⁴² Council Resolution no. 457 of 15th March 2013, <http://www.comune.milano.it/albopretorio/ConsultazioneDelibere/showdoc.aspx?procid=52370>

fourth action: employment and education inclusion schemes Euro 260,000;

fifth action: securing and clearing the areas used for unauthorised camps Euro 130,000.

Activity 3. Ordinary management of authorised camps Euro 636,000 of which Euro 540,000 for interventions to promote integration and mediation, Euro 56,000 for the local police force and Euro 40,000 for activating cultural mediation and contributing to projects aimed at sensitizing citizens against discrimination.

Activity 4. Stopping areas for families that carry out a nomadic lifestyle Euro 728,000.

Activity 5. Project coordination activities Euro 100.000.

The convention terminated on 31st December 2014, but Art. 2 specifies «it is the signing organisations' right to extend the validity of this convention for a period to be agreed between the parties and in any case no longer than 24 months».

Current situation: closures, evictions and CES

To conclude this short journey through the local policies that have involved the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti populations in authorised and unauthorised camps in Milan over the last few years, we will now attempt to provide a brief outline of the current situation, bearing in mind the provisions of the «Roma, Sinti and Caminanti 2012-2014 Project».

In regard to authorised nomad camps, the families that were living in via Bonfadini (about 150 people) were granted an extension of the scheduled closure date and the camps in via Impastato (about 30-40 people), via Chiesa Rossa (between 180-200 people) and via Negrotto (about 90 people) are also staying where they are for the moment. The via Idro camp, which will no longer be turned into a transit area as initially planned, should become a «self-built village» for a few families, but work has not yet begun and, in the mean time, 40 of the 130 people who were living there, have received Council Administration aid of about Euro 8,000 per family so that they can obtain a mortgage and buy a farmhouse in the province of Pavia⁴³. The camp in via Martirano should have been closed, and in 2010, in fact, several dwellings had been knocked down. However, it has been renovated, providing pre-fabricated housing for 20 families, each with a kitchen, two bedrooms and a bathroom, to the cost of about Euro 19,000 each, causing heated debates. According to the Council's project, the delivery of new houses should lead to the families' transfer and therefore to the evacuation of the old huts but this does not seem to have happened.

⁴³«Roma, eight thousand Euros to leave the camp in Milan», 9th February 2014, <http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/02/08/news/rom-78065978/>.

In fact, the majority of the people are living all over the camp⁴⁴. The families are asked to pay a monthly rent of Euro 90 and to sign a Memorandum of Intent with the Council by which they shall endeavour, among other things, to send their children to school and desist from carrying out any kind of illegal activity. After continual postponements, on 31st July 2014, the authorised camp in via Novara was permanently closed since the area is to become a car park for Expo 2015⁴⁵. The camp's closure procedure began in 2010 and, since clearing it turned out to be a particularly lengthy and complicated process, over the years many of the families living there have either found their own housing solutions or have been able to take advantage of council housing and other temporary accommodation facilities. Therefore, at the time of closure, only 65 of the 200 people who lived there were still occupying the camp. This group was made up of 15 families, 11 made their own arrangements, 3 asked for hospitality at Council Social Emergency Centres and 1 was sent away due to being in via Novara without authorisation. Part of the unauthorised but consolidated camp in via Monte Bisbino, bordering with Baranzate, is also to be involved in works for Expo 2015 and the 45 families living there have been expropriated and their dwellings have been destroyed because the Molino Dorino - A8 link road will be built on the nearby land (Regional Resolution 3470 of 25th May 2012)⁴⁶.

As for the unauthorised settlements, from the 1990s to date, the Council Administration policy has principally been evacuation. In April 2011, Milan's ex-Mayor, Riccardo De Corato, stated that he was pleased that the number of evacuations carried out since 2007 had reached at least five hundred⁴⁷, a practice that, in those years, the Nomad Emergency Decree had contributed to legitimising and justifying. And since 2011, these evacuations have continued incessantly, so much so that we are not able to provide a realistic estimation, also in view of the fact that they range from the dismantling of small camps with just a few tents, to the evacuation of settlements of huts and caravans or abandoned buildings and industrial factories that can host almost 1,000 people, as

⁴⁴«Milan, no evacuation: the Martirano Roma camp might even double», 23rd August 2014, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/08/23/news/milano_niente_sgombero_il_campo_rom_di_martirano_rischi_a_di_raddoppiare-94315942/.

⁴⁵«The nomad camp in via Novara closes», 31st July 2014, https://www.comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale+polizia+locale+protezione+civile+volontariato/campo_nomadi_via_novara

⁴⁶ «Expo expropriated half of the nomad camp "We will also fight in Europe"», 12th April 2013, <http://www.ilgiorno.it/rho/cronaca/2013/04/12/872367-baranzate-campo-rom-via-monte-bisbino-sfrattato-expo.shtml>

⁴⁷«Roma, De Corato celebrates the five-hundredth eviction», 27th April 2011, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2011/04/27/news/rom_de_corato_festeggia_i_cinquecento_sgomber-15419177/.

happened in via Brunetti - via Montefeltro in November 2013 or in via San Dionigi in August 2014. However, the text of the Milan Council press release of 9th April 2014 may be significant in that it demonstrates how every evacuation is always a political act, used to obtain consent and for purposes of propaganda: «In the first quarter of 2014, 39 evacuations were carried out of which 28 in public areas and 11 in private ones. About 300 people were estranged, 95 of whom were minors. The most significant interventions were in via Cusago, via Forlanini, on the banks of the River Lambro in Forlanini park, via Chiesa Rossa and via Caduti di Marcinelle. 74 people were taken in, including 20 minors»⁴⁸.

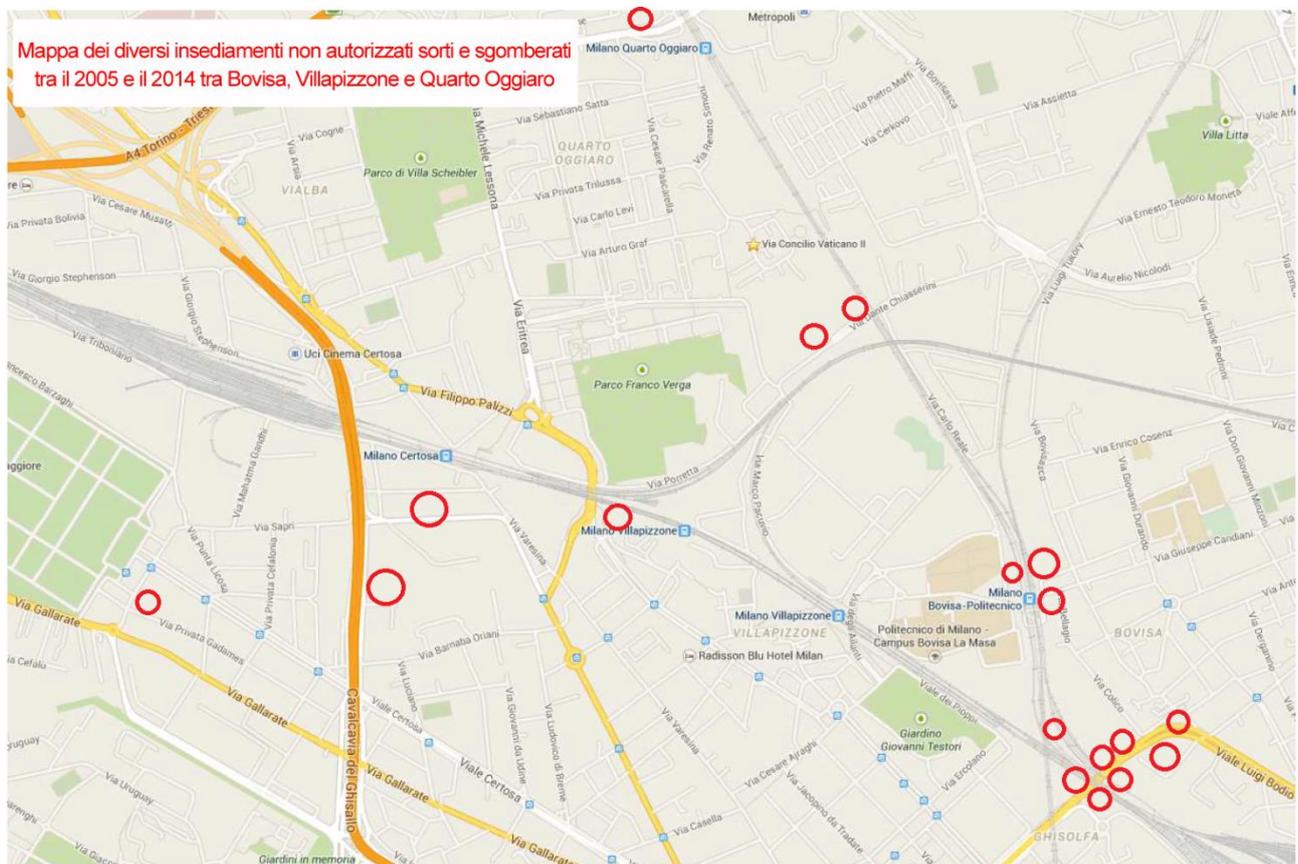
All these evacuations, which cost several million Euros, have done nothing more than scatter the people into increasingly more precarious settlements, forcing them to move constantly in search of new shelter or to group in those few unauthorised camps that are either not dismantled or are constantly cleared, thus becoming bigger and bigger and increasingly overcrowded. Presented as a practice not only in favour of the citizens but also as necessary actions for the Roma themselves who were living in such degrading conditions, in effect these evacuations only made the situation worse and often literally left people with no place to spend the night. In the majority of cases, evacuations occur with no prior notice, at most on verbal communication a few days earlier, without giving the people enough time and it can therefore happen that, coming home from work or from begging, they simply do not find any of their belongings. They are often carried out without offering the families any real alternative solution, especially when a small camp with few minors is evacuated. Up until a couple of years ago, the only solutions proposed, if and when they were proposed, were facilities for the homeless for the men and communities for the women and children which were almost always refused as it meant splitting up the family unit. In spring 2013, as foreseen in the «Roma, Sinti and Caminanti 2012-2014 Project» guidelines, two Social Emergency Centres were set up, initially in via Barzaghi 2 and later in via Lombroso 99, with a third added in via Novara, where families with children were taken in for a maximum period of 200 days⁴⁹.

⁴⁸«Roma, Council intervention in via Bistolfi», 9th April 2014, https://www.comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale+polizia+locale+protezione+civile+volontariato/via_bistolfi_allontanati_occupanti

⁴⁹«Social Emergency Centres needed to regulate the situation», 17th June 2013, https://www.comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale+polizia+locale+protezione+civile+volontariato/rom_centri_emergenza_necessari; «Via Lombroso, nomads transferred to the new reception Centre», 6th August 2013, <http://www.ilgiorno.it/milano/cronaca/2013/08/06/930627-via-lombroso-centro-accoglienza-nomadi-trasferimento.shtml>

To conclude, by attempting to report the events of the last few years, which have involved families from various municipalities in the districts of Dolj and Olt in south-west Romania, their stories and memories that we collected through interviews, can help to demonstrate the aggressiveness with which the municipal administration has managed the problem of unauthorised settlements and the violence that evacuations have caused, leaving families with no place to spend the night, depriving them of all their belongings, disturbing their daily lives, forcing them to flee constantly in search of a place to stay or at least a place to hide their mattresses, blankets and a few clothes.

Map 12. Map showing the various unauthorised settlements that sprang up and were evacuated from 2005 and 2014 between Bovisa, Villapizzone and Quarto Oggiaro



According to the testimonies of several families, up until about four years ago, in what is still a large abandoned area⁵⁰ next to the North Milan Bovisa railway station and the big Piazza Alfieri car park, walking towards via Bovisasca in the north-west outskirts of the city, there was a huge

⁵⁰The Montedison chemical company used to be located on this area, which is now thought to be polluted by toxic waste like asbestos and arsenic.

settlement inhabited by at least 800 people⁵¹, with huts made out of scrap materials but described as large and beautiful, with wood-burners for heating and cooking made from big metal bins, and an electricity generator. Only a few families lived there at the beginning, but the numbers increased quickly also due to the evacuations of unauthorised settlements between via Barzaghi and the Cemetery (near the then authorised via Triboniano camp). In 2007, due to a fire that destroyed several huts and an evacuation of the settlement inside the Adriano Bacula flyover tunnels, a further 70 people came to the camp. At this point, the via Bovisasca camp not only continued to grow and become more and more overcrowded, it also became more visible especially since it was in a busy area and quite close to buildings and apartment blocks. The protests of some of the citizens, which were filmed, exploited and encouraged by some politicians, became increasingly loud and spiteful. Between March and April 2008, the via Bovisasca camp was totally evacuated and destroyed⁵². From this moment, many families began a kind of periodical forced migration due to evictions and forced estrangements⁵³. Immediately following the evacuation of April 2008, many people settled under one of the Bacula flyover tunnels and in the stretch of land in front of it in the part of the bridge going towards via Mac Mahon. Seen from underneath, the flyover that connects Piazzale Lugano to via Mac Mahon has several arches and, although the central ones are used for the passing of trains, the outer ones, with their abandoned railway tracks and strips of free ground, are particularly suitable because they are covered, sheltered and almost out of sight. In a very short time, however, to coincide with the Nomad Emergency declaration, the umpteenth evacuation took place, in the wake of which some of the people living in the unauthorised Bacula camp, decided to go away for a while and moved to another settlement that was springing up in the Lambrate area, more precisely in the old Innocenti industrial zone in via Rubattino where several fellow villagers were already living (and where there had always been, and continue to be, unauthorised settlements⁵⁴). However, many people only stayed in that area for four or five months because it was too far from their habitual begging and

⁵¹Many articles at the time reported on the residents' protests and the evacuations, mentioning about 800 people. Those who lived there between 2005 and 2008 speak of 1,000 people.

⁵²«Roma, the «fake» evacuation at Bovisa», 20th March 2008, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2008/marzo/20/Rom_finto_sgombero_alla_Bovisa_co_7_080320010.shtml; «The Council evacuates three Roma camps. The Church retaliates: human rights violated», 2nd April 2008, <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/12/sezioni/cronaca/rom/sgombero-milano/sgombero-milano.html>.

⁵³«Nomads chased by bulldozers. "We are tired of running away"», 2nd April 2008, <http://milano.repubblica.it/dettaglio/i-nomadi-braccati-dalle-ruspe-siamo-stanchi-di-scappare/1440274>.

⁵⁴«Roma, Milan Council attacks: police patrols and fencing against the huts», 27th September 2014, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/09/27/news/rom_il_comune_di_milano_all_attacco_ronde_dei_vigili_e_re_cinzioni_per_eliminare_le_baracche-96752416/

work places. And in any case, in November 2009, the settlement in via Rubattino, which by then counted over 200 people, was also evacuated⁵⁵. Other families, on the other hand, stayed in the Bovisa area, moving just a few metres away and rebuilding a place to live, out of sight, under the Bacula flyover in the less visible parts and on the strips of land next to the railway tracks. Others still settled for a while in the nearby boroughs of Quarto Oggiaro and Villapizzone. The years that followed saw endless evacuations, sometimes accompanied by new gates, walls, doors, higher railings, locks and chains, cement blocks, piles of stone and gravel in an attempt to stop the people from returning to the newly cleared ground. But the families came back every time, always managing to find a place to settle, to make a hole in the netting or a passage in the wall, only to set themselves up in the exact same spot as before they were sent away or close-by at least, and always under the same flyover or near the Bovisa railway station, putting up tents and building huts or sleeping in cars parked in Piazzale Lugano or Piazza Alfieri. When aggressiveness was at its most rife, the camp disappeared during the day to reappear only in the late afternoon. Every morning, the men and women would dismantle their tents and hide them, together with mattresses, blankets, pots, pans and clothes in the flyover ravines to then reassemble everything on their return to camp. Hardly anything could be seen when going over the bridge in the daytime and only the odd sign could lead anyone to think that it was lived in. Only between spring and summer 2012, exasperated by the constant evacuations and impossibility of return due to yet another railing being put up by Milan Council's Flying Squad, specifically set up to make the areas secure, and the daily presence of local police vehicles, the families abandoned the area and moved to the Villapizzone and Quarto Oggiaro neighbourhoods⁵⁶. The settlement had not lasted long and, between October and November of the same year, after having been evacuated yet again and after have spent several nights under a bridge with just a mattress and blanket, one at a time the families began to settle in the spaces in two abandoned factories near via Certosa, more precisely in via Brunetti and via Montefeltro, not far from Cemetery. Both settlements soon grew and were eventually home for almost 1,000 people, mainly from the various municipalities in the districts of Dolj and Olt. Some families set themselves up in rooms inside the abandoned buildings, others built huts, others continued to use tents. After numerous visits from the Law Enforcement Agencies, and just as many rather unclear evacuation notifications and announcements, on 25th

⁵⁵«Via Rubattino, the camp is evacuated. The Pd to De Corato: "It's a disgrace"», 19th November 2009, <http://milano.repubblica.it/dettaglio/via-rubattino-sgomberato-il-campo-il-pd-a-de-corato:-e-una-vergogna/1783002>

⁵⁶«Bacula, the area rebels, now at the sixteenth evacuation», 29th March 2012, http://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2012/03/29/news/bacula_il_comune_manda_via_i_rom_dopo_le_nuove_proteste_del_quartiere-32369922/, and then again on 4th July and 14th September 2012.

November 2013, «in the presence of the Local Police, the State Police, the Carabinieri, the Civil Protection, the Forest Guard, the Fire Brigade, social workers and the Romanian Consulate, about 600 people were sent away »⁵⁷. The evacuation of via Brunetti - via Montefeltro was one of the biggest that ever took place in Milan in recent years. 254 people, mainly families with children, were offered accommodation in the two Social Emergency Centres set up by Milan Council in via Barzaghi 2 and via Lombroso 99, where other families previously evicted from other camps were already lodging. Of the remaining people, while some had already left before the evacuation, the majority had scattered among the various settlements around the city or had temporarily returned to Romania after a few nights out in the open with the odd mattress and blanket, around the fire in a small public park in front of the Cemetery⁵⁸.

Nowadays, a year later, the families hosted in the two Social Emergency Centres have either left of their own free will, or were «dismissed» for having in some way violated the «Admittance Contract» that they were made to sign when they accepted to stay there, while others are still living in the big council rooms in via Barzaghi or in shared containers in via Lombroso, or have been transferred into single or two-family containers in via Novara. As for the other families, at the beginning of 2014, they initially settled in an abandoned building near to Novate Milanese, and shortly afterwards in an old factory on the edge of Baranzate and then on a piece of land belonging to Euro Milano between the railway tracks and council houses in Quarto Oggiaro, where they were joined by several people and some huts have sprung up next to the tents. After several evacuations in spring and summer, on 29th October 2014, the camp was once again dismantled⁵⁹.

⁵⁷«Roma sent away from the unauthorised settlements in via Brunetti and via Montefeltro», 25th November 2013,

https://comune.milano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale+polizia+locale+protezione+civile+volontariato/allontanati_rom_insedimenti_abusivi_montefeltro_brunetti; «Roma, an entire Milanese borough rebels», 25th November 2013, <http://www.famigliacristiana.it/articolo/rom-un-quartiere-di-milano-si-ribella.aspx>; «Certosa, evacuation of Roma "forts". Over six hundred people sent away», 25th November 2013, http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/13_novembre_25/campi-rom-zona-certosa-corso-sgombero-13ffea3e-55b1-11e3-8836-65e64822c7fd.shtml; «Forced to be nomads: Milan prefers to evict rather than Integrate», 25th November 2014, <http://www.errc.org/article/forced-to-be-nomads-milan-prefers-to-evict-rather-than-integrate/4230>.

⁵⁸«Roma sent away from the square in front of Cemetery», 27th November 2013, http://comunedimilano.it/portale/wps/portal/CDM?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/wps/wcm/connect/ContentLibrary/giornale/giornale/tutte+le+notizie+new/sicurezza+e+coesione+sociale+polizia+locale+protezione+civile+volontariato/rom_allontanate_cim_msggiore; «Evacuated Roma sent away from the Cemetery and other areas», 27th November 2013, http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/13_novembre_27/i-rom-sgomberati-allontanati-cimitero-maggiore-altre-aree-bbcf8222-5766-11e3-901e-793b8e54c623.shtml.

⁵⁹«Evacuation of an occupied area in Quarto Oggiaro», 29th October 2014, <http://www.milanotoday.it/cronaca/sgombero-via-chiasserini-concilio-vaticano-29-ottobre-2014.html>

And once again some people were already back in the same place the very next day, putting up their tents just a few metres away, while others moved into the spaces in derelict factories and others slept in cars. But evacuations and estrangements were almost a daily occurrence and men and women were forced to wander constantly from one bridge to another, from one dilapidated building to the next, in what had become an authentic manhunt.

COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS (Stefania Pontrandolfo)

A comparison of the two study cases presented allows us to confront two very different situations. On the one hand we have Bari, an average city in southern Italy with a Roma presence of about 0.15% in respect of the total population and greater homogeneity in terms of Roma migrant origin (coming mainly from Romania), while on the other, we have Milan, a large metropolis in northern Italy with a Roma presence of 0.3% in respect of the total population, characterised by enormous complexity and diversity within the groups of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti, with Italian or foreign citizenship (in any case, 70% of the Roma and Sinti minorities in Milan are Romanian Roma, even if they only constitute about 0.23% of the entire Milanese population). The complexity of the Milan case is also accentuated by the more lengthy historical background of Roma groups migrating to Italy from Eastern European countries which dates back to at least the 1970s, unlike Bari, where the presence of East European Roma began much later in the mid 1990s.

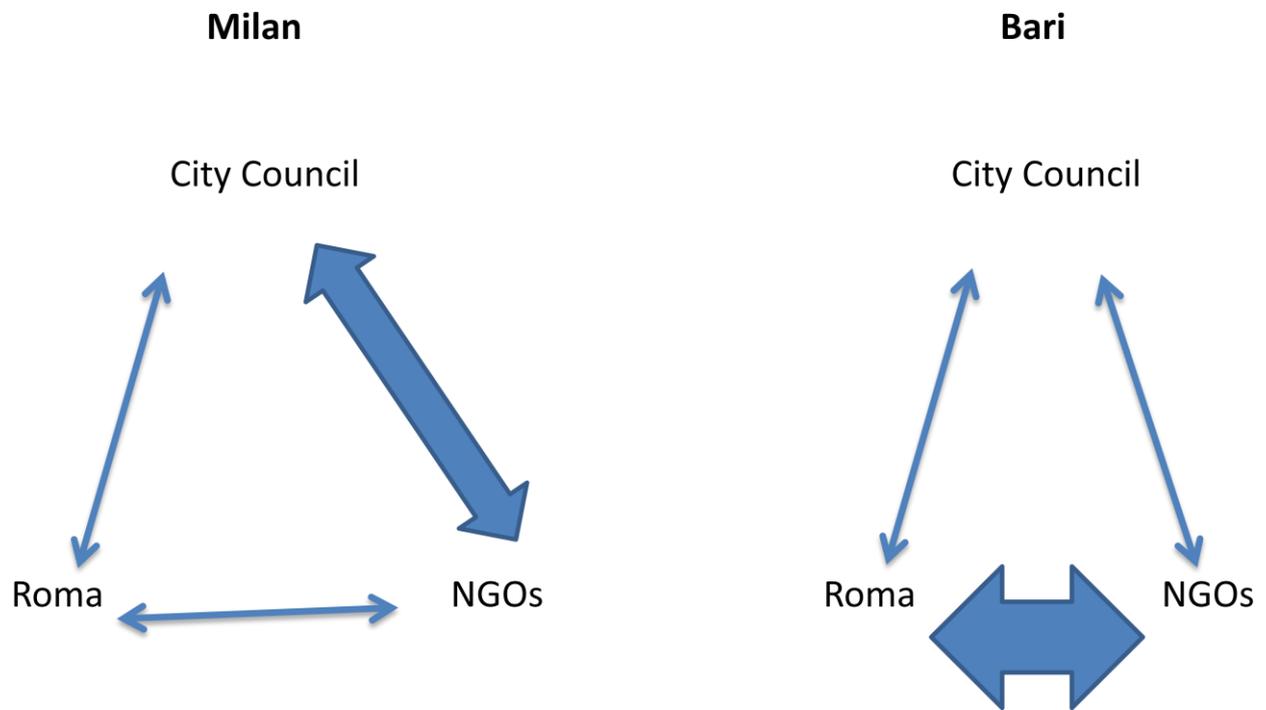
The policies adopted in the two cities at a local level reflect these large differences.

Local policies in Milan have aimed at facing/managing the complex situation of Roma presences within the urban territory in various ways: on the one hand, by setting up specific offices and council services or by issuing regional laws and council ordinances with the main objective of monitoring the presences and activating inclusion schemes for the various communities, and on the other, by attempting to govern the diversities mainly through evacuation with the principal and declared aim of safety for Italian citizens residing in Milan rather than the safety of the Roma themselves (whether Italian or not). The ineffectiveness of the evacuation policy is affirmed by the fact that, in over fifteen years, things have not changed. The majority of migrants who, on their arrival in Italy, settled in unauthorised camps, are still doing so. The only result achieved by the numerous forced evictions in Milan is an even greater precariousness for the lives of migrants in unauthorised settlements. These people are, among other things, forced to go back and forth to Romania more often.

The policies in Bari over recent years have been very different. The absence of special regional laws and specific council offices and services, associated with a tolerant political attitude to unauthorised settlements (camps are only evacuated in exceptional circumstances) and the onset of concrete negotiations with at least some of the Roma representatives within the urban territory, have so far produced a situation of greater stability. As in Milan, the families that arrived in Bari about fifteen years ago, still live there but without the constant nightmare of being evacuated at any moment, something which contributes greatly to the relatively positive activation of schemes and projects for migrant families.

Another feature of the Milan case is that, over the years, alliances seem to have been created between a relevant part of tertiary sector organisations and the Council and other local administrations. These alliances have allowed some of these organisations to play an important role in camp management and programming and political actions in terms of Roma in general. In these alliances, Roma appear to be only marginally included and, in fact, it seems that the tertiary sector tends to take on a substitutive role in relations with administrators. On the contrary, one feature of the Bari case is that, over time, a strong alliance between the tertiary sector and the Roma communities within the urban territory seems to have been created. This alliance has allowed the Roma to establish political representation so that they are able to negotiate and communicate directly with the local administration (as shown in figure 5).

Figure 5. Diagram showing the different political relationships between council administrations, NGOs and Roma communities in Milan and Bari



For the moment we can summarise the situation in table 1 below and will provide a more detailed comparative analysis in the next Report.

Table 1. Local policy comparison in Milan and Bari

Milan	Regional laws	Specific council offices	Constant forced evictions of unauthorised camps	Initially a policy of authorised camps and then an attempt to dismantle them	Enormous complexity and historical stratification of migrant presences
Bari	No regional laws	No specific office or council service	Tolerated unauthorised camps	Just one Roma village pilot project	Less complexity and historical stratification of migrant presences

6.0. SOCIAL INCLUSION (Stefania Pontrandolfo)

As we have seen, economic strategies, as well as access to education, and the presence of Roma political representatives in the communities where we are carrying out the research in Italy, are very different. Below, we will attempt to summarize the different models of insertion of the various groups from the economic, educational and political perspectives.

6.1. Employment

In reference to more current economic strategies, the families living in the north-western suburbs of Milan support themselves almost exclusively by practicing *mangimos* (i.e. begging, for example, at supermarket entrances, but also receiving donations from gagé and charitable organisations in the form of food, clothes, school equipment, and so on). Other undeclared and occasional jobs are combined with the *mangimos*: jobs in building, gardening, cleaning or agricultural seasonal work in other Italian regions or towns. Waste recovery activities of a variety of different goods (from food to clothes and shoes, from appliances to furniture and various objects) are considerable. These goods can either be received from Charities or NGOs or found in garbage bins or in second-hand clothes bins, and will foster the high circulation of goods between Italy and Romania. These goods are, in fact, predominantly used to sustain the everyday lives of these families (both the members living in Italy and those living in Romania) rather than to gain money from sales (even if sometimes someone, during their temporary stays in Romania, sell some goods recovered from Italy in small local markets).

The families living in rented houses or accommodation provided by private social associations or in temporary reception centres/Social Emergency Centres (C.E.S.) in Milan and the Milanese hinterland, also combine the practice of *mangimos*, mainly carried out by women, with undeclared and occasional jobs (mostly in construction and dismantling companies for men and in housekeeping or as carers for women), and with work experience grants from the Milan Council. Waste recovery activities are essential for sustaining families in Italy and in Romania in this case too.

As for the families living in the Strada Santa Teresa camp in Bari, the economic strategies are even more differentiated due to the combination of various practices:

- *mangimos* (mainly women);
- undeclared and occasional jobs mostly in construction and dismantling companies (men);
- undeclared agricultural seasonal work (men and women);

- occasional jobs as housekeepers or carers (women);
- waste recovery activities involving food, clothes, shoes, appliances, furniture, recyclable materials and various objects for resale in second-hand markets (not authorised but until now permitted by the Bari Council) (men and women);
- recovery of iron (men);
- The "Artezian" cooperative society (see paragraph 5.0. Local Policy above).

The waste recovery activities are in this case oriented towards earning something as well as family sustenance: the money gained by the sale of recovered goods could be used, for example, to build a house in Romania.

6.2. Education

Many of the Romanian Roma migrants in Italy that we met during the research, had experienced normal schooling courses in their country of origin. We have more detailed information about these courses for 36 interviewed individuals, of whom only 6 are illiterate (4 women and 2 men), whereas the other 30 have an average 8-year school attendance.

Access to education could change once again depending on the different life conditions in the migratory context.

As we have seen, the families living in extremely precarious conditions, in unauthorised camps containing tents and huts that are constantly evacuated and rebuilt in the suburbs of Milan, in most cases prefer to leave their children in Romania. It is a particularly difficult choice for these families, but it is the only choice that can actually help to maintain the best life conditions for their children (including the possibility to regularly attend school).

The families living in rented houses have, however, reunited: in these cases, children regularly attend the Italian schools in the neighbourhood where they live.

The children of families living in temporary reception centres or Social Emergency Centres (C.E.S.) in Milan habitually attend school, also because the schooling attendance of children is a *conditio sine qua non* to gain access and have the chance to remain in these centres. In fact, the attendance in school of these children is a crucial part of these centres' *education project*, whose aim is to promote the social inclusion of these families through schooling.

Again, as we have seen, since the very first moments of their stay in Italy in 1999, the families living in the Strada Santa Teresa camp in Bari have chosen to send their children to school regularly. After about 15 years, the result of this choice is that all the school-age children and

teenagers in the camp attend Italian schools, and many of the adults have earned their middle school diploma in Italy.

Starting with the data that the study has unearthed to date, we can therefore conclude by proposing some considerations, that, in our opinion, are of particular importance. In the first place, we are dealing with communities that have a solid and permanently acquired school education culture. We are, therefore, faced with families that do not have any particular conflicting behaviour towards schools and that, on the contrary, actually have normal schooling experiences both in their own country of origin and in Italy. The reason, in some cases, behind the rather fragmentary school attendance in Italy is strictly linked to the precarious conditions in which some families live. Stable living conditions, therefore, are a necessary aspect to ensure that the children get a continuous education. It would appear to be important to highlight this aspect, also in consideration of the fact that the Italian *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities 2012-2020* (activated by European Commission communication no.173/2011) foresees, among its four axes of intervention, actions for housing, but only in last place, when for the Romanian Roma, and perhaps for all the migrant Roma, should be given absolute priority to housing. The four axes take the following order:

Axis 1. Education: "Increasing the amount and quality of educational opportunities and the number of RSC students enrolled in schools of all types and levels, by encouraging their attendance and academic success and full education";

Axis 2. Employment: "Promoting vocational training and access to the labour market for RSC women and men";

Axis 3. Health: "Improving access to health and social-related services, available in the territories, and implementing prevention and medical care, with specific regard to the most vulnerable Roma and Sinti people";

Axis 4. Housing: "Increasing the access to a wide range of housing solutions for the RSC people, with a participatory approach, in order to definitively overcome emergency approaches and large-sized mono-ethnic settlements, while paying due regard to local opportunities, family reunification and a strategy to be based upon the principle of equal distribution".

Intervention in the education field is openly of priority through a reasoning that attributes the main reason why they find it difficult to find work and living quarters to the lack or low level of education in the various Roma communities, while the Romanian Roma situation actually demonstrates the opposite: even if you have had a reasonable education, if you do not have

decent and permanent housing conditions, you cannot have a job and you cannot send your children to school.

We also know that it is an Italian peculiarity the fact that local authorities and NGOs help Roma families, mainly, if not entirely, through school attendance support (e.g. economic help to buy school equipment; school bus services; after school projects and so on; for more detailed information about the main education projects in Bari and in Milan see paragraph 5.0. Local Policy above). It would therefore be better, in our opinion and in the light of the study that we are conducting, to have a priority intervention on the question of housing and work rather than on education.

6.3. Representation

The emergence of Roma political representatives constitutes a problematic crux concerning relationships between the communities we have met during the fieldwork and the local institutions. There are indeed very few Roma representative figures able to negotiate or to simply communicate directly with Local Authorities, and, according to the local contexts, there are many different reasons for this.

The experiences that the Roma we met during the research have had in terms of relations with gagé institutions are very different depending on their knowledge of the Italian language, the length of time spent in Italy and the socio-political context of migration. They also differed in accordance with previous experiences in Romania or in other countries they may have migrated to.

We generally observe that contact between Roma and institutions in Romania was much more direct than in Italy, where NGO or voluntary association mediation prevails. For example, some of those interviewed had experiences of direct participation in political parties to advocate Roma rights in Romania (see interviews *Brescia_01_21-09-2013*; *BA_01_29-11-2013*). In Italy, especially when individuals live in unauthorised camps or in reception centres, relationships with institutions are almost entirely through volunteer or social worker mediation. Politicians rely on the reports of local association representatives rather than listening to the actual voices of Roma, despite the fact that there are now many Roma cultural mediators in Italy (see, for example, the actions of the European Programme *ROMED*, <http://romed.coe-romact.org/>). We were only able to ascertain regular direct formal and informal exchanges between local authorities and some Roma from the

community in Bari (which is what makes the case of Bari such a particularly interesting case study from the socio-political relations point of view).

As we have seen above, a feature of the Milan case is, in fact, that, over the years, alliances seem to have been created between a relevant part of tertiary sector organisations and the Council and other local administrations. These alliances have allowed some of these organisations to play an important role in camp management and programming and political actions in terms of Roma in general. In these alliances, Roma appear to be only marginally included and, in fact, it seems that the tertiary sector tends to take on a substitutive role in relations with administrators. On the contrary, one feature of the Bari case is that, over time, a strong alliance between the tertiary sector and the Roma communities within the urban territory seems to have been created. This alliance has allowed the Roma to establish some political representation so that they are able to negotiate and communicate directly with the local administration.

6.4. Public attitudes to Roma

6.4.a. EMERGENCE AND DIFFUSION OF «ROMA ISSUES» IN THE POLITICAL WEB ARENA

(Gregoire Cousin and Stefania Pontrandolfo)

The ongoing study of the emergence and diffusion of the “Roma issues” in the political field on the web during the campaign for the European and local elections by means of the social network analysis has been carried out by the Italian team in cooperation with the French team and the *Laboratoire TIC-migrations* of the *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme* of Paris (<http://www.e-diasporas.fr/>).

First results about the emergence and diffusion of «Roma issues» in the political web arena

Gregoire Cousin (Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme)

Stefania Pontrandolfo (University of Verona)

As part of the European MigRom project, with social network analysis (SNA) instruments, we are studying the emergence and diffusion of «Roma issues» in the political web arena during local electoral campaigns. Our aim is to analyse the flow of political discourses within the political and media websites. Our hypothesis is that, beyond the well established representations of politicians,

a new autonomous arena is emerging from the campaigns, a political arena made up of a combination of controversies that is well present on the web and where we find Roma.

As the first step of our study, using Hyphe software, we tried to create two complex databases, one for France and one for Italy, including:

- all the media articles which were answering to the keyword "Rom", through a systematic press review on Google News;
- all political and institutional websites (at both a national and local level, party by party, candidate by candidate, institution by institution, association by association);
- information media websites.

So the final corpus, comprehensive of all political websites and all the media articles on Roma, is a blend of three different categories of web-entities :

- newspapers, radio, TV and information websites, for example:

www.lemonde.fr

www.lagazzettadelmezzogiorno.it/puglia/

www.ntr24.tv/it.html

www.ansa.it/sicilia/

- articles on Roma, for example:

www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2013/11/09/01016-20131109ARTFIG00321-un-camp-rom-menace-l-alimentation-en-chauffage-de-paris.php

or

www.lastampa.it/2014/03/22/cronaca/costume/la-scuola-che-fa-crescere-i-rom-tZ8GH5xnTZgtu4J9227t9H/pagina.html

- political, institutional and NGOs websites, such as

www.frontnational.com

www.partitodemocratico.it

www.elections2014.eu/it

www.educationsansfrontieres.org

www.21luglio.org/

The French corpus we created is made up 1109 nodes (web-entities) and 6390 hyperlinks between those nodes.

The Italian corpus is made up of 1451 nodes and 8903 hyperlinks between those nodes.

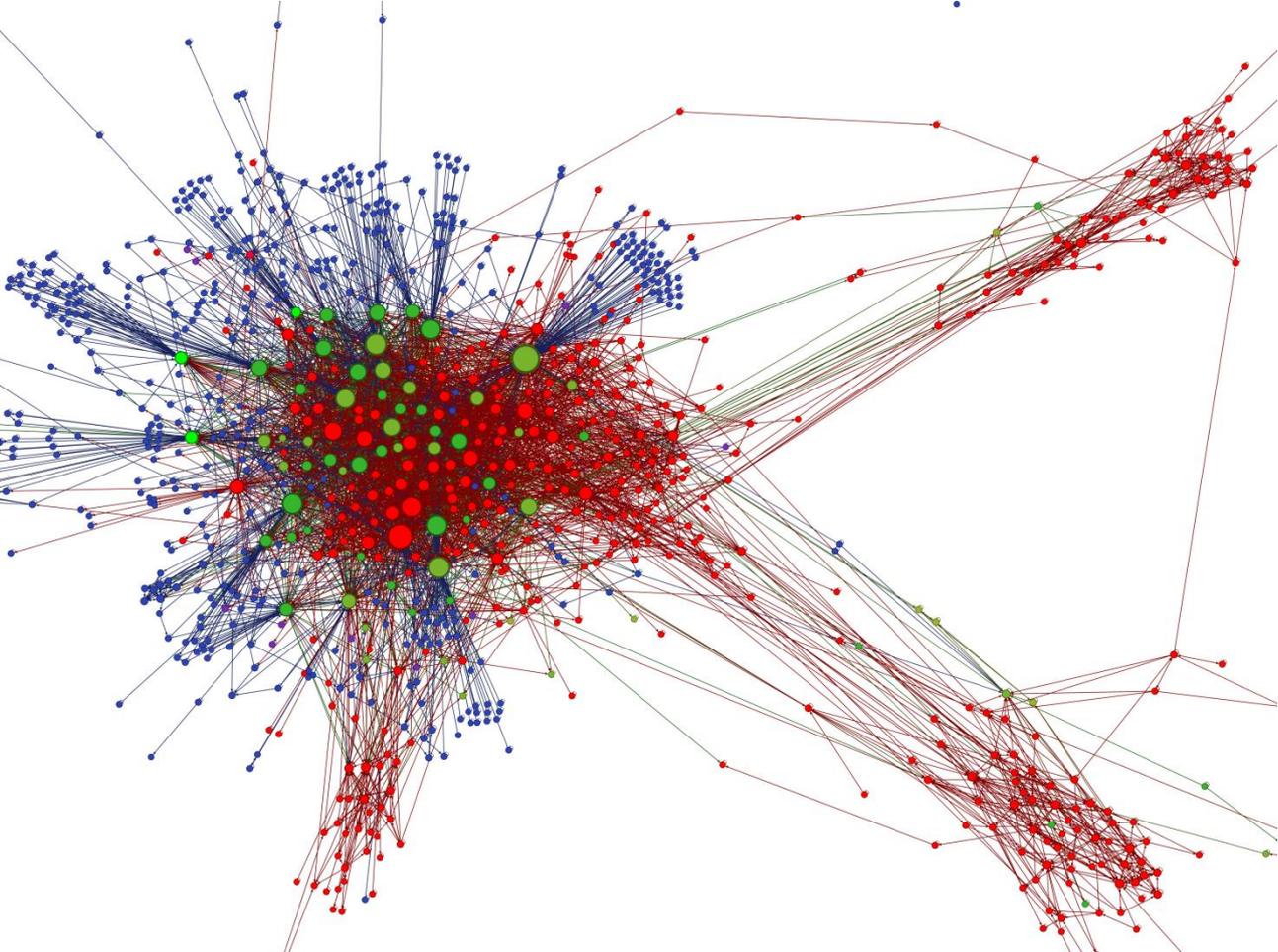
The databases were produced during the electoral municipal campaigns (November - April 2014 for the city agglomeration of La Plaine commune - North of Paris, and April- May 2014 for the town of Bari - Southern Italy).

At the beginning we decided to investigate the following issues:

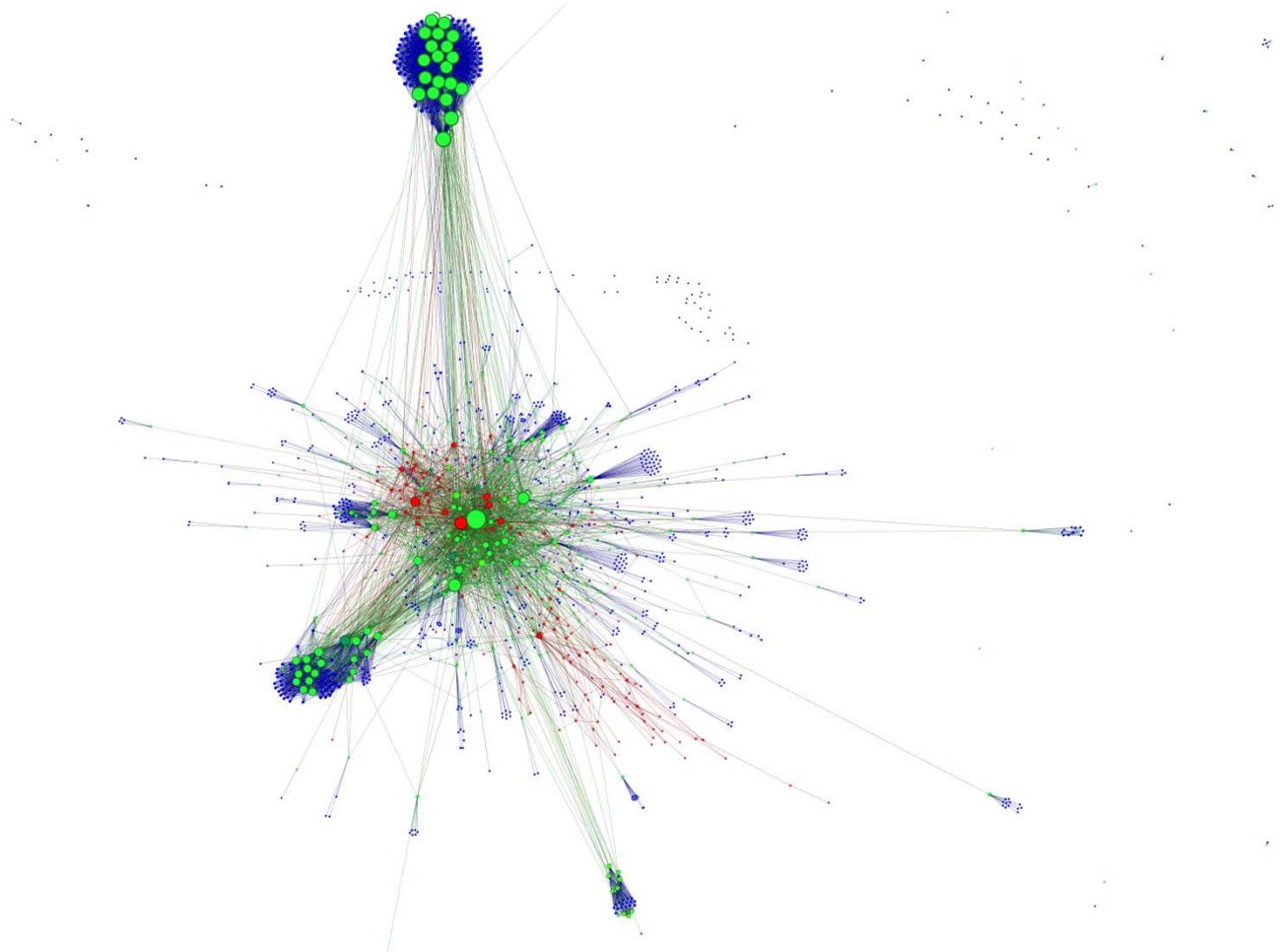
- who, among the political players, was especially interested in Roma? That is, how were discourses about Roma distributed in the political sphere during the local electoral campaigns?
- who, among the press and information media, was especially interested in Roma? That is, how were discourses about Roma distributed in the information sphere during the local electoral campaigns?
- which was the correlation, if there was any, between the media and the political discourses about Roma?
- which were the main topics of the media and political debates on the web? Which was the correlation, if there was any, between the media's and the politicians' topics?

Once the two databases had been compiled, we used Gephi software to create two maps representing the network of relations linking all the elements included in the databases (maps 1 and 2).

Map 1



Map 2



Legend of Maps 1 and 2

Green= information sites

Red=political sites

Blue= articles

Starting from these complete and very complex maps, we filtered some elements so that only a few relation networks were plotted on new maps.

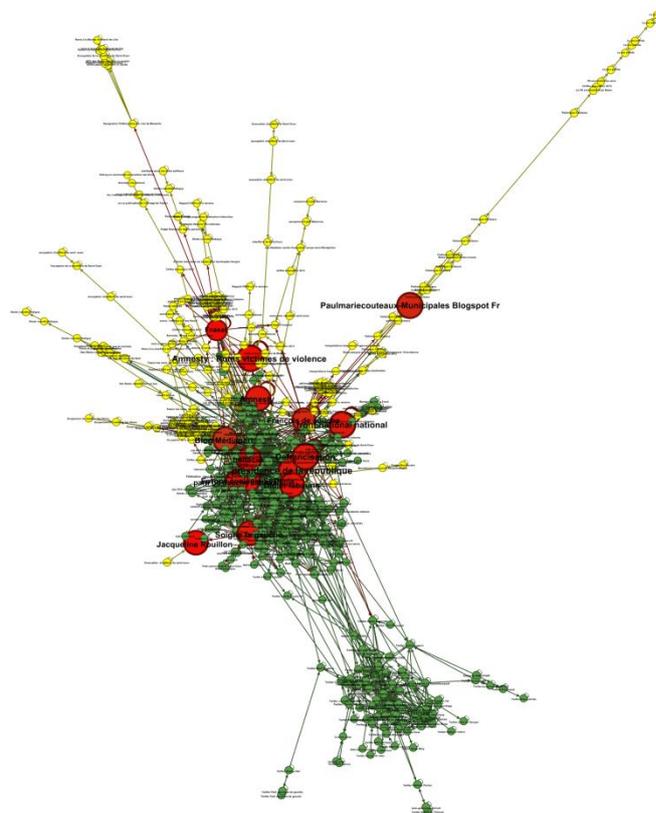
Firstly, we created maps that only showed networks between political websites and articles concerning Roma so that we could identify those political players who were especially interested in Roma during the local electoral campaigns (maps 3-4-5-6).

Before reading these maps, we should point out that the analysis of our data is first of all cartographic: these maps can show how the "Roma" topic is constructed on the web by the players selected to create our databases: politicians, associations, information media, institutional sites. They can show this mainly through the morphological features of the network represented.

The usual tools for this kind of morphological analysis are as follows:

- modularity: how the players group together creating clusters of relations
- centrality: how some players are in the centre of other players' relations, and therefore crucial for our analysis
- degree: the number of relations between the players.

Map 3: French Corpus : Politics vs articles



Legend of Maps 3 and 4

Green and red=political websites

Yellow=articles linked with the political network

Red=political websites directly linked with articles

The French map (3) shows the political websites that created direct links with articles concerning Roma.

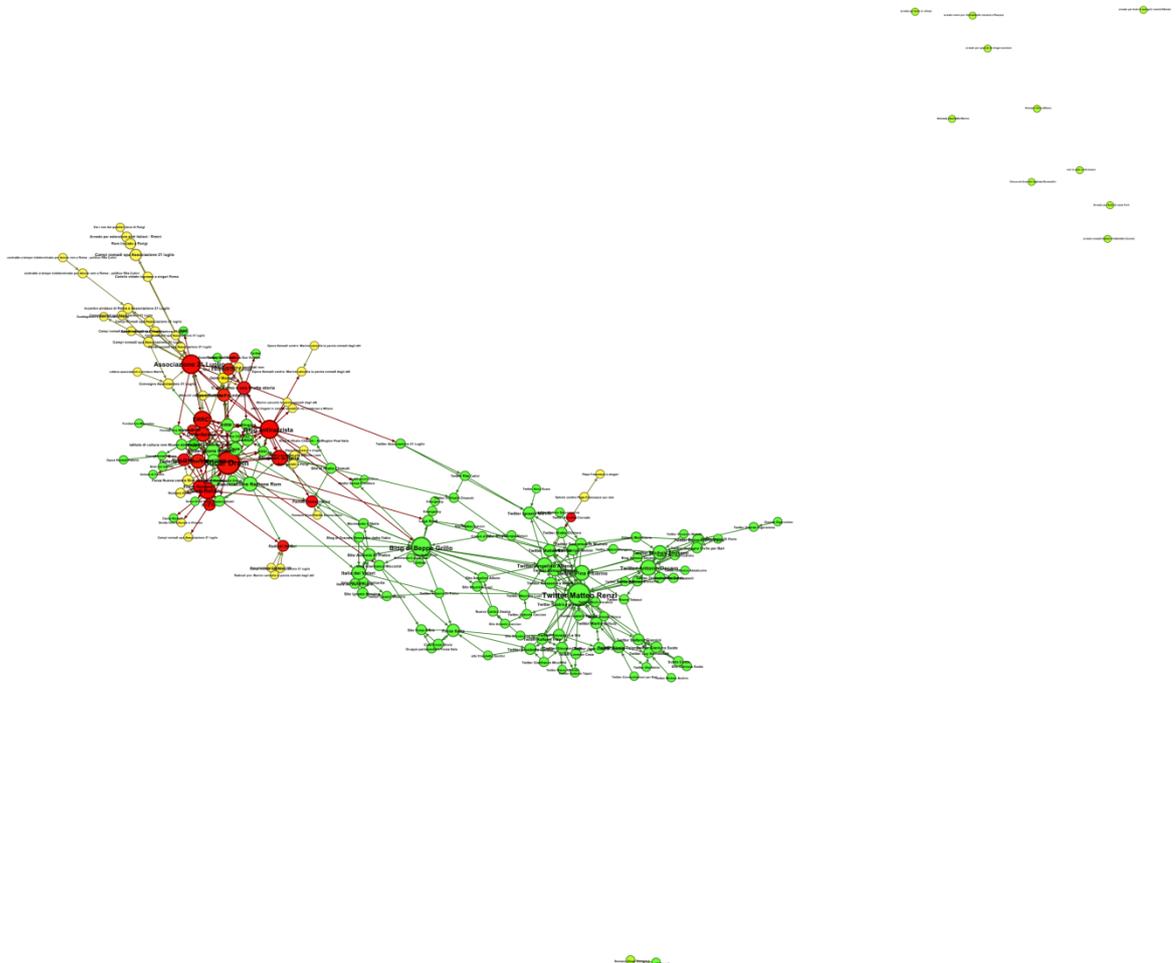
We highlighted in red all the sites which quote or are quoted by an article about Roma. If we take out the Republic Presidency (quoted many times in an article), we can read different kinds of relations on the map.

The **Fnasat** (a federation of pro-Roma associations) quotes many articles, acting as a **hub** (that is, in terms of social network analysis, a site quoting many other sites) for the political sphere of associations. This site is connected with the **Médiapart** blog (extreme left wing) and with **Alain Bertho's** blog, an academic greatly involved in the local pro-Roma struggle in Saint-Denis. **François Desouche's** site has the same centrality as those already mentioned and also functions as a hub making a point of reviewing all the articles about Roma and also showing the importance of Roma topics for the French extreme right wing. To confirm this hypothesis, we can also notice that the only French political party directly linked with an article concerning Roma is that of the **National Front** (quoting the trial of Jean-Marie Le Pen). Another extreme right hub, **Defrancisation**, quotes an article concerning Roma occupation of the Saint-Ouen gas power station. This relates to a local topic with considerable centrality on the map since it is quoted by **Soigne ta gauche**, another blog directly linked with the site of the town's Mayor. Another emerging local topic concerns the enrolment of Roma in the Saint-Denis electoral registry, quoted both by **Didier Labaume's** site, a candidate for mayor of Saint-Denis, and the aforementioned blog by Alain Bertho. We will be offering some reflections on these emerging topics later, but, by now, we can observe that, in France, the general topic of "Roma" clearly brings two big groups of national and local political players into opposition: on one hand the extreme right wing and on the other a coalition of associations with the extreme left wing.

The Italian map (4), unlike the French one, reveals a scarcity of political websites which created direct links with articles concerning Roma. In this map we can see three well-defined clusters of

relations representing the general distribution of Italian political discourses on the web and their correlation with articles about Roma.

Map 4 : Italian Corpus politics vs Article



On the left, we find a cluster mostly grouping Roma and pro-Roma associations, strictly connected with articles concerning Roma (the yellow points on the map). The **Associazione 21 Luglio** stands out among these associations due to its centrality in the network, the large number of quotations it receives from other associative sites and the numerous articles related to it. It is actually the only association able to direct the flow of information about Roma on the web and to be quoted significantly by other sites. In social network analysis terms, the Associazione 21 Luglio represents an **authority**, in other words, a site quoted by many other sites.

In the middle, we find the network of political sites related to the **Movimento 5 Stelle**, a political party led by Beppe Grillo, in a dominant position. This party originated on the web and normally

uses the web as its main instrument for political action (the party's political discourses often evoke a more or less plausible conception of "web democracy"), particularly **Beppe Grillo's blog**, which represents a large hub on the map.

On the right, we can see a cluster of political sites strictly connected to Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's websites (Partito Democratico). **Matteo Renzi's twitter** represents an important authority on the map and is quoted by many others.

All the other players in the Italian political sphere hold marginal positions on the map. In particular, we could point out the area in which we find the political sites linked to Forza Italia, Silvio Berlusconi's party, which, while still being the right wing party with the highest number of voters, is almost non-existent on the map.

The first point to highlight: this map shows us that Italian politicians, also in comparison with the French, do not make great use of the web as an instrument for political communication and/or action. Only the Movimento 5 Stelle distinguishes itself through the use of the web and through the difficulty to locate it in the traditional political categories. Here we are dealing with a political party, originating from a movement on the web, that cannot be defined either as right wing or left wing, because it involves political issues from both traditional wings simultaneously. This is actually a specificity not only within the Italian context, but also on the international political landscape. The Partito Democratico led by Renzi is conducting a policy that aims to narrow the gap between the web and traditional parties, while the other parties clearly still prefer to use more traditional communication/action instruments (for example, Forza Italia's huge conventions organised in many Italian towns and directly led by Silvio Berlusconi during electoral campaigns).

A second point to highlight: in any case, we can see from this map that Italian politicians have no direct links with articles on Roma. The only political players really interested in Roma are associations, especially the Associazione 21 Luglio in Rome. This does not mean that Italian politicians make no use of Roma issues at all for electoral aims. In fact, we will see below that Roma topics were very frequently used in political discourses by the extreme right and by right wing Italian politicians during electoral campaigns. But these political players generally do not use their websites to communicate, preferring to rely on traditional media like radio, television and the press through declarations given to journalists, as we will see later.

Before proposing any further comparative reflections, we will present the second kind of map we created, which merely represents the networks between media websites and articles concerning

Roma. The aim of these maps is to identify which information sites were especially interested in Roma during the local electoral campaigns (maps 5-6).

The French map (5) immediately reveals that French media treat the subject rather superficially. Only half of the topics is original, which means that the articles deal with news reported by one media only. Furthermore, most of them come from the local press, and from two news sites in particular: **Le Parisien** and **La voix du Nord**. These sites basically publish first hand news concerning various short news items (i.e. forced evictions, demonstrations, etc.)

Legend of maps 5 and 6

Red = media web site

Blue = isolated articles

Yellow = topic

Map 5 : French corpus : mediatic topics

If we consider the topics with the highest degree (that is the highest number of relations between the players) we find:

- the publication of a report on 2013 forced evictions by the "Ligue des droits de l'Homme" (LDH) and "European Roma Rights Centre" (ERRC) associations;
- the publication of a report on Roma by Amnesty International;
- the publication of an annual report by the "Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme" (CNCDH).

The top three topics therefore come from the associative sphere but with a national range. However, the importance of information from associations contrasts with the idea that Roma are a subject treated above all by politicians.

The following six important topics are:

- the death of a child in a fire;
- Le Pen's trial after declaring that "les Roms volent naturellement comme les oiseaux" (it is in the nature of Roma to steal or take flight like birds)
- the ban on bus travel (a discrimination event in Saint-Denis)
- the occupation of the Saint-Ouen gas power station
- Dibrahnis' appeal following the case of Leonarda
- the acid attack on a family living in the street in Paris.

Only Le Pen's trial and Dibrahnis' appeal related to issues of national importance, while the other topics related to various news items which were only brought to national visibility thanks to being published by Le Parisien. The ability of this medium to make a local news item national depends on the Paris centralism of French media, regularly highlighted by many observers.

Two topics especially help to explain the correlation between the "Roma issues" and the Plaine Commune local electoral campaign.

- the occupation of the Saint-Ouen gas power station
- the enrolment of Roma in the Saint-Denis electoral registry.

The first topic concerns the occupation of the railway that serves to move in the raw material of the Saint-Ouen gas power station by some Romanian Roma. The left wing politician, who was Mayor of Saint-Ouen at that time, decided to write an open letter to the Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Valls informing him of the risk that this occupation could represent for the little town's heating provisions (8 November 2013).

Roma had been in conflict with the Saint-Ouen City Council since the creation of an "integration village" in 2005 and, in order to confront the Mayor and the Minister, they called up the extreme left party (NPA - Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste) against their forced eviction.

To study this story, we should firstly ask ourselves why this Mayor from a political party that generally supports the Roma's political fights, chose to go against them in this case.

Did this choice impact on the loss of the City Council some months after? In a political context where different left parties are in competition, to chose an agenda setting on right wing topics as security issues can destabilise traditional coalitions. This let us suppose that the right wing wins (as it won in this case) when the left wing enhance security rhetoric.

The second topic concerns a debate inside the political arena of Saint-Denis. Matthieu Hanotin, a candidate from the PS (Parti Socialiste), denounced the supposed illicit enrolment of 80 Roma on the Saint-Denis electoral registry to support the PC (Parti Communiste) candidates who held the City Council.

We can interpret this controversy as a clear pro or anti-Roma communication strategy for electoral purposes. Here we should ask whether, and how, this strategy impacted on the electoral results since the PS candidate failed by only 165 votes! Did his criticisms not go far enough? In any case, he received the support of the FN (Front National) candidate, therefore, local electoral campaign controversies allow us to identify which political players enhance security rhetoric.

The Italian map, which only shows the networks between media websites and articles concerning Roma (map 6), reveals the presence of four clusters of relations between different kinds of information sites.

On the right we find two big clusters roughly representing two large local press editorial groups.

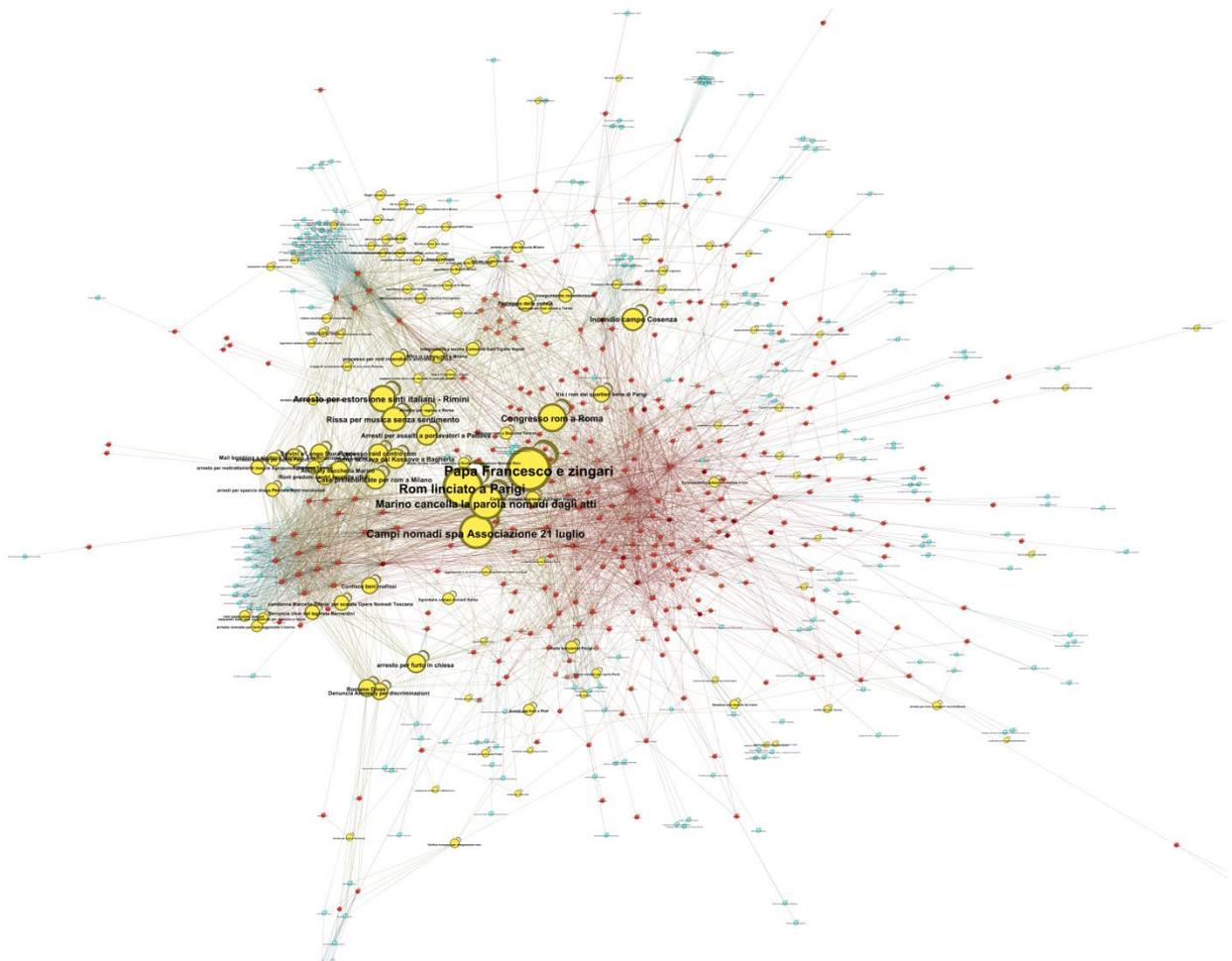
In the top left, we find the cluster of national and local press agencies.

In the bottom left, we find the cluster of national newspapers.

A first point to highlight is that the local press has the majority of links with articles concerning Roma. A systematic review of the articles linked with the different clusters shows that:

- the Italian national press generally does not produce original articles about Roma, and certainly much fewer than in France;
- the Italian local press produces a lot of first-hand news concerning various items, as in France;
- only in a few cases does the Italian national press repeat articles taken from the local press.

Map 6 Italian corpus : mediatic topics



Therefore, we can only find convergent interest by both the national and local press for particular topics: those at the centre of the map, in the middle of the clusters (the large yellow ones).

If we omit the topic of a fire in the town of Cosenza (a topic with a high degree but low centrality because it related strictly to a local political controversy), we can see five other topics with the highest centrality and degree in this map:

- Pope Francis' declaration on "zingari" in Rome;
- the local political controversy created by Rome Council's refusal to provide a hall for a Roma association meeting for a bureaucratic problem;
- the local political controversy created by the Mayor of Rome's decision to erase the word "nomads" from administrative deeds;
- the publication of the "Campi Nomadi s.p.a." report by the Associazione 21 Luglio;
- the beating up of a Rom in Paris.

As regard to the first topic, on the occasion of the meeting sponsored by the Pontifical Council for the pastoral care of migrants and itinerant people, "The Church and Gypsies: to announce the gospel in the peripheries", Pope Francis remembered having personally observed many episodes of discrimination in the everyday life of Rome, and called for the commitment of local and national institutions and the support of the international community to identify proposals and interventions geared toward improving the Gypsies' quality of life. The numerous articles quoting this topic are probably due to the great visibility of someone like Pope Francis rather than its content, but it is exactly because of this great visibility that someone may have decided to comment on the Pope's words polemically. This is the case of the **Lega Nord** leader, **Matteo Salvini**, who probably gave declarations in opposition to the Pope in order to gain some media visibility in return.

The news about a Rom being beaten up in Paris, as well as other topics concerning Roma living abroad often quoted by many Italian information sites, could lead us to reflect on the inclination of the Italian press not to report on domestic problems and preferring to give more visibility to foreign ones. In the same period, news about a Rom being beaten up in Italy, supposedly not by unknown persons but by policemen, obtained only 7 mentions in the Italian press, against the 27 on the similar news in Paris. Is this a way to deny political responsibilities about the current situation of Roma in Italy?

The other three most important topics in this map concern local political affairs in Rome, i.e. web controversies essentially involving the local political sphere of Rome only. We observe here something similar to the French case, because, here too, the centralism of the capital city, a sort of capital city effect, seems to make Rome's local items become of national importance. This effect certainly does not depend on a supposed special or very different situation in Rome compared to other big Italian cities (Milan has the same problems concerning Roma as Rome). It could, however, depend on the higher concentration of information and political players in the city which does, in fact, represent the core of national politics. But it could also depend on another factor: the presence in Rome of the Associazione 21 Luglio, the only association able to create public debates on the web about Roma.

Lastly, a systematic review of the contents of the articles on the most important topics in this map shows us who, among the Italian political players, and with which aims, spoke about Roma during the local electoral campaign.

In brief, the extreme right and right wing politicians often spoke about Roma for electoral purposes, while associations often spoke about Roma trying to influence the national and local politics through their perspective on integration. But the question is: where is the Italian left? The Italian left, just like the Italian extreme left, did not mention Roma during the electoral campaign, and they won the elections. Could it be that, among the multiple factors affecting an electoral campaign and therefore its final results, the "Roma issues" are not so effective and do not bring in a good return in terms of votes?

6.4.b. ATTITUDES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS, VOLUNTEERS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE POLICE TOWARDS ROMANIAN ROMA

(Lisa Pagotto and Anna Maria Meneghini)

The general aim of this survey is to investigate perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Romanian Roma in the following EU countries: Italy, France, the UK and Spain. The first phase of the research (creation of instruments) was carried out by the Italian team. In the second phase (administration of the on-line questionnaire to residents), the French, English and Spanish teams were also involved.

Attitudes of local residents

The first step of the research included the analysis of the literature in the field of Social Psychology with reference to studies that had specifically investigated: 1) prejudices, stereotypes and feelings towards Romanian Roma; 2) threats that local residents perceive as coming from Romanian Roma; 3) the effects of intergroup contacts (residents and Romanian Roma). The analysis revealed that, with reference to Roma as an ethnic group, studies in the field of Social Psychology are very limited. Moreover, there is only one study that specifically refers to the prejudice of Italian people towards the Romanian Roma group. As a consequence, there are no specific instruments for investigating attitudes towards Romanian Roma that include all the topics we would like to investigate in our study.

For this reason two instruments were created, according to the literature on prejudices, stereotypes and intergroup emotions (Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Albarello & Rubini, 2011; Monaci & Trentin, 2008; Berti, Pivetti & Di Battista, 2013; Trentin, Monaci, De Lumé, & Zanon, 2006; Cottrel

& Neuber, 2005; Navas, Cuadrado & López-Rodríguez, 2012): a list of questions for interviews and the drafting of a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire investigates the following aspects:

- The general attitudes of people towards Romanian Roma and Romanian immigrants. The items on the questionnaire aim to assess the participants' opinion in terms of the extent to which the characteristics listed (e.g. "Live in houses or flats") are typical of one group (Romanian Roma) or the other (Romanian immigrants)
- Any potential overlap between the image people have of Romanian Roma and Romanian immigrants (e.g. "Think about Romanian and Roma living in How similar to each other they are?")
- The stereotypes that people have of Romanian Roma: in other words the extent to which some negative (N=8; e.g. liar, dangerous) and positive (N=8; e.g. kind, intelligent, friendly) characteristics are typically attributed to Romanian Roma. The response scale is a 5 point Likert scale from "Not at all" to "Definitively".
- Emotional reactions with regard to Romanian Roma: respondents are asked to report to what extent they feel a series of positive and negative feelings when thinking about Romanian Roma. Some of the emotions listed are: disgust, amusement, compassion, fear, anger, sympathy, etc. In total the emotional adjectives listed are 16 (8 positive and 8 negative). The response scale is a 5 point Likert scale from "Not at all" to "Definitively".
- To what extent people feel threatened by the presence of Romanian Roma in terms of physical safety, public health, private property, the job market and economic resources, effects on society. Subsequently the questionnaire reports a list of potential resources. The participants' are asked to evaluate to what extent each of them is associated to the presence of Romanian Roma. The response scale is a 5 point Likert scale from "Not at all" to "Definitively".
- People's beliefs about the life, habits, families and culture of Romanian Roma, e.g. their cleanliness and hygiene standards, the economic strategies for earning a living.
- Finally, the questionnaire includes some questions that investigate what kind of experiences respondents have had in terms of personal contact with Romanian Roma.

The grid for the interview includes similar topics.

Each unit of the MigRom project can use one of these instruments, according to preference, to collect data among a sample of residents in each country. The opportunity to collect data in various different European countries will provide comparisons in terms of the general population's attitudes towards Romanian Roma, especially regarding the feelings and stereotypes that they elicit.

The structured questionnaire to be administered on-line was completed and administered to a group of 85 students at the University of Verona as a preliminary test. The results of the data collected among students of the University of Verona was presented at the S.I.P.Co (*Società Italiana di Psicologia di Comunità*) Conference in Cesena (19-21 June 2014). Afterwards, the questionnaire was translated into French, Spanish and English and four on-line versions were implemented.

The aim of the attitudes survey through an on-line questionnaires is to involve a large number residents in each country. In Italy, we are particularly focusing on residents in the cities where the ethnographic fieldwork is being carried out: Milan, Florence and Bari. The administration of the questionnaire started in Milan: a group of 75 students at the University of Milan took part in the study.

During the subsequent months, the administration of the questionnaires to the general population was promoted further afield in Italy. Information about the links is being communicated to a large number of students: we have asked some colleagues in Italian Universities (in Milan, Florence, Bari, Palermo and Verona) to help. At the moment we are still collecting data.

Preliminary results of the survey

These results refer to the group of 85 students (preliminary test). Briefly, the results suggest that this sample has little knowledge of Romanian Roma and Roma in general and that anti-gypsyism is widespread. 10% of the participants think that the term ROM is the same as ROMANIAN. Most of the students believe that the two groups overlap in many aspects, with the exception of housing conditions: they think that Roma people live in camps whereas Romanian immigrants live in houses.

Moreover, participants reported the most negative attitudes towards Romanian Roma followed by other Roma, followed by Romanians who are not Roma. In general, the immigrant group is perceived in a less negative way.

The aspects that led to this negative evaluation of Romanian Roma mainly refer to the strategies that Romanian Roma resort to in order to earn money, their housing style (camps, which, in any case, is not always a choice), and the health and hygiene conditions in which they live. The adjectives most frequently attributed to Romanian Roma are sly, dirty, criminal and poor. The only positive adjective that is thought to characterize Romanian Roma is musical.

In line with this stereotype, the most intense emotions elicited by Romanian Roma are suspicion, anxiety and fear. Interestingly, the results also showed that the participants are curious and interested.

Finally, we observed that the students tended to overestimate the number of crimes committed by Romanian Roma.

With regard to the frequency and the quality of contacts that participants have had with Romanian Roma, the data showed that there is very little contact: most of the respondents reported only occasional encounters and a more in-depth acquaintance of one or more Roma is quite rare. Indeed, they stated that the main source of their information regarding Romanian Roma is the mass-media.

Attitudes of volunteers, social workers and police

In addition, the Italian unit created a questionnaire for three specific targets: local police, welfare and social workers, and volunteers who serve in NGOs supporting Roma. These participants will be recruited in Milan, Florence and Bari. We chose these 3 target groups because of their potential frequent contacts with Roma as a result of their occupation. Therefore, we expect their knowledge of the Romanian Roma lifestyle and culture to be more accurate than in the general population. For these 3 groups, a specific section was added to the questionnaire described above. It investigates the problems and difficulties that professionals and volunteers may encounter when working with the Romanian Roma.

7.0. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albarello, F., & Rubini, M. (2011). Outgroup projection: il caso degli stereotipi negativi attribuiti a Rom e Rumeni. *Psicologia Sociale*, 3, 353-363.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amnesty International (2011). "Tolleranza zero vero i rom". *Sgomberi forzati e discriminazione contro i rom a Milano*, link:

<http://www.amnesty.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeAttachment.php/L/IT/D/d%252Fa%252F1%252FD.a19b8b908eb4d3aad754/P/BLOB%3AID%3D5320>.

Amnesty International (2012), *Ai margini. Sgomberi forzati e segregazione dei rom in Italia*, link:

http://www.amnesty.it/flex/files/c/9/4/D.066624f5088cc13268e9/Ai_margini_sgomberi_forzati_e_segregazione_dei_rom_in_Italia.pdf.

Berti C., Pivetti M. e Di Battista S. (2013). The ontologization of Romani: An italian study on the cross-categorization approach . *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol.XXXVII, 405-414.

Cottrell, C. A., & Neuberg, S. L. (2005). Different Emotional Reactions to Different Groups: A Sociofunctional Threat-Based Approach to 'Prejudice.' *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 88, 770-789.

Dion, S. (2014). *Un monde européen, entre changements et mobilités. Une étude ethnographique menée auprès de familles roms roumaines en contexte migratoire, entre la région historique de Crişana (Roumanie) et l'agglomération lyonnaise (France)*. Thèse de Doctorat en Ethnologie, Université Catholique de Louvain-La-Neuve – Belgique.

Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Hepworth, K. (2012). "Abjecting Geographies: Imagining and Inhabiting the 'Nomad Camp' in Milan", in *The Politics of Place and Space: Exclusions, Resistance, and Alternatives*, Cambridge Scholars, link: <http://www.katehepworth.net/abjecting-geographies-imagining-and-inhabiting-the-nomad-camp-in-italy/#sthash.bVlrwplw.dpuf>.

IREF (Istituto di Ricerche Educative e Formative) (2010). *Rom, Sintì, Caminanti e Comunità Locali. Studio sulle popolazioni Rom, Sintè e Camminanti presenti nelle Regioni Convergenza. Report finale*, Roma.

Lamarca, V. (2007-2008), "*Se vuoi essere saggio, ascolta*". *Le comunità rom in Italia tra diversità e devianza*, Tesi di Laurea in Sociologia della devianza, Università degli studi di Bari.

Magnisi, M. (2012). *Rom oltre il campo. Storie di inclusione e formazione*, Bari: Stilo.

Monaci M.G., Trentin R. (2008). Gli alunni rom/sinti nella scuola media: Effetti del contatto sull'atteggiamento etnico nelle classi multiculturali. *Giornale Italiano di Psicologia*, 4, 933-958.

Navas, M., Cuadrado, I. & López-Rodríguez, L. (2012). Fiabilidad y evidencias de validez de la Escala de Percepción de Amenaza Exogrupal (EPAE). *Psicothema*, 24(3), 477-482.

Oppenheim, A. (1992). *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter.

Pinelli, B. (2010), Soggettività e sofferenza nelle migrazioni delle donne richiedenti asilo in Italia, in Ribeiro-Corossacz V., Gribaldo A., (a cura di), *Sul campo del genere. Ricerche etnografiche sul femminile e sul maschile*, Verona: Ombre Corte, 135-156.

Reis, H. T., & Judd, C. M. (2000). *Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personality Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sigona, N. (2008). Sono il nemico pubblico n.1?, *Reset*, n.107, 87-88.

Tomescu, D. (2003). *Intorno al fuoco*. Roma: Sinnos.

Trentin R., Monaci M.G., De Lumè F., Zanon O. (2006). Teachers' attitudes towards scholastic integration of Gypsies. *School Psychology International*, 27, 79-103.

Vietti, F. (2012). *Il paese delle badanti. Una migrazione silenziosa*, Torino: Sei Editrice.

Vitale, T. (2008). Etnografia degli sgomberi di un insediamento rom a Milano. L'ipotesi di una politica locale eugenetica, *Mondi migranti. Rivista di studi e ricerche sulle migrazioni internazionali*, 1, 59-74.

Voci A. & Hewstone M. (2003). Intergroup Contact and Prejudice Toward Immigrants in Italy: The Mediatonal Role of Anxiety and the Moderational Role of Group Salience, *Group Processes & Intergroup Relation*, 1(1), 37-54.