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Country Report: ITALY

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Abbreviations

ANCI	National Association of Italian Municipalities
DPCM	Presidential Decree of the Council of Ministers
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
FRI	Fondazione Romani Italy
ISFOL	Institute for the Development of Vocational Training of Workers
NFP	National Focal Point
NSRI	National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities
ONP	Operational National Programme
ROP	Regional Operation Programme
RSC	Roma, Sinti and Caminanti
UNAR	Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Roma in Italy

Size of the Roma Population

Italian national statistics and census records do not disaggregate data by ethnicity. Consequently, it is not possible to precisely assess the exact number of Roma people¹ living in Italy now or how this may have changed over time. In order to infer the size of Roma communities, it is worth comparing data gathered by different institutions and organisations. Roma people are resident in all of the Italian Regions, while Sinti people are mainly in Northern Italy.

In 2006, the Ministry of Interior estimated that roughly 140,000 Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (hereafter RSC) were resident in Italy at that time (Ministero dell'Interno, 2006: 19) which amounted to approximately 0.23% of the total population. In the same year, the Council of Europe and the Italian Ministry of Labour confirmed this finding (Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali (UNAR), 2012). In a 2010 survey carried out for the Italian Senate Commission of Human Rights (Commissione Straordinaria per la Tutela e la Promozione dei Diritti Umani, Senato della Repubblica Italiana, 2011), the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) estimated a national population of 130-150,000 Sinti and Roma. This

¹ In this report, Roma is used as “an umbrella term which includes groups of people who have more or less similar cultural characteristics, such as Sinti, Travellers, Kalé, Gens du voyage, etc. whether sedentary or not” (see European Commission, 2011, fn1). In the Italian context, the National Strategy uses the term ‘Roma, Sinti and Caminanti’ (RSC).

study indicated that the Roma community is a disproportionately young population, since about 45% are estimated to be under the age of 16, three times the proportion of the corresponding non-Roma Italian population (approximately 15%).

Approximately 50% of Roma people living in Italy are believed to hold Italian nationality, whereas of the other 50%, about 25% remain third country nationals, many who arrived in Italy in the 1990s after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (ibid.). The rest are originally from European states which acceded to the EU after 2004 (the majority from Romania (ibid.)). However, of course, there are also undocumented migrants amongst the Roma populace nationally to consider as well. There is fragmentary data concerning some cities. For example, the Prefecture of Rome detected the presence of 12-13,000 irregular Roma people within their jurisdiction, compared with 7,000 regular Roma people living in around 20 unauthorised camps (UNAR, 2012).

The only existing ethnicity monitoring data - although it only recorded those of Roma heritage - was collected during the Roma census of people living in the camps of Rome, Naples, and Milan, which was carried out between June and October 2008 under the framework of the so called ‘Nomad Emergency’ declared by the last Berlusconi government in 2008 (discussed in more depth below). This census was heavily criticised by human rights activists and even condemned by the judiciary because it involved photographing and finger

printing Roma in many settlements, then retaining that data in violation of the law. The final statistics, delivered by the Prefects of these three cities, calculated 167 camps of which 124 were illegal that contained 12,346 persons including 5,436 minors (Ministero dell'Interno, 2011). In May 2013 the Court of Rome found that:

“These identification methods [identification through fingerprinting and photographing] have caused discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, because that person of Roma ethnicity, an Italian national holding a document, was for no reason identified through fingerprinting and photographing as he was involved in an operation that was de facto directed to the Roma community.”²

Communities and Flows

The Roma living in today's Italy belong to a range of different communities, the result of several migration flows over recent centuries, a process that continues to the present day. They are not a homogenous group, either in terms of juridical status, religion or country of origin. The first communities settled in the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth century, and the first evidence of their presence in Italy occurred in 1422 in the Romagna area (located in what today is Emilia Romagna Region).

In the first part of twentieth century, the arrival from Eastern Europe of about 7,000 Roma people of Harvati, Kalderasha, Istrian and Slovenian origin constituted a second major migration stream. Subsequently, the third significant arrival was much larger, with about 40,000 Roma of Xoraxanè (Muslims from the former Yugoslavia), Dasikhanè

(Orthodox Christians of Serbian, Macedonian and Croatian origins), Arlija/Siptaira (of Kosovar and Macedonian origin) and Romanian origin taking place between the 1960s and the 1970s (see Bello and Hallilovich, 2013; De Vaux De Foletier, 2003; Piasere, 1999). By the end of the 1970s, Roma subgroups could be found in most Italian regions and most were active either in the agricultural sector or involved in traditional activities such as palmistry and horse trading. As with many non-Roma working in rural trades, the movement of Roma to larger cities in the Centre-North and North-East of Italy (UNAR, 2012) was mainly due to agricultural modernisation and the general processes of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Whereas economic developments *within* Italy were largely responsible for this rural-to-urban migration, events occurring beyond its borders, particularly after 1989, attracted new streams of Roma immigrants. This included those fleeing the Balkan wars to seek asylum in the country, as well as migrants from the group of Central and Eastern European countries which acceded to the EU in 2004, where economic changes after the collapse of communist regimes left many Roma unemployed and marginalised (European Roma Rights Centre, 2007: 16; and Lucero, Collum and Vermeersch, 2007). The final large scale influx was by European nationals who moved to Italy following the 4th enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2007.

Language

Roma and Sinti communities in Italy speak *Romani* dialects. While Roma people are in all regions, Sinti can be found mainly in Northern Italy (UNAR, 2012: 11). Caminanti people are mainly concentrated in the municipality of Noto in Sicily and have adopted the local dialect. Italy has not yet ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that was signed in Strasbourg on 5 November 1992 (see below).

² Court of Rome, Second Civil Division, RG No. 49444/2012. Unofficial translation available at: <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/domestic-salkanovic-ruling-eng-20130524.pdf> (accessed on 24 December 2013).

From 'Gypsy' and 'Nomad' to 'Roma, Sinti and Caminanti'

The most widespread terms used to refer to the Roma population in Italy are heteronyms (Piasere, 2004; and Vitale, 2010) like 'zingari' (*English translation: Gypsies*) or 'popolazione zingara' (*English translation: Gypsy population*) and 'nomadi'. These terms have been widely used both in public discourse and in legislative/policy documents concerning Roma including many local authority publications. The term 'nomad' was used in the Nomad Emergency Decree of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of 21 May 2008³ declaring a state of emergency in the Campania, Lazio and Lombardia regions until 31 May 2009 (see below). Sigona (2003: 74) explains that the construction of the Roma as nomads has strengthened the non-Roma Italian people's perception of Roma residents as 'others' and as just temporary residents in Italy.

³ Decree of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers on the state of emergency in relation to the settlements of nomad communities in the territory of the regions of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy of 21 May 2008. Three ordinances of the President of 30 May 2008, Nos. 3676/3677/3678, entitled "Urgent measures of civil protection aimed at confronting the state of emergency in relation to the settlements of the nomad communities in the territory of the regions of Lazio, Lombardy and Campania".

Chapter 2: The Policy Landscape

The adoption of the Italian National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (henceforth the NSRI) on 28 February 2012 (UNAR, 2012: 4) complied with obligations laid out in the *Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020* issued by the EU (European Commission, 2011). This marked a turning point in the way in which Roma communities were addressed in national documents. The NSRI itself refers to these communities as RSC and emphasises that “the old conception, which associated these communities with the solely (sic) connotation of ‘nomadism’ has been overcome: this term is outdated both linguistically and culturally, since it does not portray correctly the current situation” (UNAR, 2012: 4). A prominent example of this semantic change occurred in August 2013 when Senator Luigi Manconi, President of the Italian Senate Commission of Human Rights, questioned the General Commander of the Arma dei Carabinieri, Leonardo Gallitelli, and the Chief of Police, Alessandro Pansa, about the use of the term ‘zingari’ (Gypsies) in crime reporting forms adopted by the Carabinieri. General Commander Gallitelli promptly replied that he had asked for the term ‘zingari’ to be deleted from the interforces database of the Ministry of Interior and, consequently, from all offices of police and Carabinieri across the country.⁴

⁴ The text of the letter is available at: http://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg17/file/repository/commissioni/di_rittiumaniXVII/Denuncia.pdf (accessed on 22 January 2014).

Roma Specific Legislation Before the Adoption of the NSRI

Legislation concerning Roma in Italy has been issued at a regional level for many decades.⁵ These have had a heterogeneous focus, spanning from provisions aimed at the protection of Roma and Sinti culture to guidance on where municipalities should accommodate Roma and Sinti who have a nomadic (or semi-nomadic) lifestyle. Many regional laws also

⁵ For the full texts of the Regional regulations, see the webpage of the NGO Sucar Drom, available at: <http://www.sucardrom.eu/regionale.html>; The Regional Law of Lazio, LR n. 82/85, Norme a favore dei Rom¹, BUR n.16, del 10 giugno 1985, is available at: <http://www.comune.torino.it/stranierinomadi/nomadi/normativa/regionale/lazio.pdf>; The Regional Law of Lombardia is available at: <http://consiglionline.lombardia.it/normelombardia/accessibile/main.aspx?selnode=lr001989122200077p00al00at02a&view=showdoc&iddoc=lr001989122200077>; The Regional Law of Emilia Romagna, LR n. 47/88, Norme per le minoranze nomadi in Emilia Romagna¹, BUR n. 101 (25.11.1988), is available at: http://www.comune.torino.it/stranierinomadi/nomadi/normativa/regionale/em_romagna.pdf; The Regional Law of the Veneto, LR n. 54/89, Interventi a tutela della cultura dei rom e dei sinti¹, BUR n. 70/1989 (22.12.1989), available at: <http://www.consiglioveneto.it/crvportal/leggi/1989/89lr0054.html>; The The Regional Law of Umbria, LR n. 32/90, Misure per favorire l'inserimento dei nomadi nella societ¹ e per la tutela della loro identit e del loro patrimonio culturale¹, BUR n. 19 (02.05.1990), available at: <http://www.comune.torino.it/stranierinomadi/nomadi/normativa/regionale/umbria.pdf>; and The Regional Law of Friuli Venezia Giulia, LR n. 11/88, Norme a tutela della cultura rom nell'ambito del territorio della Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia, BUR n. 34 (15.04.1988), available at: <http://www.comune.torino.it/stranierinomadi/nomadi/normativa/regionale/friuli.pdf>. All accessed 4 January 2014.

require that municipalities provide basic services for the parking areas used by Roma temporarily stopping in the town, such as electricity, water, waste containers, and lavatories. Some of these legislative instruments have also prohibited accommodating Roma communities in marginalised areas, in order to support their access to education, services, healthcare and the social life of the area.

The first *national* legislation specifically targeting Roma people was the aforementioned *Nomad Emergency Decree* of 2008, which declared a state of emergency in the regions of Campania, Lazio and Lombardia until 31 May 2009. The state of emergency was extended to the Piedmont and Veneto regions in May 2009.⁶ The Decree, which also envisaged the appointment of delegate-Commissioners, was adopted on the basis of Law 225/1992 on the establishment of the civil protection service, which conferred powers on local authorities to use extraordinary means to derogate from legislation in force, in order to respond to natural calamities, catastrophes or similar events to the extent that the incident requires them. The 2008 Decree referred to Roma living in settlements as 'nomads' and stated that the settlements where they lived were an emergency since they threatened public order and security (Amnesty International, 2012; and Lorenzetti, 2010) and this justified the adoption of extraordinary and discriminatory measures. The Decree empowered local authorities to order Roma people's evictions and expulsions and to undertake a census of the Roma in these settlements. This involved the fingerprinting of those surveyed, this information was subsequently retained, as well as the replacement of unauthorised Roma camps by new authorised "equipped villages" or "villages of solidarity".

⁶ The state of emergency was extended through two ordinances of the President of 1 June 2009, Nos. 3776 and 3777, relating to the regions of Piedmont and Veneto.

However, on 16 November 2011, the Council of State⁷ declared the Decree void and, as a consequence, those acts made in exercising the so-called civil protection emergency powers were nullified. The post-Berlusconi technocratic Government (16 November 2011 - 27 April 2013) nonetheless appealed the sentence to Italy's Court of Cassation in February 2012, although many NGOs - such as Association 21, ASGI, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and Open Society Justice Initiative - tried to jointly call on the Government to drop the appeal (Human Right Watch, 2012). The Supreme Court eventually put an end to the so-called 'nomad emergency' on 2 May 2013, ruling that "there is no evidence of any unfruitful attempt to use the ordinary means"⁸ which may have justified the introduction of a state of emergency in 2008. Despite this judgment, many of the discriminatory practices against Roma which had been legitimised by the emergency provisions still persist (see below).

The Debate Concerning the Status of 'Minority'

Roma do not belong to the group of minorities recognised and protected by Italian Law No. 482/99 on the provisions concerning the protection of historical linguistic minorities (*norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*).⁹ Although in the preparatory work for this law the inclusion of Roma on the list of protected minorities was discussed, the circumstances that Roma communities were settled in across the nation was used as an argument that they lacked "a compact

⁷ More information is available (in English) at: <http://www.errc.org/article/end-of-the-road-for-italys-illegal-state-of-emergency/4137> (accessed on 13 November 2013).

⁸ Cassation Court, United Civil Sections, N. 9687/13 of 22 April 2013. Available (in Italian) at: http://www.asgi.it/public/parser_download/save/corte_cassazione_9687_13.pdf (accessed on 13 July 2013).

⁹ According to Art. 2 of the Law No. 482/99, all twelve indigenous linguistic minorities living in Italy are protected: Albanians, Catalans, Croatians, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulians, and Germanophone groups, Greeks, Ladins, Occitans, Sardinians and Slovenes.

territorial unity in the country” - a factor which, it was claimed, justified their exclusion from the final draft of the law (Bello, and Hallilovich, 2013: 220; and Dell’Agnese and Vitale, 2007).

During the Prodi Government (May 2006 to May 2008), two proposals were submitted to the Senate in order to recognise the Roma as a minority. At the First European Conference held on Roma in 2008 in Rome, former Minister of the Interior, Giuliano Amato, presented an integrated policy concerning the Roma population in Italy in line with the EU Roma Strategy of 2008,¹⁰ including recognising Roma as an ethnic and linguistic minority. The proposals were abandoned after the fall of that Government in the spring of 2008.

In June 2010, at an international conference entitled *The Legal Status of Roma and Sinti in Italy*, various issues concerning the conditions of Roma in Italy were discussed. This event, which was hosted at the University Milano-Bicocca in Milan, gathered together 750 researchers, Roma and non-Roma stakeholders, policy makers and other interested participants. Subsequently, the main conveners of the conference - Professor Alessandro Simoni and Professor Paolo Bonetti - drafted a bill on Roma protection and equal opportunities (Simoni and Bonetti, 2011). In September 2013, at the event *Roma, Sinti and Travellers: A Bill for the Recognition, the Protection and the Social Promotion of the Minority*, organised by the NGO 21 Luglio and the Italian Senate Commission of Human Rights sought to explore possible paths for the recognition, protection and social cohesion of Roma in Italy. On this occasion, two bills were presented by Professor Francesco Palermo. The first aimed to ratify the European Charter for regional or minority languages and protect the Roma language and culture, and the second, on provisions for the

¹⁰ European Parliament Resolution of 31 January 2008 on a European strategy on the Roma, available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P6-TA-2008-0035&language=EN> (accessed 27 January 2014).

protection and equal opportunities of the Roma and Sinti minority, aimed to foster equal opportunities for Roma in Italy.

In October later that year, Senators Donno and Palermo visited Roma settlements in the Salaria Street area and the ‘equipped village’ in della Cesarina Street in Rome, accompanied by members of the NGO 21 Luglio.¹¹ Later in the November, Senator Francesco Palermo and Professor Paolo Bonetti also met some representative members of the *Federazione nazionale rom e Sinti*¹² in order to discuss the second bill.¹³

Adoption and Implementation of NSRI since 2012

The NSRI was adopted by the post-Berlusconi *ad interim* technocratic government on 28 February 2012. The then Minister for Integration Policies and International Cooperation, Andrea Riccardi,¹⁴ strongly supported the adoption of the NSRI and on several occasions stressed the changing policy landscape in Italy which was shifting from the security-driven approach to Roma issues of the Berlusconi government to a more inclusive strategy launched by its successor.

Riccardi adopted an inter-ministerial and multi-level approach to this new phase of Roma policies. He established a political ‘control room’ for the relevant Roma policies to be enacted in the coming years

¹¹ Further information is available at: http://www.senato.it/1383?documento=2511&voce_sommario=90 (accessed on 5 January 2014).

¹² The Federazione nazionale rom e sinti is one of the two main federations of Roma NGOs in Italy. The other is the Federazione Romani. Information on each organisation can be found at the following links: <http://comitatoromsinti.blogspot.de/> and <http://federazioneromani.wordpress.com/>.

¹³ The article concerning the meeting is available at: <http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/00720324.pdf> (accessed 5 January 2014).

¹⁴ Andrea Riccardi is the founder of the Community of Sant’Egidio, established in 1968 as an association committed to evangelisation and solidarity with the poor and marginalised people (including Roma). See Bello and Hallilovich (2013).

that was attended jointly by the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, the Minister of Interior, the Minister of Health, the Minister of Education, University and Research, and the Minister of Justice. The control room involved representatives of regional and local authorities, representatives of the RSC communities, as well as other stakeholders. The control room's activities are expected to continue, on a regular basis, during the implementation of the NSRI.

Staff from the Office Against Racial Discrimination (UNAR), which was designated as the National Focal Point (NFP) for implementing the NSRI, had been involved in the control room since the beginning and wrote the text of the NSRI. The content benefitted greatly from insights taken from socio-legal studies, from the findings of previous pieces of research produced on the situation of Roma in Italy, as well as from the outcomes of the 2010 conference *The Legal Status of Roma and Sinti in Italy* noted above. The text of the NSRI also upheld the stances of activists advocating for Roma rights.¹⁵ All in all, the NSRI is a comprehensive legal text which can rightly be considered as evidence-based policy.

The implementation of the NSRI has gained growing attention among non-Roma under the current Grand Coalition Government led by Matteo Renzi since 22 February 2014. As a reaction against measures aimed at fostering the social cohesion of migrants and Roma, more populist and Eurosceptic discourses - such as those promoted by Northern League politician Matteo Salvini MEP - quickly spread.¹⁶ Besides, the view that the economic crisis

is contributing to an increase in discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is now much more widespread than in 2009, rising by 14% to 51% in just three years (Eurobarometer 2012: 106).

The NSRI, which is based on an inter-ministerial approach, plans to prevent discrimination as well as accomplish specific interventions in four macro-areas: employment, education, housing and health. The need to adopt a sensitive approach to gender-specific issues is stressed by a specific paragraph focused on this subject (UNAR, 2012: 21). The Strategy also stresses the importance of focusing on children, adolescents, the elderly and those with disabilities, and particular attention is paid to Roma young offenders.

The NSRI also stresses the need for effective monitoring of its implementation, a process which should involve Roma communities. As far as the participation of Roma communities in the NSRI is concerned, four technical tables are outlined in the text where the various relevant stakeholders meet and share information about particular thematic areas. Each table focuses on one of the four macro areas noted in the NSRI (housing, health, employment and education) (UNAR, 2012: 3 and 89). Additionally, UNAR published a public tender on its website asking for relevant stakeholders interested in managing the participation of Roma associations in the monitoring of the NSRI to come forward.

Among the initiatives planned by the NSRI are: (1) the development of an *ad hoc* bill concerning the recognition of Roma communities as a national minority (also emphasised in bold in the official text); (2) specific work on "the heterogeneous legal status of those undocumented Roma people who arrived in Italy in particular in the aftermath of the Balkan

¹⁵ 'The legal status of Roma and Sinti in Italy', Milano (Italy), 16-18 June 2010, organised by the Bicocca University in cooperation with ASGI - Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione (Association for Juridical Studies on Migration) (see Bonetti, Simoni and Vitale, 2011).

¹⁶ An example of statements made by Salvini can be viewed online. On the Roma camps: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjIOWplPlbw>; concerning refugees <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ht3aLYJHWJI> and <http://video.repubblica.it/dossier/emergenza-lampedusa->

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nwtkto0ytmgQ> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aBw1qYvYhoQ>.

conflict” (UNAR, 2012: 44); and (3) the Remembrance of the ‘Porrajmos’ or Roma Holocaust (Scarpelli and Rossi, 2004). Additionally, it acknowledges the need to bridge the gap between Roma and non-Roma people, to take into account the claims of people living near the Roma settlements and proposes establishing bilateral bodies, including organisations representing both RSC peoples and the local community.

The implementation of the NSRI has been affected by the changes of government in Italy. In fact, since 2011, three Italian Governments have followed one another and this has hindered the implementation of the NSRI, although it is now supposed to go ahead at full pace. However, to date, there have been no monitoring reports on tasks implemented in the first year of the NSRI, although some meetings have taken place in order to update on the status of activities. On 18 December 2013, the Italian Senate Commission of Human Rights approved a resolution for the use of EU structural funds to implement the NSRI.¹⁷ The resolution calls on the Italian Government to adopt urgent measures for the social inclusion of Roma and to provide the implementation of the NRSI with adequate funds by inserting its objectives among those of the nation’s European Structural Fund Plan 2014-2020.

Good Practices in Roma Inclusion

Despite the discriminatory measures adopted against Roma people in Italy during the ‘Roma emergency’, some good practices developed at the local level, conceived by both NGOs and by local authorities, can be identified. Most good practice implemented by mayors in a number of Italian cities concern education, such as bus services to assist Roma children to get to school (for a critical look at this practice, see Associazione 21 Luglio, 2011). In general, before the adoption of the NRSI, integrated approaches targeting all those key areas which now appear in the Strategy were very rare to find. One exception, which sought to empower “the Roma citizen” was the project Thin Cities (*Città Sottili*) developed in Pisa in the Tuscany region. This ambitious housing-focused initiative aimed to increase the social inclusion of Roma living in Pisa by ensuring the participation of Roma communities throughout the delivery of the scheme. The project created standard housing units where Roma people could move from “nomad camps”. Some Roma worked in the construction of the houses and the transition was supported by Roma mediators (Sconosciuto and Minghi, 2007).

¹⁷ Commissione straordinaria diritti umani del Senato, 2013. Risoluzione strategia nazionale d’inclusione dei Rom, Sinti e Caminanti in Italia. Available at: <http://www.senato.it/application/xmanager/projects/leg17/file/Risoluzione%20Strategia.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

Chapter 3: Reporting and Redress Mechanisms in Respect of Anti-Gypsyism

Experiences of Discrimination and Awareness about Discrimination

According to available studies, Roma in Italy often perceive being discriminated against on the grounds of their ethnicity in almost all areas of life, both in their contact with institutions and in society at large. According to a 2012 Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) survey, around 60% of Roma respondents in Italy said that they had experienced discriminatory treatment because of their Roma origin in the 12 months preceding the survey (FRA, 2012: 26). The perception of Roma in Italy by non-Roma was detailed in the Eurobarometer report of 2012 (European Commission, 2012). According to this survey, 51% of Italian respondents declared that society would not benefit from better integration of Roma (ibid: 116). Furthermore, 48% of Italian respondents believed citizens in their country would feel uncomfortable if their children had Roma schoolmates (ibid: 113). In addition to such quantitative data, qualitative research also confirms the range of labels regularly associated with Roma including 'fortune tellers', 'child kidnappers', 'deviant', 'delinquent', 'nomads' and 'zingari' (Sigona, 2003; Sigona, 2008a; Sigona, 2008b; Sigona, 2011; Sigona and Nidhi, 2011; and Vitale, 2010).

With regards to institutional discrimination, defined by Farkas (2007: 7) as "the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and

professional service to Roma through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping", a number of examples have been described in several pieces of qualitative research by scholars (see, for example, Sigona and Monasta, 2006) and NGOs (for example, Amnesty International, 2010; Amnesty International, 2012b, Associazione 21 Luglio, 2013; Berenice et. al., 2013; and Open Society Institute, 2008).

The spatial segregation of Roma people in 'campi nomadi', often ghetto-like settlements, can be considered the archetypal form of institutional discrimination taking place against these communities in Italy (European Roma Rights Centre, 2000). Three kinds of camps have developed over the years: (1) 'authorised' or 'equipped' camps;¹⁸ (2) 'semi-authorised' or 'tolerated' camps;¹⁹ and (3) 'unauthorised' or 'illegal' camps.²⁰ The latter type has been particularly targeted by the police and local authorities during recent years and residents have often been forcibly evicted. The lack of access to social dwellings, though, has forced Roma people to rebuild new illegal encampments in other parts of the cities. It

¹⁸ Authorised camps are established by local authorities and supplied with basic facilities.

¹⁹ Semi-authorised settlements are either former 'authorised' camps 'declassified' by local authorities or spontaneous settlements recognised ex-post by municipalities (see European Roma Rights Centre, 2013).

²⁰ Unauthorised camps are often located on the outskirts of towns, and in polluted areas, such as waste dumps. Roma families living there often do not have access to drinking water, electricity, heating and gas for cooking (ibid.).

has rightly been maintained that the practice of forced evictions has compelled Roma communities to become nomadic and has ultimately reinforced the mainstream society's perception that Roma are indeed nomads. The Roma settlements were also the locations of the multiple discriminatory acts which took place under the framework of the aforementioned *Nomad Emergency Decree* (see above). This decree legitimised extraordinary measures against the Roma people in breach of anti-discrimination law because of alleged threats to public order and security caused by these communities in Italy (European Roma Rights Centre, Open Society Institute and Osservazione, 2009). As a consequence, Roma people (including children) living in the nomad camps in those regions involved in the state of emergency (Lombardia, Lazio, Campania, Veneto and Piedmont) were identified, subject to fingerprinting or the gathering of anthropometric data, regardless of their national status (European Roma Rights Centre et al., 2008: 19-20). On 10 July 2008, the European Parliament issued a resolution stating that "such acts would constitute a violation of the prohibition on direct and indirect discrimination, particularly as laid down in Council Directive 2000/43/EC and enshrined in Articles 12, 13 and 17 to 22 of the EC Treaty".²¹ It also emphasises that "policies which increase exclusion will never be effective in combating crime and will not contribute to crime prevention or security" (par.4). Therefore, it urged the Italian authorities to:

"...refrain from collecting fingerprints from Roma, including minors, and from using fingerprints already collected, pending the forthcoming announced evaluation by the Commission of the measures envisaged, as this would clearly constitute an act of direct discrimination based on race and ethnic origin prohibited by Article 14 of the

²¹ European Parliament resolution of 10 July 2008 on the census of the Roma on the basis of ethnicity in Italy [P6_TA (20080361)].

ECHR and furthermore an act of discrimination between EU citizens of Roma origin and other citizens, who are not required to undergo such procedures" (par.1).

As a consequence of pressure from the EU, on 17 July 2008 the Italian Government issued a document entitled *Implementing Guidelines of the Presidential Ordinances*, with the approval of the Italian Data Protection Authority. This ordered that the operations of the Prefects cannot target specific groups or individuals, but rather all people living in illegal or legal encampments, regardless of their nationality, ethnicity and religion. Despite these statements, it was widely held that Roma were the real target of the census, because in reality just this community live in the 'campi nomadi' in Italy. In fact, prominent NGOs advocating for Roma rights promptly pointed out that:

"The reason that ethnicity was not an explicit subject of these censuses is very simple: there was no need to establish the ethnicity of the residents as it is well known to the authorities. The camps targeted for census activity were either camps established by the government for the express purpose of holding Roma and Sinti, or informal camps that are almost exclusively inhabited by Roma" (European Roma Rights Centre, Osservazione and Amalipé Romanò, 2010: 5).

It is worth noting that despite the ruling of the Italian courts (see above) and the action taken by several NGOs, data collected during the census has still not been deleted.

As a direct consequence of the *State of Emergency*, new *Piani Nomadi* (Nomad Plans) were presented by the major Italian cities in 2009 and substantive budgets were allotted for them (Berenice, et al.,

2013). This is not surprising since the mobilisation of extraordinary financial resources and powers is intrinsically inherent to securitisation processes (Bello, forthcoming 2014). The Nomad Plans were described as innovative integration tools but, in reality, they did not adopt any long-term objectives which envisaged transition to permanent housing for those Roma wishing to leave the camps (Amnesty International, 2010; Cittalia-ANCI Foundation Research, 2011; and Clough Marinaro, 2009), nor did they involve Roma communities in the preparation and implementation of the plans.

For instance, the Piani Nomadi of the Municipality in Rome planned to transform eighty unauthorised Roma settlements, fourteen tolerated camps and seven authorised settlements into thirteen authorised camps. A report delivered by the Associazione 21 Luglio (2013: 13) stated:

“As of 31 December 2012, 4 “tolerated camps” were closed – Casilino 900, La Martora, via del Baiardo and Tor de’ Cenci – and the “tolerated camp” in La Barbuta was replaced by a new equipped village. Therefore, presently the situation appears to be as follows: today there are 8 equipped villages as opposed to the 7 equipped villages that existed in 2009; the 14 “tolerated camps” were reduced to 8 and, as a result of the evictions, the 80 informal settlements fragmented into 200 micro settlements scattered on the municipal territory. As of 31 December 2012, there were three Roma gathering centers”.

In order to accommodate the whole Roma population living in all the camps into this smaller number of authorised camps, a number of eligibility criteria for the admission in the new camps were set. This included a clean criminal record, a commitment to send children to school and to attend

inclusion programs. However, these new camps are, in much the same way as previous ones, segregated and Roma-only settlements. Most of them are characterised by a high degree of control (including video-surveillance) and are managed by social co-operatives selected by the municipalities through very expensive competitive tenders (Berenice, et al, 2013).

Another example of discrimination against Roma people in the housing sector concerns the deliberate infringement by the municipality of Milan of agreements promising public housing for some Roma families previously living in the camp situated in Triboniano Street, officially closed on 2 May 2011. In 2011, however, the Milan civil court upheld the complaint lodged by ten Roma, eventually finding that the non-allocation of public housing was discriminatory on the basis of applicants’ ethnic origin.²²

Anti-Discrimination Law

The principle of formal and substantive equality was first proclaimed by Article 3 of the Italian Constitution which states:

“All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions. It is the duty of the Republic to remove those obstacles of an economic or social nature which constrain the freedom and equality of citizens, thereby impeding the full development of the human person and the effective participation of all workers in the political, economic and social organisation of the country.”

²² Tribunal of Milan, 24.01.2011, available at: http://www.asgi.it/public/parser_download/save/tribunale_milano_ordinanza_24012011.pdf (accessed 23 November 2013).

Before the implementation of the EU Directives in 2003, L. 300 of 1970 (known as the Workers' Act) sanctioned direct, as well indirect, discrimination in respect of the assignment of a worker's qualifications or duties, in their transfers, any disciplinary proceedings and dismissal on the grounds of political, religious, racial, linguistic or gender status. With regard to immigration law, Article 43 of the Immigration Act 1998 (usually referred to as the 'Turco-Napolitano' law),²³ which applies to all Italian and non-Italian citizens, provides detail on the circumstances when direct and indirect discrimination occur in areas such as goods and services, housing, employment, and social services on the grounds of race and colour, ethnic origin, religious beliefs and practices.

The implementation of the EU anti-discrimination Directives introduced a thorough set of anti-discrimination legislations in Italy. More precisely, two Legislative Decrees were approved by the Government in 2003. First, the Legislative Decree n. 215 of 9 July 2003,²⁴ implemented the Directive 2000/43/EC²⁵ enacting the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and, in conjunction with the Presidential Decree of the Council of Ministers (DPCM) of 11 December 2003, also established the UNAR, which has been operational since November 2004. Protection against discrimination based on Roma heritage is covered by sections on ethnic origin within the Decrees and also within the competences of UNAR, the Italian Equality Body, which is now the Italian Focal Point for the NRSI. As far as the subjective and objective scopes of the Decrees are

²³ Legislative Decree 286/98 Disposition concerning the Immigration regulations and stranger conditions norms (modified by the Law 189/2002). The text of the law in Italian is available at: <http://www.altalex.com/index.php?idnot=51629#titolo5> (accessed 23 January 2014).

²⁴ Published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of 12 August 2003, no. 186.

²⁵ Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML> (accessed 15 Feb 2014).

concerned, they are in line with the provisions of the EU Directives. Nationality is not a protected characteristic listed in the Decrees but, according to the EU provisions, protection from discrimination based on the categories covered by the Decrees apply to all Italian and non-Italian persons; Second, the Legislative Decree n. 216 of 9 July 2003,²⁶ implemented the Directive 2000/78/EC establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation on the grounds of religion and belief, age, sexual orientation, and disability.²⁷

Reporting Mechanisms

The two anti-discrimination Decrees of 2003 introduced a simplified procedure to lodge discrimination cases. The victim can choose to take their case before the ordinary civil courts, without even a lawyer's assistance, but also has the option to try pre-trial mediation. Should a judge find that discrimination has occurred, the plaintiff can obtain a court order for the termination of the discrimination, compensation for both pecuniary and non-pecuniary loss and publication of the judgment in a major newspaper.

In the last five years, some landmark judgements have found the Italian authorities responsible for discrimination against Roma in Italy. They are very instructive for understanding the Italian situation (Bello, forthcoming 2014). The first case, in 2008, concerned a 16-year-old Romanian Roma girl who was accused of trying to abduct a child from a flat in the Ponticelli district of Naples. Despite the girl repeatedly declaring her innocence she was imprisoned and eventually sentenced to three years and eight months in a juvenile institute. The Juvenile

²⁶ Published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of 13 August 2003, no. 187.

²⁷ Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation. Available at: <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0078:en:HTML> (accessed 14 February 2014).

Court denied alternative measures to detention requested by her lawyers and several NGOs because the girl was “fully inserted into the traditions typical of Roma culture which renders concrete the danger of recidivism, in the absence of concrete processes of analysis of her life experiences” (Human Rights Watch, 2012: 48). The Court specified that no alternative measures would be adequate for the young offender, because of her “adherence to Roma traditions which by common experience determine in their adherents a lack of respect for rules” (ibid.). This sentence was very harsh, if one considers that juvenile justice authorities usually try to apply alternative measures to detention (such as insisting on school attendance instead, see Larizza, (2012: 112)). In February 2010, the Court of Cassation declared that the decision of the Juvenile Court was *contra ius* and discriminatory and annulled it.²⁸

The second case concerns an Italian citizen of Roma origin, Elviz Salkanovic, who was identified through fingerprinting and photography in the settlement known as ‘Casilino 900’ in Rome during the census undertaken in the wake of the Roma emergency detailed above. A number of NGOs - Associazione 21 Luglio, Associazione Studi Giuridici sull’Immigrazione and the Open Society Justice Initiative - filed a petition on behalf of Salkanovic against the Italian government,²⁹ seeking to obtain a judgment that the census violated Italian and EU anti-discrimination and data protection laws. The Court of Rome found that the Italian government had discriminated against the claimant and ordered the Ministry of the Interior to destroy any personal

²⁸ Cassation Court, Criminal Section V, 3 February - 7 May 2010, n. 17696. This judgment echoed the European Court of Human Rights’ decision in the case *Paraskeva Todorova vs. Bulgaria* (Application no. 37193/07), available at: <http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/view.asp?item=1&portal=hbkm&action=html&highlight=37193/07%20|%2037193/07&sessionid=50355116&skin=hudoc-en> (accessed 25 November 2013).

²⁹ *Salkanovic v Ministry of Interior*, unofficial translation available at: <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/domestic-salkanovic-ruling-eng-20130524.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2014).

data held on Salkanovic. It also paid €8,000 in moral damages and ordered the publication of the ruling in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*.

Institutional Structures for Reporting Discrimination

As a consequence of the implementation of Directive 2000/43/CE, Italy established its first Equality Body – the UNAR - for combating racial and ethnic discrimination. UNAR (2012: 11) is empowered:

- to prevent discrimination, through awareness-raising activities and dissemination of information;
- to contrast discrimination, by providing legal aid in civil and administrative proceedings and inquiring the existence of alleged discriminations;
- to promote positive actions, research, training courses and exchange of experiences; and
- to monitor the effective implementation of equal treatment and of the protection mechanisms.

The office has been providing legal assistance to alleged victims of discrimination in cooperation with external lawyers. A hotline and an email address are available for reporting discrimination cases, both by victims themselves and by witnesses (see below). The Inter-Ministerial Decree of 16 December 2005 - issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies and by the Ministry for Equal Opportunities - strengthened the protection of victims of

Table 1: Cases Concerning Discrimination Against Roma People

Sector	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Housing	4		7			1		1	2	15
Police forces	1	1	1						7	10
Mass Media	1					5	14	15	41	76
Public life	1		4			3	2	21	62	93
Public transportation	1		1			1		2	2	7
Supply of services provided by public entities	3	1	1			4		14	24	47
School, education	1	1	1			3	1	1	1	9
Supply of services provided by commercial enterprises		1							2	3
Healthcare								1	1	2
Work sector								1	1	2
Supply of financial services									1	1
Total	12	4	15	0	0	17	17	56	144	

discrimination by introducing a Registry of those associations which are officially permitted to support victims before the courts and to act in their names or on their behalf in legal proceedings. UNAR also provides informal conciliation solutions in order to manage cases of discriminations.

As noted above, UNAR established a national reporting body, the Contact Centre, in 2004 which operates a national hotline. Since December 2009, the centre combines a free telephone number and a website, which can be used by anyone - either witness or victim - to report cases of discrimination on-line or by email. Since 2011 it deals with all grounds of discriminations covered by Directive 2000/78/EC and 2000/43/EC. The Centre provided some data on cases of discrimination concerning Roma people between 2005 and 2013 for this report (see Table 1 above).

National Strategies to Curb Discrimination and Anti-Gypsyism

In order to tackle the stigmatisation and criminalisation of Roma communities, in 2010 UNAR joined the campaign “Dosta!” launched by the Council of Europe, which aims to promote positive images of Roma people and their participation in the cultural, social and political life of the country.³⁰ The adoption of the NSRI on 28 February 2012 marked a turning point in the government’s commitment to tackling discrimination against Roma. The NSRI acknowledges that the effective implementation of the principle of equality, the prevention of marginalisation and discrimination, and the adoption of measures for the promotion of social inclusion/integration are intertwined. It recalls the importance of the so-called substantial equality principle, in line with Article 3, paragraph 2 of the Italian Constitution.

³⁰ A film of the campaign in Italian is available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GRwX03W9YNA> (accessed 23 January 2014).

Other Issues: Deconstruction of Stereotypes

Stereotypes concerning Roma in Italy have influenced not only non-Roma perceptions of Roma, but have also shaped attitudes towards Roma in legal proceedings. The case about the Romanian Roma girl noted earlier demonstrates how stereotypes of Roma as 'child snatchers' work in daily life. Tosi Cambini (2008) explored this issue at length in her insightful analysis of Italian case-law between 1986 and 2007 on child abductions purportedly committed by Roma. The research, which delves into the police investigations in these cases, demonstrated that no-one identified as Roma was held responsible for the reported allegations and in only a single case one Roma person was convicted because of attempted abduction.

Chapter 4: Preparation for Roma Children Leaving Care

Italian Legislation

According to current Italian legislation, institutional care can last until the age of 18 and in some circumstances can be extended until the age of 21. Law 328/2000³¹ (on the Implementation of an Integrated System of Social Intervention and Services) and Law 149/2001 (on the Rules for the Adoption and Foster Care of Children, amending Law 183/84) provide the framework for child protection and social services provision in Italy. The regions and local authorities are assigned responsibilities to prevent child abandonment, to implement measures to support families at risk and to deliver family-based and foster care facilities. According to Italian law, the general rule is that a child's removal and placement in alternative care should be intended as a temporary measure, one which should support relations with the family of origin. In January 2011, the Italian government adopted a new National Action Plan on Childhood and Adolescence.³²

³¹ See http://www.fondazionepromozionesociale.it/Legge_assistenza.htm

³² Italy, National Action Plan on Childhood and Adolescence, published on 9 May 2011 in the Gazzetta Ufficiale. Before that, Italy's last National Action Plan on Childhood and Adolescence was for the period 2002-2004. According to Presidential Decree 103/2007, the National Observatory on Childhood and Adolescence is charged with drafting a National Action Plan on Childhood and Adolescence every two years, which should be adopted by a Decree of the President of the Republic. Available at: <http://www.minori.it/dpr-103-2007> (accessed 13 February 2014).

Existing Data and Findings

State authorities do not record data on the ethnicity of children placed in institutional care because the collection and retention of sensitive data (which includes ethnic origin) is prohibited by the Personal Data Protection Code,³³ apart from cases authorised by law or for reasons of public interest. Roma children usually figure in data related to 'foreign' or 'migrant' minors, but without any reference to their ethnic origin. According to a recent study from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (Ministero del Lavoro e Politiche Sociali, 2012: 19), about 29,388 minors were estimated to be placed in institutional care at the end of 2011 (in some regions, the exact number of children was just inferred, due to the lack of available data). Around half were hosted in residential care institutions (14,991), while half was offered *family*-based care (14,397) of which 17% had foreign nationality (ibid: 21).

A recent qualitative research report on Roma children in institutional care (European Roma Rights Centre, et al., 2011: 36), which included a number of interviews undertaken in several Italian cities (Bari, Naples, Rome, Autonomous Province of Bolzano and Milan), highlighted that while ethnic data might not be 'officially' collected they may be gathered less formally in internal reports and documents. The study specifically underlined the fact that in 22

³³ Legislative Decree n. 196 of 30 June 2003, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic 29 July 2003, n. 174.

childrens' homes visited in the Naples, Rome and Bari areas, 15 of 144 (10.4%) children were migrant Roma (ibid: 35). In all the countries covered by the study (including Italy), the authors concluded that "Roma children are disadvantaged on multiple grounds when it comes to child protection placement, in-care treatment and leaving, including on the basis of their ethnicity, poverty, disability and institutionalised child status" (ibid.: 42). An interviewee in Rome stated that Roma migrant children constituted 45% of the total minors received at one of the centres visited during the fieldwork. In Milan, respondents noted that Roma migrant children are often out of the child protection system because unauthorised camps are disregarded by social services (ibid: 36). They also reported that 40 out of the 93 Romani minors hosted by care institutions in 2009 by Milan authorities had escaped several times.

Data provided by respondents in Naples was slightly different and showed that Roma children (mostly from Romania) amounted to around 35-40% of children temporarily placed in institutional care, but there was only a small number of Roma minors placed in permanent out-of-family care or placed for adoption (ibid: 35). The qualitative data collected in Naples seemed to contradict evidence from many other Italian cities which showed how Roma children are more often declared available for adoption by Juvenile Courts than their non-Roma peers (between 1985 and 2005 this reached a proportion 17:1, see Piasere, 2010: 15).

A recent study (Associazione 21 Luglio, 2013: 22) makes reference to the data from research carried out by Carlotta Saletti Salza between 1985 and 2005 (see Saletti Salza, 2010) that stated 258 Roma minors were declared available for adoption. If one considers that the Roma population is about 0.23% of the whole population of Italy, a disproportionate number of Roma was actually made available for adoption. According to Salza, the reason for the removal of Roma children from their parents should be mostly found in their material poverty as well as the housing and economic conditions of Roma families, rather than in parental inadequacy. Despite Italian law³⁴ banning this as a justification for removal, these data are confirmed also by the aforementioned study by the European Roma Rights Centre and other NGOs (2011: 42), which found begging and precarious living conditions in the camps were the main factors leading to the suspension of parental authority. Similarly, social mediators in Italy explain that child protection authorities have an assumption that Roma families "are not able to raise and educate their children" (ibid: 8). This attitude towards Roma families may obviously have a negative influence on their interactions with them. This study also explained that, according to many respondents, child protection workers do not visit the Roma communities and therefore have little knowledge about the complexity of Roma people's situation in the camps. As a consequence suitable solutions and interventions are rarely adopted and "judicial authorities often intervene in situations that would rather require a social intervention" (ibid.: 48).

³⁴ Art. 1(2) of Law 4 May 1983, n. 184. "Provisions regarding the adoption and foster placement of children", as amended by the Law 149/2001 states: "Poverty of the parents or of the parent with custody should not be a barrier to the child's exercise of the right to his or her own family. To this end, support and assistance actions in the favour of the family shall be provided for." An English version available at: http://www.childsrights.org/html/site_en/law_download.php?id=369 (accessed 15 February 2014).

Chapter 5: Employment

There is little data on rates of employment among Roma in Italy. According to a recent inquiry carried out by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, only around 10% of Roma participants in the research, aged between 20 and 64 years old, declared themselves to be in paid employment (excluding self-employment) (see FRA, 2012: 16) compared to more than 60% of the general population. The number of Roma declaring that they are unemployed is up to 4 times more than non-Roma (ibid: 17).

The data collected in the camps in Rome during the census carried out as a consequence of the Emergency Decree of 2008 showed that 73% of the Roma living there were without employment, yet those in work living in these camps were comprised of: blacksmiths (5% women and 8% men); housewives (4% as an average and 8% women); itinerant (street) vendors (3.5% both men and women); domestic workers (1.2% as an average and 2.3% women); and unskilled workers in the building industry (1.2% in general and 2.3% men) (see Strati, 2011: 9).

Chirico (2008) indicates that nearly 90% of Roma people are unemployed. These figures are confirmed by qualitative research from Regione Toscana and Fondazione Michelucci (2010) that details the kinds of activities (mainly temporary) in which Roma are usually involved: collecting recyclable garbage, decontaminating asbestos sites and washing windscreens near to traffic lights.

Housing exclusion (through segregation in Roma settlements), limited access to vocational training to acquire or improve the necessary skills, a lack of proper documentation and permits to stay, and prejudice and negative stereotypes towards Roma people are all structural obstacles preventing Roma people from entering the labour market (Strati, 2011).

However, substantial differences exist between Roma that have been settled for decades or even centuries on the Italian peninsula and those newcomers from the countries of the former Yugoslavia or recently acceded EU countries (mainly from Romania). In fact, various surveys (see Tavolo Rom di Milano, 2009 and IREF, 2010) provide evidence that Italian Roma belonging to the communities of old settlers (Bello and Halilovich, 2013) are more regularly employed than those that arrived in recent migration waves.

Economic development and industrialisation, though, have made Roma's traditional occupations - such as horse traders, blacksmiths and fairground people - largely disappear and this has dramatically impacted Roma employment opportunities. Due to chronic unemployment, Roma women and children are often involved in begging activities. Italian media reports also highlight that besides these cases, begging rackets are organised by criminal organisations from Romania which exploit Romanian citizens of Roma or other (for example Turkish) origin (Guastella, 2012; and, for a different

perspective, see Bontempelli, 2008). Small scale research in Sicily provides evidence that the involvement of Roma immigrants in the informal economy has had some positive repercussions on their social advancement (Saitta, 2010).

The following descriptions of the various RSC communities in Italy are taken from Strati (2011: 39) on the basis of secondary data relating to the prevalent occupations among each group:

- Sinti: Traditionally 'fairground folk', such as horse trainers, merry-go-round-keepers, artists and performers in amusement parks and circuses. Currently some deal in scrap-metal and second hand cars, others sell items such as artificial bonsai;
 - Roma and Camminanti (Travellers): Engaging in precarious activities substituted for traditional occupations, following economic changes (for example, some families specialised in bricklaying and seasonal agricultural work or working in their own plots of land);
 - Roma Abruzzesi and Molisani: Horse breeders and dealers and palmistry (mainly women);
 - Roma Napoletani (Napulengre): Traditionally involved in travelling shows with ponies and player-pianos, production of fishing tools, and the training of little parrots in palmistry. Currently some of them still practice these ancestral occupations, but many are small street-traders;
 - Roma Cilentani (Ròmje Celentani): Traditionally involved in street-repairing of agricultural tools. Currently integrated in local economy and with high education attainments (such as university degrees);
 - Roma Lucani (Ròmije Basalisk): Traditionally horse breeders and artisans of small metal utensils. Currently the most integrated communities in the local economy;
 - Roma Pugliesi: Still involved in traditional activities as horse-butchers, soap producers, artisans of small metal utensils and seasonal agricultural labourers. Integrated in the local economy, but with a lower living standard than Roma Lucani;
 - Roma Calabresi: Traditionally blacksmiths and horse-dealers. Currently most of them deal in scrap metal and a few are involved in some social co-operatives. They represent the poorest of the oldest Roma communities in Italy;
 - Camminanti Siciliani: Still involved in traditional activities such as knife-grinding, maintaining gas cookers, repairing, making and selling umbrellas. Chiefly street retailers and seasonal agricultural labourers;
 - Roma Harvati: Traditionally horse-keepers. Currently dealing in scrap-metal and second hand cars, fruits and vegetables;
 - Roma Kalderasha, Churara and Lovara: Traditionally door-to-door services such as metal repair, polishing and finishing touches of metal articles, producing metal and other goods and/or palmistry (especially women). Currently involved in retail trade in local fairs, buying and selling old iron and old clothes;
 - Roma Khorakhanè: Traditionally blacksmiths, currently some of them work in clothing sales;
-

- Romanian and Rudari Roma: Still involved in retail trade, the production of wooden articles, or selling flowers (especially women and children).

Main Policies

The main actors of Roma people's inclusion in the labour market are regional and local authorities, but the situation differs from region to region. For example, some regional laws, for example in Toscana and Emilia Romagna, adopt a holistic approach towards Roma inclusion (Strati, 2011) based on inter-cultural understanding, access to rights and essential services. They also pursue an integrated approach towards social, housing, education, health, training and employment policies, anticipating the solutions advocated by the NSRI.

Recent studies confirm that the living conditions of those Roma who are legally employed have improved significantly (Calabrò, 2008, quoted by Strati, 2011). The NSRI highlights that since 2008, the General Directorate for the Orientation and Training Policy of the Ministry of Labour has supported the implementation of a national network for the social inclusion and employment of Roma people, in order to connect the various central and regional authorities. This network was joined by various national and regional stakeholders, including NGOs and Roma communities and a number of academics. A wide range of government agencies also joined, including the General Directorate on Active and Passive Labour Policies, the General Directorate on Immigration, the Office of the Diplomatic Councillor at the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (General Directorate for European Integration), the Ministry of Interior (General Directorate on Civil Rights, Citizenship and Minorities), the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Economic Development, and the UNAR. They were accompanied by regional authorities for the European Social Fund - ROP (Regional Operational Programme) from the following areas: Calabria;

Emilia Romagna; Lazio; Lombardy; Marche; Piedmont; Sardinia; Liguria; and the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (UNAR, 2011: 9). The short-termist, often emergency approach adopted by Italian governments in previous years has undoubtedly hindered the entry and inclusion of Roma in the labour market. By contrast, the NSRI aims at developing systematic actions in the area of training and promotion of access to work. In the programming cycle 2014-2020 (UNAR, 2011: fn52), it pledges to:

- identify the training needs of both young and adult RSC with particular reference to women;
- increase the available training opportunities and the effective participation of young and adult RSC (both men and women), to paths of learning and training and professionally certified qualifications, including the use of new technologies;
- develop training and established professionals, both men and women, (as well as) RSC cultural mediation, to encourage greater and more efficient access to the labour market;
- to increase the statistics of the employment status of the RSC, with particular reference to gender, means and the working environment, to forms of employment broken down by employees and independent contractors in the formal and informal sectors;
- promote greater access to the labour market through the accompaniment (*sic*) to the employment centres and public services and private employment, with particular reference to women and most vulnerable communities;

- provide means and forms of assistance and tutoring on the job for young people and adults, men and women RSC, who undertake work experience first, even with individualised coaching courses;
- promoting the knowledge and the removal of prejudice in access to employment and the workplace by developing a climate more favourable for the inclusion of young people and working adults, men and women RSC;
- promoting the development of individualised and accompanying skills to access resources management, administrative and business opportunities designed to use self-employment, business creation and entrepreneurial growth;
- improve information on how to use micro-credit facilities, how to access public funds and community and business financing;
- support the regularisation and the strengthening of professional background to favour a stronger, more effective and efficient use of structural funds, and in particular the European Social Fund, for the promotion and development of local career guidance, training and employment placement of RSC, at greater risk of social exclusion.

Examples of Good Practice

In spite of the lack of systematic policies in the area of employment, some positive initiatives have been undertaken by municipalities and NGOs. Strati (2011) lists some examples of best practice which are worth citing. Some date back to the end of the 1990s, such as the *Kimeta* project organised in Firenze since 1997 to train Roma women and support their employment, and the *Lacio Grave*, a transnational project developed under the EU

Integra Community in Reggio Calabria in 1999 and 2000, where four entrepreneurship workshops targeting Roma Calabresi were carried out by the Municipality. Many projects were developed by the Municipality in Rome where a large Roma population live. Among them, the 'social secretariat' project, carried out in 2005, aimed at enhancing access to work for Roma communities, while the *Roma Cisti* project, started in 2005, sought to train and employ Roma persons in recycling activities. In Milano, the NGO Opera Nomadi launched projects for Roma cultural mediators in order to start projects in mandatory schools (2006), as well as for enhancing access to work for Roma ex-offenders (2005).

Among projects targeting Roma women, it is worth mentioning the tailoring service *Taivé* in Milano, initiated by Caritas in 2009.³⁵ Eight Roma women, originally from Romania, Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia, have been regularly appointed to do sewing repairs and alterations as well as shopping bags and simple dresses. A similar project is called *Antica Sartoria Rom - Ancient Roma Tailoring Atelier* - in Rome where Roma girls living in the settlements produce dresses inspired by Roma history and tradition.

Use of EU Funds

The amount of EU Structural Funds spent on Roma social inclusion can only be inferred because, unlike some other EU Member States, in Italy there was no specific programme under the 2007 - 2013 National Strategic Framework (Strati, 2011: 26) which explicitly targeted Roma, so these communities figure only in the wider category of immigrants and ethnic minorities. The Roma population is included in the category of 'Migrants' in the MONITWEB system of the Ministry of Economy, which monitors EU expenditures (UNAR, 2012: 62).

³⁵ See: <http://www.survivemilano.it/2013/vestiti/la-sartoria-e-stireria-delle-donne-rom/> (accessed 7 February 2014).

According to Strati (2011), only limited resources have been invested to tackle Roma people's social exclusion and poverty. Three Operational National Programmes (henceforth ONPs) can serve the purpose to implement actions for Roma communities: "governance and system actions"; "system actions"; and "security for the development of the South of Italy", whereas other actions can be organised under the other 21 ONPs. The first two ONPs cover three policy pillars: (1) 'employability'; (2) 'equal opportunities and nondiscrimination'; and (3) 'transnationality' (UNAR, 2012). The third ONP encompasses actions to improve cultural cohesion with a focus on ethnic groups (inter alia, Roma communities). Strati states that just three regions (Abruzzo, Calabria and Liguria) directly targeted Roma communities within this programming axis.

UNAR managed a national project for social inclusion, including the fight against anti-Roma discrimination in five regions in the south of Italy (Campania, Calabria, Basilicata, Sicilia and Puglia). Also in the south, four regions (Calabria, Campania, Puglia and Sicilia) carried out actions under the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) to improve socially excluded people's equal access to social services, and Roma communities were targeted here. In the north of Italy, the Autonomous Province of Bolzano and the Emilia Romagna Region implemented projects to support Roma people's inclusion into the labour market. In 2009, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies in cooperation with ISFOL (the National Institute for

Vocational Training) started to monitor projects aimed at Roma communities. Racioppo and Anderini (2013) discuss how to better use the Structural Funds for Roma inclusion for the programming periods 2014-2020. More precisely, the Italian government followed up the European Commission's suggestion to bring the fight against poverty and social exclusion to the fore and to dedicate a substantive part of the ESF funding to the objectives of the EU Strategy 2020.³⁶ In relation to Roma specifically, proposed actions in the field of employment and occupation are bringing undeclared work out into the open, promotion of entrepreneurship; vocational trainings, and the recognition of traditional (both formal and informal) competences.

³⁶ European Council (2010) A European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/council_conclusion_17_june_en.pdf (accessed 4 January 2014).

Chapter 6: Cross Community Relations and Mediation

Limited State Efforts Improving Cross-Community Relations

The period up until the end of the last Berlusconi administration (8 May 2008 - 16 November 2011) saw a significant intensification of anti-Roma sentiment, rhetoric and action from both politicians and media at the national level (as noted in the introduction). Since the 1990s, discussion of Roma issues has become heavily security themed and Roma were framed as being a ‘problem’ (Sigona 2008a and 2008b: 2) who posed a criminal threat to non-Roma people:

“The label ‘problema zingari’, I argue, does not tell us a great deal regarding Roma; it rather sums up the way the majority and its political representatives see and represent them. Several actors take part, in various roles, in the definition of the ‘Gypsy problem’. There are those who are in charge of ascribing and spreading definitions and those who use them. There are those who act in good faith and those who, instead, capitalize on the irrational and at times rational fears held by individuals. Finally, there are those who mediate between Roma and Italians and those who just speak for them.”

Efforts to improve intercultural relations have been mainly limited to local initiatives so far. For example, eight Roma mediators living in the settlements of Bologna, San Lazzaro and Casalecchio were trained within the EU project SRAP.³⁷ The main goal of this project was to prevent and reduce the use and abuse of legal and illegal substances among young Roma. The project sought to better understand how drugs are used and perceived in Roma communities, particularly by young people, as well as the factors which lead to drugs consumption and abuse. Bologna is not new to mediation initiatives involving Roma and non Roma. For instance, in 1988, the Municipality introduced mediators in the various authorised areas in order to support Roma people’s access to education, vocational training and work. Mediators were mainly tasked to protect Roma children’s rights. Paola Santoro, a non-Roma psychologist who was involved as a cultural mediator at that time, states that the role helped create a bridge between communities and institutions. However, at the start only non-Roma people were mediators, which created its own difficulties, as Santoro explains, in that mediators belonged to the very culture Roma people perceived they were being discriminated by. Mediators also help plan interventions to support

³⁷ The SRAP project is available at: <http://srap-project.eu/> (accessed 10 April 2014).

Roma pupils' school attendance and Roma adults' access to work.³⁸

In recent years, Milan has funded several projects to support Roma children's schooling through the activities of Roma mediators, both in the classroom and in the community (UNAR, 2012: 51). Also in Mantova, the Lombardia region, cultural mediation in schools was implemented by the local NGO SucarDrom where the Sinti communities are very active.³⁹

Apart from activities in schools, one interesting example of integrating mediation projects in a broader programme is represented by *DADO (the Dice)*, a residential project for Roma families coming from unauthorised settlements in Torino and surrounding areas which started in 2008. This project, achieved with the support of the City of Settimo Torinese, and financial backing from the Province of Turin and private foundations, is considered the first residential project focused on Roma people in the Piemonte Region.⁴⁰

For now, the only specific programmes aimed at mediation with a national dimension is ROMED,⁴¹ a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the EU. The aim of the programme is to train members of Roma communities as mediators in the areas of education, health and social affairs/employment (Council of Europe, 2013) to improve

communication between Roma living in certain areas and the local authorities.

The NRSI stresses that "the social cultural mediation action shall set aside the charity approach in order to acquire the features being necessary to make those communities responsible, more representative and protagonist (*sic*) at decision-making bodies both nationally and locally, and within the society as a whole, so as to eliminate prejudices and portray a new image far from the usual stereotypes" (UNAR, 2012: 23). Among the planned actions, the NRSI wants to upgrade pilot-projects already accomplished by the NFP in the implementation of both the "Dosta!" campaign and the Council of Europe ROMED program. It is worth mentioning that the Fondazione Romani Italy (FRI)⁴² recently launched the campaign *Politeia* in order to support Roma people move from mediation to active participation (including political participation). In the document describing the campaign, the FRI (2014: 5) state that they "consider the method of cultural mediation obsolete; we also consider the ROMED, ROMED2 and the ROMACT projects - promoted by the European Council during the last few years - a disaster for the Romani population in Italy and a very clear de-legitimisation of the active participation of the Roma people".

The NRSI includes several examples of initiatives involving mediation carried out in the last few years. For instance, the General Directorate for the implementation of judicial orders at the Department of Juvenile Justice launched an overall project - *Cultural, Social and Linguistic Mediation within the Juvenile Justice Services* - under the Social Fund for the integration of Third Countries of the Ministry of Interior, 2007-2013. This project includes six initiatives that target all 'foreign' minors and involve the interventions of cultural, social and linguistic

³⁸ Further information is available at: <http://www.click.vi.it/sistemiculture/Paola.html> (accessed 10 April 2014).

³⁹ See: <http://www.sucardrom.eu/mediazione.html> (accessed 10 April 2014).

⁴⁰ An English description of the project is available at: <http://goodpracticeroma.ppa.coe.int/en/pdf/89> (accessed 12 April 2014).

⁴¹ The list of trainers from Italy can be found at: <http://romed.coe-romact.org/trainers?tid%5B%5D=6&=Apply>. Moreover, Italy is involved in the ROMACT Programme, a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, implemented with the support of the Council of Europe Alliance of Cities and Regions for Roma Inclusion, in order to promote the inclusion of Roma at local and regional level. See: <http://coe-romact.org/about-romact> (accessed 10 April 2014).

⁴² Fondazione Romani Italia. Available at: http://www.fondazioneromani.it/sites/default/files/lumi/EN_programma_politico.pdf (10 April 2014).

mediators within the Juvenile Services of Veneto, Rome, Florence, Palermo, Naples and Catania.

The NRSI also plans a programme of training and mediation coordinated by the Department of Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Ministry of Interior. The aim is to train about 500 people in Southern Italy (in the regions of Calabria, Campania, Puglia, Sicily) with a view to possibly replicating the training modules in other regions. Additionally, it also plans the implementation of training courses on mediation to enhance Roma women's participation and occupation which would target at least 100 individuals. This would be financed by the Department for Equal Opportunities.

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