Segregation at a price

The cost of "traveller camps" in Naples, Rome and Milan

Summary report

A report by
Berenice, Compare, Lunaria and OsservAzione

Rights are not COSTS

The full text of the report is available at this address:
http://www.lunaria.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/segregare.costa_.pdf

Editor's Note
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The research was conducted as part of the 'Rights are not costs' (I diritti non sono un costo) project,
with the support of:

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

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SEGREGATION AT A PRICE
THE COST OF 'TRAVELLER CAMPS' IN NAPLES, ROME AND MILAN

Summary report

In Naples, Rome and Milan, between 2005 and 2011, at least a hundred million euros were set aside for the construction, running and maintenance of traveller camps, designated by institutional policy to 'host'Roma, Sinti, and Camminanti communities in our cities. The present report traces and analyses in detail the cost (and failure) of the camps policy and highlights the urgent need to completely rethink the models and practi - ces of social and residential inclusion policies involving Italy's Roma population.

1. INTRODUCTION

Temporary detention facilities, authorised, tolerated, serviced or 'solidarity' villages or, more simply, 'traveller camps', are some of the names used to describe the structures that Italian institutional policies have chosen to 'host' Roma, Sinti and Camminanti in our cities. The phrasing and indeed the material living conditions within these 'models' of 'camp' may vary, but the result is always the same: the spatial-residential, not to mention social and cultural segregation of their inhabitants.

The 'camps', including those that are 'authorised or serviced', are almost always located in isolated suburbs, with scarce transport links to the city centre and often in close proximity to landfills or major highways. They constitute modern-day ghettos that go well beyond their intended purpose, stated or otherwise, with a view to relegating Roma to the urban periphery and reinforcing their status of 'other' within society as a whole.

Many international and civil society organisations have expressed condemnation of the 'camps policy' in place in our country and pushed for the introduction of alternative public policy promoting alternative housing solutions. Proof that this is achievable lies in the success of attempts to carry it forward at a local level, as noted in the final sections of this report.

However, an institutional approach founded on (and helping to perpetuate) stereotypes and deep-seated prejudice towards Roma - focusing on their nomadic lifestyle, their propensity towards petty crime and the cultural abyss that prevents integration into society and the labour market – means that camps are still the preferred solution in Italian cities. In 2012, for the first time, a national strategy was adopted that stated the discriminatory, stigmatizing and exclusionary nature of the camps and resolved to faze them out. Along the same lines, a ruling by the Constitutional Court declared a state of emergency that had been in place since 2008 with reference to Roma in the regions of Lazio, Lombardy and Campania, followed by Piedmont and Veneto (later extended until 2011) to be unlawful. Nevertheless, the presence of Roma in our country continues to be viewed and dealt with as a matter of national security.

The human rights violations which arise from the continued existence of the camps and their eviction have come under repeated criticism from anti-racist, humanitarian and Roma organisations. Less well documented, on the other hand, is the strain that these operation put on public finances. A closer study of their costs can help to reinforce the arguments of those – within Roma communities, civil society and public administration – who support a drastic re-thinking of social and residential inclusion policies for Roma populations that would do away, once and for all, with the shameful stain represented by the traveller camps.

What emerges from the report is that considerable funds are invested in the camps in Naples, Rome and Milan and, although these continued to be depicted as 'temporary' housing solutions, they nevertheless remain standard practice for local institution wishing to 'deal with' the presence of Roma on their territory.

The decision to focus our research on Naples, Rome and Milan is no coincidence: they are home to the highest number of Roma and are the first three major cities affected by the 'state of emergency' declared in 2008. As a result, exceptional funding, managed in an equally exceptional manner, was mobilized to finance projects that attempted to identify and register the Roma population, to search out and evacuate illegal settlements, monitor legal camps and build new ones, and to promote the social inclusion of Roma transferred to these establishments.

This is not a complete picture. Several factors conspired to prevent a comprehensive analysis: the lack of transparency and of attention to detail in official account keeping; the difficulties in tracing town council rulings and management decisions which regulate the allocation and distribution of funding; the reluctance on the part of some of our institutional contacts to provide us with documentation that was not readily available online; the varied composition of the sources consulted, which frustrated any comparison between data contained in financial budgeting and billing documents; the inability to itemise budgets for policies affecting Roma communities, particularly with regards to social intervention.

The information gathered can, however, provide important insight into the significant economic strain placed on public finances by the policy of internment into camps, not to mention the human and social costs for Roma residents.

Millions of euros are spent on camps: on renting, clearing, fencing off and setting up the areas where they are due to be built; on infrastructure; on regular and emergency maintenance and running costs; on the distribution of water, electricity and gas; on security and surveillance measures; on facilitating the education of Roma children – which mostly involves arranging transport, given the isolated location of the structures; on social intervention specifically and exclusively geared at Roma families interned in the camps.

What has been described as a true 'ghetto economy' involves many actors besides local institutions and the Roma themselves. These range from civil society organisations – entrusted with the running of socio-educational activities in the camps – to private surveillance firms in charge of keeping order, in line with the model accepted during the 'traveller emergency', to the owners of the properties purchased or rented in order to set up the camps.

This 'separate' economic system takes up a large proportion of the public resources set aside for policies relating to Roma communities, resources that could be invested more efficiently to fund alternative permanent living solutions which would spare Roma from the 'ghettoization' and 'assisted exclusion' that camps and their socio-educational programmes produce and reproduce.

2. STRUCTURE AND OBJECTIVES

This report, conducted by Berenice, Compare, Lunaria and OsservAzione, seeks to **record the costs of policies surrounding the construction, running and maintenance of the 'traveller camps' system in Naples, Rome and Milan between 2005 and 2011**. The aim is to provide important analytical tools that offer insight into the huge strain on public finances represented by these polices of internment, and into their human costs, in terms of the spatial and social segregation and violations

undergone by Roma residents. Tens of millions of euros are spent on evicting 'illegal' camps, on rent, on clearance, new infrastructure, surveillance, upkeep, distribution of water, electricity and gas and socio-educational programmes in the areas designated by local councils; that is to say, on the **'ghetto economy'**.

The report is divided into five chapters – the first three devoted to Naples, Rome and Milan – and is based, as far as possible, on the study of official public administration documents. An accurate reconstruction of the costs involved in the 'camps policy' is hindered by various factors: the lack of transparency and detail in official account keeping; the difficulties in tracing town council rulings and management decisions which regulate the allocation and distribution of funding; the reluctance on the part of some of our institutional contacts to provide us with the documentation requested; the inability to itemise budgets relating to policies affecting Roma. Based on the information gathered in the first three chapters, **the two final sections include a number of concluding remarks and policy recommendations which stress the pressing need to move beyond the 'traveller camp' model** currently in place to deal with Roma communities, which is unsustainable both socially and financially.

3. NAPLES

In Naples the Roma community is largely composed of Balkanic and Romanian Roma, with a head-count roughly estimated at 2,500. They first started arriving from Serbia and Bosnia in the 1970s, but the bulk of the migration began in the early '90s, after the outbreak of the conflict in former Yugoslavia. The most significant influx of Romanian Roma, however, occurred in 2000, after Romania's EU bid was set in motion. The living conditions of these communities can be distinguished into three types: 'ordinary', in apartments scattered around the city; 'illegal', in spontaneous settlements throughout the municipal area; 'special', in solutions proposed by the city council and generally preceded by evictions, xenophobic attacks and other notable episodes.

The first housing project geared specifically at the Roma population in Naples was the approved camp known as *Villaggio della solidarietà* ('Solidarity Village') in Secondigliano's via della Circumvallazione Esterna (behind the jail) in 2000. The camp is formed by a series of emergency housing units ('containers') with outdoor facilities, running water, gas and electricity. 92 families reside in the camp to this day, in an equal number of housing units, forming a total of 700 people. The most common problems are similar to those encountered in illegal campsites, although living conditions and level of hygiene and sanitation are markedly better thanks to adequate infrastructure. The Village's location, however – along a densely trafficked suburban road with no transport links – encourages social exclusion and separation from the adjoining neighbourhood.

The second council structure built to house the Roma community was the 'G. Deledda' reception centre (*Centro di Prima Accoglienza*) in Soccavo. Formerly a school, it later became the Municipal Centre for Territorial Reception and Support for Romanian Roma. It is a structure with 24h social surveillance that houses approximately 120 people who are distributed through the former classrooms by family units and whose comings and goings are strictly monitored.

Spontaneous settlements, generally located in suburban or non-residential areas, represent the most common practice among Naples' Roma community. In Scampia, a vast area between via Cupa Perillo and the end of via A. Moro is home to more than 100 families, subdivided into five smaller settlements. Most of the inhabitants are Roma originating from former Yugoslavia, who have been on Italian soil for two generations. They live in huts they built themselves or in trailers. Some have achieved a more stable housing condition than others, in spacious log cabins dotted throughout the countryside. The settlement does not possess any facilities other than illegal connections to the water supply and power grid. The hygiene and sanitary conditions are generally dire and are compounded by the presence of mounds of unsorted waste on the adjacent road.

Another large settlement, housing Roma from Calarasi and Lasi, lies to the east of the city, near the Poggioreale cemetery, in via del Riposo. The camp is overrun by waste and built in close proximity to an illegal dump. The roads are not paved and residents live in shacks they built themselves. Water is collected from a nearby cemetery and power supplied by generators. Another small settlement, located underneath the motorway pylons in Srgine street, is linked to the municipal water supply and equipped with school transport. A further group of Romanian Roma from Calarasi has taken up residence in the Gianturco industrial estate. In the eastern Barra neighbourhood, a spontaneous settlement has been recorded in via Mastellone (Cupa cemetery, S. Maria del Pozzo), in a damp area cut off from the main roads by permanent piles of waste. Its inhabitants live in tightly-packed huts they built themselves out of rocks and other recycled materials. Hygiene levels are dire: there is no sanitation; water is dispensed from a single collection point and power is supplied by generators. 48 families live here, mostly from Herculaneum and Ponticelli. Another illegal set-

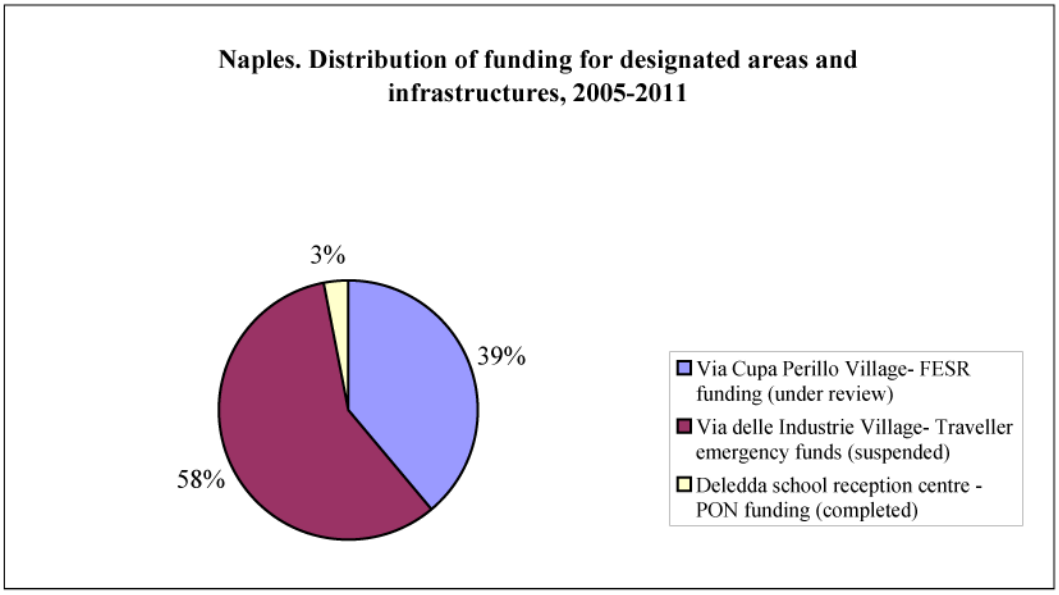
tlement in Barra is said to house 50 Romanians from Suceava.

A closer look at the c**ost of installing and adapting infrastructure** for Roma camps in Naples municipality shows that, between 2005 and 2011, it **totalled almost 18 million euros** (17,988,270). However, only a small fraction of these funds, the 572,274 euros – provided by the Interior Ministry and used to rebuild the Municipal Centre for Territorial Reception and Support for Romanian Roma (former 'G. Deledda' school) – was actually invested. A further 4,466,569.71 came from a contract – the details of which remain a mystery – signed by Naples municipality and the Tekton consortium for the only project dating back to the emergency period: the construction of a serviced camp in via delle Industrie, approved in 2010 by a ruling from the police prefect and costing10.400.000 euros overall.

A substantial contribution, around 7,015,996 euros, was also made by the Structural Fund for Regional Development (Fondo Strutturale di Sviluppo Regionale, FESR) to help build a serviced village in the Scampia neighbourhood – an area where over 100 families are living today without infrastructure, sanitation or adequate levels of hygiene – which remains uninhabited.

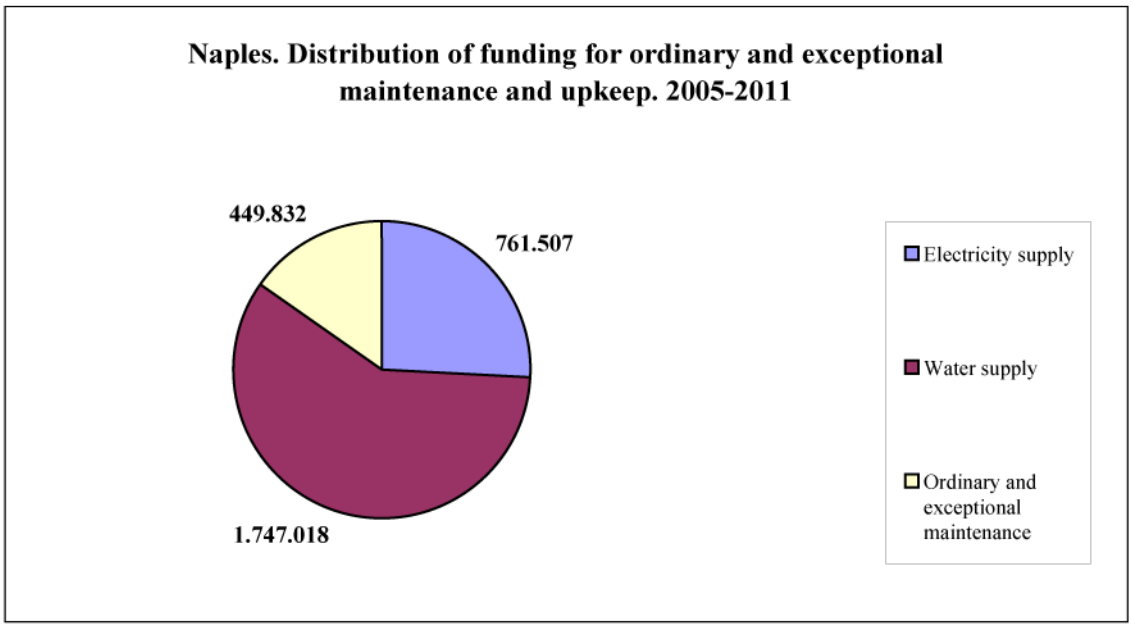
Naples. Table n.1 Distribution of funding for designated areas and infrastructure, 2005-2011

Details	Euro
Via Cupa Perillo Village- FESR funding (under review)	7.015.996
Via delle Industrie Village- Traveller emergency funds (suspended)	10.400.000
Deledda school reception centre - PON funding (completed)	572.274
Total	**17.988.270**



In studying **expenses for the upkeep and maintenance of the structures** built to house Roma in Naples, we limit ourselves to **the 'Solidarity Village' in Secondigliano**, home to 700 people – 92 families – the only camp that received municipal approval. **From 2005 to 2011, 2,958,357 euros were spent**: 1,747,507 on water supply (which alone account for 60% of the total), 761, 507 on electricity, 449,832 regular and emergency maintenance.

Naples. Table n.2 Distribution of funding for ordinary and exceptional maintenance and upkeep, 2005-2011	
Details	**Euros**
Electricity supply	761.507
Water supply	1.747.018
Ordinary and exceptional maintenance	449.832
Total	**2.958.357**



This study also focuses on the cost of municipal **socio-educational programmes** involving Roma communities. Between 2005 and 2011 nearly **four million euros** (3,393,558) went towards funding projects largely directed at Roma minors (such as school buses and teaching assistance), with the help of contributions from the National Fund for Childhood and Adolescence and, briefly, from the Social Solidarity Ministry and the 2007/2013National Security Plan (PON). Not only is this **funding insufficient**, it is also **uncoordinated, disjointed** and dictated by a 'state of emergency' logic, and it therefore falls short of guiding Roma communities, particularly adult members, towards independent existence.
On a final note, **evictions of illegal Roma settlements** cost Naples municipality **146,950,000 euros** in 2005.

Overall, then, **investments in Roma policies** (setting up camps, providing infrastructure, running and maintenance, socio-educational programmes and evictions of illegal settlements) **in and around Naples between 2005 and 2011 amounted to over 24 million euros** (24,487,135).

Naples. Table n.3 Overall spending 2005-2011	
Details	**Euros**
Camps and infrastructure	17.988.270,00
Running and maintenance	2.958.356,64
Socio-educational programmes	3.393.558,67
Eviction policies	146.950,00
Total	**24.487.135,31**

NB: the total, as suggested in previous paragraphs, includes amounts factored into the budget but never invested.

Approximately half of the funds were actually put to use, the remainder – mostly pertaining to new infrastructure – was only allocated on paper.

Naples. Table n.4. Budget details

Details	Euros
Funds for immediate spending	11.537.709,02
Funds not earmarked for immediate spending	12.949.426,29
Total	**24.487.135,31**

Between 2005 and 2011, therefore, plans to promote the integration of the Roma community in Naples involved housing solutions that fostered exclusion on an ethnic basis, by proposing and building new settlements or reception centres intended exclusively for Roma families.

Water and electricity bills make up nearly 84% of the total maintenance and running costs for the Solidarity Village (97 housing units for 700 people) and 20% of total costs in the entire municipal area.

The provision of social and educational services in Naples during the period in question seems to have been limited to emergency response or basic welfare, mostly resulting from the isolated condition of most of the Roma communities in Naples. These measures do not constitute a medium- or long-term solution, nor do they include any attempt to analyse the community's main necessities. Not enough attention has been dedicated, even on a purely theoretical scale, to come up with ideas that move beyond the segregation of Roma into ghettos and their reliance on social services, towards more autonomous development.

4. ROME

Rome is home to around 7000 Roma living in 'approved villages', 'tolerated camps' and illegal houses and settlements. The number of residents of the first two has been the subject of a number of censuses, although it is subject to fluctuations. In the third, frequent evictions cause the number to vary continually. There is no data regarding the Roma population living in houses or apartments. The latest census, carried out in 2009, recorded over 80 illegal settlements with an estimated 2,900 residents, 14 'tolerated' camps with 2,736 and 7 'approved villages' with 2,241, bringing the total to around 7,877 Roma in around 100 settlements in the city at that time. The 2011-2015 Social Welfare plan provides the most recent insight into patterns of distribution for the Roma population in the various types of settlement.

Rome. Prospectus 1 Roma distribution in Rome. April 2012	
APPROVED VILLAGES	**POPULATION**
SALONE	850
CANDONI	710
RIVER	520
GORDIANI	210
CASTEL ROMANO	800
LOMBROSO	160
CESARINA	180
LA BARBUTA	250
Sub-total	**3.680**
TOLERATED CAMPS	**POPULATION**
FORO ITALICO	90
SPELLANZON	70
ARCO DI TRAVERTINO	40
SETTECHIESE	30
ORTOLANI	60
MONACHINA	110
TOR DE CENCI	300
TOR DI QUINTO	200
SALVIATI 1	70
SALVIATI 2	340
Sub-total	**1.310**
ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS	**POPULATION**
Sub-total	**2.000**
TOTAL RESIDENTS	**7.000 circa**

Source: Allegato 7 al Piano Regolatore Sociale 2011-2015, "Interventi per le popolazioni Rom"

The approved villages are the so-called 'Solidarity Villages' or 'Serviced Villages', with separate housing units of different kinds assigned to families according to their size, linked to the water and electricity mains. The camps are fenced, with surveillance cameras and guards who also help with the identification and recording of new intakes and sign-outs and the opening and shutting of the gate according to a timetable. They are built on both municipal and private property.
The tolerated and / or serviced camps, defined by the local administration according to circumstances, are mostly fenced but without the surveillance apparatus. The housing units are containers with an electricity supply, generally from a single metre.

Illegal settlements, which vary greatly in size and organisation, are made up of trailers, tents, verandas and shanties. Sanitation and hygiene are utterly absent. Contact with official and institutional bodies is conducted on an individual basis or mediated through volunteers.
Roma who reside in houses or apartments or have left the camps are hard to track. There is no official data, partly because those who can afford to pay rent or even purchase a property tend to fall off the radar. Even though stable residency is calculated in certain official documents, municipal administrative policies do not contain any measures related to the phenomenon.
The city's Roma population has undergone changes in the last few decades. In the 1970s, it was mostly limited to long-established settlement: Roma from the region of Abruzzo, from Ciociaria or from Molise, who today live in their own houses in Rome's south-western neighbourhoods (Torre Angela, Romanina, Mandrione, Quadraro) or in council housing in Spinaceto, Nuova Ostia, Laurentino and Casilino. By the beginning of the 1980s, however, the migratory influx from former Yugoslavia had altered the landscape. Dozens of families fled poverty and war, in search of new opportunities, and settled in makeshift dwellings, some replacing the newly resettled inhabitants of long-standing camps to the east of the city, others founding new settlements, often near rivers or large highways.

As a result, local institutions felt the need to develop a structured response to the presence of Roma on their territory, leaning towards 'camps' as a social location 'reserved' for this community. Regional law n.82 of 1985,"Regulations covering Roma", establishes 'the provision of funding to town councils and mountain communities for the construction, running and upkeep of fully-equipped permanent and temporary camps" (Art. 2). Shortly thereafter, in 1986, Rome municipality created 'serviced camps for traveller communities'. All the 'traveller solutions' that have been devised since have focused on the 'camp', phrased in different, creative ways by each administration (permanent camp, serviced camp, tolerated camps, solidarity villages or serviced villages) as the preferred forms of settlement for the city's Roma community. The logic behind these methods being that of an emergency response, which emphasises security concerns and tends to segregate communities into 'ghettos'.
This despite the fact that most of the new migrants did not come from a nomadic background, much like the families who arrived in the 1990s from Romanian cities. The establishment, within Rome municipality, of the 'Traveller Department', creates a structure within the Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services that is specifically aimed at coordinating the construction, maintenance and regular and emergency upkeep for the camps, as well as clearance and social assistance. With the development of so-called 'Serviced Villages' in 2000, the department began to reorganise the settlements through a series of evictions and the creation of new areas, which required increased spending on trailers, land rental, utilities and refurbishment. The largest serviced set-

tlements, which are still in use, were established in 2005 in Castel Romano and Via di Salone.
Educational programmes for underage Roma fall instead under the remit of the Department of Educational Services. These programmes, set up at the beginning of the 1990s, seek to facilitate induction into schools by sponsoring awareness-raising projects among families, helping children to enroll, arranging separate, private transport to and from school for Roma children.

Between 2005 and 2012, the period under consideration, a series of political events an news stories on a national scale had a considerable impact on the early stages of local policy regarding Roma communities. On 18 May 2007 the first Agreement for a Safe Rome was signed. It ordained the construction or four solidarity villages in fully-equipped areas built to house up to 1000 people, and ordered the eviction of illegal settlements. “In the coming weeks we will conduct an intense series of evictions of informal settlements along the Tiber and Aniene waterways.”
On 30 October 2007 Giovanna Reggiani was brutally murdered in Tor di Quinto by a 24-year-old Romanian. Two days later the Cabinet approved a law decree that gave the Prefect the power to directly evict a foreign citizen on public safety grounds.
A month after the election of the new mayor, Alemanno, on 21 May 2008, the new Berlusconi government issued a decree declaring a ‘state of emergency’ relating to traveller settlements in Campania, Lombardy and Lazio. The government fixed the parameters for the implementation of these measures with three Protezione Civile (Civil Emergency Service) ordinances. Further decrees would then extend the state of emergency until 31 December 2011 and to cover Piedmont and Veneto.
Based on these powers, the new prefect of Rome, Guiseppe Pecoraro, with Alemanno’s support, presented, on 31 July 2009, the new Traveller Plan. It envisaged the construction, outside the municipal area, of 13 ‘approved villages’ that could host up to 6000 people from 100 camps across the city. These ‘villages’ would be equipped with 24-hour video surveillance and the identification of everyone wishing to enter the camp (including residents). As well as the construction of new ‘villages’ with socio-educational facilities, the project’s main aims are: the closure of 80 illegal camps and 9 tolerated ones; the renovation of approved villages and the establishment of new settlements; the clearing and conservation of affected areas; the resettlement of Roma in the camps and the implementation of a new census. Regulation monitoring the running of ‘approved villages’ states that, after registration, Roma residents should be issued with a DAST (Document Authorising Temporary Settlement), which allows them to reside in the villages for up to two years and can be renewed for a further two.
Activities linked to the state of emergency wither overlap with or run parallel to the ordinary functions of these departments. Emergency policies and their budgetary requirements fall under the remit of the Prefect’s Office and of Rome’s Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services.
Ruling n.6050 of 16 November 2011 suspended this funding and pronounced the Ministerial decree to be illegal, inasmuch as the gravity of the traveller-related emergency was not such as to warrant the introduction of extraordinary measures. The government appealed against this ruling on 15 February 2012. Three months later, on 2 May 2012, the Supreme Court of Cassation dismissed the appeal, putting an end to the so-called ‘traveller emergency’.
In order to better analyse spending on the construction, running and upkeep of traveller camps in the capital, we have referred to Executive Management Plans (PEG), to the Final Budget for Rome City Council and to data compiled by the Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health

Services, with its offshoot, the Traveller Department. Prospectus 2 indicates marked discrepancies between the data available from the various sources.

Rome. Prospectus 2. Comparison between Peg, data, the final budget e and the Traveller Department, 2005-2011

Source	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	TOTAL
Peg	5.805.500,00	3.939.122,81	8.126.058,60	5.498.620,47	6.732.215,01	9.471.500,00	17.832.900,35	**57.405.917,24**
Final Budget	8.016.845,86	8.813.667,59	8.355.617,22	13.831.908,71	14.560.985,54	9.130.550,00	23.537.531,28	**86.247.106,20**
DPPS	9.432.212,47	9.468.271,34	8.662.743,00	7.580.077,82	15.503.470,90	9.063.331,97	10.159.378,61	**69.869.486,11**

According to the data contained in the City Council's Final Budget, between 2005 and 2011 the traveller camp system – construction and infrastructure, upkeep and running costs, socio-educational projects, public personnel salaries – **cost a grand total of 86,247,106 euros**. This includes the amount spent on the so-called 'traveller emergency' by the Interior Ministry's Rome branch via the Prefecture: 7.8 million in 2009 and 10 million in 2011. The breakdown of spending in the Final Budget is not as detailed, although it suggests a significant increase in funding for 'Roma issues' from 2008.

The present report, therefore, **also considers the more detailed data provided by the Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services, with its offshoot, the Traveller Department**. Between 2005 and 2010, the Department recorded an **outlay of 69,869,486 euros**, about 16 million less than in the Final Budget.

Rome. Table n.5 Spending on Roma communities. Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services, 2005-2011

Years	Total
2005	9.432.212,47
2006	9.468.271,34
2007	8.662.743,00
2008	7.580.077,82
2009	15.503.470,90
2010	9.063.331,97
2011	10.159.378,61
TOTAL	**69.869.486,11**

Source: Directorate of the Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services, 2005-2011.

The total for 2009 includes 7.863.440,00 euros supplied by the State for the Traveller Plan via the Rome Prefecture.

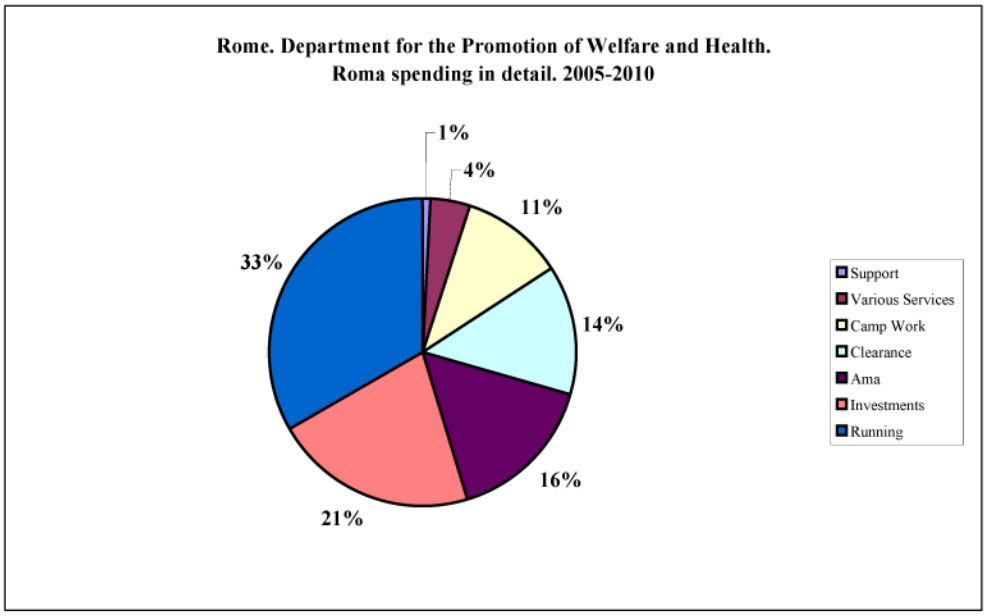
The breakdown of the budget, seen here only for the years 2005-2010, highlights how, during this period, most of the expenses went towards the running of the camps (19.9 Million euros), on investments (12.6 million), on work undertaken by Ama, the municipal waste management company, and on the clearance of designated areas (8.1 Million). 6.5 million are further listed under 'camp work' (maintenance) and 2.5 go to support work with Roma families.

Rome. Table n.6 Roma spending in detail. Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services, 2005-2010

Items	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	TOTAL
Ama	1.502.490,00	1.692.143,92	1.426.203,00	1.599.999,96	1.599.999,96	1.610.320,40	9.431.157,24
Camp Work	1.294.654,97	2.155.236,44	1.181.000,00	549.980,00	328.883,11	1.019.473,76	6.529.228,28
Clearance	699.210,95	1.103.490,96	1.632.400,00	987.395,49	2.002.258,64	1.694.592,00	8.119.348,04
Running	2.026.890,40	3.645.464,50	3.567.815,00	3.682.702,37	3.224.435,00	3.832.830,29	19.980.137,56
Support						508.306,52	508.306,52
Various Services	108.966,15	221.935,52	500.000,00	760.000,00	484.454,19	397.809,00	2.473.164,86
Investments	3.800.000,00	650.000,00	355.325,00		7.863.440,00		12.668.765,00
Total	**9.432.212,47**	**9.468.271,34**	**8.662.743,00**	**7.580.077,82**	**15.503.470,90**	**9.063.331,97**	**59.710.107,50**

Source: Directorate of the Department for the Promotion of Welfare and Health Services, 2005-2011.

The total for 2009 includes 7.863.440,00 euros supplied by the State for the Traveller Plan via the Rome Prefecture



Between 2005 and 2011, **9,380,994 euros were made available** by the City Council to companies supporting educational programmes for Roma children (transport, enrolment, attendance monitoring, tutoring, awareness raising). To these we must add the costs sustained as a result of the extension of the 2005-1008 measures until new calls for tenders were issued in 2009.

Rome. Table n.7 Department of Educational Services, Rome Municipality. Educational Services for Roma Children, 2005-2011

Source	Amount	Number of children benefitting
Bids for educational services 2005-2008	5.823.974,55	1.872
Bids for educational services 2009-2010 non-serviced camps	973.700,00	910
Bids for educational services 2009-2011 serviced camps	2.084.360,00	974
Bids for educational services 2010-2011 non-serviced camps	498.960,00	504
TOTALE	**9.380.994,55**	

Source: Direzione Dipartimento Servizi Educativi e Scolastici del Comune di Roma, Testi dei capitolati di appalto per l'affidamento dei servizi di scolarizzazione

**The listed figures are minimum amount before VAT*

Data for annual expenses sustained was only made available for 2010 and 2011: 1,815,705 and 1,983,277 euros respectively. To this we must add funds invested in school buses, the total of which is unknown.

Little or no useful information could be gathered from official documentation relating to the eviction of illegal Roma settlements. Some estimates suggest that the cost of each operation ranges from 15 to 20,000 euros. The *Associazione 21 luglio* (21st July Association) counted 450 evictions between 31 July 2009 and 24 August 2012, while the City Council's Final Budget tells us that 31 'informal' settlements were dismantled between 2005 and 2011.

Overall, the study of this data tells us that Rome's Administration has, in recent years, invested most of its Roma-related funds in the construction and running of large 'Solidarity Villages'. This outlay formalises the normalisation and institutionalisation of the 'traveller camps' built in the 1980s and '90s, transformed into the 'serviced villages' of the 21st century, a trend which sets Roman policy apart from that of the other main cities.

5. MILAN

In Milan, a city of 1,304,263 people, Roma, Sinti and Camminanti (RSC) make up approximately 0.3% of the total population. Of the 2,500 Roma counted by the Municipality in 2012, 2,300 live in regular or illegal camps that have existed for more than five years and whose presence is therefore established. These camps were mostly set up in suburban areas and they "do not achieve adequate levels of social integration, employment, school attendance and respect for the rule of law." They represent, nonetheless, the preferred housing solution among the RSC population residing in the city. Their current organisation dates back to 1968. That year, the City Council decided to gather long-standing Roma and Sinti communities into a specific area. Thus Italy's first 'traveller camp' was founded in via Negrotto. The families were confined into a space measuring 10,000 square metres and each was indefinitely provided with a plot of land, a trailer and the use of communal facilities. The 'open-air reception area' is therefore intended as a long-term solution. In the following years, the City Council chose to deal with new Roma and Sinti arrivals, which were increasing throughout its territory, in much the same way, setting up specific areas for family residence. New camps were built in via Bonfadini (1987), via Martirano (1987) and via Idro (1989) to house three groups of Roma families from Harvata and Abruzzo, resident on Italian territory since the 1960s. The Traveller Department was founded in 1984 and tasked with monitoring the Roma and Sinti presence on municipal territory, managing the reception areas and promoting interaction and integration of Roma communities in the region. This type of approach is carried forward in the regional law of 1989 which encourages local councils to pinpoint locations that might be used as reception camps , in order to provide Roma and Sinti communities with stable habitation. Despite the fact that regional legislation allows town councils to "implement projects centred on residential areas to encourage stable residency for Roma", the establishment of reception camps remains the only political solution to the housing needs of Roma, Sinti and Camminanti in Milan. The assumption that Roma are a traditionally nomadic or seminomadic people seems to condition the City Council's policy responses, resulting in a different, inadequate attitudes towards residency rights. Between 2000 and 2004 three new camps for Italian Harvata Roma were set up in via Chiesa Rossa, via Rogoredo and via Impastato. Meanwhile, the Roma population was swelling significantly. Alongside the camps, other housing solutions, usually temporary and illegal in nature, begin to appear in the suburbs, demanding very different kinds of responses. With time, temporary settlements tend to assume a more permanent status, with the help of "large, unmanageable containers shared by families who are often ill-disposed towards each other." The largest of these 'containers' is located in via Barzaghi/via Triboniano, where a significant number of Roma from the Balkans and Romania gathered though the years. This camp was evicted in 2001 and the families reassigned, some to the new camp in via Novara, some to three new sites nearby.

Matters escalated at the end of 2006 when a fire broke out in the Triboniano/Barzaghi camp. The City Council responded by clearing and rebuilding the three sites to house at least 600 people. In a context of growing social unease, fuelled by the media and local politicians, the Council also decided to change the management model, setting up a surveillance network and social monitoring system. A new element, the Sociality and Legality Agreement, was introduced to help run the camp by creating a system regulating the camp's intake, instituting some regulations that must be respected. The agreement affected the residency status of Roma living in the camp: the right to reside was no longer guaranteed indefinitely, but became conditional on the respect of certain rules. Painted

by mayor Moratti as the solution to help curb crime among the Roma community, the agreement was extended in 2007 to include all municipal camps, even the permanent ones, giving rise to a debate that garnered nationwide attention. The security-centric approach adopted in municipal policies came to a head with the declaration of the state of emergency in May 2008. The presence of Roma in Italy was deemed to be a threat to public safety that must be dealt with by Urban Prefects, in the guise of Special Commissioners. This paves the way for the Milanese authorities to ratchet up their political responses in matters of public safety and to introduce measures to contrast what was now perceived as a threat. New special measures are established: all the regular camps are closely monitored, their residents carefully registered; illegal settlements are subjected to frequent evictions, often in violation of international standards. In this context Milan City Council, backed by the emergency funding – the so-called 'Maroni Plan' – began to consider doing away with the camps entirely, and with them its social and residential inclusion programmes.

Milan stands out because of the problems encountered in searching for data relating to public funding for camp policies, the main issues being the lack of transparency in certain programme outlines published since 2006 and the system coordinating the various measures concerning Roma in Milan.
During the period considered in this report, we can distinguish two main models of social management in the camps: The first, in force prior to 2006 and the second, which began in 2007 and culminated in 2008 with the declaration of the state of emergency and the introduction of the Maroni Plan.
In the first period, Milan City Council provided three types of services in the camps: educational and social mediation for Roma children enrolled in primary schools, at a cost of 104,000 euros a year; a 50,000 euro a year project to sponsor social activities for children in the camps; support for Roma social cooperatives, which are tasked with carrying out small repairs in the camps, for 170,000 euros a year. Although during these years rates of school attendance and of employment were very low in the camps, the Council's measures were mostly aimed at providing educational support for minors enrolled in primary schools and promoting forms of employment and self-employment for adults, at an annual cost of 412,000 euros.

The watershed came in 2007, with the transition towards a different organisational model. The changes affected all those involved in the running of the camps and their institutional status. The focus on security grew stronger and programmes to monitor the camps were implemented. 480,000 euros were set aside to install a video-surveillance apparatus in the municipal cams. Meanwhile, social control is promoted from two main sources: the presence of local police, the cost of which is unknown, and social surveillance groups who take over the running of the camps and their social and material upkeep. In three years, 840,000 euros were spent on running seven camps, with a total annual expense of 280,000 euros. This is an incomplete figure, however, as it does not take into account various other inventory items: the cultural mediation project for Roma children attending primary school, funded in 2008-2011 by grant from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy; the running costs of via Triboniano camp, which was refurbished and reopened in 2007; the total cost of utilities and waste management for the camps in Milan.

Of all the funding for the camp system, only 2,132,000 euros were accounted for in the budget: 812,000 on socio-educational activities in 2005-2006; 480,000 on a social integration project for chil-

dren funded by the Ministry of Labour in 2008; 840,000 set aside in 2008 for the running of the camps between February 2008 and January 2011.

Funding (around 8,635,000 euros) was also provided by the Maroni Plan, to pay for "upgrading the camps' security systems, demolitions and removing illegal structures", as well as 480,000 euros for the video-surveillance apparatus, which could not be itemised. The following table illustrates the total funding recorded by this study pertaining to the fields mentioned above.

Table 8. Milan. Municipal and national funding for Roma policies, 2005-2011

Camp policies	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Socio-educational activities from the budget	400.000	412.000						812.000
Roma children social integration project, Ministry of Labour				480.000				480.000
Running costs (everyday maintenance and social activities)				840.000				840.000
Clearance, Security, demolitions (Maroni plan)				8.635.700				8.635.700
Video-surveillance installation (Maroni Plan)			480.000					480.000
Subtotal	400.000	412.000	480.000	9.955.700	0	0	0	**11.247.700**

In 2008, a further 1,050,000 euros were invested in a project named "From the Camp to the village and the house", which experimented with alternative housing solutions that might improve living conditions for Roma. The project led to the refurbishment of a number of apartments for the temporary reception of Roma families from the camps. The focus of policies backed by the City Councils in these matters began to shift and the need to bring the standards of city living above those of the camps recognised. This was meant to create some form of turn-over for families wishing to leave the camps.

The idea that encouraging new alternative residency solutions might help to move beyond traveller cams took root at this time. Some areas also had to be cleared in order to host Expo 2015. This affected the use of funding provided by the Maroni Plan, which was in part used to subsidize some of the city's camps.

Forced to close the regular camps in via Triboniano and via Novara, the City Council decides to explore other possible housing solutions. Most of those offered to families that refused repatriation involve resettling in structures that, at least in part, resemble a house. The houses fund set up by the City Council in the context of the Maroni Plan gives Roma families leaving the camps a series of options: financial subsidies for rent or a new house on the private market; monitoring individuals leaving the camps and helping them find employment and housing.

Milan. Prospectus n. 3 – Maroni Plan. Social measures.		
Measures	**Type of expense**	**Amount (in euros)**
Reception of non-accompanied minors*	Grants to secondary reception centres	800.000,00
Advice and orientation, internships and traineeships	a) employment mediators	300.000,00
	b) grants for trainees	400.000,00
Guidance towards self-sufficiency in work and residency	a) Houses guarantee fund	2.000.000,00
	b) social taskforces	500.000,00
Total		**4.000.000,00**

Source, Milan City Council, Department for struggling adults, no date, budget report, cit.

** This funding was taken into account because migrant Roma minors were treated in the same way as foreign minors. The City Council therefore provided grants for non-accompanied minors. Because there are very few non-accompanied minors, it remains unclear how these funds were used.*

It is worth noting that, in attempting to do away with the camps, the Council's strategy assumed multidimensional significance and led to measures being implemented in three different areas: housing, employment and the social sphere. The Maroni Plan includes a subsidy of 3,200,000 euros for social measures, including 2 million for housing, 700,000 for employment and 500,000 for the social sphere.

Although funding to promote employment met with limited success compared to the demand from Roma communities and the targets set by Milan City Council's budget report, it sets an interesting precedent, as does the aftermath of the closure of the camp in via Triboniano. Of the 87 families leaving the camp, 48 agreed to assisted repatriation to Romania, while 31 were placed in new housing solutions, with positive results. To this day, most of these families live in an apartment on which they pay regular rent and bills. This outcome, supported by the Fund for the 'Traveller Emergency' in Milan, paves the way for interesting new developments in our institutional approaches to Roma and Sinti communities. It proves that it is perfectly possible to pursue an alternative path to that of the camps, even within a normative and political context that is heavily conditioned by notions of national security.

6. BEYOND THE TRAVELLER CAMPS: A TARGET WITH MANY MEANINGS

In the three cities considered for the purposes of this study, attempts to move beyond the traveller camp format have become the mainstay of anyone involved in the 'Roma question'. It is a rallying cry for organisations defending the rights of Roma communities, but also for those in the service sector who work in and around the camps. The sentiment is also expressed in the statements made by government officials and politicians from all parties, and among the main points of the National Strategy for the Inclusion or Roma, Sinti and Camminanti, published by the UNAR to encourage new local policies.

However, this general objective takes on different meanings depending on how it is put into practice.

On an immediate level, it emphasises the need to guarantee minimum levels of safety, health and dignity to Roma. A number of Italian NGOs have recorded and reported the dire living conditions in the settlements, including those run by local councils, and many European institutions have pointed out the risks stemming from the structural conditions of the traveller camps, particularly the larger ones. This 'humanitarian' approach, which stresses the importance of guaranteeing basic rights to Roma communities, has also been used by many in local government, including right-wing officials, to justify evictions and resettlement of camp residents, as was the case in Rome with the closure of Casilino 900, La Barbuta and Tor dei Cenci.

Alternative solutions are also the subject of a body of studies that analyse the cost-effectiveness of camp policy. This perspective, which is the focus of the present study, compares its costs for local administration to concrete results, not just in material terms, but also in terms of sponsorship for integration, promoted by institutional figures even within the camps. The National Strategy dismisses these measures as ineffective in no uncertain terms: "the administrative solution involving traveller camps has been a mainstay of housing policy for RSC in Italy for decades […] it has served to progressively worsen housing conditions, becoming a source of marginalisation and exclusion for all those involved." (p. 83)

Another way in which we can look at the present transition is through the scientific analysis of policies, which can be found among the guidelines section of the National Strategy. The traveller camp is no longer viewed exclusively as a possible solution, but rather as a solution that was heavily influenced through the years by stereotypes about 'nomads' and 'gypsies'. This new phase recognises the need to understand the distinctive nature of the Roma groups present in various local settings, the uniqueness of each migratory experience and every individual's abilities and resources, moving towards a less ethnicised take on policy. It also marks the end of the rhetoric of emergency and national security that had flourished in camp-related policies, focusing instead on bringing improvement in various spheres (employment, citizenship, education, health), thus helping Roma to integrate socially and become self-reliant.

In the brief sections that follow we provide three important examples of this last perspective on the push away from traveller camps. We will not provide a historical background of alternatives or describe the various housing solutions adopted, from micro-areas to self-construction, from 'Roma villages' to standard housing. We will instead focus on the instances in which administrative measures operated on different levels, linking the housing problem to questions of civil rights and social integration.

Pisa's 'Thin Cities'

'Thin Cities' is the name of a programme approved by the Mayoral Conference in the area around Pisa in 2002. The project, funded by local councils and the Region of Tuscany, aimed to replace traveller camps with a series of alternatives, including rented accommodation, council houses, self-repair, brick-built villages and long-term residency. Although the project ended in 2009, it remains one of the most audacious and well planned initiatives in its field. The programme signed by the president of the Mayoral Conference states: "The construction of viable alternatives to the camps policy is based on an overall evaluation of the phenomenon and its ramifications. Almost all the Roma from Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia living in and around Pisa belong to communities that have not been nomadic for centuries." It also expresses the need for non-emergency-based measures: "The project, lasting three years, will aim to find housing for at least at least 80% of the Roma population – around 500 people – currently living in and around Pisa." From its inception, the proposal involved various administrative departments through an inter-Institutional Taskforce which brought together town councils, provincial and regional government, the prefect's office, local health authorities, the Justice Ministry and the service sector.

The project was initially extended to 44 families, 238 people, who were relocated to apartments sublet from social cooperatives; 8 more families, 47 people, were settled in council houses. The traveller camp in Coltrano was converted into a 'village' consisting of 17 units housing 17 families.

Despite delays in the completion of these targets, the Tuscan Regional Report for 2009-2010 reveals two significant outcomes: a significant increase in the number of people in possession of a living permit between 2002 and 2008 (+25% of census) and a high number of Roma provided with housing (more than 55% of people qualifying for the Thin Cities project).

The original operational guidelines has predicted an overall cost, for the first three years of the project, of 2,922,000 euros, split between local and regional funding. 611,000 euros were used to build the Village and 880,000 to purchase, refurbish and self-improve dwellings. The annual running costs for the project, according to an estimate from the councilman in charge of social policy Macaluso, come to around 200,00 euros per year.

The main criticism levelled at this programme by participants and onlookers concerns the isolated position of the village in Coltrano and the limited alternatives for housing, which has become progressively synonymous with private rental. This last fact is a result of the strong political and media pressure surrounding the initiative which eventually lead to restrictions in the number of people eligible for the service.

Houses in Padua

A less well known but equally important instance took place in Padua. From 2001, the Council adopted a housing policy which too into account the needs and expectations of individual families. In 2005, the "Project for Padua's communal areas", which called for the closure of two traveller camps housing 250 and 100 people. Renato Paolucci writes: "New housing policies have allowed 150 people to be settled in council houses and integrated into local society in the space of three years. Those affected are mostly Roma from former Yugoslavia , but also a few families of Italian Sinti from Veneto and Italian Harvati Roma from Croatia." (2009)

The remaining camps residents either invested in small plots of land or built their own brick hou-

ses. A local section of Opera Nomadi, appointed as the project's sponsor by the Town Council, had the job of choosing the company that would build the houses and monitor participants as they were trained in construction work, as well as afterwards. The building site became operative in July 2008 and shut down when the apartments were completed in December 2009. The site and dwellings belong to the City Council and were rented to Sinti families who cover the utility bills. The final budget came to approximately 60,000 euros per apartment. The buildings, each containing 4 apartments, are designed to house extended family units.

From reception to dwelling: the Bologna example

In 2007 the Bologna city council approved its "Plan of action for replacing emergency reception structures". Notwithstanding the hostility it engendered, the plan led to the closure of four reception centres by means of "finding suitable housing solutions within the province through assigning both council and privately owned dwellings" and of a "programme of mentoring throughout the reception process". This support formula includes a four-plus-four year rental contract between the council and private owners, who in turn are guaranteed a return by the administration whatever the outcome of the project; the properties are then sub-let to the families involved at 50% of the contracted rent, with the aim of placing the families in a position to sign the contract directly with the owners by the time the second four-year period begins. The tenants – 53 families made up of more than 200 individuals – are responsible for paying the deposit, utility bills and condominium charges. As in the case of Pisa, the whole institutional network was closely involved through agreements with adjoining towns, regular meetings with the prefecture and police authorities, and a monthly technical meeting at the city hall offices of all the social services involved in the project.

Tools and guidelines for moving on

The local cases which we have described here briefly cannot be taken as examples of good practice if by this we mean a method of proven efficiency which can be reproduced as is in other contexts. As Nicola Solimano has stated: "Moving away from the camp model implies above all pursuing a multi-faceted strategy […] Taking into consideration the homogeneity of the Roma world and the multiplicity of paths and projects which materialise within it, we are forced to admit that any formula is, in theory, applicable, but none can be applied across the board."

In the absence of a standardised model which could simply replace traveller camps, working towards replacing these camps implies taking on board the issue of the complexity and diversification of the Roma groups, of their housing requirements and of the local context. Considering these variables is essential for introducing effective measures.

The cases we have described do not represent good practice, moreover, in that each of them has brought to light flashpoints and problems; this too shows that the search for good practice should never become a shortcut for seeking definitive solutions – quite the opposite. Shining a light on these problems and flashpoints can and must point the way to a distant goal, beyond construction and expulsions, towards which technical and political thought must move.

In this sense, the cases we have studied may represent better practice, in that they strive to present the issue of housing Roma within a wider perspective: social inclusion and exercise of rights with a view to full autonomy for these citizens.

7. CONCLUSIONS: FROM 'TRAVELLER PLAN' TO 'TRAVELLER CAMP CLOSURE PLAN'

Segregation at a price makes its position clear. Our decision to produce the report is based on an explicit, stated premise: that abandoning the 'camp policy' should be a measure considered urgent and non-deferrable by national and local players.
Italy is not the only European country in which Roma live in camps, but it is the only European country in which the 'traveller camp' system has become institutionalised: i.e., selected as the accepted method for managing the Roma and Sinti presence in our cities, and involving civil society organisations in the economic system which has sprung up around the camps. Public funds earmarked for 'encouraging social and housing inclusion' of Roma are, in fact, mostly invested in setting up and managing camps, and in funding social welfare measures centered on these camps.
As Piero Brunello wrote as long ago as 1996, in a text which has become a point of reference for analysis of the 'camp policy' implemented in our country, the word 'camp' is loaded with connotations.

"In an urban area, 'camp' means an area of barren ground, fit for various provisional uses while awaiting some specific, useful and definitive employment. 'Camp' brings to mind 'camping' – a place in which to spend a period of time as you pass through, paying for the service. Camp signifies a temporary site, with makeshift shelters and campfires in the evening. Camp can also signify prison camp, concentration camp, death camp."

The camp model, therefore, calls to mind two different orders of meaning. On one hand, as a temporary solution, it recalls and implies the concept of accommodation that is tolerated but temporary, with Roma playing the part of 'guests'. On the other, an area earmarked exclusively for Roma and Sinti, in a peripheral space which is fenced and patrolled, evokes an emergency situation in which control and segregation measures serve to legitimize the exclusion of minority Roma and Sinti people by the rest of society.
The same applies, to an even greater extent, to the 'serviced camps' and 'solidarity villages' set up in recent years. In fact 'solidarity villages' such as the one in Castel Romano near Rome have, if anything, accentuated the elements of segregation inherent in the camp model by concentrating hundreds of people – around 1300 live in Castel Romano – in an isolated area, distant from the city centre and with poor public transport links. Moreover the larger the camps, the greater the hostility (which is not always spontaneous) of others living in the surrounding areas becomes.
The specific contribution that this report aims to make is to underline the *waste of public resources* entailed in maintaining the camp system.

Data provided in this report will serve to dismantle those arguments rife amongst institutional figures whose job it is to draw up policy 'for the good of the Roma peoples', and in public opinion where views are often incorrect and manipulated by those who use xenophobia, racism and anti-Roma sentiment as key arguments in their political propaganda.
In order to justify the continued presence of 'traveller camps' and argue that there are no feasible alternative paths for integrating Roma and Sinti socially or in housing, it is often stated that "there are insufficient public funds". In so doing, the belief is instilled that camps are the cheapest housing solutions that local administrations can adopt for accommodating Roma in our cities. This is not the case.

Our report shows this to be false: millions of euros were spent between 2005 and 2011 on setting up, running and maintaining camps in Naples (at least 24.4 million euros), Rome (al least 69.8 million euros, plus a further 9.3 million euros for education programmes) and Milan (2.7 million euros recorded over the course of our project but this is certainly less than the real total). Moreover the social, training and workforce integration schemes connected to these policies produced no significant outcome as far as encouraging true autonomy of the people involved was concerned. This is public money which could have been far better spent, as the Milan experiments clearly demonstrated.
Blaming a lack of public funds (which, in the current crisis, has indeed led to a gradual cut in local authorities' social policy budgets) is therefore nothing more than a rhetorical device with no basis in fact.
These camps should and can disappear from our cities. But in order for this to happen local authorities will have to change radically the cultural, political and administrative approach hitherto adopted in dealing with Roma and Sinti in our country. We don't need 'special', 'temporary' or 'ghetto-forming' solutions. What are needed are projects aimed at housing, social and labour integration aimed at making Roma autonomous.

'Traveller plans' must and can be replaced by effective 'plans for shutting down traveller camps'. This is the main request we feel moved to make of national and local authorities, with particular reference to the city councils of Rome, Naples and Milan whose policies have been studied in this report. Of course dismantling such a well established system will require planning, timetabling, a detailed intervention strategy, direct involvement of the Rom and Sinti peoples in planning, dedicated funds, fixed deadlines and different roadmaps to take into account the varying legal, economic and social situations of the families involved.

It should be made perfectly clear that the closure plans we are talking of bear no relationship to the shameful camp clearance policies which have gone hand in hand with the 'camps policy'. A planned closure of camps implies concrete planning and construction of housing alternatives, replacing camps with houses integrated into the surrounding fabric before the camps are closed, and agreeing on a timetable and procedure for this change of accommodation.
There are a host of alternatives, as has been shown not only by the experiment in Milan but also by the sound practise in Pisa, Padua and Bologna that we have outlined in the report. These range from subsidies for autonomous accommodation in ordinary dwellings, to awarding of publicly-owned council housing, social housing and support for initiatives to reclaim unused public structures by those who will benefit from them. It is absolutely certain, however, that without the direct involvement of the Roma and Sinti, none of these measures will be successful.

'Success' for us means creating a situation in which Roma and Sinti who today live in camps can cope without aid (whether public or private) of any kind, aid which in most cases does nothing but throw up obstacles to the development of projects for a decent, autonomous, independent lifestyle. This is possible, as demonstrated by the thousands of Roma and Sinti who for decades have been living in ordinary houses, cases which – of course – nobody mentions.

A report by
Berenice, Compare, Lunaria and OsservAzione