



Civil society monitoring report
on implementation
of the national Roma integration strategy
in Italy

*Assessing the progress
in four key policy areas
of the strategy*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANCI	National Association of Italian Municipalities
ASGI	Association for Legal Studies on Immigration
CoE	Council of Europe
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ECSR	European Committee on Social Rights
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ERIAC	European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture
ERRC	European Roma Right Centre
ESF	European Social Fund
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
FRA	EU Agency for Fundamental Rights
ISTAT	National Institute of Statistics
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MIUR	Ministry of University and Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRIS	National Roma, Sinti and <i>Caminanti</i> Integration Strategy
OSCAD	Observatory for Security against Acts of Discrimination
PON	National Operational Programme
RSC	Roma, Sinti and <i>Caminanti</i>
UNAR	National Office against Racial Discrimination
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency
UPI	Union of Italian Provinces

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Employment

The first critical point to highlight is the fact that, to date, there is no updated and reliable data that would describe the working conditions of the RSC throughout the Italian territory.

According to the only available survey, EU-Inclusive (2012), the labour market is particularly exclusive towards the RSC community, both in absolute terms and in comparison, to Italians; only 34.5 per cent of RSC are employed or self-employed on a regular or irregular basis, while 27.2 per cent are unemployed. Generally, from this research it emerges that:

- Among the RSC the unemployment rate is habitually higher than among non-RSC;
- Employment, when present, is mostly unstable and hidden;
- Access to and continuity within the job market are very difficult; exclusion conditions are very much diffused in the medium-long term. This situation endangers a big part of the RSC community by encouraging and exposing it to very high levels of poverty;
- Independent work is much diffused; often, this is not the free choice of the RSC but a consequence of the difficulties encountered in finding proper employment;
- The work carried out by members of the RSC community is mainly unqualified, such as: metals collectors, itinerant merchants, generic workers, cleaning operators, farmers, bricklayers;
- Among women, 40 per cent are exclusively taking care of the house or of the family.

With respect to the measures implemented in order to facilitate the integration of the RSC in the labour market, at national level, there are only two initiatives:

- Conducting a study to verify the possible transferability of the „Acceder” Model, used in Spain in the early 2000s, to the Italian context.
- The implementation of an experimental intervention programme for promoting the employment of discriminated and disadvantaged people, the „DJ Project - Diversity on the job”.

Aside these two initiatives and despite the availability of loans and the agreements to which Italy subscribed to at international level, in Italy there are no other measures of national or at least supra-regional scope. Projects and minor activities for supporting the employment inclusion of the RSC have been implemented only at municipal or regional level,

Despite the difficulties faced by RSC women and those faced by young RSC and despite the explicit reference to their condition of particular vulnerability in the National Strategy for the Integration of the RSC, there is no specific measure implemented at national level. Also, initiatives aimed at increasing awareness among the majority of society of the benefits deriving from the employment inclusion of the RSC communities are absent. Combating discrimination against the RSC requires, firstly, an explicit but not exclusive approach, and, secondly, a gender-based and an age-based approach to active labour market policies. The importance of such approaches is widely acknowledged in almost all European countries, even without taking into consideration the specific situation of the RSC. In the case of RSC, in Italy, the absence of specific policies and actions to tackle the additional disadvantages and inequality suffered by these two vulnerable subgroups widen the inclusion/exclusion gap.

As previously mentioned, the development of such measures is limited, especially because of the lack of data due to the absence of regular analyses on specific employment barriers

or disincentives. This deficiency is one of the main obstacles to the implementation of initiatives and/or programmes needed to tackle the challenge of Roma labour market integration.

Housing and essential public services

According to *Associazione 21 Luglio* (2018), 26,000 Roma in Italy live in housing emergency situations. The most important housing challenges, such as fighting segregation in Roma municipal camps and preventing forced evictions, were insufficiently addressed.

It must be emphasized that a great number of Roma families live in conditions of social need, in „nomad camps“, located on the extreme outskirts of the towns. These camps were built up over the last decade by local administrations and are the outcome of reiterated political choices with respect to public housing.

Even if the National Strategy stresses the importance of overcoming the „nomad camps“ by considering a broader spectrum of housing solutions, many local authorities continue to fund housing solutions and plans on an emergency and ethnic-based basis. According to *Associazione 21 Luglio* (2017), in the first four years after the approval of the NRIS, local authorities spent 31,860,000 EUR for promoting this type of housing solutions concerning almost 4,800 people.

There are over 9,600 Roma, mostly coming from Romania, that live in informal settlements. Evictions continue to take place without providing other housing solutions to the families that are evicted and end up homeless. 55 per cent of the children evicted had serious repercussions on their psychological health and on their educational path. It is necessary to prevent evictions by ensuring that any evictions take place in full respect of fundamental human rights, and by providing adequate alternative housing to evicted families to avoid homelessness and aggravating exclusion.

There are three main issues affecting housing politics: (1) the difficulties in accessing ordinary social housing procedures which, directly or indirectly, are meant to discriminate against Roma; (2) the ad-hoc housing projects carried out (by public and private institutions) for Roma and Sinti are few and merely intended to face emergencies or special events, they are difficult to access as procedures and deadlines are continuously modified; (3) discrimination based on ethnic origin in the private housing sector (rent, mortgage) as a consequence of widespread antigypsyism.

The absence of an effective coordination and monitoring system is a serious responsibility not only at the national but also at the local level. Indeed, there are municipalities like Rome's that keep on evicting Roma camps disregarding a judgement of the European Court (Camping River camp, Rome, August 2018). A number of local administrations claim their willingness to overcome the issue of „nomad camps“ but they seem unable to develop a coherent strategy. In fact, Roma families evicted from a camp (regularly authorised by the City Council), where they have lived on a regular basis, are denied by the City Council itself the award of ranking points needed to access social housing, as compared the eviction cases from a conventional house.

Impact of health care policies on Roma

Even though the lack of data does not allow drawing a clear and complete picture of the national situation, all sources agree on asserting that RSC access to health care is limited, especially if compared with the rest of the population. Researches show that the health conditions of the RSC cannot be assigned to ethnicity, but depend largely on RSC housing conditions, distinguishing how those living in camps and informal settlements are the most vulnerable. The formal or informal camps are built in unhealthy areas, with high noise and environmental pollution, adjacent to landfills and incinerators or to other hydro-geological

risks on public grounds. Spatial marginalization and the inability to benefit from a social network external to the institution of the camp is something that severely affects the psychological health of the Roma children. A research run by NAGA in 2011 confirms the alarming situation in which many RSC children live, stating that 42 per cent of the Roma children living in Milan in housing exclusion conditions have never been visited by a doctor, nor vaccinated.¹ RSC women represent another vulnerable target, whose socio-sanitary conditions appear to be problematic. As showed by the EU-Inclusive report,² gender and age are the socio-demographic variables that influence the most the health condition of RSC. Another factor that negatively impacts the health care access of RSC communities is in fact their administrative status and nationality. Although formally, but in different ways, all Roma are entitled to medical and health services, they often do not have adequate access to such services given the complexity of the legislation and administrative procedures. In particular, the RSC living in informal settlements often are not aware of their rights and do not have access to basic information. A research run by NAGA (2010)³ showed in fact that 94 per cent of the patients who were visited and received assistance in the informal settlements of the city of Milan did not have health coverage. Other researches, run on different national territories, confirm this data, stating a huge disorientation within the communities living in this situation, and emphasizing the existence of a proportional relationship between precarious living conditions and difficulties in accessing health care.⁴ Despite the fact that on paper everyone has access to health care, the lack of documents remains an obstacle. Roma foreigners in Italy experience the same problems detected for the Roma throughout Europe. The adoption of a systemic and integrated approach to health care has been planned with the participation of various ministries and key institutional and non-profit actors.⁵ Some of the national programmes of NRIS have adopted this approach, but concrete and measurable results regarding the right to health care of the Roma have not yet been achieved. Nevertheless, RSC access to health care is still hampered by forms of indirect and direct discrimination, and unfortunately, it is still through the action of NGOs operating in different locations that the right to health is pursued for the most vulnerable RSC groups living on the national territory.

Education

The Ministry of Education claims that in 2014/2015 there were 12,437 Roma, Sinti and Caminanti students in Italian schools, even if the real number is probably higher, as some Roma choose to hide their ethnic identity for fear of being discriminated. According to *Associazione 21 Luglio* (2016), one out of five Roma children living in a housing emergency condition has never gone to school, and one out of four did not finish the first school cycle. Since, according to the EU-Inclusive Report (2012), 19 per cent of Roma living in slums are illiterate, it is necessary to promote a great national plan to combat the school drop-out rate of Roma minors, as they continue to be over-represented among early school leavers. Attention to promoting access to and the quality of early education is needed, as

¹ Naga (2011), Rom e Sinti, la doppia malattia. Indagine sulla (non) applicazione della normativa sanitaria per I cittadini stranieri irregolari a Milano, Milano. Available at: [http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto doppia malattia.pdf](http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto%20doppia%20malattia.pdf), And Naga (2018) Curare (non) e' permesso, available at: <http://naga.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Curare-non-e'-permesso.pdf>.

² *Casa della carità*. A. Abriani, EU-Inclusive, Rapporto Nazionale sull'inclusione lavorativa e sociale dei Rom in Italia, project cofounded by FSE within the operational programme „Invest in People“. Available at: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/eu-inclusive/rapporto.html>.

³ Naga, 2011, Rom e Sinti, la doppia malattia. Indagine sulla (non) applicazione della normativa sanitaria per I cittadini stranieri irregolari a Milano, Milano. Available at: [http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto doppia malattia.pdf](http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto%20doppia%20malattia.pdf)

⁴ Ricordy A., Motta F., Gerace S., 2014, SaluteRom, Pendragon.

⁵ Piano d'azione salute per e con le comunità Rom, Sinti e Caminanti, 2015, Tavolo Nazionale Salute per l'implementazione della Strategia nazionale d'inclusione dei Rom, Sinti e Caminanti.

it helps prevent school leaving and improves their educational outcomes. Further steps should be made to promote within the mainstream education inclusive and individualized support for Roma children and, in particular, for those who live in a housing emergency situation. More attention must be paid to offer second chance education and adult learning for the youth in order to facilitate the transition between educational levels and promote their future employability.

INTRODUCTION

After more than six years from the launch of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion (NRIS), no real improvements can be seen regarding Roma inclusion. Despite isolated progress in some regions, many problems still persist even after the NRIS implementation, and it appears to be difficult to solve them without a radical change of direction in respect to what has been done so far. The limited powers that the National Office against Racial Discrimination (UNAR) has to ensure the implementation of the NRIS at the local level, together with a poor capacity to coordinate actions among different institutional levels, have negatively impacted the development of Local Action Plans for Roma inclusion. At local level, everything is left at the discretion of the local authorities, that have powers to decide whether and how to put it into action. As a result, only 11 regions out of 20 have set up the consultative meetings for agreeing on how to implement the NRIS at local level. Only one region, Emilia Romagna, has promoted and approved a regional law aimed at closing the Roma municipal camps and implemented actions aimed at supporting RSC housing and social inclusion. It must be reported that there are several regional and local authorities that not only do not implement the NRIS, but even deny it, keeping on maintaining – or even opening – new mono-ethnic residential areas and camps. Moreover, the delay in the implementation of the NRIS in the two regions in which RSC presence and exclusion is higher, such as Lazio (22 per cent) and Lombardy (11 per cent), is particularly significant. In Lazio, the regional consultations started only in 2015, while in Lombardy it has not even been organized yet. Stigmatization and the use of rooted stereotypes in the public speech about Roma are on the rise, as a consequence of the increased radicalization and extremism shown by Lega Nord and Five Star Movement Government. It is urgent to promote actions aimed at making public authorities distance themselves from racist and xenophobic discourse that targets Roma and effectively criminalise anti-Roma rhetoric, hate speech and hate crime.

As a consequence of this situation, the human rights of thousands of Roma continue to be violated, particularly in the area of housing, as segregated camps, discrimination in access to social housing and forced evictions remain a daily reality for the Roma living in camps in Italy. As underlined in this report, the living conditions in camps are often inadequate, failing to meet international human rights standards and even the national regulations on housing. While the NRIS promised to „overcome camps”, stating that „the liberation from the camp as a place of relational and physical degradation of families and people of Romani origin, and their relocation to decent housing, is possible”,⁶ very little action has been taken by the authorities to this end. The „National working group on housing”, established by the Strategy to address discrimination in access to housing, has never been organized, and no national plans have been planned or implemented to provide for the process of desegregation from camps that was foreseen by the NRIS.

Despite the fact that the Strategy acknowledged the „excessive use” of evictions of informal settlements, and how these were „substantially inadequate” to address the housing situation of Roma, Italy has continued to evict Roma from informal camps, without the necessary safeguards such as consultation, adequate notice and others, in violation of the country’s international and regional human rights obligations and in contrast to other forms of evictions carried out in Italy. When evicted, Roma families are often not provided with adequate housing alternatives, and they are instead often made homeless or placed into ethnically segregated camps or temporary accommodation. Roma are also sometimes forcibly evicted from authorized camps, when authorities decide to close them down, even if authorities do not offer inhabitants adequate alternatives, like in the Camping River Case, that is analysed in this report.

⁶ National Strategy for RSC Inclusion, 2012.

As shown in this report, apart from two national initiatives, very few measures were undertaken for promoting access to employment of RSC communities that keep on recording a higher unemployment and inactivity rate in comparison to the rest of the population. Despite the explicit reference of the Strategy to women and youth, very little has been done to fight their vulnerability regarding access to the labour market, from which they keep on being highly excluded.

The persistence of poor housing and financial situation of those RSC who live in camps or informal settlements, keeps on influencing their access to health and education. As shown by the report, despite some attempts having been done in the field to promote a better access of RSC communities to health services and education, the access to health and education is still influenced by RSC housing conditions. The RSC who live in informal settlements still register a high level of illiteracy and school drop-out rate, while school attendance for many RSC minors living in regular camps is made difficult by the location of the settlements, which are very often situated far from city centres and services. The data analysed within this report shows in fact the presence of an important relationship between the access to educational and sanitary services and housing conditions, favouring groups that reside in stable integrated houses. Life in camps and informal settlements still has a negative impact on RSC use of healthcare and educational services, and limits the possibility of RSC to access useful information about their rights.⁷

This report intends to present integrative and alternative information to those submitted by the Italian state on the implementation of the NRIS, channelling the local knowledge and of civil society organisations on the real social impact of government measures. To this aim, a preliminary mapping and description of the actors and the actions in charge of planning has been made since no centralised information is still available. Based on this mapping, monitoring activities were carried out by a group of organizations.

The methodology of the report relies on a qualitative approach which included analysis of international, national and local documents, such as policy documents, research reports, articles and essays. An in-depth analysis of the NRIS local implementation has been done to examine the achievements and the obstacles concerning the development of policies at local level. Interviews with Roma representatives, Roma and civil society NGOs, Roma and Sinti people living in camps to provide a wider and inclusive perspective to the research findings.

⁷ Associazione 21 Luglio, *Rapporto annuale 2017* (Roma: 2018).

EMPLOYMENT

Describing the working and employment situation of the Roma Sinti and Caminanti (RSC) population in Italy is an extremely important task, as data on RSC working inclusion is difficult to obtain.

Most of the studies regarding the employment issue RSC communities face have been carried out through ethnographic research. These studies have the advantage of offering a very analytical picture. Nevertheless, this field of studies is mainly reduced to limited territorial areas.⁸

That is the reason why, to date, there is still a lack of updated and reliable data that can describe properly the working conditions and environment of the RSC communities all over Italy.

The only two relevant studies that offer national detailed information about this topic are:

- „Poverty and employment: the situation of Roma in 11 EU Member States”⁹ – a research pursued by the FRA (European Union Agency’s for Fundamental Rights);
- The EU-Inclusive (2012) study supplied by *Casa Della Carità* from Milan included in the European Project with the title: „EU Inclusive – Data and experiences report on the market of job integration of the Roma in Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain”.

The FRA survey based on the 2011 data shows, despite some methodological limits,¹⁰ some alarming results:

- 66 per cent of the Roma who were interviewed in Italy declared to have been subjected to discrimination during their job search;
- In Italy, the rate of the employed Roma with a permanent full-time contract is the lowest compared to other countries;
- Job is not at all a relevant source of financial income for the Roma families. This is proved by the fact that 95 per cent of Roma who have a regular paid job are anyway under the national poverty target;
- Almost 100 per cent of the Roma families included in the study shows that their income is under the national poverty risk level;
- 73 per cent of the Roma declare to be independent workers;

⁸ Among available ethnographies: Ciniero A., 2013, *I rom del Campo Panareo di Lecce tra marginalità socio-lavorativa e contingenza* in Dada Rivista di antropologia post-globale, anno III, N. 2, 21 dicembre 2013, Trieste, (pp. 111-133); Ciniero A., 2018, *Una questione sociale, non etnica. Processi di interazione ed esclusione di tre gruppi rom nel tempo: il caso del Salento*, in *Mondi Migranti* 2/2018, pp. 169-189; Santilli C., 2017, *I rom che raccolgono il ferro a Roma. Vuoti normativi, economia informale, antiziganismo*, in ANUAC. VOL. 6, N° 1, GIUGNO 2017: 141-163; Solimene M., 2015, *I Go for Iron: Xoraxané Romá Collecting Scrap Metal in Rome, Italy, Gypsy Economy*. Romani Livelihoods and Notions of Worth in the 21st Century, Micol Brazzabeni, Manuela Ivone Cunha, Martin Fotta, a cura di, New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books; Saitta P., 2011, *Etnografia di un’economia informale in Sicilia*, *Etnografia e Ricerca Qualitativa*, 3: 396-421. Tauber E., *L’altra’ va a chiedere. Sul significato del mangapen tra i sinti estraiçaria*, «Polis», 3, Bologna, Il Mulino, dicembre 2000, pp. 391-408; Piasere L., 1995, *Comunità girovaghe, comunità zingare*, Napoli, Liguori, 1995.

⁹ This report presents the results of the European Union Agency’s for Fundamental Rights (FRA) 2011 Roma survey on poverty and employment. Available at: <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/poverty-and-employment-situation-roma-11-eu-member-states>

¹⁰ In the report it is specified that the shown data are related only to the number of Roma interviewed during the study, so they can’t be representative of all Roma communities residing in each country. As far as Italy is concerned, the main limit of the research is given by the high number of Roma that live in the Roma camps, that means under very bad social and economic conditions (47 per cent of Roma who were interviewed live in the camps, but accordingly to the latest studies, only 15 per cent of the Roma residing in Italy still lives in camps).

- 69 per cent of the young Roma are excluded from accessing education and employment.

The FRA study presents data that is partially confirmed by the EU-Inclusive report according to which the Italian labour market is absolutely hostile towards citizens of Roma origin. The research presents the following data:

- Among the RSC the unemployment rate is habitually higher than among non-RSC;
- Employment, when present, is mostly unstable and hidden;
- Access to and continuity within the job market are very difficult; exclusion conditions are very much diffused in the medium-long term. This situation endangers a big part of the RSC community by encouraging and exposing it to very high levels of poverty;
- Independent work is much diffused; often, this is not the free choice of the RSC but a consequence of the difficulties encountered in finding proper employment;
- The work carried out by members of the RSC community is mainly unqualified, such as: metals collectors, itinerant merchants, generic workers, cleaning operators, farmers, bricklayers;
- Among women, 40 per cent are exclusively taking care of the house or of the family.

Specifically, data collected in this research shows that the Italian labour market is particularly exclusive towards the RSC community, both in absolute terms and in comparison to Italians. Only one interviewee in three (34.5 per cent) worked, either as an employee or self-employed, on a regular or irregular basis, during the week preceding the interview. 27.2 per cent of the respondents are unemployed: they did not work, although they actively sought employment. The remaining 37.8 per cent of the sample group are inactive (they declared that, at the moment of the interview, they were not working nor looking for work). Furthermore, 62.7 per cent of inactive members of the RSC community who have not sought employment declare themselves to be available for work: the actual number of inactive RSC is therefore 14.1 per cent of the sample. The disadvantage compared to the Italian population is considerable. The employment rate in Italy for those above the age of 15 in the third quarter of 2011 is, according to the survey conducted by ISTAT, 44.3 per cent as opposed to 34.5 per cent among the RSC. A difference of almost 10 per cent, which hides an even greater disadvantage for some social and demographic categories

Tab. 1: RSC Employed (regular and irregular), unemployed and inactive in Italy by gender and age (Source: EU-Inclusive (2012))

	Employed	Unemployed	Inactive and available to work	Inactive and not available to work
Male	48.3%	26.8%	17.2%	7.7%
Female	20.6%	27.8%	30.8%	20.8%
Less than 20	18.6%	28.1%	37.0%	16.1%
21-30	38.4%	29.1%	23.5%	9.0%
31-40	39.1%	29.7%	21.3%	9.8%
41-50	41.9%	24.4%	23.6%	10.1%
Over 50	27.3%	19.1%	12.9%	40.7%
Total	34.5%	27.2%	23.7%	14.1%

To summarise, based on the EU-Inclusive research results, the factors that negatively influence the access and continuity in the labour market in Italy are:

- Lack of Italian citizenship (within the RSC communities the unemployment rate of foreign members is ten points higher than the Italian ones);
- Duration of stay in Italy (the shorter the stay in Italy, the higher the unemployment rate);
- Gender (the level of unemployed women is normally much higher at any age level and for any studied profile compared to the level of unemployment in men);
- Housing (this aspect is highly related to the employment status, the permanent camp is more connected to unemployment, the abusive camp is more connected to inactivity; nevertheless, this shows a higher availability to get a job);
- Very diffused discrimination towards the RSC;
- Persistent economic crisis.

With regard to the employment topic, the Italian Strategy introduced specific objectives to be promoted including „encouraging the promotion of training and non-discriminatory access to training necessary to be integrated into the labour market and for the creation of enterprises” and „promoting tools, methods and devices for the regularization of irregular or precarious employment, entrepreneurial development and self-employment”. It seeks to promote also the „developing [of] individualised pathways to accompany the Roma women to the labour market, and to support the access of the Roma and Sinti people under the age of 35 to the system of opportunities and facilities provided for youth entrepreneurship and youth employment in general”, proving that specific consideration is given to those subjects who are most vulnerable, i.e. women and youth. Despite these objectives of the Italian Strategy, to date, at the national level, specific measures fostering RSC insertion into the labour market have not been carried out and there are no specific measures in support of enterprise creation directly targeting the RSC communities.

Unemployment and inactivity are common among RSC, often worsening exclusion situations that should be supported, indeed, with wide social policies. In other words, the labour market integration of RSC requires coordinated action (that is currently absent) in several policy areas: local development, education/training, active employment measures, economic policy, etc.

Improving access to labour market and effectiveness of employment services

In Italy, active labour market policies should be implemented by the Public Employment Services (PES), so-called *Centri per l'impiego*, together with private employment agencies, *Agenzie per il lavoro*, officially acknowledged by the National Agency for Active Labour Market Policies (Anpal). The employment services can do a lot to increase the labour market integration of vulnerable groups, playing a vital role in providing training and retraining to jobseekers, in supporting the potential employees in their job search, and/or providing incentives to employers to hire vulnerable workers. Yet, the effectiveness of Italian public employment services on RSC labour inclusion (PES) is overall scarce. On the one hand, PES services suffer from under-funding: public expenditure for labour market services in Italy is significantly lower than in other European countries¹¹, according to data reported by ISTAT (2017).¹² On the other hand, it has to be underlined, that people in

¹¹ In 2015 the share of GDP to fund labour market services was 0.04 per cent in Italy, as opposed to 0.36 per cent in Germany, 0.25 per cent in France and 0.14% per cent in Spain. Per capita expenditure for unemployed and potential employees was 3,700 EUR in Germany, 1,300 in France, 250 in Spain, 100 in Italy.

¹² *Survey on the performance of public employment services in Italy and abroad*, Parliamentary Hearing (XI Commission on „Public and private employment and welfare”), Rome, 07-18-2018. <https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/219566>

Italy use these formal institutional channels to look for job much less than other European citizens,¹³ as only one out of four jobseekers address PES. In fact, if we consider not only the citizens actively searching for a job, but the entire population of potential employees (i.e. including the inactive population available to work), less than one out of three people in Italy have contacted PES at least once in their working life. Furthermore, only 2.4 per cent of jobseekers that have found job consider PES's role to be useful in order to reach that goal. The data collected by ISTAT survey shows that the services provided by other employment agencies may present slightly better results, as the percentage of newly hired workers that found them useful moves up to 5.2 per cent.¹⁴ Anyway, these services may not be that accessible for the most vulnerable groups, like RSC.

The labour market integration of RSC follows in fact the mainstream procedure, as labour inclusion is the responsibility of the above-mentioned employment services, with no distinction. However, at local level, some municipalities have developed employment centres that provide services to promote the labour inclusion of the most disadvantaged groups, like disabled people, migrants and asylum seekers, RSC and those detained. Generally, they are present in the biggest towns, like Milan or Rome. CELAV, the Labour Intermediation Centre of the City of Milan, provides individualized training, internship and placement paths to unemployed, with a declared specific attention to people with disabilities, people living in condition of social disadvantage, and persons belonging to ethnic and linguistic minorities,¹⁵ like RSC. However, the RSC access to its services is possible if facilitated by mediation or support of a social worker or NGOs, so many RSC who live in deprived areas and camps ignore its existence. In fact, the available employment services are not so able to reach out to non-working RSC and the lack of information together with the structural problem of employment services' effectiveness, discourages their use. Even in the presence of services like CELAV, for example, the data on the widespread inactivity despite a large availability to work within the RSC population suggests the need for an extra effort that could and would encourage RSC potential workers to use them. Effective employment services, particularly public ones, should try to reach out to long-term unemployed or inactive people, especially among the RSC population. Otherwise, their access to working inclusion services will remain very limited.

In addition, the employment services do not support employers in hiring RSC (e.g. by sensitising HR staff and co-workers and offer mentoring for newly hired RSC). Measures (e.g. social clauses in public procurement, recruitment and wage subsidies schemes, supported job trial or apprenticeship schemes) to incentivise employers to hire RSC workers are not provided. Similarly, there are no private employers with positive diversity policies affecting RSC.

In Italy in 2013, based on UNAR proposal, the national working group on employment has been established and included the following tasks: analysis, rating, assessment, action proposals, and initiatives to integrate the RSC community into the work environment. Currently only two initiatives to support job searching for RSC have been suggested:

- Conducting a study to verify the possible transferability of the „Acceder” Model, used in Spain in the early 2000s, to the Italian context.
- Implementation of an experimental intervention programme that promotes the inclusion in the labour market of discriminated and disadvantaged people: „DJ PROJECT – Diversity on the job”.

¹³ In 2017, in the month preceding the interview, 45.2 per cent of unemployed addressed PES in EU, 74.5 per cent in Germany, 58.1 per cent in France, 25.2 per cent in Spain, 25.4 per cent in Italy.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Please see:

http://www.comune.milano.it/wps/portal/ist/it/servizi/sociale/Servizi_interventi_sociali/Adulti_immigrati/centro_mediazione_lavoro.

The „Acceder“ Model is a program that eases the access of Roma to employment; it focuses on the creation of personal tracks to enter the work environment (orientation, training, job placement, work market researches etc) and on promoting political actions that favour the Roma (such as public programmes that can implement the Roma social conditions; sensitization campaign against prejudices; assistance and training for local and social administrations to plan actions and solutions).

The programme was born in Spain in 2000 and was managed by the *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* (FSG). Since the beginning of the project, over 74,000 job contracts have been stipulated (over 70 per cent were for Roma). The „Acceder“ Model has a direct but not exclusive focus on the Roma and this is one of the reasons why it brought significant results in the inclusion of the Roma in the work environment. The inclusion of Roma in the „standard“ working environments has also been one of the main tools to sensitize and fight against discrimination, due to the integration and exchange in the work place between Roma and other communities.

The feasibility study for this model in Italy was led, by means of research activities and the creation of a set of indicators, by the *Consorzio Nova* in 2015 and it pointed out some cities in South Italy where it could be possible to apply and implement the „Acceder“ Model. Since then however it hasn't been possible to start the procedures to transfer the model in the identified cities.¹⁶

The experimental Programme was aimed at promoting inclusiveness in working environments of discriminated and disadvantaged members – „Project DJ – Diversity on the Job“ and has been promoted by the UNAR with funds from the *Programma Operativo Nazionale Governance e Azioni di Sistema Obiettivo Convergenza 2007-2013*. The target of the programme was to promote and guarantee the equal access to rights, supporting the development of empowerment processes, employment opportunities and inclusion of discriminated people into the working environment. Stakeholders of this initiative have been, besides the RSC communities, Sinti and Caminanti, discriminated people in general, either because of their identity or because of their sexual orientation. This programme has been carried out by *Agenzia Italia Lavoro*. In particular, the project has planned the creation of integrated territorial networks that could support social and working inclusion through the participation of associations and stakeholders, placed in the regions that were targeted by this initiative: Campania, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. The operative aspects of the programme were aimed at promoting insertion in the working environment through orientation services and coaching and a 3-month internship.

These were the 2 main national or multi-regional initiatives that have been carried out in Italy. Minor projects and initiatives to support job integration for RSC in Italy were promoted only by single regions on municipalities, some even before the application of the NRIS. Among these experiences, the following can be highlighted:

- Turin, 2010: *Tecniche di inserimento Rom*. This project was financed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, throughout the Region Piemonte and Torino Province.
- This initiative had the objective to socially integrate and provide regularization of the RSC. 31 recipients out of a total of 71 were effectively introduced in the working environment.
- Milan and Mantua, 2009: *Valore Lavoro* Programme. This project was focused mainly on women and young people and was aimed at supporting the existing working experiences; create new work placements for young people and women; support the RSC with job orientation services.

¹⁶ The identified cities are: Catanzaro, Lecce, Napoli, Palermo.

- Rome, 2010 and 2011: the *Assessorato Promozione dei Servizi Sociali e della Salute* of the municipality of Rome invested about 1,600,000 EUR to finance three projects to regularly include residents from the formal RSC settlements in a social and job programme: „RETIS Project – Social Inclusive Network”, „Form on the Job” Project and „Cleaning of the Camps” Project. These three projects forecasted that the development and execution of activities of waste disposal and maintenance and cleaning activities would be carried out within Roma camps throughout Rome. These activities were eventually fulfilled by means of internship, work ship and apprenticeship.
- Tuscany, 2011: the *Giunta Regionale* designated the *Consiglio Regionale* to prepare a plan that includes the necessary financial resources and to implement it with the cooperation of all the regional municipalities in order to mend the dangerous and degraded conditions in which the RSC lived in Tuscany. Even earlier, in 2009, gleaning from the *Fondo Nazionale per le Politiche Migratorie*, some projects have been implemented in order to help the RSC to find a job.
- Marche region, 2010: the local administration supported the project of the *Comune di Falconara Marittima* (Ancona Province), that promoted the self-entrepreneurship of the *Società Cooperativa „Lavorinas a.r.l.”*. The *Cooperativa*, organised by the RSC, was managing a touristic and hospitality business on some grounds given by the Commune itself.
- Apulia, 2011: this region co-financed a project designed to implement the knowledge of the RSC communities and facilitate intercultural dialogue and the social integration of these communities. This project was included in the European project for Fundamental Rights and Citizenship. „Respect: increasing Roma participation and citizenship rights: campaigns and tools”. Also in Apulia, in 2009 - deliberation 1506, 4th August 2009 – identifies the Association *Opera Nomadi Nazionale* as the institution to which was assigned, by means of an agreement, the execution of a 2-year plan with a total budget of 960,000 EUR (*Fondi del Ministero Affari Sociali con nota n. 23/1/5505 dell’11 dicembre 2008*) with the task to integrate the RSC in the labour market of the region.
- The forecasted activities have never been accomplished because the Apulia region broke the contract as the *Opera Nomadi* was not able to proceed with the plan. Immediately after, the region has asked for a refund of the financed amount and the sum has been paid back.

Despite the available loans and the agreements that Italy agreed to at international level, the initiatives to integrate the RSC communities are still very limited and discontinuous initiatives are still approached by local or independent institutions with no plans for further national commitment.

Fight against discrimination in employment and antigypsyism at workplace

In order to remove barriers and discrimination and to promote access to the labour market, Italy has been a member of the European Network EUROMA for the social inclusion of the RSC communities since 2008,¹⁷ in which the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the UNAR have been playing an important role. At this moment, there are no relevant national actions to reduce the discrimination and improve the integration of the RCS communities (see previous paragraph).

As already mentioned, the available data shows that urgent action is needed to promote the labour market integration of RSC vulnerable groups, especially for two vulnerable sub-

¹⁷ <https://www.euromanet.eu/about-us/>

groups: youth and women. According to the EU-Inclusive report (2012), only 20.6 per cent of RSC women are employed (less than half of the 48.3 per cent of RSC males), while 27.8 per cent are unemployed and 51.6 per cent inactive, with a 30.8 per cent of inactive women who would be available to work. This is alarming data, especially if we compare it to the activity rate of Italian women that is close to 40 per cent, which is far below the EU average.

Compared to non-RSC, there are also considerable inequalities based on age. Even though RSC youngsters are more present in the labour market than Italian ones, the rate of employed respondents to the survey below the age of 20 is 18.6 per cent. This data denotes a disadvantageous situation, underlining the following: while the majority of the Italian youth is in education (only 1.1 per cent is looking for a job), RSC youth are less present in schools. That is why they enter the labour market earlier than Italians do. Despite this, the share of employed people among the RSC youth is relatively limited, as 18.6 per cent is employed below the age of 20, and 38.4 per cent are between 21-30 years old, while most of them are not able to find employment. The NEET (not in education, employment or training young people) condition among the RSC youth is therefore very common. This makes the RSC Youth a particularly vulnerable social group, as their level of education is low, they have few job skills, and they are unable to improve their competencies in order to successfully enter the labour market.

The EU-Inclusive survey (2012) tried to describe the phenomenon of discrimination by asking RSC about their experience/perception. The collected data shows that discrimination seems to be a very common feature in the relationship between the RSC and the rest of the population in institutional contexts, too. Discrimination occurs in public spaces, as well as in the interaction with public and social services, thus shifting from the social level to the institutional one. A vicious circle can be highlighted between the scarce use of public services by the RSC, which is an additional indicator of social exclusion, and the experience they face while using those services as places where they may face discrimination. Regarding discrimination in the labour market, almost half of the EU-Inclusive report respondents felt discriminated for being part of the RSC community, and 4 out of 10 respondents believed that the situation was worsening. Expected/experienced discrimination in the labour market is one of the causes that push many to stay out of it, thus being inactive even if potentially they are available to work.¹⁸ In fact, employment and discrimination seem to be interlinked: on the one hand, RSC are often discriminated regarding their access to employment and at the workplace, and on the other hand, unemployed RSC are an easy target for discrimination (because they apparently confirm the common prejudice according to which RSC are lazy parasites).

Prevention and the fight against discrimination have been identified as crucial tasks by the National Strategy, which highlighted the need for constant monitoring and sensitisation for a complete overcoming of all forms of antigypsyism.

To fight discrimination, on one hand, UNAR has promoted a national network of local antennas for detecting and taking charge of the phenomenon of discrimination (not only affecting Roma). Some NGOs and other non-state entities help in reporting the occurring cases of discrimination against the RSC and develop advocacy plans. On the other hand, UNAR is aware of the importance to prevent any conduct or act that can have discriminatory effects, by raising awareness of the public opinion and relevant stakeholders besides devising information and communication activities. Nevertheless, not many initiatives have been promoted in this respect, and nothing has been done to raise the public's awareness regarding discrimination or antigypsyism at work. At the same time, there are no effective public model programmes, such as opening up the public

¹⁸ National report on labour and social inclusion of Roma, EU-Inclusive report, 2012. Available at: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/eu-inclusive/rapporto.html>

sector at national and sub-national level as a potential employer for the Roma, or campaigns to promote staff diversity.

Both the difficulties faced by RSC women, and those faced by young RSC and despite the explicit reference to their condition of particular vulnerability in the National Strategy for the Integration of RSC, there is no specific measure implemented at national level. As a matter of fact, there are no important initiatives aimed at increasing awareness among the majority of the society on the benefits deriving from the employment inclusion of the RSC communities.

Employment services do not support employers in hiring Roma (e.g. by sensitising HR staff and co-workers and offer mentoring for newly hired Roma). Measures (e.g. social clauses in public procurement, recruitment and wage subsidies schemes, supported job trial or apprenticeship schemes) to incentivise employers to hire Roma workers are not provided. Similarly, there are no private employers with positive diversity policies affecting Roma.

Discrimination and serious exploitation of labour: the case of the Bulgarian Roma labourers

An extreme case of labour exploitation deriving from discrimination and exclusion processes in Italy is that of a large number of Bulgarian Roma engaged in seasonal agricultural work (estimated between 2000 and 3000 people).¹⁹ These are Roma labourers who, between June and September, work, in particular, in two Italian regions: in Apulia, especially in the province of Foggia, and in Campania, especially in the agricultural areas of the province of Caserta. The living conditions of these labourers are particularly critical and, in many cases, border with slavery conditions. These workers are, among all other exploited foreign workers, those paid the least in absolute terms. They are almost completely ignored by the Italian institutions.

The Bulgarian workers who work in the agricultural harvest of seasonal products in Italy, in most cases, come from the town of Sliven. These are whole families, men and women with children. Many of these families have been involved, for over 15 years, in circular and seasonal migration processes between Bulgaria and Italy. In many cases, transfers between Bulgaria and Italy are organized by networks that have strong criminal infiltrations within them.²⁰

As for the province of Foggia, compared to housing conditions, most people, until June 2017, lived in an informal shanty town, located in the countryside of Borgo Mezzanone (FG), totally abandoned to itself and devoid of any service. There was no water inside the shanty town, there were no toilets, there was no waste disposal service. A totally unhealthy place that forced hundreds of people, with a high proportion of children, to inhuman living conditions. In July 2017, this shanty town was evicted, and family units dispersed on the agricultural territory of the province of Foggia.

The working conditions of these labourers are particularly hard, and the wages are low. In the case of the tomato harvest, which recalls the greatest number of workers, a labourer can earn between 20 to 30 EUR a day for over ten hours of work.

Payment, even if prohibited by Italian law, is always by piecework. In the summer of 2016, the pay was around six cents for each 15 kg per crate of tomatoes harvested. With these rates, to earn at least 20 EUR a day, one had to fill over 330 cases, almost 5 tons of tomatoes to collect during ten hours of work (an average of 33 cases filled in one hour,

¹⁹ The estimates were elaborated by the research group that participated in the realization of the IV Agromafie and Caporalato Report, edited by the Placido Rizzotto Observatory, in 2018.

²⁰ For more information on the role of the Bulgarian criminal organizations, with regard to the organization of the trip from Bulgaria to Italy and also to the process of job intermediation, please refer to the IV Report Agromafie e Caporalato op. cit.

less than two minutes per box). An exhausting collection rhythm in extreme environmental conditions, considering the heat of the Apulian summer.²¹

The situation of the Roma labourers who work in the province of Caserta (particularly in the agro of Mondragone), is very similar to that recorded in the province of Foggia. Compared to housing conditions, most households are located in farmhouses and/or abandoned homes or are camped in the countryside. Therefore, highly precarious and unhealthy housing conditions are registered. When compared to working conditions, the situation is similar to that recorded in the province of Foggia. Besides payment, which is always by piecework, hardly exceeds 30 EUR for a day's work. Cases were also recorded in which workers were remunerated with 2 EUR per hour. Women were even paid with 1.5 EUR per hour. In these cases, it is the work of the entire family unit that allows the amount of 30 to 35 EUR per day to be reached.²²

Employment alternatives in areas with limited primary labour market demand

Available data and researches show that combating discrimination against the RSC requires, firstly, an explicit but not exclusive approach, and, secondly, a gender-based and an age-based approach to active labour market policies. The importance of such approaches is widely acknowledged in almost European countries, even without taking into specific consideration the RSC situation. In the case of RSC, the absence of specific policies and actions to tackle the disadvantage and inequality suffered by those two vulnerable subgroups widen the inclusion/exclusion gap. Therefore, the need of individualised and tailor-made services is even more urgent. Unfortunately, the current employment services fail in meeting this need. After all, providing tailor-made services to disadvantaged subgroups is extremely hard when employment services do not cooperate with public and non-state social service providers or integrated social services (such as social counselling or accompaniment) to tackle the social problems of RSC jobseekers.

Promoting RSC women's access to employment seems in fact possible only if intervening on some specific barriers, like access to childcare. The analysis conducted under the „EU-Inclusive“ project (2012) demonstrated that women's disadvantage is often mitigated by the provision of services that favour the harmonization between work life and family care. According to this survey, participation in the labour market is higher among RSC women who had accessed kindergarten, schools and social services in the last 6 months. The use of kindergarten particularly encourages the insertion of women in the labour market (an increase of 6 per cent among women who use kindergartens), which in turn can determine a decrease in the inactivity rate.

Current employment services are not personalized, nor systematically combined with other tools, thus ending up not being accessible for RSC women, especially if they don't have Italian citizenship and if they do not possess all the requested documents necessary for accessing the services.

Focusing again on the RSC youth, there is a lack of specific measures, like career guidance, youth mentorship or internship programs that could ensure they get effective support to continue education or get a job, accompanied in school to work transitions and/or

²¹ For more information on the situation of Bulgarian Roma workers in the Province of Foggia, please refer to Ciniero A., 2018, *Inclusione ed esclusione dei gruppi rom in Puglia. Analisi delle politiche, degli interventi pubblici e dei processi sociali nel contesto regionale*, Icismi – Università del Salento – Regione Puglia, pp. 1-140. A description of the Borgo Mezzanone shantytown where the Bulgarian Roma lived was also present at this link: <https://migr-azioni.blogspot.com/2016/09/sfruttati-esclusi-e-completamente.html> In general, on the living conditions of Bulgarian Roma in Italy see Chirico M., 2015, *Una migrazione silenziosa, Rom bulgari in Italia*, Tau Editrice, Todi (Pg).

²² Information on the situation of Bulgarian Roma in the province of Caserta is also drawn from the *IV Rapporto Agromafie e Caporalato*, op. cit.

empowered thanks to specific training. To reverse the disadvantage and exclusion trend, such measures are imperative considering the generally low education level („EU-Inclusive“ evidence shows that 15 per cent of the RSC youth under 20 still does not hold any school degree, which proves a pattern of early school dropout that is almost exclusively a feature characteristic of this ethnic minority), the scarcity of family/social resources to invest in education and training, and the often intertwined spatial and social segregation, especially for people living in camps.

Education and training are core active labour market policies, according to the EU guidelines on empowerment and activation of weak subjects in the labour market. Moreover, training and promoting access to work are part of the intervention axes and specific objectives recognised by the Italian NRIS. Nevertheless, besides some short-term projects that attempted to promote (re-)training and gaining work experience for disadvantaged groups, in Italy there is no systematic presence of such programmes aiming at reaching this goal.

Current programmes are insufficient both quantitatively and because they do not target the weakest subjects, like women and youth. Raising awareness policies and actions (e.g. PES improvement to provide higher accessibility, personalization, networking and effectiveness) are urgently needed in order to ensure the implementation of the National Strategy, overcoming discrimination and promoting RSC social and labour inclusion.

Employment is central to the success of any inclusion policy, capable of countering any attitude detrimental to the RSC communities. Therefore, the implementation of policies and actions to overcome discrimination in the labour market is urgent.

To fight against the specific forms of discrimination suffered by the RSC, interventions that support explicit, but not exclusive, inclusion in the labour market for RSC should be launched, both for employees and for those who are self-employed. In order for these measures to be effective, a multi-level approach and a complex governance is required that involves the participation and interaction of different political actors (municipalities and regions mainly, as well as national and international authorities) because, as previously demonstrated, discrimination is always the result of a complex mixture of social, economic and political factors. In addition, interventions are urgently needed to focus on job placement of women and young people, thus offering an example of what is expected and is still largely disregarded by the NRIS.

The development of such measures, as mentioned above, is also limited by the lack of data due to the absence of regular analyses on specific employment barriers or disincentives. This deficiency is one of the main obstacles to the implementation of initiatives and/or programmes needed to tackle the challenge of Roma labour market integration.

HOUSING AND ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES

ROMA AND SINTI IN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SLUMS IN ITALY. THE FIGURES

- Approximately 26.000 is the estimated number of Roma and Sinti living in formal and informal slums which is equal to 0.04% of the Italian population
- Approximately 16.400 Roma are present in the formal settlements
- 148 is the number of the formal slums in Italy, located in 87 municipalities
- The estimated number of Roma present in informal settlements and micro settlements is approximately 9.600
- Life expectancy is 10 years lower than that of the Italian population
- 55% are under the age of 18
- It is estimated that 43% of the Roma and Sinti present in the institutional slums, are Italian citizens
- In informal slums and micro-settlements 86% of the inhabitants are Romanian citizens. The rest are mostly Bulgarian nationals
- Roma from the former Yugoslavia are approximately 9.600; they are present almost exclusively in formal slums. Of these, it is estimated that 30% - equal to about 3.000 units - may be at risk of statelessness
- The largest informal slums are concentrated in the Campania region
- The city with the highest number of formal slums (17) is Rome
- Rome is the city with the highest number of informal micro-settlements (approximately 300)

Source: *Associazione 21 Luglio, Annual report 2017* (Roma: 2018), p. 11.

Access to basic amenities

According to the estimate reported in the NRIS, „in Italy there are about 40,000 people living in camps”. According to *Associazione 21 Luglio*,²³ in 2017 it was possible to quantify the number of Roma and Sinti living in emergency housing with the reaching a total of 26,000, specifically in formal and informal settlements, micro settlements, as well as in Roma-only reception facilities. In addition, the same association estimates that approximately 1,300 people, mainly Sinti, live in about 50 micro areas located in Central-Northern Italy; approximately 1,200 Roma of Romanian citizenship live in mono-ethnic occupied buildings in Rome, Naples and Sesto Fiorentino; approximately 760 Roma of Italian nationality live in social housing located in mono-ethnic neighbourhoods in the cities of Cosenza (approximately 500 people) and Gioia Tauro (approximately 260 people).

Rome continues to be the city with the largest number of Roma people living in emergency housing, 27 per cent. 17 formal settlements and approximately 300 informal settlements: this is the „map of shame” of a city that displays severe delays in promoting effective inclusive strategies. However, Roma is not the only city in which such delays are encountered; there are other important metropolises, from Turin to Naples and passing through Giugliano – the city of the Campania region where, for years, there was located one of the largest informal settlements inhabited by a Roma community, which was moved out without solution from one area to another – and Foggia, where in Borgo Mezzanone 800 Bulgarian Roma lived in dramatic and precarious housing conditions and working exploitation in 2017.

²³ *Associazione 21 Luglio, Rapporto annuale 2017* (Roma: 2018).

Although Roma and Sinti people living in emergency housing facilities are a minority,²⁴ their conditions reach dramatic levels and are both a cause and a consequence of marginalisation, segregation and discrimination. The same can be said for education and working conditions.

However, there are three main issues affecting housing politics:

- Difficulties in accessing ordinary social housing procedures, as implemented by the local authorities (council housing, rent payment support). The lack of a registered residence (*residenza*) may be a reason for social exclusion. Many Roma have been effectively denied access to regular, desegregated social housing, not only because of the lack of investments to increase the availability of affordable accommodation in line with the needs of the general population, but also due to the introduction by local authorities of criteria for accessing²⁵ social housing that directly or indirectly discriminate against Roma.
- In the last decades, a few ad-hoc housing projects have been carried out in Italy (by public and private institutions) specifically designed for Roma and Sinti people, merely to face emergencies or special events. However, such facilities are difficult to access as procedures and deadlines²⁶ are continuously modified and never clearly outlined. Furthermore, these projects do not meet the cultural needs of any specific Roma groups (self-building, rest spaces for nomadic groups) but are only meant to cope with occasional emergencies, thus never becoming effective housing structures.²⁷
- Discrimination based on ethnic origin in the private housing sector (rent, mortgage) is a consequence of widespread antigypsyism. Segregation is actually compounded by the extreme difficulty Roma people face when they are unable to access adequate housing.

²⁴ In Italy Roma and Sinti are approximately 120,000 to 180,000, as estimated by the Council of Europe.

²⁵ Here are some examples of the way the Lombardy Region Law on social housing has been interpreted by the Municipality of Milano (in line with the majority of the Italian municipalities). (1) Being evicted by council ordinance from authorized housing units located in a „nomad” camp does not count as being evicted from a conventional house and cannot be awarded the points needed to secure social housing. (2) No points for barrier is awarded to disabled minors living in a precarious situation („nomad” camps, centres, etc.). Another example in Lazio Region: on December 31, 2012, the Municipality of Rome published a public notice, replacing the one from 2000, which announced that the maximum score for the assignment of social housing units would be granted to „family units living in centres, public dormitories or any other temporary accommodation provided by entities, institutions and recognised and authorised charitable organizations dedicated to public assistance, provided that the families had been living continuously in said accommodations for at least one year from the date of the application”. However, when it became clear that this notice would apply to several Roma families living in the camps, an internal circular was issued by the Municipal Social Housing Agency saying that „nomad” camps cannot be considered as matching the situation described, as they should be regarded as permanent structures. The said circular was in force until May 2014.

²⁶ At the time of writing, February 2019, it is still unclear in the Municipality of Milan whether a homeless family, or a family evicted from an informal settlement, would be entitled to access social primary emergency centres. However, actual access would then depend on availability in these centres.

²⁷ In many cases temporary accommodations become long term or permanent housing, thus entailing serious social problems. It is worth mentioning Castel Romano, Rome’s and Italy’s largest formal settlement with its 1,062 inhabitants, counted in February 2017, 32 km away from the city centre. This settlement is located between a mall, a natural park and a railway. The site, with a total area of over 40,000 square meters was inaugurated in 2005 to accommodate the Roma families evicted from Vicolo Salvini informal settlement. Between 2010 and 2012, the slum was expanded to allow the reception of Roma communities from La Martora and Tor de’ Cenci settlements. The conditions of the settlement are the worst. The houses are wrecked containers. The slum is supplied with a single power contract (700kW for an annual cost of approximately 365,000 EUR). Water supply is occasionally ensured by a purifier. High school dropout rates and the poor health state of minors within the Roma communities have been reported for years by Comunità di Sant’Egidio. See: Ulderico Daniele, Stefano Pasta and Greta Persico, «From public enemy to urban ghost. Roma migrants and the dismantling of the nomad camp system in Milan and Rome», *Intersections, East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4-3 (2018): 106-135, p. 123.

The scholar Antonio Tosi wrote in 2007: „*The conditions of extreme degradation of many settlements is the most obvious indicator of the gravity of Roma and Sinti living conditions: the general situation is characterized not only by the absence of minimum levels of livelihoods and radical denial of the right to housing, but also because it is a huge obstacle to the achievement of minimum standards in academic, health and professional areas, therefore representing a strong obstacle in the path of integration.*”²⁸

The NRIS said: „The homelessness and housing problems are perhaps the most extreme examples of poverty and social exclusion in society”,²⁹ It indicated this objective for the housing axis: „Increasing the access to a wide range of housing solutions for the RSC people, with a participatory approach, in order to definitively overcome emergency approaches and large-sized mono-ethnic settlements, while paying due regard to local opportunities, family reunification and a strategy to be based upon the principle of equal distribution”. The specific objectives were: „Promoting integrated policies for inter-institutional cooperation in the field of housing supply for the RSC people; promoting housing solutions which meet the requirements and specific needs of the RSC families; „raising awareness about the economic resources, the administrative arrangements available under the housing policies and the real estate opportunities for the RSC families”.

Ten years after Tosi’s report and seven years after NRIS, the situation has not changed. The final report of the Jo Cox Committee, set up by the Italian Chamber of Deputies, published in 2017, states: „The so-called „nomad camps”, authorised or unauthorised, are exclusion places where the spatial and housing segregation becomes social and cultural ghettoization”.³⁰ The Italian Chamber of Deputies also notes that the settlement of these groups is an integral and crucial element in the creation of a „Roma issue” in Italy: „Yet in front of the huge social problems of the so-called „nomad camps” and the ghastly conditions of the settlements, Roma populations are accused to be responsible for their own conditions. This is the same concept adopted by the Nazi and fascist ideology³¹, but the history of mankind is also a history of exclusion of people „for they only deserve what they are suffering”.³²

Conditions are dramatic under several aspects. In makeshift settlements – and sometimes even in formal settlements – it is quite common that the following rights are not granted: physical housing security (ruined or slum housing), access to drinking water, access to sanitation (public or private solutions), access to garbage collection (public collection), secure access to electricity, restricted heating (families unable to heat all rooms/all times when necessary), overcrowding (available space/rooms for families), possibility of showers.

In Italy there are different situations among the municipalities. For example, shower facilities for the homeless are sometimes – but not always – offered by private associations or public showers. Extremely important is the issue of garbage collection in informal settlements. According to Italian law, garbage is managed at municipal level and the disposal system varies from one region to the other. In many cases, local authorities refuse

²⁸ Antonio Tosi, „The look of the exclusion”, in *Living on the edge. A survey of Roma and Sinti settlements in Lombardy*, ed. Maurizio Ambrosini and Antonio Tosi (Milan: Fondazione Ismu, 2007), 27-50, p. 42.

²⁹ UNAR, *National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities. European Commission Communication No. 173/2011*, (Roma: UNAR, 2012), p. 78.

³⁰ Commissione Jo Cox, *Relazione finale*, p. 89.

³¹ See: Luca Bravi, „Storia e memoria del Porrajmos per il tempo presente. Una storia della scolarizzazione dei rom e dei sinti in Italia”. *Giving memory a future*, 2012. Available at: http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/storia_memoria/memoria-negata/Luca%20Bravi%20storia_e_memoria_del_porrajmos_per_il_tempo_presente.pdf

³² See: Stefano Pasta, *Razzismi 2.0. Analisi socio-educativa dell’odio online* (Brescia: Scholé-Morcelliana, 2018); Adriano Zamperini, *L’ostracismo: essere esclusi, respinti e ignorati* (Torino: Einaudi, 2010).

waste collection in these settlements on the grounds that Roma are not recognised as official residents and therefore they do not exist. In addition to exposing slum dwellers to health risks, this choice fuels social tension with the neighbourhood, as the garbage is visible and malodorous. The practice of open burning waste is causing additional problems.

In 2012, the national research EU-Inclusive³³ showed the following results:

Services for housing and durable goods ownership according to settlement type (EU Inclusive, 2011)

Goods / Services	Irregular settlement	Regular settlement	Housing	Other types	Total
Electricity	36,3 %	95,8 %	98,4 %	56,9 %	81,1 %
Refrigerator	30,8 %	93,2 %	97,1 %	46,6 %	77,9 %
Running Water	26,9 %	91,0 %	98,4 %	58,6 %	77,0 %
Sewage system	16,9 %	89,1 %	99,4 %	68,0 %	74,6 %
Hot water	9,1 %	81,1 %	96,5 %	55,2 %	68,0 %
Washing machine	17,0 %	73,8 %	86,1 %	27,6 %	62,5 %
Bathroom	12,8 %	64,0 %	89,8 %	41,4 %	59,2 %
Car	32,1 %	65,9 %	65,5 %	31,0 %	56,5 %
Inside toilet	14,1 %	71,9 %	65,3 %	27,6 %	54,5 %
Oven or stove	22,7 %	62,6 %	38,4 %	15,5 %	43,8 %
Freezer	5,5 %	48,9 %	63,9 %	34,5 %	42,8 %
Gas generating installation	2,3 %	18,3 %	69,2 %	32,8 %	31,1 %
External toilet	33,4 %	34,1 %	5,9 %	10,3 %	24,2 %

Source: Casa della Carità. *EU INCLUSIVE. Rapporto Nazionale sull'inclusione lavorativa e sociale dei Rom in Italia* (Milano: 2011), pp. 23-24.

Access to secure and affordable housing

In the last decade, some projects have been implemented by NGOs and municipalities. However, these interventions are different from one another, sporadic, linked to emergencies and not framed in the national guidelines.³⁴

In contrast, the most common housing solution among the Roma in emergency situations is represented by settlements or a regulated way of living collectively,³⁵ institutionalised

³³ Fondazione Casa della Carità, *National Report on labour and social inclusion of Roma people in Italy* (Milano: 2011), pp. 23-24.

³⁴ Associazione 21 Luglio, ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre), and Amnesty International. *Italy: The National Strategy for Roma Inclusion: a short-lived hope for Roma in Italy*. 26 February 2016. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR3035202016ENGLISH.pdf> (English version); <https://aws.amnesty.it/la-strategia-nazionale-per-linclusione-dei-rom-una-vana-speranza-per-i-rom-in-italia-la-commissione-europea-apra-procedura-dinfrazione-contro-litalia/>.

³⁵ On 29 August 2017, the City of Turin approved a new municipal «Regulation for the staging areas for Roma and Sinti». Available at: http://www.comune.torino.it/concorsi/2018/R2518_allA.pdf. Here are the minutes of the city council's approval which serve in reconstructing previous regulations on municipal nomad camps: http://www.comune.torino.it/consiglio/documenti1/atti/testi/2017_03392.pdf

Concerning the municipality of Milan, the decision of the State Council to call an end to the Nomad Emergency (2011) led to the abolition of the Regulation of 2009 and the return to „Regulations for the settlement of gypsy minorities in the territory of the City of Milan” of 1998. It is valid also in 2019 (See: <http://fc.retecivica.milano.it/Palazzo%20Marino%20LD/Palazzo%20Marino:%20com%27era/I%27Amministrative/Il%20Consiglio%20Comunale/Deliberazioni/Del.%26Moz.%201998/Delibere%201998/S0041534C-01291941?WasRead=1>). In 2009, the municipality of Milan had introduced the „Regulation for the transient

by the local administration. „Nomad camps” are extremely common in Italy, but quite uncommon in other European countries, so that Italy at the beginning of the millennium was referred to as „the country of camps”.³⁶ According to *Associazione 21 Luglio*, in 2017 in Italy there were 148 formal settlements inhabited by approximately 16,400 Roma and Sinti.³⁷

These housing policies are very expensive, as evidenced by the report „Segregare costa”.³⁸ They are the consequence of the erroneous assumption that the Roma are a nomadic population and therefore deserve a different type of housing solution, namely, a „nomad camp”.³⁹ The genesis of this belief dates back to the 1980s when a number of Italian regional councils issued regional laws aimed at protecting the so-called Roma culture, recognising its supposed nomadic character as a fundamental cultural trait of the Roma. Local authorities tackled the issue exclusively on an ethno-cultural basis. The absence of a national law recognizing the Roma and Sinti as minorities led to the creation of the nomad camp policy system. Besides the Italian Roma and Sinti, with their specific history, Roma migrants from former Yugoslavia – not nomads – were the very first target of the „nomad camps” policy. These individuals started arriving in Italy in the 1970s-80s and settled in the largest cities, such as Milan, Rome, Turin and Naples. During the 1990s, the increase in their number due to the Balkan Wars accelerated the spread of the „nomad camps” policy. After 2000, similar policies were adopted also by other municipalities facing the progressive increase in the migratory flux from Romania.

While the NRIS indicated the terms „camps”, „nomads” as „anachronistic and emergency response” and promised to „overcome camps”, stating that „the liberation from the camp as a place of relational and physical degradation of families and people of Romani origin,

parking areas for nomads in the area of the City of Milan” (defined according to regional law 77/1989; the Regulation was published in the Official Journal of the Lombardy Region on 23 February 2009, available at: <http://www.stranieriinitalia.it/briguglio/immigrazione-e-asilo/2009/febbraio/reg-campi-nomadi-mi.pdf>).

³⁶ ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre), *Campland: Racial Segregation of Roma in Italy. Country Report Series, Nr. 9* (Budapest: 2000). See also: Nando Sigona, „Locating ‘The Gypsy Problem’: The Roma in Italy: Stereotyping, Labelling and ‘Nomad Camps’”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 4 (2005): 741-756. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500109969>; Piero Colacicchi, „Ethnic Profiling and Discrimination against Roma in Italy: New Developments in a Deep-Rooted Tradition”, *Roma Rights Journal*, no. 2 (2008): 35-44; Tommaso Vitale, „Etnografia degli sgomberi di un insediamento rom a Milano. L’ipotesi di una politica locale eugenetica”, *Mondi Migranti: Rivista di Studi e Ricerche sulle Migrazioni Internazionali*, 1-8 (2008): 59-74; Isabella Clough Marinaro, „Between Surveillance and Exile: Biopolitics and the Roma in Italy”, *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, 1-2 (2009): 265-287; Giovanni Picker, „Nomads’ Land? Political Cultures and Nationalist Stances Vis-à-Vis Roma in Italy”, in *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Romany Studies*, ed. Michael Stewart and Marton Rövid (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 211-222; Ulderico Daniele, „‘Nomads’ in the Eternal City: Local policies and Roma Participation in the ‘Emergency’ Era”, *Géocarrefour*, 86-1 (2011): 15-24.

³⁷ 21 Luglio Associazione, *Rapporto annuale 2017* (Roma, 2017), p. 13.

³⁸ According to the report, between 2005 and 2011, at least a 100,000,000 EUR were set aside for the construction, running and maintenance of traveller camps, designated by institutional policy to ‘host’ Roma, Sinti, and Caminanti communities in Naples, Rome, and Milan.

Berenice, Lunaria, Compare, and Osservazione, edited by ... (edited by who?). *Segregare costa. La spesa per i campi nomadi a Napoli, Roma, e Milano*. Roma, 2013. Available at: <http://www.lunaria.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/segregare.costa.pdf>.

³⁹ Gaja Maestri and Tommaso Vitale, „A Sociology of the Camps’ Persisting Architecture: Why Did Rome Not Put an End to Expensive Ethnic Housing Policies?”, in *Architecture and the Social Sciences: Inter- and Multidisciplinary Approaches between Society and Space*, ed. Maria Manuela Mendes, Teresa Sá, and João Cabral (New York: Springer, 2017), 197-218; Ulderico Daniele, Stefano Pasta, and Greta Persico, „From Public Enemy to Urban Ghost. Roma Migrants and the Dismantling of the Nomad Camp Systems in Milan and Rome”, *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 4-3 (2018): 106-135.

and their relocation to decent housing, is possible". Very little action has been taken by the authorities to this end.⁴⁰

According to *Associazione 21 Luglio*, Amnesty International and European Roma Rights Centre, the national working group on housing", established by the Strategy to address discrimination in access to housing, is still on paper only.⁴¹

The interventions that reiterate segregation policies, and are therefore in contrast with the commitments made at the European level through the adoption of the *Strategy*, have involved the entire national territory, building mono-ethnic camps. Between 2012 and 2017 in Northern Italy the construction of new camps involved the Municipalities of Milan, Carpi, Merano and Moncalieri with measures aimed at housing approximately 240 people, for a total cost of approximately 4,700,000 EUR. During the period under review, „upgrading” and „remaking” works were carried out in Asti, Parma, Savona and Vicenza and are being carried out in the Municipality of Camposanto, in the province of

Modena, involving a total of about 430 inhabitants for a cost of approximately 920,000 EUR. In Turin, by Decision no. 12 of 12 January 2017,⁴² the Municipality approved the Executive Project aimed at the ordinary maintenance of the four „equipped areas used by the nomads and some other areas for the accommodation of people due to the cold emergency”, where about 770 people live.

In Central Italy, between 2012 and 2017, two new formal settlements were built in the Municipalities of Rome and Pistoia, and a Roma reception centre was inaugurated, also in Rome, with a total of approximately 1,000 people, compared to a total expenditure of around 10,500,000 EUR. In Rome, in the period 2012-2017, the costs incurred by the Roman Administration for utilities and for the provision of primary services within the „solidarity villages” and Roma „camps” amount to approximately 8,400,000 EUR. Additional expenses were incurred for the „management” of the eight „villages of solidarity” from 2012 to 2014; this involved approximately 6,000 people for a total estimated cost of approximately 49,100,000 EUR. In 2017, 3,645,000 EUR were committed for the ordinary maintenance of the „solidarity villages” and the emptying of sewage tanks.

In Southern Italy, new formal settlements for Roma only were established in the Municipalities of Barletta, Catania, Cosenza, Lecce, and Naples. Altogether the new settlements are aimed at housing more than 1,220 people and their construction has required approximately 4,625,000 EUR. In Lamezia Terme, about 70,000 EUR were allotted for the year 2017 alone, for the land reclamation of the Roma camp in Scordovillo, where about 450 people live.

Here are other examples. The aggregated known costs of the „camp policy” during the period 2012-2017, show that unsustainability in terms of housing segregation goes hand in hand with the economic unsustainability with respect to the amount of resources allocated and/or actually spent. Overall, according to *Associazione 21 Luglio*, the aforementioned interventions involved about 9,600 people, at an expense of 82,000,000 EUR.

⁴⁰ Stefano Pasta, „L'inclusione delle politiche per i rom: una novità ancora da assimilare”, *Aggiornamenti Sociali*, 11 (2017): 739-748.

⁴¹ „No national plans have been drafted to provide for the promised process of desegregation from camps. On the contrary, in some cases authorities even planned and/or implemented the construction of new camps”. See: Associazione 21 Luglio, ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre), and Amnesty International. *Italy: The National Strategy for Roma Inclusion: a short-lived hope for Roma in Italy*. 26 February 2016, p. 2. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR3035202016ENGLISH.pdf> (English version); <https://aws.amnesty.it/la-strategia-nazionale-per-linclusione-dei-rom-una-vana-speranza-per-i-rom-in-italia-la-commissione-europea-apra-procedura-dinfrazione-contro-litalia/>

⁴² Regarding Turin: http://www.comune.torino.it/consiglio/documenti1/atti/testi/2017_03392.pdf

We describe three cases in order to highlight the contrast with the NRIS. On 4 February 2016 in Giugliano,⁴³ Campania region, the municipal and regional authorities jointly with the Prefecture of Naples and the Ministry of Interior agreed to build a new camp with 44 pre-fabricated units for the Roma currently living in the „Masseria del Pozzo” camp. The „Masseria del Pozzo” camp was set up by local authorities in 2013 – one year after the approval of the Strategy – to house Romani families who had already suffered a number of forced evictions. Families were then authorized to build their shacks in a remote area presenting serious health and safety concerns, due to the location’s proximity to landfills stocking toxic waste. Since then, living conditions in the camp have deteriorated and the camp has become uninhabitable, also due to problems with the sewage and water infrastructure. Due to the precarious and degrading hygienic and structural conditions of the camp, the judicial authority has recently ordered its closure. In response to this, authorities are planning to set up a new camp a few kilometres away. While it is clear that the families residing in Masseria del Pozzo need to be relocated away from the camp as a matter of utmost urgency, it is worrisome that the authorities who put those families there in the first place have not devised a plan for their long-term inclusion, and are instead offering to build and transfer them to yet another mono-ethnic camp. While 1.3 million EUR have already been assigned by the Ministry of Interior and Region Campania to the prefabricated units, no funds have been secured for wider integration measures as envisaged by the project.⁴⁴

In November 2014,⁴⁵ and in 2015,⁴⁶ the EC intervened regarding the housing policy plans to evict the Roma community in Cupa Perillo, Naples, and relocate approximately 400 of the 800 evictees to a yet-to-be-built segregated camp. In a letter sent to NGOs such as ERRC, *OsservAzione*, *Associazione 21 Luglio* and to the municipality, the European Commission wrote that „the project [...] would not seem in line with the objectives of the ERDF”.⁴⁷ Indeed, the municipality intended to spend approximately 7,000,000 EUR from the European Regional Development Fund to build another segregated camp. The organisations emphasized that this policy funded by EU funds would only encourage the already persisting segregation rather than full integration, thus violating the national legal framework as well as EU requirements.

On 30 May 2015, the Municipality of Rome was condemned for La Barbuta Camp. The Civil Court of Rome decided in first instance against the municipality of Rome, ruling for the first time in Europe that „nomadic camps” are a form of segregation and discrimination based on ethnic grounds, breaching Italian and European law. It acknowledged „the indirect discriminatory nature of the Rome Municipality’s behaviour [...] that it expressed in the allocation of housing in the formal camp La Barbuta” and therefore ordered the City of Rome to halt any future actions and adequately and fairly address the needs of the affected Roma community.⁴⁸ Three years before, NGOs such as ASGI (Association for Legal Studies on Immigration) and *Associazione 21 Luglio* had taken legal action against the City of Rome to stop the construction of La Barbuta camp. This lawsuit was supported by

⁴³ Stefano Pasta, „Cosi 500 persone (la metà bambini) vivono nella discarica di Giugliano”, *Corriere della Sera*, 2 febbraio 2014, <http://lacittanuova.milano.corriere.it/2014/02/02/cosi-500-persone-la-meta-bambini-vivono-nella-discarda-di-giugliano/>

⁴⁴ Source: Amnesty International 2016.

⁴⁵ See: [http://www.errc.org/uploads/upload_en/file/Cupa%20Perillo_Letter%20to%20Local%20Authorities\(6\).pdf](http://www.errc.org/uploads/upload_en/file/Cupa%20Perillo_Letter%20to%20Local%20Authorities(6).pdf); http://osservazione.org/it/4_13/lue-spinge-napoli-fuori-dai-campi.htm

⁴⁶ See, for example, the letter written on 4 May 2015 by Corina Crețu, European Commissioner for Regional Policy, to ERRC, *Osservazione*, *Associazione 21 Luglio* and Chi Rom e... Chi no?.

⁴⁷ <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=4335>

⁴⁸ <https://www.asgi.it/english/municipality-of-rome-condemned-for-la-barbuta-camp-for-the-first-time-in-europe-an-official-roma-only-settlement-ruled-discriminatory/>

Amnesty International, European Roma Rights Centre and Open Society Foundations. As argued in the complaint, the Italian court stated that „It must indeed be considered as discriminatory any large scale housing solution directed only at persons belonging to the same ethnic group, especially if realised, as in the case of the settlement site in La Barbuta, in order to hinder cohabitation with the majority population, and in terms of equal access, to fair conditions, to education and social health services located in an area where there is a serious risk to the health of persons residing there”.

Roma-only facility centres were set up by a number of municipal administrations to provide structured accommodation on a de facto ethnic basis. The centres are real estate agencies accommodating individuals or families who have been victims of forced evictions. In the last 12 years facility centres were established in the cities of Naples (where the only one currently present is called „Municipal Centre for Territorial Support”), Milan (called „Social Emergency Centres”), Rome (where they were first named „Facilities centres” and then „Collection centres”) and Guastalla, in the province of Reggio Emilia. The first facility centre for Roma only was set up in Naples in 2005 in the former school „Grazie Deledda” to accommodate some Roma families residing in an informal settlement in the district of Fuorigrotta. In November 2009, the first mono-ethnic facility centre was inaugurated in Rome inside several industrial warehouses along Via Salaria; approximately 90 Roma people who had been evicted in the previous days from an informal settlement near the Via Casilina were accommodated there. In April 2012, the first Social Emergency Centre of Via Barzaghi was set up in Milan to host the Romanian Roma evicted from the Via Sacile settlement. Since 2013, these centres were transformed by the municipality of Milan in centres not only for Roma, but for people evicted from slums and for families from different ethnicities and nationalities evicted from public housing. Via Barzaghi centre was closed in January 2016, after a fire and the subsequent decision of the Court. At the end of 2016, the via Lombroso Centre was also closed (lately reopened for homeless people). The via Sacile Centre has been open since February 2019, but its imminent closure has been announced by the municipality.⁴⁹ Housing autonomy centres for second level reception are still active.

According to the Council of Europe, only approximately 2-3 per cent of Roma and Sinti are nomads in Italy. No authorised halting sites are provided for non-sedentary groups (such as the „Caminanti” from Sicily) that are usually settling in the performance areas assigned to prominent circus families of Roma/Sinti origins (such as Orfei and Togni) during their stay.

The practice of forced evictions is a crucial aspect in the housing system. The NRIS has highlighted the „excessive use” of evictions and how these are „substantially inadequate” to address the housing situation of Roma.

Despite this, Italy has continued to evict Roma from informal camps⁵⁰ without the necessary safeguards such as consultation, adequate written notice, alternative housing in violation of the country’s international and regional human rights obligations and in contrast to other forms of evictions carried out in Italy.⁵¹ Thus, Roma families are rendered homeless or placed into ethnically segregated camps or, indefinitely, in shelters for temporary accommodation.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that slums and authorised centres are often located in the same area, on the outskirts of the town.

⁵⁰ See Amnesty International’s statement concerning the eviction of via Gianturco informal settlement in Naples, on 11 April 2017. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.it/hundreds-of-roma-at-risk-of-forced-eviction/>. See also: Amnesty International, *Italy. Submission to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 91st Session, 21 November – 9 December 2016* (Roma, 2016), p. 8. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR3050782016ENGLISH.PDF>

⁵¹ Families evicted from conventional houses are granted greater protection.

Some of these evicted people have been repeatedly and forcibly evicted from their settlements and have had their shelter repeatedly destroyed. The Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) of the European Union, in its 2017 Report, underlines how the confinement in spaces below international standards, housing segregation and lack of adequate alternative housing in case of forced evictions, seem to be a constant in the lives of the Roma living in Italy.⁵²

Moreover, forced evictions are becoming an opportunity to construct an anti-gypsy discourse and arise the hostility of the local population in order to gain electoral popularity.⁵³ It should be emphasized that evictions usually happen in a framework of illegality. The eviction of Camping River is emblematic.

Case Study: Camping River (Rome); when the law is not the same for everyone and when legality can be interpreted in different ways.

Camping River Roma settlement, located in the XV District in Rome and listed since 2005 as an „equipped village“ until the end of September 2017, was considered a private campsite (with an area of 11,151 square meters) for the reception of Roma families, mainly from Bosnia Herzegovina and Romania, thanks to an agreement between the managing body and the Municipality of Rome, which was periodically renewed by direct assignment procedures for an annual amount of approximately 1,200,000 EUR. At the beginning of 2017, the municipality of Rome registered the presence of 420 people within the settlement.

On 26 May 2017, the City Council adopted the „Guideline Plan of the Rome City Council for the Inclusion of the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Populations“ (Resolution No. 105/2017). The Plan set out the authorization, for two years and on an experimental basis, for actions and interventions to be carried out in the settlements of La Barbuta and Monachina.

On 28 June 2017, by Resolution no. 146, the Administration of Rome decided that „the actions and the support measures for those residing in the „Camping River“ camp should be implemented following the rules foreseen by the Plan“. Therefore, Camping River has become the first settlement where the measures provided for by the Roma Plan of the Municipality of Rome were implemented.

On the 4 July, the „Special Office for Roma, Sinti and Caminanti“ sent to each of the Camping River dwellers a letter having as object „Closure of the Camping River Equipped Village on 30 September 2017. The communication of dismissal stressed out the obligation for the Roma people to leave the settlement by the scheduled date and specified that „by that date all the people currently residing inside the settlement will have to leave the assigned space free from people or things“. Starting from 1 August 2017, each family within the settlement received a „Project participation form for the exit of the guests from the Camping River Village“ and was invited to produce a self-certification related to their income and property situation, which was precursory to the signature of the so-called „Solidarity Responsibility Pact“. By signing the „Participation Form“, each family committed itself to signing the „Solidarity Responsibility Pact“, as well as the Roma Plan.

⁵² See: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/fundamental-rights-report-2017>

⁵³ For example on November 21, 2018, Chiara Appendino, the current mayor of Turin, has published on her social profile: „Demolition of makeshift barracks in via Germagnano: live streaming in a few minutes“ (https://torino.corriere.it/cronaca/18_novembre_21/abbattimento-baracche-diretta-critiche-post-salviniano-appendino-88f83b48-ed78-11e8-be2f-fc429bf04a05.shtml). Spectacularization of evictions (a tool of public action which has become a demagogic tool) is largely used by Matteo Salvini (Secretary of Lega Nord, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior), who has been posting selfies standing next to a bulldozer on Twitter with the hashtag #ruspa (bulldozer). Then, these racist images have become viral. Regarding racism online, see: Stefano Pasta, *Razzismi 2.0. Analisi socio-educativa dell'odio online* (Brescia: Scholé-Morcelliana, 2018).

There were less than a dozen families that, following the financial and property controls made by the Provincial Command of the *Guardia di Finanza* (financial police), were found to have an ISEE level (indicator of the economic situation of the family) too high and therefore did not meet the criteria established by the Municipality of Rome to be admitted to the inclusion projects.

Between 2017 and 2018, the Special Office for Roma, Sinti and Caminanti populations implemented a project aimed at promoting housing autonomy. However, according to *Associazione 21 Luglio*, no support measures were envisaged in the project to facilitate the Roma access to labour market, healthcare system and education. Besides the already mentioned difficulties in accessing the housing market, other critical issues are highlighted by several associations, namely the lack of clear communication, the lack of trust between the institutional stakeholders and families, the impossibility for families to find suitable housing solutions on the private market due to their poverty and the lack of regular work.

On 15 May 2018, the inhabitants of the settlement were informed about the aforementioned deliberation, which was delivered to them along with a letter indicating the necessity to "free immediately the occupied habitat modules from people and possessions, along with its family unit, without any further delay by the deadline of 15 June 2018".⁵⁴ On the morning of 21 June 2018, a massive deployment of police entered the Camping River settlement proceeding with the seizure and internal destruction of 10 housing modules, thus forcing each family residing in the containers to live outdoors, near their former habitation. The following day, the Municipal Police proceeded to destroy another 8 housing modules. During the operation, observers and human rights activists were not allowed to enter the settlement, as announced by UNAR.⁵⁵

Thus, on 16 July 2018, three dwellers living in condition of extreme vulnerability within the Camping River settlement and not being provided with an alternative and adequate housing solution, following the notification of Ordinance No. 122, appealed to the European Court of Human Rights supported by *Associazione 21 Luglio* in order to adopt "interim measures" to stop an "imminent risk of irreparable damage" » Victims of human rights violations can apply to the European Court only if they do not have effective means to appeal before the national courts. The three applicants successfully demonstrated that the Italian courts, given the very short time allowed, had not provided them with effective means of dealing with the risk of eviction.

On 16 July 2018, the European Court of Human Rights „has decided, in the interests of the parties and the proper conduct of the proceedings before it, to indicate to the Italian Government, in accordance with Article 39, to suspend the planned eviction until Friday 27 July 2018". Furthermore, the Court asked the Italian Government to indicate the housing measures envisaged for the applicants, the scheduled date for the eviction and any significant development. „All we needed is the buonismo (do-goodism) of the

⁵⁴ On 17 April 2018, based on Resolution No. 70, the Council of the Municipality of Rome adopted measures that must „be implemented by 30.06.2018" in order to overcome – to destroy the settlement? the settlement. Concerning housing support, in the aforementioned Resolution it introduced for the first time „the possibility of correspond the contribution directly to the owners of the rented buildings – pls rephrase as I don't understand what this part of the sentence is referring to; the destination of the contribution to self-restoration projects and renovation of buildings found in the private market by the beneficiaries; the possibility to resort to forms of temporary hospitality with third parties", but here again without any indication and/or concrete action, showing again the lack of sustainability of these proposals for the reasons outlined above. The Resolution also provides measures „to allow voluntary and assisted returns" for the dwellers. Furthermore, from April 26, 2018, a permanent law and police enforcement presidium was settled at the entrance of the settlement, still operating 24/7.

⁵⁵ See the declarations of Luigi Manconi, Director of UNAR: „Just an hour ago I have learned of the eviction of part of the Camping River's residents. I had asked that the operation be carried out in respect for the fundamental rights of the people. But it was not so, as we can see from the photographs. It is regrettable to note that once again no viable alternatives are provided to face an emergency situation in respect of human dignity". Source: <http://www.unar.it/rom-manconi-sgombero-camping-river-rispettare-diritti-umani/>

European Court of Human Rights for Roma rights!”, wrote Interior Minister Matteo Salvini on Twitter.

Despite the European Court ruling against the eviction – which was sharply criticized by both the Italian Government and the Municipality of Rome – on 26 July 2018 the camp was evacuated by the municipality. The Mayor of Rome, Virginia Raggi, said the camp was closed due to sanitary problems and that every assurance would be given to the European Court by the Municipality that the three residents who had filed the appeal would be relocated in temporary Red Cross shelters. In a tweet, the Interior Minister Matteo Salvini said: „Finally, the eviction of the Camping River Roma camp is underway. Legality, order and respect before anything else!”.

According to *Associazione 21 Luglio*, „out of 359 people from the camp, only 9 per cent were deemed to comply with the requirements of the Roma Plan (assisted repatriation and rent assistance). 52 per cent of the families have not found an alternative solution and are now wandering around on the street. As of July 30, 2018, 123 people were lodged - on a strictly emergency basis - in shelters where they could stay until September 30, 2018, with a total expenditure for the Municipality of Rome of approximately 400,000 EUR».

As of February 2019, the appeal of the three camp residents to the European Court is still underway.

Effectiveness of housing benefits and social assistance to maintain housing

No ad hoc project for social housing addresses Roma and Sinti, but although Romani families are entitled to file an application within the ordinary framework, they are often excluded and penalized de facto.⁵⁶

In Italy, social housing is regulated at regional and municipal level, which results in significant differences, particularly because of the criteria for prioritizing applicants. At the national level, social housing has been shrinking. Italy’s social housing stock has been progressively depleted,⁵⁷ currently at about 5 per cent of the total housing stock, compared with 17 per cent in France, 18 per cent in the UK and Sweden, 23 per cent in Austria and 32 per cent in the Netherlands.⁵⁸ Social housing is not currently funded by a regular source and housing bodies are struggling to ensure daily maintenance and management of social housing properties.

Although Roma can apply for social housing, these options are extremely difficult to pursue in practice as they are usually criteria based on usually which Roma families living in camps

⁵⁶ Amnesty International, Italy. Submission to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 91st Session, 21 November – 9 December 2016 (Roma, 2016), pp. 9-10. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR3050782016ENGLISH.PDF>

⁵⁷ Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani (ANCI and Cittalia Fondazione Anci Ricerche, „I Comuni e la questione abitativa: Le nuove domande sociali, gli attori e gli strumenti operative. II[^] edizione”, 2010. The research cites the document from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers „Unità di analisi strategica delle politiche di governo, Le politiche abitative in Italia: ricognizione e ipotesi di intervento”, 2007. <https://www.cittalia.it/index.php/la-fondazione/pubblicazioni-new/item/6133-i-comuni-e-la-questione-abitativa-le-nuove-domande-sociali-gli-attori-e-gli-strumenti-operativi-seconda-edizione-febbraio-2010>

See also: CECODHAS Housing Europe’s Observatory, Housing Europe Review 2012. The nuts and bolts of European social housing systems (Brussels, 2011). In 1998 the so-called „Gescal restraint” (Housing management for workers) was abolished. This tax deduction was the main source for funding public housing in Italy and has never been replaced. See: Conferenza delle Regioni e delle Province autonome, „Documento sulle politiche abitative”, 13/066/CR08/C4.

⁵⁸ Source: <https://www.amnesty.ch/fr/pays/europe-asie-centrale/italie/docs/2013/les-camps-de-segregation-de-roms-une-honte-pour-la-ville-de-rome/rapport-double-standards-italys-housing-policies-discriminate-against-roma-anglais-4-p>

have been excluded from the social housing system for over a decade. For example, in the two regions with the largest number of Roma (Lazio and Lombardy),⁵⁹ the choice of the regions to prioritize families in certain disadvantaged situations has had the effect of excluding Romani families living in camps and slums from the social housing system for more than a decade.⁶⁰ Italian authorities decided to prioritize families that were lawfully evicted through an administrative or civil law procedure. As this criterion could not be applied to Romani families evicted from camps, this decision resulted in their indirect discrimination. Though many had been evicted several times and were living in appalling conditions in camps, they had never been evicted through administrative or court ordered injunctions, so they could only present as evidence the fact that they lost a home. Though the criteria for allocating social housing may not have been designed to exclude Roma living in camps, this was their effect. The *de facto* exclusion of Roma living in camps from accessing social housing has therefore constituted indirect discrimination.⁶¹

Two decisions are emblematic of how administrations do not actually want to facilitate the access of Roma to social housing.

At the end of 2012, the municipality of Rome introduced a criterion to prioritize those living “for at least one continuous year in centres, public dormitories or any other appropriate structures temporarily provided by public bodies”. It appeared, initially, that Roma living in inadequate housing conditions in authorized camps would at last enjoy equal access to social housing according to their needs. This hope was short-lived. The municipality was quick to clarify, in a circular issued in January 2013 that the relevant revised criterion did not in fact apply to Roma living in camps at all, thereby transforming an indirectly discriminatory system into a deliberately and directly discriminatory one.⁶²

On 16 March 2016, the Municipality of Milan seized the formal camp in via Idro, which was set up in 1989, where about 20 Italian families lived. They were offered temporary relocation in temporary centres. In 2017, the Council for Social Housing, whose decision was later confirmed on appeal by the Regional Administrative Court (TAR),⁶³ denied the award of points to obtain a high score in the ranking list to families who, by mayoral resolution, had received notice to *qui t*. The families concerned had invested money in maintaining and improving the dwellings that the Administration had recognised as their regular residence. However, according to the Municipality of Milan, being forcibly evicted from a house built in a camp does not count as being evicted from a conventional house. In

⁵⁹ Lombardy region changed the law regarding public housing in 2016:

http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/NormeLombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?exp_coll=lr002016070800016&view=showdoc&idoc=lr002016070800016&selnode=lr002016070800016

Some municipalities changed the legislation, in accordance with the new law, in 2017 and 2018, while other municipalities will do so in 2019.

⁶⁰ Concerning the Lombardy region, see: „Regolamento Regionale 10 febbraio 2004, no. 1:

<http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/normelombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?view=showdoc&idoc=rr002004021000001>; concerning Lazio, see: „Regolamento Regionale 28 dicembre 2012, no. 12: http://www.regione.lazio.it/rl_main/?vw=regolamentiDettaglio&id=243&tipo=tc&nreg=&anno=&testo=

⁶¹ Amnesty International, Italy. *Submission to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 91st Session, 21 November – 9 December 2016* (Roma, 2016), pp. 9-10. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR3050782016ENGLISH.PDF>

⁶² <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/12000/eur300082013it.pdf>

⁶³ Lawsuit no. 1125 of 2017 brought by N.H. against the Municipality of Milan before the Regional Administrative Court (TAR). The legal expenses were borne by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) and *Casa della Carità*. On 27 January 2017, the plaintiff, an Italian Roma, was informed by the Municipality that his ranking position on the waiting list for social housing allocation had been changed on the grounds that „the plaintiff cannot be awarded the points needed to secure social housing, as per point 8, letter a), of enclosure 1, Section 1 of R.R. 1/2004. In fact, in this specific case forced eviction was not aimed at public housing relocation, as evidenced by the records”. The decision of the Municipality of Milan was confirmed by the Regional Administrative Court (TAR), with decision 1427/2017 which condemned N.H. to pay 1,000 EUR. Due to time and money constraints, it was decided not to appeal the judgement to the State Council.

reality, the houses had been built individually according to municipal regulations, in a regular camp, where families had been living for 20 years and from where they had been evicted (after the camp was seized) with a formal act (a resolution by the Town Council). As *Casa della Carità* and the tenant, the SICET Union stated,⁶⁴ this interpretation is restrictive and ideological. A different sentence would have paved the way for a real – and not only on paper – overcoming of the camps, as mentioned in the NRIS.

Other factors are making the access to social housing very difficult for Romani families as well, such as: A registered residence is a *sine qua non* condition to apply for social housing; in most cases,⁶⁵ residence for five years is required.⁶⁶ To take up one's residence, it is necessary to have a house where to live: homeless people and Roma living in slums or informal settlements are therefore excluded.⁶⁷ Some associations place their offices at the disposal of homeless people as a recognized residence for tax purposes, but they cannot keep up with all requests. Furthermore, there is a strong discretionary element, depending on the relationship between the persons concerned and the different associations.⁶⁸ These requirements exclude irregular non-European Romani families and jobless European (Romanian and Bulgarian) Roma. Paradoxically, residence requirements exclude homeless and jobless people from social housing policies. According to many regional regulations, residence for more than ten years is an important requirement (like for any other socially disadvantaged family).⁶⁹

Socially marginalized Roma families may not be aware of the bureaucratic procedures and deadlines outlined in public notices and the requirements to apply for social housing. Thus, many families that would otherwise be eligible to apply are excluded.

In Italy, financial aid and other subsidies are provided in order to support the access of poor families to social housing or for partial payment of the rent. However, these measures do not have a large impact and are only awarded if poor families hold a registered residence. Moreover, many socially marginalized families are not aware of the existence of such subsidies

In conclusion, it can be stated that housing benefits and social assistance are not sufficient to keep Roma families out of extreme poverty.

⁶⁴ Press release, 4 July 2017: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/rom-inclusione-passa-da-casa>

⁶⁵ See: „Regolamento Regionale 10 febbraio 2004, no. 1”, available at: <http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/normelombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?view=showdoc&ddoc=rr002004021000001>

⁶⁶ It is it however necessary to have residence at the time of the application for public housing, but for example, in Lombardy, the TAR ruling 01074/2011 states that, if at the time of the application the citizen is a resident, the five-year period of continuous stay in the region can also be determined and calculated in different ways (regular work, children's school etc.).

⁶⁷ In formal „nomad camps”, residence can be awarded to those people who received the approval of the Municipality to live there.

⁶⁸ For example, in Milan, *Casa della Carità* is the association with the largest number of residences granted at its headquarters (800, of which 20 per cent Roma); in Rome in 2017, 20,000 people resided in associations in Rome. Among these, 7,300 were residing at the headquarters of the Community of Sant'Egidio, out of which 10 per cent are estimated to be Roma. Out of this total, approximately 4,000 people have lost their residence following the modification of the city rules on residence registration with associations, desired by the administration of the mayor Virginia Raggi (source: Community of Sant'Egidio).

⁶⁹ See art. 10 available at: <http://normelombardia.consiglio.regione.lombardia.it/normelombardia/Accessibile/main.aspx?view=showdoc&ddoc=rr002004021000001>

Fight against residential segregation, discrimination and other forms of antigypsyism in housing

At national level, no proper measures have been taken by Italy to prevent and eliminate various forms of housing discrimination and other forms of antigypsyism in housing, even if the NRIS defined the housing problems as „the most extreme example of poverty and social exclusion in society”.⁷⁰ The NRIS asked the municipalities to evaluate a wide spectrum of housing options, such as: social housing dwellings for ordinary public, support the purchase of ordinary private dwellings, support for the rent of ordinary private dwellings, self-building accompanied by social inclusion projects, rent for houses/farms of disused and publicly-owned dwellings, staging areas for travelling groups, regularization of caravans' presence in agricultural areas owned by the RSC. After seven years, no relevant improvements have been detected.

At the local level, projects were carried out by single institutions or NGOs with own funds or in cooperation with the relevant authorities. The effectiveness of these initiatives is different in each case but in general, they were only meant to solve particular situations or emergencies.

Regarding government policies, a national map or database of segregated neighbourhoods with large Roma communities is missing, as regular analyses regarding the discrimination frequency against Roma within the rental housing market (e.g. by asking Roma people about their experience, or by discrimination testing).

As stated in report 1, the lack of central coordination is particularly noticed at the local level. This is mainly due to: the lack of autonomy and resources of UNAR and the national Roma contact point; the impossibility to impose sanctions against local agencies for failing to comply with the NRIS; the lack of a clear time schedule binding for all the regions where regional/local Operating Tables are available; the poor and transparent involvement of RSC in the interventions laid down by the NRIS;⁷¹ the absence of a monitoring and evaluation system for the NRIS that can identify clear and measurable indicators for assessing target achievement and unexpected negative/positive impacts and effects of its implementation.

⁷⁰ P. 78

⁷¹ It would be useful to define, within the Roma communities, shared criteria of representativeness, including criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of the participation process with respect to the achievement of specific and clearly defined objectives, as well as considering the framework of critical issues and weaknesses related to this process.

IMPACT OF HEALTH CARE POLICIES ON ROMA

Ensuring equal access to public healthcare services

Researches regarding the health of the RSC are still scarce, so there is no reliable data for defining the health profile of these communities.⁷² Given the uncertainty of the census, researchers tried to overcome the lack of data by investigating their object of study using spatial collocation filters that usually correspond to instances of living in conditions of housing exclusion, like the RSC living in camps, in slums or informal settlements and ghetto districts.⁷³ This entails that the analysed sample is usually characterized by social and housing marginalization, a condition that will for sure have an impact on the state of health and use of services of the respondents, not allowing for investigating the situation of the RSC communities as a whole. This makes it more difficult to understand to what extent the sanitary disadvantage of RSC communities could be related to ethnicity rather than to social problems like poverty, housing exclusion, and marginalization.

Even though the lack of data does not allow drawing a clear and complete picture of the situation, sources agree in asserting that RSC access to health care is limited, especially if compared with the rest of the population,^{74 75} and that there are some critical issues regarding their use of the health services, such as:

- the abusive use of emergency rooms: for many RSC this service is the main health care reference point, irrespective of the urgency of the health problem. It is in fact frequent that many RSC use the emergency room for problems that could be dealt by the general practitioner. The emergency service is also often used to receive prescriptions or for health examinations that would otherwise be too expensive to do;^{76 77}
- insufficient use of the services provided by the general practitioner: the abuse of emergency rooms corresponds to an insufficient use of the family doctor services, even when the RSC have the right to have or actually do have access to a general practitioner;⁷⁸
- scarce access to specialist examinations: if the access to general care is limited, the access to specialist doctors is even worse;⁷⁹
- insufficient use of prevention services;

⁷² Hajioff S, McKee M. (2000), The health of the Roma People: a review of the published literature, „Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health”, [Nov]54(11) :864-9. [PDF] available at: NCBI <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/11027202>

⁷³ Shaaf M. (2010), Roma Health, in Koller T. (Edited by), Poverty and social exclusion in the WHO European Region: health systems respond, WHO Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen, 2010, pp 226-256.

⁷⁴ UNDP (2002), The Roma in Central Eastern Europe, avoiding the dependency trap, Bratislava.

⁷⁵ Nacu A. (2009), Les Roms migrants eat la Sante', „Diversite'”, [Decembre] (159):49-55 [PDF] available at: <http://www2.cndp.fr/archiviate/valid/145686/145686-19470-25167.pdf>

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Halfen S. (2012), Situation sanitaire et sociale des „Roms Migrants” in Ile de France, Rapport de l-Observatoire regional de sante' d'Ile de France [PDF] available at: http://www.ors-idf.org/dmdocuments/ORS_Rapport_Roms.pdf

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Aspinall P. (2006), A review of the literature on health beliefs, health status, and use of services in the Gypsy Traveler population, and appropriate health care interventions, Health ASERT Programme Wales, available at: http://mar.kent.ac.uk/9225/1/Aspinall_Healthbeliefs_ASERT.pdf

- late diagnosis: the RSC are usually asking for medical care just when symptoms are evident or crippling, often appearing in the sharp phase of the illness;⁸⁰
- low levels of compliance: many health care operators observe a general difficulty for the RSC to follow the prescribed health care instructions, especially the ones that require perseverance and regularity;⁸¹
- difficulty to conform to the organization of the sanitary system: many health care operators have observed a general difficulty, in particular among Roma migrants, in booking health visits or examinations by phone, remembering the opening hours of medical care institutions and the time of their medical appointments.⁸²

Before evaluating what impact the Strategy has had on the access of RSC communities to healthcare, it is important to analyse what our national and local authorities do to promote a better access to healthcare for Roma. If, by accessibility to health care services we mean „the ease with which people can use a service” (WHO, 2010),⁸³ it is important to analyse what the health system does to make its services accessible to all its citizens. The three most important aspects to take into consideration are:

- national and local regulations: this aspect defines the borders of the rights, and set the conditions to access health care services;
- organization of the services: this aspect defines the effective access to services in terms of geographical location of services, bureaucratic process, and access to information;
- quality of the service: this aspect refers to the quality of the medical care services, as well as to the quality of the relationship between patient and medical personnel.

Regarding national and local regulations, it must be noted that the Italian health system is a universal one and should guarantee, equal medical assistance to all individuals located within the country’s borders. However, over the years, regulations have been articulating and dividing the access to health care based on citizenship and residence criteria. If once the RSC were legally acknowledged as a category – *nomads*, the evolution and changes in the regulations regarding the RSC right to health care have shifted towards a citizenship approach,⁸⁴ the right to health care being now tailored according to the following categories: Italian, foreigner, EU citizen regularly residing or non-regularly residing in Italy, and non-EU citizen. If the RSC in question are Italian, they have the right to access all rights linked to their citizenship: registration to the health care system (SSN), general practitioner, paediatrician, exemption from the payment of medical expenses. If the RSC in question are foreigners, access is ruled by the regulations for non-EU citizens citizen and for EU citizens. All Italian and foreign RSC with regular residence permit has the right and duty to register to the SSN. In addition, EU citizens who have a regular job and/or have a registered residence have this right. But, if a foreign Roma does not have a residence permit, he/she does not have access to all health care services, even if the system guarantees emergency and essential care by giving him/her a temporary code, the

⁸⁰ *Ibid* note 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid* note 6.

⁸² Marssid N. (2009), Cultural beliefs and health behavior of Roma patients in Finland, available at : <http://publications.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/4906/Cultural%20beliefs%20and%20health%20behaviors.pdf>

⁸³ WHO (2010), How health Systems can address health inequities linked to migration and ethnicity, WHO Regional Office for Europe [PDF] available at: <http://www.euro.who.int/en/health-determinants/social-determinants/publications/2010/how-health-system-can-address-inquiries-linked-to-migration-and-ethnicity>

⁸⁴ Geraci S. (2012), Rom diseguali nella salute. Determinanti politici e responsabilita’ collettiva, in Ricordi e tall, La Salute per I Rom, tra mediazione e partecipazione. Pendragon, Bologna, 2012, pp. 11-13.

STP code, that is released and can be used for receiving emergency and necessary health care services.

EU citizens who have not been regularly working in their country, and therefore don't have the European health insurance card (TEAM), or who do not have a regular job in Italy, or who do not have a registered residence are in an extreme condition of social fragility regarding their right to access health care services. Unfortunately, this situation is very common among the Romanian and Bulgarian Roma who live on the national territory and have no regular job and/or do not have the possibility to register their residence anywhere. Consequently, a high number of people cannot access the Italian national care system, and is cut off from any possibility of receiving quality and continuous medical care.⁸⁵

At national level, many regional authorities have foreseen possibilities of protection, which are more or less inclusive, by releasing a code, the European non-registered code (ENI) that is comparable with the STP code (code for non-regular migrants) regarding the right to access health services. But, even though the supply of health services is organized at the local level, there is a worrisome discontinuity in the application of regulations.⁸⁶ Consequently, there exists the risk of unequal access to health care services and to the health profiles of Roma on a territorial basis, as the implementation of national regulations at the local level is left within the responsibility of the local authorities.⁸⁷

The group that is at major risk of becoming a victim of this situation is represented by the Roma of foreign origin, who experience in Italy the same problems identified for the Roma in Europe, starting with the improper use of the emergency room. The result of a study conducted in Rome in 2012 in the Lazio region on a sample of 387 women residing in formal camps and informal settlements⁸⁸ identify a series of issues regarding the access to health facilities of this target group. Roma from former Yugoslavia in possession of a valid residence permit enrol in the SSN, but do not use the services correctly as they often prefer the STP card in order to take advantage of clinics for foreigners rather than the physician provided on site by health care services. Roma women living in camps tend instead to rely on private medical operators that operate therein, especially if those settlements are equipped with health offices, and although operators often take the Roma's place when formalities are concerned and in relations with the structures and other health care professionals. Those residing in informal settlements, indeed, appear to be extremely disoriented and sometimes pursue different pathways in parallel in order to gain access to health services, making use of both humanitarian associations, organizations and public entities and, in some cases, taking advantage of private specialist doctors paid by non-Roma acquaintances.

Concerning the other two aspects to analyse in order to assess RSC accessibility to healthcare, such as the organization of the services that defines effective access to services, and the quality of the services that determines the quality of the relation between patients and the medical personnel, two are the factors that impact on RSC accessibility:

⁸⁵ http://www.reyn.eu/national_networks/Italy/

⁸⁶ Geraci S., Motta F., Ricordy A. (Edited by) (2009), *Salute senza esclusione. Sperimentazione di interventi per la promozione dell'accesso ai servizi sanitari e dell'educazione alla salute per la popolazione Rome Sinti in Italia*, Area Sanitaria Caritas di Roma, Roma. [PDF] available at: <http://www.caritasroma.it/2014/01/rom-e-salute-le-pubblicazioni/>

⁸⁷ Ricordy A, Motta F., Gerace S., 2014, *SaluteRom*, Pendragon

⁸⁸ Popolazione Rom e accesso ai servizi socio-sanitari: un'analisi conoscitiva a Roma, in Ricordy A., Motta F., Gerace S. 2014, *SaluteRom*, Pendragon, pp. 81-86).

economical marginalization and housing exclusion. As underlined by some researches,^{89 90} RSC, similarly to other categories of vulnerable people who live in poor housing and economic conditions, have different daily priorities, and very often they get very sick before going to the doctor and asking for medical help. This puts them at an even greater disadvantage. Moreover, spatial isolation and distance from services is another factor that negatively impacts their access to health care. Roma who live in camps, settlements or deprived areas, live in fact on the peripheries of big cities or in the countryside where health services are not present. As showed by the ERRC report,⁹¹ in many locations sanitary services are at a distance of 7 to 20 km away from where the RSC communities live, areas where public transportation services are often not available. Even when such services are available, the cost of the ticket is reason enough for bypassing the need of medical assistance.

Besides housing deprivation, poverty is a widespread condition that negatively impacts the access to health care services of the RSC population, too. The cost of therapies and medicines, even when in possession of a health insurance, very often jeopardizes the health care paths of those Roma with a very low income. It must in fact be mentioned that the lack of financial resources is one of the main causes of such scarce access of the RSC to health care services all around Europe.^{92 93}

Up until now, measures for supporting the access to basic health services in case of emergency and specialized health care for Roma camp residents have been carried out mainly by civil society organizations. As an example, the experience of S. Egidio community can be highlighted, which is situated in the Ponticelli district of Naples. In 2008, a clinic opened up within that community for its Roma residents, offering paediatric care and specialist examinations for adults (cardiology, internal medicine, gynaecology, and orthopaedics). Activities are carried out by a staff of 15 volunteers and doctors, with the support of the Pharmaceutical Counters⁹⁴ and the University Federico II of Naples. Medicines are distributed free of charge in 80 per cent of cases, and each month about 100 check-ups are conducted. In 80 per cent of the cases these involve minors, who are checked for previous vaccinations so as to allow the completion of the vaccination series. On 31 March 2014, a project for dental prevention and care was initiated by a group of dentists in Naples. Regarding Roma living in irregular settlements, there are other NGOs that provide sanitary assistance and medicines to the Roma migrants living in informal camps, like Naga in Milan and MEDU in Rome, Florence and in some regions in Southern Italy.

During the meeting of the National working group on health held in November 2013, the objectives of the NRIS were discussed, starting with the most critical health issues concerning Roma. The discussion led to outline an array of reference for health interventions to be carried out, as defined by the meeting of two cornerstones activities –

⁸⁹ MEDU (2010), *L'Europa invisibile. Il lavoro di MEDU negli insediamenti spontanei dei Rom rumeni a Firenze e Sesto Fiorentino*, Firenze. [PDF] Available at: [Medici per I diritti umani, http://www.mediciperidirittiumani.org/europa_invisibile.pdf](http://www.mediciperidirittiumani.org/europa_invisibile.pdf)

⁹⁰ Halfen S. (2012), *Situation sanitaire et sociale des Rroms migrants en Ile de France*, Rapport de l'Observatoire regional de sante' d'Ile de France.

⁹¹ ERRC (2006), *Ambulance not on the way. The disgrace of health care for Roma in Europe*, available on ERRC's website: <http://www.errc.org/article/ambulance-not-on-the-way-the-disgrace-of-health-care-for-Roma-in-europe/2632>

⁹² Open Society, (2007), *Left out: Roma and access to health care in Eastern and South Eastern Europe*, Public Fact Sheet.

⁹³ FSG (2009), *Health area. Health and the Roma Community, analysis of the situation in Europe*. Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Fundacion Segretariado Gitano, Madrid.

⁹⁴ Sant'Egidio, 2016, *L'ambulatorio medico di Sant'Egidio per I Rom e le persone senza dimora di Napoli*, more info at: <http://www.santegidio.org/pageID/30284/langID/it/itemID/22936?Percorsi-di-integrazione-dei-rom-a-Napoli.html>

concerning actions for prevention and diagnosis, as well as treatment – with two types of transversal actions: training for operators and medical staff on one hand, and the promotion of access to health care services for the Roma on the other hand. During the meeting, it was also decided to analyse practices that were already implemented in order to derive guidance from the accumulated experience so far and improve access to health services for Roma. In relation to this, NRIS – and therefore the work of the Health Working group – explicitly refers to the methodology developed between 2009 and 2010 based on information and experiences from the health area of Caritas Rome in collaboration with the GrIS, several private social associations and under the patronage of the SIMM, though it gives no guidance for transforming this into concrete actions.

After some consultations with the Health working group, a plan for action was developed and undersigned by the Ministry of Health in 2015,⁹⁵ defining the actions to be undertaken for the implementation of the NRIS. The table on the next page summarises the main areas and objectives of the plan.

⁹⁵ Piano di azione salute per e con le comunità' Rom, Sinti e Caminanti, maggio 2015, Ministero della Salute e Tavolo nazionale salute per l'implementazione della Strategia Nazionale inclusione dei Rom, dei Sinti e dei Caminanti, available at: http://www.salute.gov.it/iMessages/C_17_pubblicazioni_2451_allegato.pdf

Macro area	Training of healthcare and other professionals	Awareness of and access to services	Prevention, diagnosis and care services
Objective	Make all professionals working in health care able to accommodate RSC, and promote the correct use of services.	Improve the correct use of local health services by the RSC population through the dissemination of related information.	Offer health services based on the demonstrated needs of their potential users by fostering the empowerment of the RSC community.
Methodology	<p>Develop a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural dimension of the Roma community; cross-cultural relations and the need to build a „trust bridge“; methods and operational strategies.</p> <p>Include the Roma issue in the regular annual planning of health care authorities.</p> <p>Organize training according to the needs and resources of each health authority.</p>	<p>Production of customized information material and dissemination/explanation through field visits.</p> <p>Importance of direct contact with the recipients and building of a trust relationship between Roma and healthcare staff/mediators.</p> <p>Attention to the implementation of a specific information system yet privacy-aware, allowing for the collection of valid epidemiological data.</p>	<p>Promotion of networking both internal and external to the service, hence extensive, widespread and inclusive.</p> <p>Multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach.</p> <p>Focus on a participatory model, actively engaging the Roma (cultural mediation is part of the network system).</p> <p>Trial and promotion of innovative proposals and activities, to be systematised at the local and regional levels as long as their effectiveness is proven.</p> <p>Operate in a network, through debating, sharing, and collaboration among all the actors, identifying common objectives and integrating resources and expertise.</p>
Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Training courses addressed to healthcare and other professionals employed in local and hospital services, with a preference for workers in emergency services, drop-in and front office. 2. Include training on the protection of the most vulnerable people in the mandatory post-graduate programme for family doctors and paediatricians. 3. Training courses for other social care actors, such as social workers, mediators, private social workers. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mapping of health services, specific for each territory adjacent to the field/settlement, selecting the most welcoming facilities. 2. Information services for Roma about the right to health care, the services available in the area and how to access them. Information service for professionals through data collection and epidemiological surveys. 3. Guidance regarding the available facilities, encouraging the Roma to trust health institutions and helping them take own responsibility for their health protection. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reorienting the services, that is making the facilities accessible even to the most vulnerable categories, such as the RSC, focusing on prevention and health promotion: promotion of correct lifestyles, living environments, maternal and child path and protection of pregnancy, vaccinations. 2. Promoting paths of diagnosis and care, and continuity of care, avoiding the inappropriate use of emergency services.

To promote access to health care, the NRIS focuses on the role of Roma mediators that constitutes the third specific objective of the health axis of the Strategy. The many institutional and third sector actors operating in this field agree that this figure is indispensable for facilitating the access to and use of health services by the RSC. Due to the financial cuts occurred in the public health care structures, their enrolment is currently not feasible. Currently, there is no data on the enrolment of Roma health mediators in the public health care structures, while it is possible to underline that in the last few years they have been involved only in the framework of specific projects, carried out in partnership with local health authorities at least in Florence, Milano, Palermo, Rome.

To date, a more structured experiment involving Roma health mediators is ongoing at the INMP in the health care services for immigrants department and in the framework of the project TroVARSI, active since 2013.⁹⁶ The project is coordinated by the INMP and carried out in partnership with AGENAS and the Departments of Health of the Regions of Lombardy, Sicily, Emilia-Romagna, Campania and ASL RMB in Rome. The project implements information and awareness campaigns and performs vaccinations in the ASL (local health authorities) involving five ASL. Additionally, while reaching out to the Roma living in „camps”, it develops information devices for exchanging information via web and conducts distance training for health operators. At the end of February 2014, the institutional network was established and agreements with local health authorities were concluded, a mobile clinic with equipped trailers had been purchased and set up for interventions in the „camps” of Rome. Also, an online communication platform for between the INMP and the five ASL had been developed, while the planning of the training course was planned to start, as well as the information and vaccination campaigns (planned from March 2014).

No other data is available for assessing the implementation of the other sections of the intervention plan, like the training of healthcare professionals and prevention and care services.

Fight against discrimination and antigypsyism in health care

The Italian National Health Service (NHS) provides the delivery of health services in the public sphere to all citizens regardless of gender, residence, age, income and employment, even if the right to health of the Roma depends on their legal status. Though formally, albeit in different ways, all Roma are entitled to medical and health services, but given the complexity of the legislation and administrative procedures, they do not adequately access these services. In particular, the RSC living in informal settlements are often not aware of their rights and don't have access to basic information. Due to the introduction of the ENI code⁹⁷ or STP code, Roma families have access to emergency healthcare but, as many of them reported, doctors frequently refuse to take care of Roma patients. Worryingly, this happens to children, too, despite health care being mandatory regardless of their parents' legal status, in clear violation of children's right to health. In addition to the legal and administrative obstacles, even if all the necessary conditions are met, the lack of information and the high rate of illiteracy among Roma families prevent them from accessing health care services.

A research run by NAGA in 2010 showed in fact that 94 per cent of the patients who were visited and received medical assistance in the informal settlements of the city of Milan did

⁹⁶ [Http://www.inmp.it/index.php/ita/Progetti-2013/progetto-TroVARSI-Vaccinazioni-Rom-e-Sinti-in-Italia](http://www.inmp.it/index.php/ita/Progetti-2013/progetto-TroVARSI-Vaccinazioni-Rom-e-Sinti-in-Italia)

⁹⁷ ENI Code: European citizen not registered in the national health care system

not have health coverage.⁹⁸ Other researches, run in different EU countries, confirm this data, pointing out a huge disorientation within the communities that live in such conditions, and underlining the existence of a proportional relationship between precarious living conditions and difficulties in accessing health care services.⁹⁹

The lack of documents is an obstacle, though on paper everyone has access to health care. Romani foreigners in Italy experience the same problems detected for the Roma throughout the entire Europe. In addition to the previously presented issues concerning the access to health care services, there are also those depending on the difficulty of applying the rules due to the allocation of responsibilities between the State and the Regions. Despite the State's role as guarantor of equity in the health field, the 21 Regional Health Systems operate in a manner that is inconsistent with one another and often derogate from the Essential Levels of Assistance (LEA) and the principle of equity, especially when it comes to more vulnerable groups such as immigrants and Roma. This scenario is worsened by the lack of information that RSC, in particular those who have recently migrated, have about their rights, as well as their possibilities when accessing these services. A survey implemented by Lazio Region in 2012 concerning the access to health services of Roma living in settlements in Rome, showed that there are two factors that affect the level of knowledge about health services: the geographical location of the settlements and their integration into the surrounding urban fabric, and the duration of stay of the people in a particular settlement.¹⁰⁰ Roma migrants living in informal settlements or the RSC communities living in camps located in peripheral and deprived areas are the ones that suffer the most due to this situation. Their level of housing marginalization, together with their economical exclusion, make them targeted victims of direct and indirect discrimination in their access to health care. The remoteness of health facilities compared to the place of residence, the lack of sufficient financial resources for covering the cost of treatment and medicines, the complexity of the bureaucratic procedures, together with the lack of information and the language barriers are all obstacles that need to be tackled in order to promote and guarantee their access to health care.

Several associations carry out supporting activities and often establish privileged channels of communication between Roma residing in settlements and hospitals, clinics and local health authorities, but their actions are more of a palliative type that allows the maintenance of the *status quo*.

The adoption of a systematic and integrated approach to health care has been planned by the political control room and the National Working group with the participation of various ministries and key institutional and non-profit actors.¹⁰¹ Some of the national programmes of NRIS have adopted this approach, but concrete and measurable results regarding the right to health care of the Roma have not yet been achieved.

Yet, RSC access to health care is still hampered by forms of indirect and direct discrimination, even if there are few data to analyse it. According to the EU-Inclusive report, 34 per cent of the RSC interviewed declared to have experienced discrimination

⁹⁸ Naga, 2011, Rom e Sinti, la doppia malattia. Indagine sulla (non) applicazione della normativa sanitaria per i cittadini stranieri irregolari a Milano, Milano. Available at: http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto_doppia_malattia.pdf

⁹⁹ Ricordy A., Motta F., Gerace S. , 2014, SaluteRom, Pendragon.

¹⁰⁰ Popolazione Rom e accesso ai servizi socio-sanitari: un'analisi conoscitiva a Roma, in Ricordy A., Motta F., Gerace S. 2014, saluteRom, Pendragon, (pp. 81-86).

¹⁰¹ Piano di azione salute per e con le comunità' Roim, Sinti e Caminanti, maggio 2015, Ministero della Salute e Tavolo nazionale salute per l'implementazione della Strategia Nazionale 'inclusione dei Rom, dei Sinti e dei Caminanti, available at: http://www.salute.gov.it/iMessages/C_17_pubblicazioni_2451_allegato.pdf

while accessing health care services.¹⁰² The study shows that the relationship with employees of health care services is more problematic for RSC Italian women, and increases with age, as it does for foreign women, irrespective of age. The same report states that 278 incidents regarding discriminatory behaviour on behalf of health care workers or family physicians have been reported that regarded: rejection of physical contact, lack of professionals during check-ups or tests when required, use of racist language. These episodes of direct discrimination are not documented in a structured way, while they are verbally reported by Roma themselves or by health care services or CSOs operators. In general, RSC tend not to report such episodes by filing complaints or by pursuing other measures to protect their rights, such as forwarding their report to UNAR,¹⁰³ due to the lack of: information, confidence in their ability to identify recognised human rights, and resources to invest in these operations. This situation, together with the distrust, the latent hostility and the use of stereotypes by health professionals increase the distrust of Roma in health care services, thus affecting their access to medical information and exacerbating the vicious cycle of exclusion from health care in which many RSC still dwell in.

Addressing needs of the most vulnerable groups among Roma

As emphasized in the previous paragraphs, very few data and information about the health status of the Roma can be found in Italy. Studies are heterogeneous, and housing and living conditions make it difficult to collect health data using a rigorous method. Available studies are almost all related to Roma living in formal “camps” or in informal settlements, and confirm the studies conducted at European level. The most significant recent collections were conducted by the health department of Caritas Rome,¹⁰⁴ by the NAGA in Milan,¹⁰⁵ by the Physicians for Human Rights Association (MEDU) in Tuscany.¹⁰⁶ The national research conducted in 2012 by *Casa della Carità*,¹⁰⁷ instead, took into account the RSC living in different housing conditions. These researches show that the health conditions of the RSC cannot be ascribed to ethnicity but depend largely on RSC housing conditions, spotting how the ones living in camps and informal settlements are the most vulnerable ones. The formal or informal „camps” appear to be built in unhealthy areas with high levels of noise and environmental pollution, adjacent to landfills and incinerators or to other hydro-geological risks on public grounds. In this situation, the most common diseases of children have been equivalent to those typically found in ghettos, or „refugee camps’ in conflict zones.¹⁰⁸ According to a research run by *Associazione 21 Luglio*, in these places children express great discomfort as well as psychological distress, while adults

¹⁰² Fondazione Casa della carità A. Abriani, EU-Inclusive, Rapporto Nazionale sull’inclusione lavorativa e sociale dei Rom in Italia, project cofounded by FSE within the operational programme „Invest in People”. Available at: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/eu-inclusive/rapporto.html>

¹⁰³ UNAR is the National Office against Discrimination that has a specific service aimed at providing legal support to the victims of discrimination, the National Contact Centre.

¹⁰⁴ Ricordy A., Motta F., Gerace S., 2014, SaluteRom, Pendragon.

¹⁰⁵ Naga, 2011, Rom e Sinti, la doppia malattia. Indagine sulla (non) applicazione della normativa sanitaria per I cittadini stranieri irregolari a Milano, Milano. Available at: [http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto doppia malattia.pdf](http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto%20doppia%20malattia.pdf), And Naga, 2018, Curare (non) e’ permesso available at: <http://naga.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Curare-non-e'-permesso.pdf>

¹⁰⁶ [Http://www.mediciperidirittiumani.org/europa_invisibile.pdf](http://www.mediciperidirittiumani.org/europa_invisibile.pdf)

¹⁰⁷ Fondazione Casa della carità’ A. Abriani, Eu-inclusive, Rapporto Nazionale sull’inclusione lavorativa e sociale dei Rom in Italia, project cofounded by FSE within the operational programme „invest in People”. Available at: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/eu-inclusive/rapporto.html>

¹⁰⁸ Monasta L, 2011, La condizione di Salute delle persone Rom e Sinte nei campi nomadi, in „La condizione giuridica di Rom e Sinti in Italia, Giuffre’ editore.

take care of their health only when they fall seriously ill and are not able to carry out the necessary work or activities for their subsistence.¹⁰⁹

A research run by *Associazione 21 Luglio* in 2017 in RSC camps in Rome shows that for a Roma child living in a settlement in the city of Rome – either formal or informal – implies having a greater chance, compared to a child born in a conventional house, to be born under-weight, to get sick with respiratory diseases, to be the victim of poisoning, burnt and domestic accidents.¹¹⁰ Alcoholism and drug addictions are widespread among teenagers; „poverty diseases” such as tuberculosis, scabies and pediculosis, as well as mycotic and sexual infections are on the rise. The location of some settlements on unhealthy sites, characterized by acoustic and environmental pollution, and placed close to waste dumps and incinerators, or on areas at high hydro-geological risk, aggravates the condition of Roma children and exposes them to further health hazards. Spatial marginalisation and the inability to benefit from a social network external to the institution of the „camp” is something that severely affects the psychological health of the Roma children. A sense of passiveness towards life, a sense of void and resignation, an unexpressed rage, are especially common among teenagers; there is also a total adhesion to the role that society and policies offer to them, an absolute representation of the only role that appears to be possible, the one of „different” and problematic children, who depend on others and who are deprived from the possibility of dreaming of a different future. The research run by NAGA in 2011 confirms the alarming situation in which many RSC children live, stating that 42 per cent of Roma children living in the informal camps of Milan have never been visited by a doctor, nor vaccinated.¹¹¹

Another vulnerable target is constituted by RSC women, whose socio-health condition appears to be problematic. As showed by the EU-Inclusive report,¹¹² gender and age are the socio-demographic variables that influence the most the health condition of the RSC. Women are in fact exposed to a risk that is two times higher than the risks incurred by men to suffer from illnesses or disabilities that do not preclude the possibility of working (11 per cent versus 5 per cent). In addition, this risk gradually increases with age: among those who are 50 years or older, one out of five respondents declare suffering from a serious pathology and one out of four complaints of conditions that are not serious. Taking into account the data related to the percentage of people who say they have a satisfactory health status; the gender difference is approximately 9 per cent higher in men’s case. This difference may be due to two phenomena. On the one hand, higher longevity in women’s case, a phenomenon that has great importance for the sample of people aged more than 50 years old who have a less than satisfactory health condition, as we noted earlier. On the other hand, gender inequality in terms of health may be a consequence of the significant burden, often also in physical terms, deriving from the management of household activities by women in a state of great disadvantage.¹¹³ This data confirms the European situation and trend according to which the health condition of Roma women is much worse than the ones of the non-Roma women living in the same area.¹¹⁴ Within this

¹⁰⁹ Associazione 21 Luglio, 2017, Rapporto Annuale, available at: http://www.21luglio.org/21luglio/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Rapporto_annuale2017_web.pdf

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Naga, 2011, Rom e Sinti, la doppia malattia. Indagine sulla (non) applicazione della normativa sanitaria per I cittadini stranieri irregolari a Milano, Milano. Available at: http://www.naga.it/tl/files//naga/documenti/rapporto_doppia_malattia.pdf, and Naga, 2018, Curare (non) e’ permesso, available at: <http://naga.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Curare-non-e'-permesso.pdf>

¹¹² Fondazione Casa della carità’ A. Abriani, EU-Inclusive, Rapporto Nazionale sull’inclusione lavorativa e sociale dei Rom in Italia, project co-funded by FSE within the Operational Programme „Invest in People”. Available at: <http://www.casadellacarita.org/eu-inclusive/rapporto.html>

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ According to a European Survey conducted by the European Union agency for Fundamental rights (FRA), the number of Roma women over 50 that consider their health condition as bad is almost the double of

group, the most vulnerable ones are the Roma women living in informal settlements, followed by the ones living in regular camps. As showed by the report,¹¹⁵ only 35 per cent of the women living in informal camps have the health-card of another health insurance that can promote their access to health care assistance and services. This national data is confirmed by other local researches, conducted in Rome by Caritas¹¹⁶ and Save the Children.¹¹⁷ The survey run by Save the Children shows that 3 in 5 women declared to have lived for many years in informal settlements, in very bad condition, while today they live in regular camps at the borders of the city, in containers or bungalows. 21 per cent of them do not have running water in their household, 34 per cent share their housing space with more than seven people, finding themselves in a situation of overcrowding. 70 per cent of them report they do not have access to health care. Reasons for this deficit are various, starting from their legal status to the lack of information about their rights and services available. This lack of access to health care links with other health risk factors that are common among Roma women, like the young age of expectant mothers, high incidence of anaemia, genital-urinary tract infections, which are often neglected. Similar relevance has the difficulty in accessing information and services, and the poor awareness of their rights, in particular those related to health care services. These data appear to be linked with the low level of education of the RSC women interviewed: 14 per cent of the women interviewed were illiterate, while 55 per cent only studied for five years.¹¹⁸

Despite their vulnerable situation, RSC women represent an interesting access door to the RSC world, in particular to the one related to health and sanitary care. Considering their central role within the family, and, in particular, in caring for children and the elderly, they play a strategic role in the mediation process between communities and health care services that, as suggested by NGOs and European agencies,¹¹⁹ should be more involved in the planning and implementation of health care campaigns.

the non Roma women living in the same area of the Roma, in FRA (2013b) Analysis of the FRA Roma Survey results by gender, available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ep-request-roma-women.pdf>

¹¹⁵ „EU-Inclusive” report, see note no. 37.

¹¹⁶ Ricordy A., Motta F, Gerace S., 2014, SaluteRom, Pendragon.

¹¹⁷ Studio sulla salute materno infantile nelle comunità Rom. Il caso di Roma, available at: http://www.romsintimemory.it/assets/files/discriminazione/inclusione_sociale/lavoro/III.2.C%20allegato%2015%20salute_donne_rom_save.pdf

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ FRA, (2013b), (2013b), Analysis of the FRA Roma Survey results by gender, available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ep-request-roma-women.pdf>, and FSG, 2009 Health area. Health and the Roma Community, analysis of the situation in Europe. Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Fundacion Segretariado Gitano, Madrid. [PDF], available at: European Commission.

EDUCATION

In Italy, the study of the educational situation of the Roma and Sinti communities has long suffered from a data recording method problem. Until the early 2000s, the Ministry of Education (MIUR) questionnaires sent to schools to register their presence reported the request to indicate the number of „nomad students“. This is an essential element: if Italian schools were questioned about the presence of „nomadic students“, the answers provided by the institutes did not photograph the global situation of the communities in Italy; only students living in nomad camps were counted and only students that individual teachers recognized as Roma, according to their own personal knowledge, were considered. These students were often in a condition of serious educational poverty and so the institutions derived the image of Roma and Sinti as subjects who find themselves globally in scholastic difficulties. For many years, the educational difficulties were mistaken for an ethnic characteristic. However, the crucial point is that Roma pupils are registered as such by teachers either because students come from a nearby camp or because they are labelled like this by social services. Since most Roma pupils tend to exploit a mimetic approach to avoid stigma at school, it is difficult to actually assess the total number. Thus, the increasing numbers of enrolled students are also dubious in their nature, as well as in terms of what causes their growth. It is unclear whether the number of young Roma enrolled in school is increasing due to increased stigma (as Roma are being identified as such by non-Roma teachers) or whether it is because ongoing local projects are able to reduce the number of Roma drop-outs and increase the numbers enrolled in compulsory education. Many people in the communities, especially if they did not live in a nomad camp, did not declare themselves as being Roma and Sinti for fear of being included in a target group. The investigations of the Ministry of Education on Roma were always included in the data relating to foreign students, so Sinti and Roma of Italian citizenship were often included among students who had to attend L2 courses, although they were Italians.¹²⁰ Another MIUR report from 2014 underlines additional open questions: „there is a lack of research on the effective regularity of the presence of Roma pupils in school; data on school paths and outcomes of Roma pupils is missing; there are many reports on Roma pupils as carriers of disability. Finally, there is a lack of data on Roma minors in need of education and data on the many that never go to school“.¹²¹ The data disclosed by the MIUR refer to the only dimension of „nomadic presences“, that is to say, of the registrations broken down by Region, Province, Municipality, type of school and gender. When NRIS was drafted, similar data was still the only one available in national educational institutions. Therefore, the national strategy, drawn up with the participation of the communities, has had the merit of correcting this distorted image that accompanied for decades the relationship between Roma and Sinti compared to the data collected by the ministry, but maintaining the problem of not having certain quantitative data on the frequency of Roma attending school. NRIS also indicates a drop-out rate in the first study cycle of 42 per cent, while approximately 30-40 per cent of Roma children are registered with a certified disability: this would indicate that institutions tend to consider Roma school discomfort as a cognitive delay. Other recurring problems reported in the NRIS are: frequent irregularities; early abandonment – especially by girls (it is presumed – but there is no scientific data available - that the cause of this abandonment is also marriage at an early age and the choice of greater social control towards the female gender); high rate of school evasion; no correspondence between scholastic competences and the

¹²⁰ Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (2000), *Indagine su alunni appartenenti a comunità nomadi*, Roma, <http://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/mpi/pubblicazioni/2000/nomadi.shtml>

¹²¹ Santagati M., Ongini V., *Alunni di cittadinanza non italiana. Tra difficoltà e successi. Rapporto Nazionale*, A.s. 2013/2014; Fondazione ISMU. Iniziative e studi sulla multietnicità, Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca, p. 8, available at: http://www.istruzione.it/allegati/2015/Rapporto_alunni_cittadinanza_non_italiana_2013_14.pdf

qualifications obtained, but there is no precise and certain national data on this.¹²² The lack of reliable data is one of the major shortcomings of Italian policy-making process related to Roma people, not only in education. In 2015, ANCI (National Association of Italian Municipalities) declared that „the lack of precise data is one of the main problems we face when dealing with Romani population issues. As also specified in the Final Report of the Survey on the Conditions of Roma, Sinti and Travelers in Italy, there is no reliable data about the Romani population living in Italy, such as the number of individuals, their level of education and unemployment, their housing situation and in general their chances to access health, social and welfare service. There also is no data about their life expectancy and child mortality or the rate of foreigners and stateless individuals. Likewise, their average income or their level of integration is also unknown“.¹²³ Since 2017, MIUR has followed an informal indication provided by the privacy guarantor: collecting quantitative data using the „Roma“ label may represent a problem for the privacy of individuals belonging to those communities, therefore in the last two years the Ministry's annual reports on school attendance no longer mention the chapter on Roma communities.¹²⁴

Access to quality early childhood care and preschool education

The latest quantitative data available is that of 2014-2015. During this period, the overall number of Roma pupils enrolled in school was 12,437 with 780 more Roma pupils compared to the previous year, therefore in contrast with the gradual decrease that had occurred in recent years. Taking into consideration the different school levels, we note the enrolment of 2,179 Roma children in preschool (292 more Roma children compared to the previous year).¹²⁵

NRIS emphasizes the importance of early inclusion of children within preschool education to improve school attendance for the next compulsory school level. Until today, there have been no national specific interventions at this school level, except for sporadic interventions in the case of single municipalities.

The growing number of children attending preschool education is a sign of greater confidence among Roma communities in this school level. The increase also responds to a change in living and working conditions: resorting to preschool is used when women find work and have no possibility of entrusting their children to any relative. It is also the school level in which Roma encounters a lower presence of prejudice.

An important element is that in preschool education there are no specific interventions on the Roma, and this is seen by the communities as the guarantee of a more welcoming place: during preschool, Roma are not a target group.

¹²² UNAR, Strategia Nazionale d'Inclusione delle comunità Rom, Sinti e Caminanti 2012-2020. Comunicazione della Commissione Europea no.173/2011, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Roma, febbraio 2012, available at: <http://www.unar.it/unar/portal/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Strategia-Rom-e-Sinti.pdf>; p. 55

¹²³ CITTALIA (2015), *National strategy for the inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Travellers. First national survey on the settlements*, Rome, p. 9.

¹²⁴ MIUR, *Alunni con cittadinanza non italiana*, anno 2016-2017, Roma, available at: http://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/FOCUS+16-17_Studenti+non+italiani/be4e2dc4-d81d-4621-9e5a-848f1f8609b3?version=1.0

¹²⁵ MIUR-ISMU (2016), *Alunni con cittadinanza non italiana. La scuola multiculturale nei contesti locali. Rapporto nazionale A.s. 2014/2015*, a cura di Mariagrazia Santagati e Vinicio Ongini. „Quaderni Ismu“, no. 1. Available at: http://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/FOCUS+16-17_Studenti+non+italiani/be4e2dc4-d81d-4621-9e5a-848f1f8609b3?version=1.0

Only starting with the 2017-2020 period, has the National Project Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (RSC), which will be described in the next section, indicated the last classes of preschool education (5-year-old students) as project target groups, as well.

Improving quality of education until the end of compulsory schooling

In terms of education (axis 1), the NRIS mentions the following goal: „Increasing the amount and quality of educational opportunities and the number of RSC students enrolled in schools of all types and levels, by encouraging their attendance and academic success and full education, according to the following specific objectives“:

1. Promoting processes of pre-schooling and schooling of Roma and Sinti children, promoting non-discriminatory access (enrolment, attendance, results) to all levels of schools and combating school drop-out of RSC children in primary and secondary schools;
2. Increasing the participation of the RSC youngsters in university education, in advanced training courses and vocational training, including access to the so-called „honour loans“, scholarships and other opportunities and benefits, provided for by law;
3. Promoting dialogue and cooperation between educational institutions, neighbourhood, families and RSC communities“.

The NRIS did not list specific policies to tackle the issue, especially because the lack of systematic data is particularly critical in this respect. According to the available data, in 2011/12 there were 11,899 Roma pupils enrolled (compared to an estimate of about 30,000 Roma children who should be enrolled in compulsory education). As already mentioned, the situation slightly improved in 2014/15.¹²⁶

Anni scolastici	Infanzia	Primaria	Sec. I grado	Sec. II grado	Totale
A.s. 2007/08	2.061	6.801	3.299	181	12.342
A.s. 2008/09	2.171	7.005	3.467	195	12.838
A.s. 2009/10	1.952	6.628	3.359	150	12.089
A.s. 2010/11	2.054	6.764	3.401	158	12.377
A.s. 2011/12	1.942	6.416	3.407	134	11.899
A.s. 2012/13	1.906	6.253	3.215	107	11.481
A.s. 2013/14	1.887	6.132	3.464	174	11.657
A.s. 2014/15	2.179	6.441	3.569	248	12.437
Var. % 2007/08-2014/15	5,7	-5,3	8,2	37,0	0,8
Var. % 2014/15-2013/14	15,5	5,0	3,0	42,5	6,7

Fonte: elaborazioni Ismu su dati Miur

In this regard, the working group on education gathered only twice and no specific national policy was drafted to tackle the issue. Even though education is a national priority and the Ministry of Education has regional and provincial units, they did not promote a unified approach or measure. There are only limited educational activities registered at the local level, such as dedicated transport system, after-school homework activities etc.¹²⁷ These services are run at the municipal level by committed local authorities, without any coordination from the Ministry of Education. The most important experience at national level that targets compulsory schooling is represented by the National Project Roma, Sinti and Caminanti (RSC). This was a pilot project for the period 2014-2017 and it currently runs until 2020, financed by PON inclusion funds. The pilot project was the most relevant measure to eradicate Roma drop-out according to the national government.¹²⁸ The Ministry

¹²⁶ MIUR-ISMU (2016), *Alunni con cittadinanza non italiana. La scuola multiculturale nei contesti locali. Rapporto nazionale A.s. 2014/2015*, a cura di Mariagrazia Santagati e Vinicio Ongini. „Quaderni Ismu“, no. 1. Available at : http://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/FOCUS+16-17_Studenti+non+italiani/be4e2dc4-d81d-4621-9e5a-848f1f8609b3?version=1.0.

¹²⁷ Giovannetti M., Marchesini N., Baldoni E. (2016) *Gli insediamenti rom, sinti e caminanti in Italia*, Roma, Cittalia, UNAR and ANCI.

¹²⁸ UNAR (2016) *2016 report of Italy to the European Commission under the EU Framework for NRIS and the 2013 Council Recommendation for effective Roma Integration Measures*.

of Labour and Social Policies has promoted the national project for inclusion and integration of Roma children in collaboration with the Ministry of Education through a shared action involving the so-called „reserved cities“, namely 15 cities with particular problems related to young people. These cities have a dedicated budget to tackle educational-related issues (Law No. 285 1997). The cities are Bari, Bologna, Cagliari, Catania, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Reggio Calabria, Rome, Turin and Venice. These cities partially overlap with what are now called „metropolitan cities“. The pilot project ran for three years (2013/14, 2014/15, 2015/16) from „both an organisational and systemic standpoint, since it envisages the establishment of local working groups and multi-faceted interdisciplinary teams, with the task of implementing a single national project in various areas of the country – so as to put in place an evaluation system for all measures to be or under current implementation“.129 Each year, cities could join the project; in this case, schools of that city could enrol in the project. The focus was placed on the first two grades of primary school and the first grade of secondary school, which are considered crucial for the educational process. The project is interesting because the target is not the individual but the class as a whole. Moreover, the project also envisages the involvement of relevant families and local associations. The new project (2017-2020) now also embraces maternal school (3-5 years of age) for the first time. The project should be extended to include all schools as it registered a wide success.130

The new national project (2017-2020) involves 5,580 students, about 600 Roma and Sinti children and 81 schools. The three-year period 2017-2020 includes training meetings, workshops and activities targeting families. The work is focusing on three areas: the school, the living context and the local service network. The work in the school, aimed at promoting a more inclusive school and combating school drop-out, is aimed at all the students who are part of those classes involved in the project, the teachers and the school managers.131

From 2018, the annual RISE (Roma Inclusive School Experience) project coordinated by the University of Bologna is also active. The RISE project incorporates the guidelines of the National Project for the inclusion and integration of RSC children, supports it and introduces some innovative actions, targeting in particular the school context of the first level secondary schools of those schools involved in national planning. It is carried out in coordination with European partners (Portugal and Slovenia) who place these actions in an international context in support of Roma and Sinti children and families. In Italy, it is implemented in the cities of Bari and Bologna, in collaboration with the municipalities. The first part of the project, aimed at mapping representations, problems concerning the integration of RSC children, as well as good practices developed in recent years by teachers, is mainly conducted through interviews, focus groups and material collection useful for defining Italian social policies and local to Roma populations. The activities of the project are mainly oriented towards school inclusion, starting from the assumption that inclusion is also achieved by working with the whole class in which Roma/Sinti children are inserted and supporting teachers in adopting participative teaching methodologies.132

¹²⁹ UNAR (2014) Italian Progress Report in the Implementation of the National Roma Integration Strategy 2013.

¹³⁰ Innocenti (2017), *Progetto nazionale per l'inclusione e l'integrazione dei bambini rom, sinti e caminanti. Rapporto finale terza annualità 2015-2016*, Questioni e Documenti Vol. 60, available at: https://www.minori.gov.it/sites/default/files/Quaderno_61.pdf

¹³¹ <https://www.minori.it/it/news/progetto-per-lintegrazione-dei-bambini-rom-nuovo-triennio-2017-2019>

¹³² http://www.ic5bologna.gov.it/images/pages/21010-87943-RISE_Progetto_Ore_2018_19.pdf

Support of secondary and higher education particularly for professions with high labour market demand

Regarding secondary school in Italy, the lack of data regarding the presence of Roma and Sinti students enrolled in this school level does not allow us to present an analysis with scientific value. In the Roma and Sinti communities, the beginning of the first grade of secondary school corresponds with perceiving and experiencing high levels of prejudice on behalf of the students. For this reason, Roma and Sinti students avoid declaring their ethnicity. An analysis of the national context demonstrates relatively stable levels of Roma and Sinti pupils enrolled in the first grade of secondary school when these students live in decent housing conditions (whether they are small nomad camps or houses). The situation changes in large nomad camps in metropolises in which thousands of Roma and Sinti people live far from cities, schools and services; in these cases, the school drop-out rate is much more evident. Disaffection with school is also linked to frequent evictions that took place starting with 2009 (when the Italian government had introduced a decree of „nomad emergency“, then declared it unconstitutional, though in large and small Italian cities, evictions have continued until today and often without offering alternative housing solutions). An analysis at national level reveals that in areas where Roma and Sinti live in houses or in small nomad camps, the frequency is in the national average. The main problems are related to living in ghetto-like conditions and situations, which in turn cause school disaffection and lack of effective support: sometimes there is educational support at school, but there is no support for families and therefore, situations occur in which the school has no contacts with Roma and Sinti families. For this reason, the second grade of secondary school is attended without any issues by Sinti and Roma students who do not live in ghettos, but it is not attended by those who live in large metropolitan fields (even in this case, the absence of certified data does not allow for generalisations to be made). The support that individual schools provide for Roma and Sinti students has positive effects when these students are already included in society: over the years, individual schools that obtained the best results provided support to the whole class without specifically targeting Roma and Sinti students and without removing them from classes. For the moment, there is no single approach for the educational inclusion of Roma and Sinti, while positive or negative results are often linked to the commitment of individual teachers; from this point of view, there are still no national guidelines to invest in. Access to university is still rare and, in any case, students who obtain a degree are precisely those Roma and Sinti who often do not live in the ghettos or who have avoided being identified as a target group.

Fight against discrimination and antigypsyism in education

Falling under the third objective of the educational axis (NRIS), there is the issue of dialogue between Roma and non-Roma, which specifically concerns the fight against antigypsyism through education. One of the most implemented actions in Italy has been to combat anti-Gypsyism by means of enhancing the knowledge about the history and persecution Roma. Among the key issues singled out in the NRIS is the history of Roma people and especially that concerning *Porrajmos/Samudaripen* (the persecution and extermination of Roma and Sinti in Europe). The same issue emerges concerning awareness raising (anti-discrimination axis). The difference is in connection with the target: while the educational axis covers schools and curricula, anti-discrimination covers public speech and the Remembrance Day issue, whereas in both cases, *Porrajmos* was not publicly acknowledged prior to 2011 and its knowledge it is not widespread.¹³³

Since 2004, UNAR has been implementing „APAD calls“ for the fight against racial hatred and against hate speech: this call financed several actions to combat antigypsyism at local

¹³³ Jo Cox - Camera dei deputati - Commissione „Jo Cox“ sull'intolleranza, la xenofobia, il razzismo e i fenomeni di odio (2017) Relazione Finale, Available at: <http://www.camera.it/leg17/1313>

level, in collaboration with several Italian municipalities.¹³⁴ Since 2014, MIUR has been promoting the integration of Roma genocides in all schools' curricula. Since 2018, the Roma and Sinti Associations Forum that meets at UNAR has started a series of actions to fight against antigypsyism, starting with knowledge on the history of persecution: associations are collaborating with schools and local authorities for initiatives that will be implemented in 2019. In 2018, UNAR and MIUR advertised a trip to Auschwitz within schools, Jewish communities and Roma and Sinti communities. In May 2018, UNAR advertised among Italian Roma and Sinti communities a visit to the places of persecution during fascism; in these cases, too associations collaborated with schools and municipalities.

No public information on the activity of the working group on Rom/Sinti memory at MIUR is available for recent years. All available information dates back to the 2014/15 school year and the advertising of the website www.romsintimemory.it. However, the website – which was foreseen by MIUR to be as a dedicated hub – was never updated, the existing project website dating back to 2013.

From the point of view of Roma and Sinti communities, the most important achievement is to introduce a cultural mediator within schools: the mediator can guarantee the use of Romanes as a second language, but also provide cultural mediation between Sinti families and Italian Roma or of foreign origin. When the mediator was included in some projects of the Region of Trentino Alto Adige (at least 15 years ago, although these projects were halted), the scholastic results of these schools improved. Today, Roma and Sinti in Italy are not recognised as a linguistic minority and for this reason, the inclusion of a cultural mediator in schools becomes more complicated. Moreover, in all projects identified in this report, the decrease in the ethnic conflict that guaranteed a welcoming school for all was fundamental.

¹³⁴ <http://www.unar.it/bandi/avviso-pubblico-la-promozione-azioni-positive-realizzate-associazioni-enti-cui-allart-6-del-decreto-legislativo-9-luglio-2003-n-215-finalizzate-al-contrasto-delle-discrimi/>

RECOMMENDATIONS

Horizontal concerns

In respect to all the intervention areas, further efforts are necessary to enable a result assessment of the reported targeted and mainstream measures on Roma, including their impact on segregation trends, Roma school enrolment and employment levels, as well as access to housing and health services in an integrated setting. The ESIF requirement for having strong monitoring methods in place could play an important role in improving the impact evaluation of Roma integration measures. Further work is needed for a Roma integration indicator framework that enables linking measures to inputs and results, especially for monitoring and assessing measures and projects implemented with the use of EU funds, including PON INCLUSION and PON METRO.

- Some actions should be implemented in order to make this goal attainable, such as: Develop data collection, monitoring and reporting methodologies to meet accountability expectations for the use of public funds and ensure that the impact of targeted and mainstream measures on Roma is assessed and that it leads to policy learning and review.
- Make full use of National Roma Platforms to ensure inclusive involvement of all stakeholders in implementation, monitoring, reporting and policy review, to promote exchange, evaluation and transfer of good practices, to build partnerships and to further mobilise Roma communities, local authorities, civil society and the private sector.
- Extend and multiply smaller scale initiatives that have proved to be successful, using 2021-2027 funds.

Employment

Roma participation in the labour market remains very scarce, as well as the data available to assess the improvements regarding their work inclusion. Measures undertaken by the Italian government have been in fact giving priority to mainstream measures for the training and promotion of subsidized jobs for long-term unemployed people without having significant impact on Roma. Some local authorities reported implementing measures supporting first work experience, vocational or on-the-job training, lifelong learning and skills development. Despite these measures, Roma still remain the most under-represented group in the labour market. According to the national data available, only 34.5 per cent of Roma are working, while 27.2 per cent are unemployed and 37.8 per cent are inactive (EU-Inclusive report, 2012). Low levels of education and skills and widespread discrimination are factors explaining poor employment outcomes. All-encompassing, tailored approaches are needed, in particular in relation to the most vulnerable groups, like women and youth (only 20 per cent of Roma women and 18 per cent of Roma youth are employed, in comparison to the 48 per cent of active employed men). Innovative measures should be better exploited, such as promoting social enterprises and Roma entrepreneurship for those Roma that run self-employed businesses. New ways for reaching out and guaranteeing incentives for employers that provide training and promote the employment of unemployed Roma should be pursued. Discrimination in the job search should be countered by promoting actions of positive discrimination regarding Roma employment. The fight against discriminatory practices within the labour market should also be reinforced, and there should be a closer cooperation with labour inspection authorities. It is also crucial that the impact of all measures on Roma employment be closely monitored by gathering data on the employability of Roma and the actions that are undertaken to promote it. Allocations under the European Social Fund should be fully mobilized to ensure the efficiency and sustainability of measures through integrated and personalized support. Opportunities under the European Agricultural Fund for Rural

Development should also be fully used to promote Roma employment in rural areas, where many Roma migrants are exploited.

Housing and essential public services

Considering the persistent housing exclusion of the RSC communities that live in camps, deprived areas and informal settlements, it would be important to start tackling housing segregation in line with the European Commission's guidance through the promotion of ad hoc legislation and inclusive policy reform that could be supported through the study and dissemination of housing inclusion good practices that have been successfully implemented by some local authorities. This process could be supported by promoting the training of regional and local stakeholders, in order to support their use of the ESIF's investments to develop programs and projects aimed at promoting Roma housing inclusion. A long-term approach for addressing segregation is necessary, and prerequisites for successful desegregation should include:

- targeting regions and localities lagging behind and those at risk;
- ensuring coordination between national, regional and local stakeholders, as well as involvement of affected Roma communities in the development of housing inclusion policies;
- setting-up preparatory and accompanying measures to develop sustainable and long-term housing inclusion policies in an integrated setting;
- anchoring desegregation into an integrated approach that should include access to work and social benefits.

It is essential to eliminate all forms of direct or indirect discrimination by granting Roma families the right to have equitable access to social housing support through the relevant public services. Special focus must be placed on social housing regulations where criteria which could be wrongly interpreted should be deleted. It is not acceptable that Roma families, evicted from an authorized settlement by council ordinance, be denied, by that same Council, the award of the ranking points usually awarded to families evicted from a conventional house.

To prevent emergency housing solutions from becoming a permanent situation, long term housing projects should be promoted aiming at the inclusion of Roma people in the urban context.

Combating antigypsyism is a challenge that in the long term could ease the access to the private housing market of Roma families with sufficient income.

Impact of health care policies on Roma

Considering the link between the housing and the economical condition of RSC groups and their access to health, it is necessary to collect more data and information on the health condition of Roma residing in authorised camps, for integrating the existing researches and acquired knowledge in the field.

Proper monitoring and sustainable funding should be put in place in order to achieve tangible long-term results. In order to fully implement nation-wide the National Action Plan for and together with the Roma, Sinti and Caminanti communities, specific funds should be in fact allocated in order to promote long-term results on this scale.

National awareness-raising activities and campaigns, targeting both health care professionals and Roma, should be implemented, and additional efforts are needed in order to reach out to the most vulnerable groups, like the RSC living in camps or informal settlements, women and youth, also by directly promoting their participation in health and social care initiatives. To promote access to health care, the NRIS focuses in fact on the role of Roma mediators that constitutes the third specific objective of the health axis of the Strategy. Many institutional and third sector actors operating in this field agree that

this figure is indispensable for facilitating the access to and use of health services by the RSC. Due to the financial cuts occurred in the public health care structures, their enrolment is currently not feasible. Ad hoc funding should be allocated to develop and improve this area of intervention that should place Roma women at the centre of it. Despite their vulnerable situation, RSC women represent an interesting access point into the RSC world, in particular to the one related to health and sanitary care. Considering their central role within the family, and, in particular, in the activities of care for the children and the elderly, they play a strategic role in mediation process between communities and health care services, that, as suggested by NGOs and European agencies,¹³⁵ should be more involved in the planning and implementation of health promotion interventions.

Education

Considering the data on the illiteracy and school drop-out rate of the RSC minors who live in camps or informal settlements, it must be underlined that a specific attention should be given to promoting access to and the quality of early education, as these help in preventing later on the school drop-out rate and improve educational outcomes. Further steps should be taken to promote inclusive and individualized support for Roma children and those living in a housing emergency situation within the mainstream education. More attention should be offered to second chance education and adult learning for the youth, in order to facilitate transition between educational levels and promote their future employability. Training programs should correspond to real labour market needs in order to effectively improve employment prospects for the unemployed and inactive men and women. Measures related to school attendance and the fight against children's educational poverty must not be linked to the legal status of parents, as it is the case with many local authorities.

Proper monitoring, sustainable funding and relevant teacher education must be secured to achieve tangible long-term results.

¹³⁵ FRA, (2013b), (2013b) Analysis of the FRA Roma Survey results by gender, available at: <http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ep-request-roma-women.pdf>, and FSG, 2009 Health area. Health and the Roma Community, analysis of the situation in Europe. Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Fundacion Segretariado Gitano, Madrid.

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