



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

INSTITUTIONEN FÖR KULTURANTROPOLOGI OCH ETNOLOGI
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND
ETHNOLOGY

“It is all about territory”: A study of a
segregated group of Roma in Rome,
Italy

By Fabio
Provenzano

2014

MASTERUPPSATSER I KULTURANTROPOLOGI
Nr 49

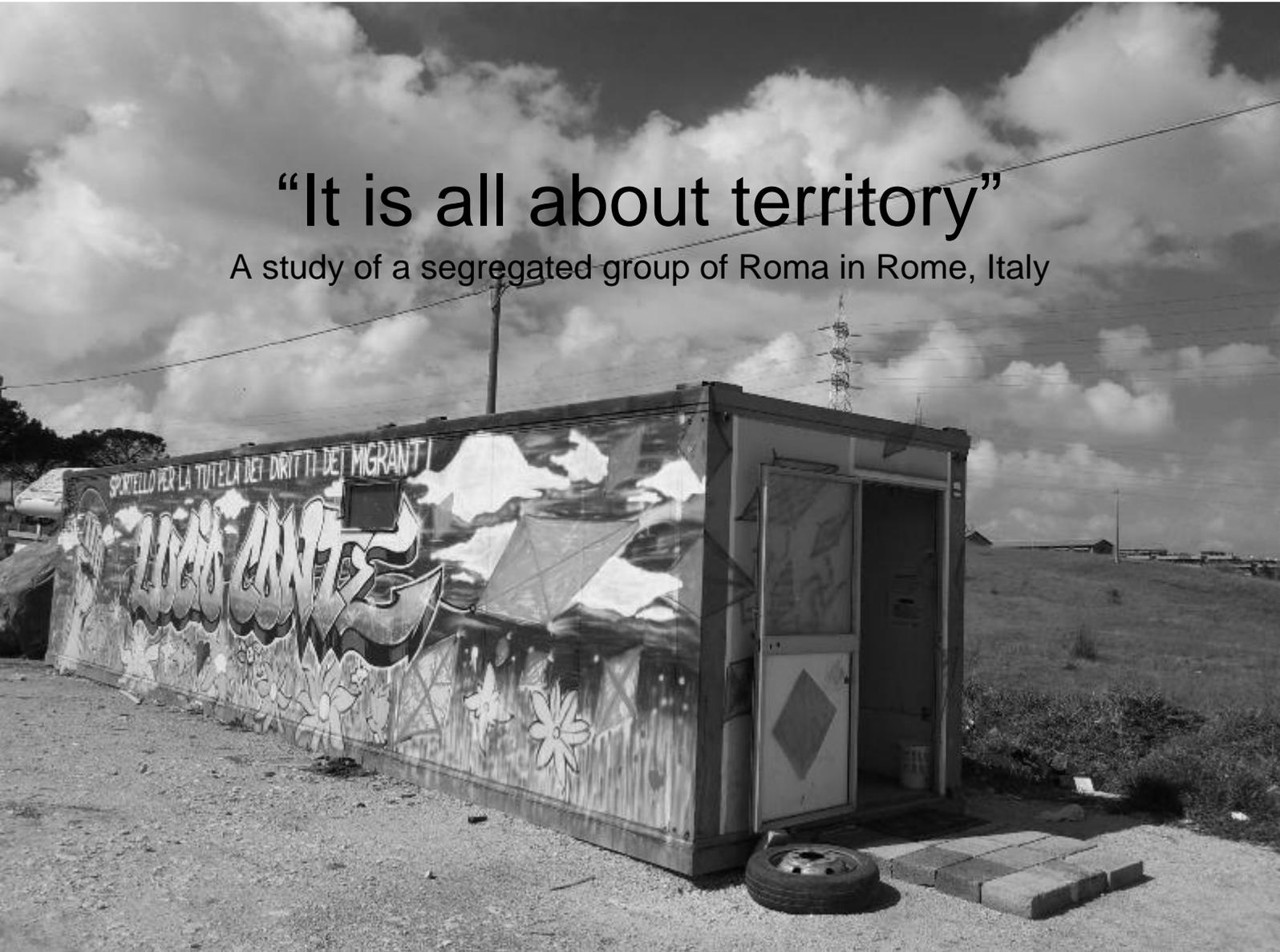


UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTIONEN FÖR KULTURANTROPOLOGI OCH ETNOLOGI
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

“It is all about territory”

A study of a segregated group of Roma in Rome, Italy



Author: Fabio Provenzano
fabio.provenzano.3904@student.uu.se

Supervisor: Charlotta Widmark

June 2014

Abstract

On 25th July 2008 to 4th November 2011 the Italian government activated a state of emergency due to the presence of 'nomadic encampments' throughout the nation, leading to the current urbanising plan named 'The Nomad Plan'. The main objective of this plan is to transfer 6,000 Roma into 13 authorised camps monitored by guards and 24h video-cameras, located outside Rome's perimeter.

The purpose of this research, based on field work conducted in Rome, Italy from January to March of 2013, is to understand the segregation of a group of ex-Yugoslavian Roma. To do so, the aim of the essay is to analyse the relationship between Roma and social cooperatives. The latter are brokers between Roma and government, being outsourced NGOs providing service to include Roma groups into society. Fieldwork was based on interviews and two months' participant observation in a volunteer social service agency located near a Roma settlement.

Significant issues that emerged from the research are the strengthening of territorial struggle and control between Roma families prompted by policies geared towards the building of leadership. Moreover, the thesis argues that the reinforcement of segregation is mostly due to Roma dependence on service given inside settlements. Lastly, humanitarianism is likely to be the main framework guiding social cooperatives' practice and discourse on Roma people in Italy.

Keywords: Roma, policies, immigration, Italy, segregation, humanitarianism, theory of practice.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank Charlotta Widmark for her patience and diligence while supervising me. I am immensely grateful for your readiness to organise my ideas and clarify my doubts throughout this essay. Any mistake or misconception found in this work is solely my fault.

To Paolo, I would like to give you my deepest thanks for your kindness. Thank you for granting me the opportunity to carry out the research at your office without asking me in return. Without your help, this research would never be possible. May your dreams come true, my friend.

I also would like to thank Rako. Thank you for being so friendly despite all the difficulties that you and your family undergo daily.

The grant given by the research node The Good City covering my internship expenditure was an important help. Thank you for giving me an extra opportunity to visit my fieldwork site again.

I am very grateful for your tips, Ulderico Daniele. The conversations we had provided valuable information for this essay. Best wishes in your academic career, my friend.

And last but not least, I am also very thankful for all my informants.

To all of you,

Te aves baxtalo thaj sastipe!

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction..... 1

Purpose and Aims..... 2

Roma in Anthropology 3

Segregation in Anthropology 5

Modern biopolitics 8

The theory of practice..... 10

Outline 13

Chapter 2: Methodology 15

The strive for objectivity 15

Participant observation and interviews..... 17

Entering the field..... 21

Identity and limitations..... 22

Chapter 3: Background 25

The Nomad Emergency..... 25

The Nomad Plan..... 27

Camp X..... 28

The *Xoraxane* and the *Rudari* 29

Italian Social Cooperatives..... 31

Chapter 4: The European Fortress..... 33

International security and immigration 33

Living on the fringe..... 38

The Roma exception..... 41

The Camp	44
Chapter 5: Constructing the Field of Power.....	48
Humanitarian Logic & Capitals	48
Humanitarian subfield of Italian NGOs	52
<i>‘Il concorso di bando’</i>	55
The ‘five cats’	58
Defining Roma actors.....	59
Chapter 6: The Field of Struggle	62
‘We have recognition, not authority’	62
‘With those I am no longer!’	65
‘This one should be sleeping in the snow’	70
‘You know how it is: it’s half me and half you’	76
Chapter 7: How does segregation work?	81
Roma dependence on NGO.....	81
Internalising and externalising history	85
When safety is stronger than kindness	90
Chapter 8: Conclusion	92
References	97

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: Paolo's office (cover picture)

FIGURE 2: Map of Rome indicating settlements after 'The Nomad Plan' 27

FIGURE 3: Camp X. The white circle indicates Paolo's office 29

FIGURE 4: Rako's working area 36

FIGURE 5: The distribution of actors and stakes within the humanitarian field 55

FIGURE 6: Interaction between NGOs 64

FIGURE 7: Interaction between NGOs and Roma 70

FIGURE 8: Interaction between selected Roma and camp X inhabitants 75

FIGURE 9: Interaction between selected Roma and NGOs 80

FIGURE 10: Metropoliz 89

All pictures and diagrams were produced by the author.

Chapter 1: Introduction

‘It’s all about territory.’ This was the sentence repeatedly uttered by a volunteer worker while repairing axe holes and sweeping pieces of window glass away from his office. ‘How come this person giving free services has been attacked by the same community that he is helping?’ one may wonder. This shocking event is commonly grasped by the local majority as the work of a problematic group behaving incongruously and senselessly. According to the naive citizen, minorities and immigrants, such as the Roma, have an untamed behaviour inherent to their ‘culture’. In agreement with a more radical view, Easterner’s beliefs are incongruent with Western society, and therefore they must be kept away from European soil.

Roma people are the largest minority in Europe and seen by locals as the group showing the most resilient to integration. The expression ‘The Gypsy Problem’ (i.e. Roma understood as a national threat) used by policy-makers to address the marginality of this group has now been replaced by ‘The Roma Question’ (that is, Roma grasped as victims of poverty). What has not changed so much is the European style of dealing with this population. As expected, different countries like Sweden and Italy have specific ways of managing this minority. Despite all the efforts of Swedish institutions to include the Roma, there are still occasional episodes occurring related to exceptional measures of surveillance, such as the once-secret police database of Romani people. In Italy, the straightforward policies of ‘The Nomad Emergency’ clearly show that security is the governmental framework to deal with Roma. If security is a way to keep them away from the national soil, humanitarianism would then be the so-called new technique of managing groups already inside the Italian territory.

However, being myself an immigrant from South America and therefore possessing a different background than Europeans, questions related to the Roma ‘resilience’ to integrate echo in my mind: Why are *Ciganos* and *Gitanos* (Brazilian and Argentinian Roma, respectively) seen as such charismatic groups when compared to the notorious *Zingari* (Italian Roma)? Why does neither ‘The Gypsy Problem’ nor ‘The Roma Question’ exist in the ‘new world’? Why are Roma seen as a problematic minority in Europe and not in the Americas? I still have a vivid memory of a scene that happened during a UN meeting named ‘Roma situation in Sweden and Europe’ in Uppsala, Sweden. In being asked of his own personal solution for ‘The Roma Question’, a Roma spokesperson replied angrily: ‘There are neither the Kurdish nor Roma Question but the Swedish and European Question.’ His statement is a reminder that people act and behave in relation to people and are not solely prompted by their ‘culture’.

Purpose and Aims

The overall objective of this thesis is to understand Roma segregation based on a relational approach by highlighting Roma conduct, and to a much greater extent, Italian institutional frameworks. Italy has been repeatedly criticised by entities of the United Nations¹, European Institutions², the Council of the European Union³, the OSCE and many other NGO due to the violation of rights and discrimination against Roma and Sinti (Geordie onlus, 2010). Deemed vulnerable people by law, the Roma are attractive subjects for NGO due to the easy accessibility to large governmental funds aimed at their inclusion. The flourishing and nourishment of these organisations might be linked to the large amount of capital given by the European Social Fund, with Italy being the European member with the highest monetary support from 2007 to 2013⁴, receiving 15,321 € million. Nonetheless, despite these large monetary applications and countless projects aimed at ex-Yugoslavian Roma, they are still the most segregated group of immigrants in Italy. According to The World Bank (2010), although Roma are the fastest growing minority, European governments are losing hundreds of millions of euros annually in productivity and in fiscal contributions due to their exclusion⁵. As such, this thesis will also explore how institutions are implementing the Roma inclusion in response to the international pressure.

Apart from investigating Roma segregation, the essay will also pose other secondary research questions: What are the consequences of securitisation policies like ‘The Nomad Emergency’ and ‘The Nomad Plan’ in the lives of Roma⁶? What are the consequences of this scenario in the relationship between social workers and Roma? In order to find feasible answers for these questions, the essay will investigate power relations between local municipalities, NGO and Roma. Moreover, the thesis will seek a more accurate answer by scrutinising the everyday encounters between social workers and Roma.

Based on field work carried out from January to March of 2013 in an agency near a Roma settlement, the work will show how European strategies of including Roma, like raising communal leaders, can backfire in particular scenarios similar to the city of Rome. By analysing the relationship between Italian institutions and Roma, the essay will argue that long-term governmental tactics to manage this group throughout last decades created exceptional policies

¹ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Committee on the Rights of Child, etc

² Parliament, Commission, etc

³ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, the Commission for Human Rights, etc

⁴ UNHCR, Thematic Report: Roma, May 2011; European union, The European Social and Roma, 2010

⁵ According to the report of the World Bank ‘The economic costs of Roma exclusion’, just in Romania alone, the fiscal and productivity losses due to Roma exclusion numbered 1,089 € million in 2010 (WB, 2010:1).

⁶ ‘The Nomad Emergency’ and ‘The Nomad Plan’ are explained in chapter three.

and spaces like ‘the camp’; that is, territories assigned by municipality exclusively to Roma. Furthermore, special attention is paid to subtle mechanisms of managing ex-Yugoslavians’ conduct. The thesis will provide a detailed description of how Roma are voluntarily kept inside juridical limbos dissonant with their urban surroundings.

The main part of this thesis will focus on the interaction between two contrasting positions: on the one hand the stand of ex-Yugoslavian Roma and on the other hand the position of social cooperatives (NGO) responsible for integrating disadvantaged groups into Italian society. By interviewing social workers, conversing with Roma and attending NGO meetings, I highlight how Roma grasp and interact with social workers inside camps. Moreover, the thesis will seek to contextualise these micro interactions with the broader scenario of the struggle for power present in both sides. Once connecting micro with macro analysis, it will be self-evident that segregation is strongly related to power relations inside settlements and policies geared towards security and assistance.

Anthropological studies on Roma are scarce and mostly dominated by the binary approach Roma/Non-Roma. Topics like Roma segregation are often justified through emic elements by-product of a ‘Romani culture’. Moreover, in these kinds of ethnographies, dynamics between Roma subjects tend to be glossed over by the idea of a uniform Roma community. By opposing these writings, the research will stress encounters between Roma and Italian institutions, while not leaving the former as passive victims of ‘oppressive circumstances’. In narrowing my research focus on actors’ positions, it is fair to say that other important topics are latent but not central. That is, themes of gender relations, Roma identity, social class, generational differences and other significant matters are overlooked. As I have just stated the purpose and aims of this essay, we will now locate Roma and the phenomenon of segregation in the anthropological literature.

Roma in Anthropology

The Roma minority as a topic of research has a neglected history in anthropology. It was just in the last decade that anthropologists have started becoming interested in this group. Despite this fact, a few authors have always been researching the Roma relationship with European majorities. A selected circle of anthropologists had already been seeking to understand Roma successful resilience against assimilation⁷. According to Stewart (2013), this

⁷ Assimilation is understood as the reduction of immigrants’ cultural and social specificities and their adjustment to the norms and values of the host society (Simon and Pala, 2010: 95)

phenomenon had been approached by three classical threads in anthropology: historical, structural-constructivist and folklorist.

Authors following the historical approach on Roma often see them as an unassimilated foreign group having particular characteristics. Anthropologists generally use linguistic studies as a way to trace Roma origin. For instance, Fraser (1992) worked on the linguistic evidences of Roma diaspora from India and gave an historical explanation for their resistance to assimilation. Different from many specialists, Fraser treats Roma as a unified minority sharing common traces and rituals found among Indian groups. Another example of researchers following this historical approach is Matras (2001), who studied the continuity of Romani language across generations. Matras seeks to deconstruct arguments used to reinforce myths related to Roma origins (Matras, 2004: 76). He claims that linguistics can be used to replace stereotypes with facts and information (Matras, 2001: 4). Researches following this historical approach are becoming scarce due to their political uses (Stewart, 2003: 418). For instance, the modern construction of Roma as the offspring of a defeated and exiled Indian kingdom is becoming popular. This is mainly because Romani activists wish to place Roma in the role of victims throughout history. According to Matras, the warrior origin theory is a ‘package-Gypsy’ which is the best sold on the human rights market (Matras, 2001: 73).

Different from this historical thread, authors belonging to the structural-constructivist strand explain Roma resilience to assimilation as related to their adaptability to contexts. Anthropologists followed Barth (1969) and his theory that groups keep boundaries with neighbouring ethnicities by constantly changing their languages, religions, clothing, etc. Judith Okely (1983) and Michael Stewart (1997) are the most salient examples of authors following this line. Judith Okely’s (1983) monograph on British Gypsies⁸ analyses their historical origins, economy and social organization. She argues that English policies from the 18th century to recent decades have always lumped together vagabonds with the so called ‘Gypsies’. ‘Gypsy’, according to Okely, is nothing more than a myth shared by society and used by authorities to categorise marginalised groups. That is, marginal indigenous groups were constructed as foreigners and ultimately termed as ‘Gypsies’. In the same vein, Michael Stewart (1997) studied the relation between Roma and non-Roma in Hungary. He undertook two major tasks in his book: to prove that Roma, as a group, cannot be considered isolated from wider societies and to show that Roma, as individuals, recreate reality in a dialectical relation with the non-Roma majority (Stewart, 1997:1). According to Stewart, Roma reshape their own social order by

⁸ Gypsy is a terminology used to individuate British Roma from other Roma groups.

redefining experiences acquired through everyday encounters with non-Roma (Stewart, 1997: 241). All in all, Stewart sought to stress the illusion of Roma as an independent group and to point out the relations of dependence between Roma and non-Roma.

In opposing this structural-constructivist perspective, authors belonging to the folklorist approach highlight the importance of not reducing the Roma way of life as a simple response to their interactions with non-Roma. According to them, Roma set of values is to be understood as created on their own rather than being the product of boundary-making processes (Gay y Blasco 1997). The most important example of this strand is found in the work of Piasere (1985, 2004) and Williams (1984, 2003). For instance, Piasere describes a ‘*degagizzazione*’ process made by Roma in order to build their own world through ‘doing things in *Romanes*’⁹ (Piasere, 2004: 91). In doing so, Roma would establish their presence by giving their own sense of things in a world dominated by the *gadje*¹⁰. Or in other words, Roma live in the world of the *gadje* but not in the same world as the *gadje* (Williams 2003). Similarly to Piasere, Williams (1985) stresses the need to study Roma inside of what he calls the ‘Gypsy System’; namely, the total sum of Roma individuals living in a same area. In short, authors following this line challenge traditional anthropological theories defining Roma as simply an ethnic minority like any other.

Currently in Italy, a number of ethnographies on Roma have been written. The most recent are Solimene’s (2011) study on the relationship between Romanian and Bosnian Roma, Daniele’s (2011) monograph based on the relocation of Roma families in Rome, and Rossi’s (2010) thesis on the dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion undergone by Roma, among others. After this brief review on Roma studies, now we ought to explore what is understood as segregation in anthropology.

Segregation in Anthropology

Residential segregation is scarcely present in anthropological literature. Anthropologists have been mostly borrowing concepts from sociology in order to explain segregation. It is therefore a topic found in the sometimes blurry limits between anthropology and sociology. As such, this literature review will also include authors defined as both urban anthropologists and sociologists.

⁹ In agreement with the author, ‘doing things in *Romanes*’ is for instance when Roma ‘let their son sleep with his wife in their trailer, since he cannot manage to buy a house just for him’(...) ‘to continue to live inside a trailer placed in the courtyard of his house because he believe that the house works better as a closet’ (Piasere, 2004: 91), etc.

¹⁰ *Gadje* means non-Roma in Roma vernacular language.

To date, specialists address segregation as an urban phenomenon connected to a variety of topics such as identity (Schmid, Hewstone, Hughes, Jenkins and Cairns 2009), social relations (Wacquant 1994, 1998, 2004; Massey and Denton 1998) and the militarisation of the public space (Caldeiras 2001; Low 2004, 1997; Davis 1992). In this essay, segregation is proposed to be a blend between the last two cited threads. As we will see in the following lines, these two strands are somehow related. Specialists following the first theme (social relations) argue that marginalised groups are increasingly segregating themselves. By contrast, those following the second topic (the militarisation of the public space) assert that upper and middle classes are closing themselves in gated communities in order to avoid ‘the other’¹¹.

Segregation based on social relations has been mainly explored by Wacquant (1998; 2004), Massey and Denton (1998). These authors have been researching in African American marginalised urban areas in United States. Wacquant coined the term ‘hyper ghetto’ as the utmost symbol of modern segregation (Wacquant, 1994: 237). ‘Hyper ghetto’ represents the transformation of the classical ghetto from the ‘50s through the process of ‘depacification’¹² of the everyday life, ‘desertification’¹³ of institutions and economic informalisation¹⁴ (Wacquant, 2004: 113). The combination of these three processes transformed segregated areas into socioeconomically self-sustainable neighbourhoods. According to Wacquant, the process of segregation is only completed when inhabitants’ survival depends on informal networks anchored in these areas (Wacquant, 1998: 28).

Different from Wacquant but yet on the topic of social relations, Massey and Denton (1998) argue that residential segregation produces and reproduces sets of behaviours. According to these authors, segregation is an institutional apparatus¹⁵ promoting a progressive spatial concentration of welfare use. Segregation then is grasped as a process which transforms

¹¹ In these works, ‘the other’ is loosely referred as marginal minorities, immigrants and classes.

¹² ‘Depacification’ stands for inhabitants’ incapacity to react against violence. That is, inhabitants living in the ‘ghetto’ undergo a paradoxical situation where on the one hand they avoid formal authorities due to past abuses and on the other hand they fear local criminals. This setting would therefore put them into a deadlock.

¹³ The consequence of this ‘depacification process’ is the decline of local institutions like public services, schools, etc. Or in other words, violence and negligence expelled from these neighbourhood institutions responsible for including marginalised groups into society.

¹⁴ And finally the desertification and depacification processes allow the growth of local unregulated business which becomes the main source of income for inhabitants

¹⁵ According to Foucault (1977), an apparatus is a heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, scientific knowledge, etc. An apparatus is a network that can be established through unsaid elements. It’s a set of strategies supported by types of knowledge keeping power relations unchanged. In following Foucault, Agamben (2009:24) states that an apparatus is a machine governing others without necessarily having actors orchestrating it. An apparatus is anything that can capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions or discourses of living beings. It is the process of producing docile subjects. In next section of this chapter, Foucault and Agamben’s theory will be discussed in depth.

isolated residential environments into areas where welfare dependency is the norm (Massey and Denton, 1998: 9). According to Massey and Denton, this process was purposely manufactured by ‘white institutions’ throughout last decades, galvanising segregation from within (Massey and Denton, 1998: 136). That is, in these areas there is an intergenerational transmission of sets of behaviours reinforcing segregation. As the reader may notice, in the works of Wacquant, Massey and Denton, marginalised groups are trapped inside urban enclaves. Segregation on the one hand is justified by the relation between inhabitants, and on the other hand it is understood as a process rooting them into deteriorating areas.

In addition to this line of approach to segregation, such urban phenomena can also be grasped as a result of the militarisation of the public space. Caldeiras (2001), Low (2003) and Davis (1992) propose that public spaces (e.g. squares, city-centres, parks, etc) are being increasingly neglected by authorities. Such a fact prompts commercial and residential project developers to build safety-gated communities against violence committed by the ‘undesirable other’ (Low, 1997: 308). Marginalised groups and minorities are patrolled and controlled by architectural strategies producing a landscape encoding social-ethnic boundaries. This ‘landscape of terror’ (Low, 2003: 53) is reinforced by the media and politicians furthering discourses¹⁶ on urban fear. Consequently, practices on segregation and security are strengthened. Urban public space is therefore depicted as a dangerous place to be, encouraging upper and middle class people to demand the creation of even more fortified communities, guardhouses, walls, etc (Caldeiras, 2001: 213). In this militarised public space, the fear of ‘the undesirable other’ is the main factor for segregating the city (Low, 2003: 53). Therefore, according to these specialists, urban dwellers are increasingly enclosing themselves inside ‘fortress cities’ (Davis, 1992: 154).

All in all, the outset for understanding segregation in Rome will be based on these two mentioned processes described by the authors: segregation as reinforced by social relations between actors inside marginalised enclaves and segregation as an act of protection from the ‘dangerous other’ (inhabitants of marginalised enclaves) stereotyped by discourse on crime and fear.

¹⁶ Discourse is a particular way of talking about and understanding the world or an aspect of the world (Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, 2002:1). It is a group of statements outlining the conditions of existence. (Foucault 1972: 117). Discourse is an important form of social practice which can both reproduce or change knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations (Fairclough, 1993:63). For instance, as we will see in chapter four, the discourse on immigration as a security matter produces and reproduces policies geared towards control over Roma in Italy.

The chapter now sets the theoretical framework deployed throughout this essay. I combine two analytical concepts: modern biopolitics and the theory of practice. In doing so, I seek to merge macro (Roma-Italian institutions) with micro (ex-Yugoslavian Roma subjects-NGO social workers) interactions.

Modern biopolitics

Biopolitics can be understood as the inclusion of man's natural life in the mechanism and calculation of power (Agamben, 1998: 71). In his lecture '*Society must be defended*' (2003), Foucault seeks to explain 'mechanisms of power' by proposing two contrasting (but complementary) poles of power acting over life. According to the first scheme, mechanism of power represses nature, instinct, class or subject. In this first great system, power is a contract-oppression schema in society (Foucault, 2003: 16). In this line, Foucault explores the mechanism of power within individual bodies displayed in our everyday conduct shaped by disciplinary institutions (Foucault, 2003: 6). Power centres body as a machine (Foucault, 2009: 490; 1990: 139). This first mechanism of power is described in works like *History of Sexuality* (1990) (see also Foucault 2006, 1995). Conversely, through his second line of investigation, Foucault assumes that power-relation is warlike, a clash between forces, an ongoing conflict. In this vein, repression is not connected to the body, but to the pseudo peace in a perpetual relationship of force (Foucault, 2009: 490; 1990: 139). In this second hypothesis, political power defends peace and civil society. Also, this schema places subjects on a struggle-submission binary. Here, 'mechanism of power' is not deployed to make bodies docile, but to regulate life. Power is applied not to man-as-body, but to man-as-living-being, as a mass (Foucault, 2003: 242). All in all, Foucault divided power over life (biopolitics) into these two interacting poles: the discipline exerted on individual bodies and the regulation applied over lives (read as population).

In this essay, biopolitics refers to the second pole; that is, as population biopolitics (Foucault, 2003: 243). According to Foucault, the novelty in this mechanism of power is the right to *make live* and to *let die* (different from the previous disciplinary mechanism *take life* or *let live*). When Foucault states *let die*, he means that indirect murder can also be committed by increasing the risk of death of a population (Foucault, 2003: 256). Therefore, this mechanism is subtler than its predecessor, being initially deployed by charitable institutions now evolved into an economical rationale (Foucault, 2003: 244). In this pole of biopolitics, groups can be treated as an internal danger and an urban problem to be regulated in order to protect society (Foucault, 2003: 240; 249). Moreover, this newest biopolitics stacks over previous mechanisms

of power to the extent that it 'is a way of making the old armatures of law and discipline function in addition to the specific mechanisms of security' (Foucault, 2003: 25).

I can cite two examples of 'population biopolitics' exerted on Roma in Italy so as to elucidate Foucault's scheme. The first one is regarding Roma housing. Social housing in Rome is based on the accumulation of points and on February 27th of 2013 local authorities changed the legislation declaring that Roma can no longer receive such scores. According to authorities, Roma are already living in permanent structures, although initially camps were temporary solutions for families displaced from their previous dwellings. Thereby, in this case Roma population are *left to die* inside camps lacking proper sanitary and housing structures. Another straightforward example can be found in the goal guidelines of 'The Nomad Plan'. The document states that the maximum number of Roma permitted in the city is 6.000, even if the total population is around 13.000 at the time.

Agamben (2005) ameliorates Foucault's theory of biopolitics and renames it 'modern biopolitics' (Agamben, 2005: 77). He addresses Foucault's biopolitics of population through the topic on space security; that is, national sovereignty power over lives. According to him, modern biopolitics is the by-product of state of emergencies decrees (e.g: 'The Nomad Emergency'), having as a core what he names as 'the state of exception'. State of exception is the hidden foundation on which juridical exceptionality becomes a stable fact for a chosen population (Agamben, 2005: 12). It is the ultimate state mechanism of security to manage undesirable population inside national borders. Thus, the exceptional control (legitimatised by law) of selected groups through a stable 'state of emergency' is modern biopolitics *per se* (Agamben, 2005: 3).

In his previous book, Giorgio Agamben (1998) analyses the life of *homo sacer* (sacred man), an obscure figure of archaic Roman law included only when excluded (in its capacity to be killed). Throughout this work, Agamben scrutinises *homo sacer*'s life and place inside ancient society. During this analysis, he also contextualises *homo sacer* within our alleged international scenario of insecurity and state-control on the influx of people coming from 'dangerous places'. The author states that in our contemporary international scenario, refugees, illegals and, therefore, the majority of ex-Yugoslavian Roma live a similar life endured by the ancient *homo sacer*: the bare life. In doing so, Agamben argues that both illegal immigrants and *homo sacer* are paradoxical figures in the law system, the former being the main target of 'modern biopolitics' (Agamben, 1998: 12). They represent a paradoxical element in the modern nation-state to the extent that the link between man and citizen, *nativity* and *nationality* is broken (Agamben, 1998: 77). In other words, the concept of refugee must be considered for

what it is: ‘Nothing less than a limit concept that radically calls into question the fundamental categories of the nation-state’ (Agamben, 1998: 78). According to Agamben, this modern *homo sacer*, this ‘new juridical category of life devoid of value’, (Agamben, 1998: 76) displays essential characteristics of modern biopolitics. More precisely, it unveils important elements for understanding modern biopolitics with its constant need to redefine the threshold in life, distinguishing and separating the inside from the outside of national territories (Agamben, 1998: 77).

The theory of practice

If Foucault and Agamben give us an analytical tool to investigate the European macro scenario, Bourdieu provides us with a sharper instrument for scrutinising the relationship between Roma and social cooperatives. Bourdieu asserts that the most important aspect in his work is what he calls relational. The ‘relational theory’ ((Bourdieu, 1998: 1), or theory of practice, is composed by three interconnected elements: habitus, field and capital.

Similar to Foucault, Bourdieu carried out critical and epistemological inquiries, avoiding embracing traditional philosophies of knowledge (Calhoun, 1993: 63). For instance, he reformulates Marx's concept of capital and reframes it as the principle underlying the immanent regularities in the social world. In his theory, different capitals make the ‘game of society’ to the extent that their distribution determines subjects’ (or groups’) positions within a social space or arena. In other words, the system of dispositions¹⁷ acquired by subjects depends on their position in society, and on the overall quantity of capital withheld by them. Moreover, subjects’ locations are mainly determined by their particular endowment with types of capitals (Wacquant, 2006: 7). Bourdieu declares four fundamental forms of capital: 1) economic, 2) cultural, 3) social, 4) symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986: 241-258):

1) Economic capital is directly converted into material assets. When institutionalised, this capital appears in the form of property rights; 2) Cultural capital can be embodied (like the long-term cultivation of body or manner) and objectified (books, dictionary, etc). When institutionalised, this capital appears as educational qualification; 3) Social capital is given through a certain membership and social obligations acquired by connections (network). When institutionalised, this capital appears as a title of nobility (becoming symbolic capital); 4) Symbolic capital¹⁸ is a form that any capital takes once its effects are hidden but yet recognised.

¹⁷ Dispositions are understood as: A way of being; as a result of an organizing action related to structure; and predisposition, and inclination (Bourdieu, 1977: 214)

¹⁸ This capital is explained throughout his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, especially in the last chapter. According to Bourdieu, in the Kabyle context symbolic capital is honour competed among inhabitants.

As the reader may have noticed, social and symbolic capital are strongly related since both deal with recognition between subjects (Bourdieu, 1987: 3-4). An example of such capital is found when we attribute lofty moral qualities to members of a class as a result of their spending time and money on charities (Wacquant, 2006: 7).

Moreover, subjects' positions in the social space are charted into two coordinates: 1) overall volume of different types of capital and 2) composition (or structure) of capital. In this first dimension, holders of a great volume of cultural, economic and social capital, like industrial employers and university professors, opposed those deprived of cultural capital and money (economic capital) like unskilled workers (Bourdieu, 1998: 7). From the second coordinate, professors are stronger in cultural capital than industrial employers, but weaker with regards to economic capital.

These capitals can be converted into each other through 'labour-time'. For instance, there are goods (economic capital) only obtained through social capital (influence, social obligation or gratitude), and therefore, at a cost of an investment¹⁹ in sociability. In this case, the 'labour-time' converting economic into social capital exchanges object and time spent (Bourdieu, 1998: 7). Similarly, the 'labour-time' used to convert economic into cultural capital are money (spent in schools, universities, etc) and once again time. It can be said that economic capital is the root at all types of capital. Even so, capitals cannot be reduced to economic needs since their accumulation has unique effects (Bourdieu, 1998: 55).

In his further writings, Bourdieu asserts that our 'complex society' is better analysed by dividing it into specific microcosms, insofar as we interact in different social spaces. The author then introduces the concept of field: Microcosms endowed with their own rules, regularities and authorities always in interaction with other cosmos. According to Bourdieu, the global social space which influences and regulates all the other cosmos is named field of powers (politics). Nonetheless, at the local and national levels this regulatory microcosm is defined as field of bureaucratic powers (state). The smallest scale among microcosms is the nuclear family. Fields can be defined through three aspects (Bourdieu 1998: 32):

1) Fields are structured spaces (*field of power*) whose necessity is imposed over subjects dwelling in them. The field imposes its specific determinations upon all those who enter it. In doing so, each field engenders its own capital (interacting along with the four other types

¹⁹ Investment in Bourdieu's terms is not understood as the pursuit of a gain, but emotional, necessary and disinterested position taking. E.g. A scientist seeks to discover a new atom not because he purposely wants to earn money but he do it in the 'name of science', 'in all sincerity to science'. As we will see, such an 'innocent' sense of investment can be understood as specific capital in the scientific field.

already explained). E.g. in order to be a successful scientist, one must abide by the scientific rules and accumulate scientific capital through journals, theories, prizes, etc.

2) Fields are battlefields (*field of struggle*). In these microcosms, subjects struggle to preserve or better their position by accessing the specific capital at stake in a selected field. Consequently, there are those defending autonomous principles of the field (*field of power*), and those seeking to improve their position by introducing heterogeneous stances from other fields. This opposition between stances would make the whole dynamic inside microcosms. Just like in Bourdieu's first theory of social space²⁰, subjects' positions depend on the accumulation or loss of specific capitals related to a field.

3) 'Fields are historical constellations that arise, grow, change shape and sometimes wane and perish' (Wacquant, 2006: 8). The more autonomous is a cosmos in the array of fields, stronger is its structure and more efficient against external influences, tending to assimilate them. Conversely, homology between fields is the consequence of stronger fields exerting influence over weaker ones. E.g. other fields (like the religious one) and historical changes do not weaken the scientific field, but rather, make it stronger.

The most controversial and overused abstraction in Bourdieu's theory of practice is what he coined 'habitus'. According to Bourdieu, habitus are:

'(...) systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations (...) collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor' (Bourdieu, 1977:72).

I will seek to explain such a complex tool by exemplifying family as a field. As we have just seen, in our framework family is considered a field (structure). Family as a structure is interiorised in members' minds, through which they deal with the social world. Moreover, a certain family (field) is also composed of specific habitus (parents/offspring, young/elder son, mother/father, etc) since 'it contributes to constituting the field [family] as meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy' (Bourdieu, 1992: 127). Therefore, family is a structure producing and reproducing types of habitus and vice-versa. Bourdieu states that certain structures acquired or imposed during the first years of life are interiorised as a primary habitus (e.g. male/female) more deeply ingrained in subjects than other types of habitus (e.g. academic habitus) (Bourdieu, 1992: 134). That being said, subjects then are simultaneously influenced by different habitus (from different

²⁰ Described in the Kabyle society in 'The Outline of a Theory of Practice'.

fields/structures) inculcated individually and collectively, producing individual and collective practices (Bourdieu, 1990: 54). In other words, habitus can only operate in relation to their fields and vice-versa. They produce and are reproduced by fields. As a product of history²¹, habitus (e.g. motherhood) are always open and constantly affected by experiences which can either reinforce or modify fields (family).

As I have just defined the purpose and aims of the work, described how Roma and the phenomenon of segregation are approached by anthropology and set the theoretical framework deployed to analyse the problem at hand, the chapter now follows by providing the outline of the essay.

Outline

The thesis is composed of eight chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the research question, purpose and focus. The chapter sets the theoretical framework present throughout the paper, proposing to approach the problem at hand through a relational outlook. In doing so, it introduces the Foucault/Agamben theory of modern biopolitics to understand the broad context of Roma living in Rome and Bourdieu's theory of practice for a more precise analysis of interactions.

Chapter 2 addresses the methodology used to collect data. It discusses the striving for objectivity, calling for a discussion of reflexivity in anthropology. The chapter follows by presenting techniques employed during the fieldwork to obtain more accurate data. It ends by problematizing my identity as a researcher in the Roma settlement.

Chapter 3 provides the background of the ethnography. It pictures the current scenario Roma are placed in, describing the most important events undergone by them during the last decade. As such, it also depicts my field site, specifies the Roma population living there and defines what is understood as a social cooperative.

Chapter 4, 5, 6 and 7 are interconnected ethnographic chapters functioning as a sort of proximity lens (i.e. broader to narrower topics) used to present and analyse my empirical findings. In always basing myself on the gathered data, I first contextualise Roma lives in Italy followed by describing the Roma-NGO interaction. The analysis concludes by focusing on the relationship between Roma and social workers inside settlements. Chapter 4 works like a snapshot, providing a brief account of the Roma condition in Rome. In touching on European

²¹ The habitus - embodied history, internalised as second nature and so forgotten as history - is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product' (Bourdieu, 1990: 56).

policies' framework on immigration, I argue that ex-Yugoslavian Roma share a common background with illegals and refugees in Italy, although institutions deal with Roma differently. The chapter ends by calling for a deeper analysis of the Italian 'humanitarian field'.

Chapter 5 constructs the 'humanitarian field' where NGO and Roma are located. It defines humanitarian logic, stakes, capitals and actors. The chapter focuses on how the ambitions of European institutions to build a partnership with Roma galvanise the territorial struggle between social cooperatives and Roma families due to the particular scenario in the city.

Chapter 6 puts the field into motion, scrutinising actors' strategies for enhancing their position in the microcosm. The first section describes social cooperatives interacting with each other. The second section shows social cooperatives relating with selected Roma in order to acquire connections inside settlements. In the third section we delve into my fieldwork site, exploring the ways by which a few Roma interact and dominate inhabitants. The last part focuses on Roma strategies of seizing territorial influence and control by using social cooperatives as tools.

Chapter 7 sheds some light on the consequences of the struggle for power at the lower part of the field, i.e. ordinary Roma dwelling inside the settlement. While describing the encounters of two social workers with inhabitants from a settlement, the chapter investigates how active Roma are in the process of segregation. The chapter ends by contextualising these micro inter-relations (workers-Roma) with the broader picture depicted in previous chapters.

Chapter 8 synthesises the whole work in order to answer the research question. It will therefore highlight factors prompting Roma to segregate.

Chapter 2: Methodology

“The real is relational” (Bourdieu, 1998: 3)

This essay is mainly based on two months of fieldwork conducted from January to March of 2013 in the city of Rome, Italy. Updates throughout this work are data acquired during my internship in Rome from January to March of 2014. The purpose of this research is to understand Roma segregation by focusing on the relation between Italian institutions and Roma people. More precisely, the study sheds light on the interaction between ex-Yugoslavian Roma and social cooperatives. Chapter one reviewed how Roma and the phenomenon of segregation have been addressed by anthropologists so far. The chapter ended by setting the analytical framework deployed throughout the research.

In the present chapter, methodological issues during the research are highlighted and explored. It begins by describing techniques used in order to maximise my objectivity in data gathering. Such data was mainly acquired through participant observation in camp X and interviews with social workers. During the participant observation, I observed and participated in the routine of social workers bringing service to ex-Yugoslavian Roma. The goal in deploying this technique was to investigate how Roma understand and relate with social workers (i.e. Italian institutions). The purpose of the interviews with employees was to analyse how they regard Roma and their own cooperatives. The chapter follows by describing how I obtained access to camp X and concludes by problematizing my identity and gender in the field. In the next chapter, I will provide the background of this essay.

The strive for objectivity

During data gathering and analysis, I was inspired by many anthropologists addressing the topic of reflexivity. When observing human behaviour, reflexivity must be discussed in depth. Data collection is in major part a result of the complex relationship between researcher and observed subject (Giami, 2001: 7). Data are partially engendered from our own consciousness and world-view, and as a result, a self-reflexive work must be carried out. To reduce the probability of constructing data sprung from our own epistemological outlook, researchers must negotiate with their own subjectivity (Beneduce, 2007: 125). The subjectivity inherent in a researcher's work should be the starting point of a realistic objectivity since we are emotionally involved with our studied subjects (Heilbron, 1999: 302). Accordingly, George Devereux, a distinguished anthropologist and psychoanalyst, searched for a solution to this methodological conundrum and imported psychoanalytical terms to anthropology. He explored

the basic component in Freud's method for scrutinizing feelings towards patients: the counter-transference. In doing so, to analyse our counter-transference towards researched subjects would be rather useful when investigating human behaviours. According to Devereux (1967), using this type of methodology avoids anxiety aroused by the studied material which distorts our perception. This would be one of the many steps in nearing the unreachable objectivity.

Likewise, Scheper-Hughes (2007) sought to improve Devereux's technique during her awarded research in rural Ireland. According to her, the layers of subjectivity and bias that distort our perception of an objective ethnographic reality are exposed by periodically analysing the objective relations in the field and at home (Scheper-Hughes, 2007: 207). While I was in the field, I sought to compare relations in Rome (inside the nomad camps) to my homeland Rio de Janeiro (inside the *favelas*) throughout the process of data gathering and analysis. When comparing both sites, the similarities between relations found in favela inhabitants/NGOs and in nomad camp inhabitants/social cooperatives were indeed striking.

Like Scheper-Hughes, Bourdieu's 'reflexive device was set into motion' when he conducted at the same time an ethnographic research in his own milieu of origin and in his fieldwork site in Kabylia (Bourdieu, 2003: 292). However, if for Devereux and Scheper-Hughes subjectivity and observation are trained through individual techniques, for Bourdieu they are both determined by the collective subjectivity (enmeshed with individual consciousness) (Heilbrun, 1999: 302; Wacquant, 2006: 5). Bourdieu, just as many social scientists striving for objectivity (Harding 1991; Haraway 1997), contextualised reflexivity as belonging to the social world. By criticizing postmodern anthropology and its reflexivity method, he searched a way out of the epistemological duality between subjectivism (researcher describing the social world through his own 'experiences') and objectivism (researcher studying the social world from a detached distance). According to Bourdieu, reflexivity is the systematic exploration of the 'unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought' (Bourdieu & Wacquant: 1992: 40). He proposed a third approach called 'participant objectification' (Jenkins, 1992: 50; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 255; Bourdieu, 2003: 281). Participant objectification aims at objectivising the subjective relation between researcher and studied object [subject] (Bourdieu, 2003: 282). This method is divided into 'two steps back' from our objectification of the observed subject (Jenkins, 1992: 47). The first step back is a work done in our observation and objectification (distortion) of social reality. The second step back is to become aware of such distortion and that we are social actors embedded in structures. This being said, one can utilise such analyses so as to step back and gain distance from our own *dispositions*, internalised categories and bias towards subjects (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:

136). For Bourdieu, scientific objectivity would only be completed by accounting the point of view of the objectiviser (the researcher) in the written material (Bourdieu, 2003: 284).

All in all, these techniques for stimulating reflexivity help researchers to not construct (objectify) 'the other' as inferior, avoiding epistemological violence on subjects (Teo, 2008:47). Epistemological violence (along with other types of subtle violence) can also spring from practices such as categorizing others as vulnerable victims of 'oppressive circumstances'. Taking all this discussion into account, anthropologists should then refer continually to their own experience during the research (Bourdieu, 2003: 288). With this I mean that it was an inner struggle to not categorise Roma as victims due to the extreme poverty they live in. Bearing this in mind, I daily jotted down my emotional highs and lows in a different book, i.e. my diary (Bernard, 2002: 369). Therefore, reading my feelings and my field notes every day made me partially aware of data being distorted through personal bias such as categorising Roma as victims.

Participant observation and interviews

Overall, I visited six sites inhabited by Roma: camp X, camp Y, La Barbuta, Salone, Castel Romano and Metropoliz. Camp X was the main site of my fieldwork and where I spent major part of the research functioning as a kind of social worker. In addition, once or twice a week I also attended camp Y, an illegal settlement along Rome's ancient river, the Tevere. Other camps visited were Castel Romano, Salone and La Barbuta, all deemed legal by municipality. Even so, I did not have the opportunity to deepen my research in these camps since I attended them just once. And finally, I also visited Metropoliz²², an abandoned industrial area transformed into a squat and one of the few places in Rome where Roma and non-Roma cohabite. Like the last three camps, I visited Metropoliz just once. In addition to these places, I also attended six meetings of NGO with alleged Roma leaders. Three of these meetings were held by the same social cooperative, People United. All access to these extra observations was granted by interviewees.

Thirty-one interviews were conducted. Initially, seven interviews with specialists on Roma in Italy were done in order to have a glimpse of this complex scenario. The other twenty-four interviewees were social workers belonging to cooperatives. Interviewees' contacts were

²² Metropoliz is a movement for occupying empty sites in Rome. Activists were dwelling in an abandoned factory since 2009, where Roma cohabited with other immigrated families from Morocco, Tunisia, Eritrea and Peru. The structure was inhabited by around 200 people composed of 50 nuclear families. Among them, 23 nuclear families are Roma, numbering approximately half of Metropoliz populations. Roma are divided into two big families from Romania and Bulgaria.

acquired by snow ball sampling, whereby contacts were given and suggested by a previous interviewee (Bernard, 2002: 186). With the Roma, interviews were conducted informally (Bernard, 2002: 204).

As already stated, camp X was the main fieldwork site but also where I met my main informant. Paolo has been working there as a volunteer for two years and had previously been employed by a social cooperative acting in another district. On the whole, he has been working fifteen years with the Roma and surely mastered his job. In a metal container improvised as an agency, he offered services such as cultural and social mediation, fiscal and legal advice, information about Italian passports and citizenship, orientation in developing micro business and job orientation among other supports²³. Throughout the months that I spent there, I tried to learn his profession and became a sort of informal apprentice. In addition to helping the Roma with the little information that I knew about the Italian bureaucracy, I also did any task at hand such as fixing, cleaning the office and entertaining children while parents were being attended. Most importantly, during my fieldwork I sought an area for Roma to rebuild their informal market that was shut down by authorities few months earlier.

It was through my daily routine with the community that I met people like Rako. He was a Bosnian Roma from camp X2 in his 40s, a 'householder' earning a living through collecting equipment for recycling, emptying establishments and other informal jobs common to the ex-Yugoslavian Roma community in Rome. I occasionally helped him in dismantling iron machinery, carrying furniture, etc, becoming his friend to some extent. During the first weeks of fieldwork, I explained my research to him and he naturally became my Roma informant.

In acquiring two contrasting informants in this setting, I could finally deploy the technique of triangulation. To sum up briefly, triangulation is regarded by Oliver de Sardan as a basic ethnographic tool whereby a cross-comparison of information is made (Oliver de Sardan, 2007: 71). Information given by two different informants from two 'strategic groups' in a homologous position is compared. According to de Sardan, the information given by a contrasting minority is often the best way of exploring a different perspective of facts. Moreover, strategic groups are chosen before the matter at hand (in that case the relation between social workers and camp X inhabitants). When using this technique in the field, I sought to ask the same questions on current problems in Rome to Paolo and Rako. Questions using this technique were based on my log, i.e. notes regarding my daily plan and topics of investigation (Bernard, 2002: 370).

²³ Unfortunately, when I was back in the field in January of 2014 for my internship, Paolo's agency was seized by local authorities and transformed into a dump deposit.

Due to reasons stated in the following pages, I decided to conduct a covert participant observation in camp X. In agreement with the literature, covert methods can keep a few subjects from turning hostile and possibly dangerous, protecting other subjects from physical harm (Herrera, 1999: 333). Examples of covert methods were used by Goffman (1968) in his ethnography inside psychiatric hospitals, Wolf (1990) in his research inside a motorbike gang in North America, and James Patrick (1973) in his classical ethnography inside Glasgow gangs during the '50s.

Among the other sites of observation, once or twice a week I attended a structure managed by an NGO near camp Y. My purpose in weaving a connection to this camp was to compare the relation between social workers and Roma in a reality outside of camp X. In camp Y, I taught Italian to Roma adults and entertained kids while parents used the bath service offered by the space. The encampment was deemed illegal by authorities, with dwellings composed of huts mantled by tents and heaped doors. Furthermore, Roma inhabitants were from Romania and Bosnia. It was just at the end of my first month of research that I entered into contact with this reality. Paradoxically, in this illegal settlement I felt at ease to openly unveil my identity and acquired data through overt participant observation (Quinn Patton, 1980: 130).

In addition to observations, conducting interviews was essential for grasping a broader understanding of the relation between social cooperatives and Roma. Initially, seven specialists²⁴ on Roma people in Italy were interviewed. Once defining the research focus of this essay, I then began interviewing social workers. Among them, employment positions were: chairmen, workers having daily contact with the Roma (working in schooling projects and managing authorised nomad camps) and project managers. The initial questions in interviews were to assess their personal backgrounds, followed by how they perceive associations and Roma. In addition, when interviewing female social workers, I asked questions about *Romnie's*²⁵ life in Italy. Interviews with social workers were semi-structured, anonymity was guaranteed and verbal consent to tape was granted. To the extent that specialists and social workers were available just once, I used the semi-structured guidelines during interviews which were reshaped and refined throughout my fieldwork (Bernard, 2002: 205).

²⁴ More precisely, three social anthropologists, two sociologists, two cultural anthropologists. I decided to unveil their names due to the fact that the number of researchers working with Roma and NGO in Rome is very small. That is, once I send this essay to participants, specialists will be easily identified. Since I guaranteed anonymity to all participants, I feel obliged to keep that agreement. Moreover, the distinction between social and cultural anthropologist was based on the interviewee's own presentation and reply to the question: 'And which are the activities that you carry out with Roma?'

²⁵ Roma expression for wife or woman.

With regards to interviewing the Roma, I 'hung around' with them and conducted informal conversations since the setting was not very favourable to formal interviews. With this I mean that basic rights like housing and employment were in major part informal and therefore subjected to institutional punishment. As such, to come up with a formal interview did not seem wise. The choice for informal interviewing was also predicated on specialists' experiences and advice. According to authors (Sutherland, 1975: 21; Stewart, 2013: 418), it is unconceivable to acquire information from Roma by using traditional methods such as notes and tape recording. Similarly, another anthropologist (Rossi 2010) researching the exact same population and camp described in this essay also saw formal interviewing as an unfeasible method:

With regard to the data gathering within the Roma community I have proceeded in a different way, because after having gathered a few interviews I have come to realise that the data I was recording were not reliable. (...) Roma have lived for centuries like a social body separated from the wider society context, this attitude helped to protect themselves by the terrible prosecutions they have faced for all their history and even to date. (...) I was totally aware that the material I was gathering with these formal interviews was the product of a setting, and that in this setting I was able to acquire only very generic statements. (...) Roma have always tried to help me with my research, but I soon realised that these “staged” interviews were of no use, and informal conversations (...) quickly replaced this tool. (Rossi, 2010: 71)

Nevertheless, once I entered in the field I sought to conduct formal interviews with the Roma, only to be interrupted by Paolo. He suggested to me not to do it using the same justification argued by the above quoted author: ‘It’s too difficult to ask them questions since they say what you want to hear.’ Not being fully convinced by these experts, I finally gave up on taping interviews when I observed journalists consulting a Bulgarian Roma in camp Y. I noticed how ambiguous and dodgy his answers were when facing journalists taking notes and taping his voice. Based on all this information, I decided to interview camp X inhabitants informally. Further arguments for using this technique are also related to my identity in camp X, which will be explained in the following pages.

One last consideration on methodological issues should be stressed. Since I was interested in the interaction between Roma and social cooperatives, the aim of the research is at their practices. As I stated before, when analysing social workers (social cooperatives), I was restricted to acquiring data through interviews rather than observing them on the ground. As a former clinical psychologist and current student of anthropology, I am aware of the huge gulf

between what people say and do. Therefore, one of the methodological shortfalls of this essay is found in the analysis of the social workers' side of the interaction.

Entering the field

Many facts led camp X to be the perfect site for fieldwork. I realised how difficult it would be to enter into contact with Roma while writing my research proposal, reading reports on Roma in Italy and chatting with Italian NGOs. To enter authorised camps, documents from the municipality and cooperatives managing the place are required²⁶; however, I took the chance and flew to Rome. My first interviewee was Paolo, a social worker providing volunteer service in camp X, where no cooperatives were managing it. Although camp X was deemed an authorised camp, there were no guards blocking the entrance, video cameras or other forms of control common to other settlements. Initially, I alternated my observation between Paolo's office and accompanying Roma from camp X to hospitals, police stations, municipalities and schools. Namely, I also followed Giulio, another interviewee social worker helping them solve bureaucracy matters. Having these two entrances in the field, I decided to delve into the setting at Paolo's office. My choice was based on the fact that Paolo's was a more relaxed environment for informal interaction in contrast with the second setting where Roma felt nervous and therefore unwilling to interact. After explaining my research and intentions of having direct contact with the Roma to Paolo, he promptly invited me to attend his office. Despite all the problems in camp X, Paolo was well regarded and respected by both social workers and Roma community. I heard Roma praising him more than once: 'Paolo, I always tell to everybody here that you are good like bread!' Thus, in addition to being in the right place for conducting my research, Paolo seemed the right person to be my main informant, owing to his experience and influence on both stances (social workers and Roma). Luckily, my first interviewee became my informant, friend and access to the field. In successfully avoiding gatekeepers (like NGO and governmental authorities) for my research, I began my fieldwork on my second day in Rome.

²⁶ Indeed, to enter in camps without contacts and through the regular way is impossible. When back in the field in January of 2014, I applied for an official permit. After sending letters to competent authorities and not receiving a reply, I decided to go in person to the '*Ufficio Nomadi*' (as it will be explained in chapter three, this is the main governmental office responsible for managing Roma settlements). At the end of a whole day waiting for the permit, I was interviewed by an official from the Department of Social Policies, an office superior to *Ufficio Nomadi*. After being subjected to special requests such as 'Can I see your interview guideline?' the permission to enter in camps was denied without any justification.

Identity and limitations

Regarding limitations encountered in the field, the most pressing concerns to be discussed are my identity as a researcher and gender. According to Goffman (1969) and his theory of social interaction and presentation of self in the everyday life, 'there would be no single self, consistent self, but rather a range of aspects or revelations of self, depending on the social situation' (Jenkins, 1994: 204). Here, the four most common questions about my 'self' posed by the Roma during our first contact are ranked in regressive order:

4) National self: 'Where do you come from? Are you Romanian? Moroccan?' Being a foreigner was a strong point of identification between me and camp X inhabitants since we were both strangers in Italy.

3) Marriage and kinship self: 'Are you married? Do you have children? What is your family name?' The familiar structure and name are the strongest trace of the identification and differentiation inside the community. This topic will be explored in the following chapters.

2) Professional self: 'What do you work with? What are you doing here?' The only *gadje* with whom Roma interacted in this camp were informal merchants, cooperative social workers, cops, cops in disguise and journalists.

1) And the first and foremost question posed by the Roma was about my ethnic self: '*Tu sem roma?* Are you a Roma?' Being a *gadjo* (non-Roma) in this occasion would then evoke the next question: 'What do you work with? What are you doing here?'

As it should be, in the beginning of my research in the camp of X, I was regularly introducing myself to whomever I spoke with. Nonetheless, while asking to Paolo why he was so uncomfortable with my introductions, he replied, 'If you tell them that you are a researcher, they will think that you are a journalist because they are usually the only professionals working as writers with whom inhabitants have contact' This would then lead to another problem. Paolo explained to me that if they see me as a journalist, they will surely grasp me as a threat. He then continued his argument based on three co-related facts:

Firstly, because viewed as such, you will be linked to evictions. The only time that they interact with journalists is when eviction is happening. Secondly, because of the current reprisals for collecting iron, that is, they might think that you are here as a cop in disguise to confiscate their trucks. Thirdly, because like in many other contexts of extreme poverty, here there are few 'shady characters' controlling the area.

Therefore, having a 'journalist' in camp X would be dangerous for literally everybody. He concluded his explanation by asking me to present myself as a social worker (which later

became true). At first, I thought that Paolo might have overstated the danger, since the camp looked calm on the surface. In order to have a second opinion, I decided to put in my interview guideline questions about camp X. Answers were even more unpleasant: ‘In camp X there is a regime of heavy violence’; ‘Camp X is one of the most dangerous camps in Rome’; ‘Camp X2 is very wild!’ Among other worrisome replies, the most alarming one was the case of an interviewed cultural anthropologist who conducted her PhD thesis near camp X. With tears in her eyes, she told me that she was kidnapped and tortured twice by what she called ‘Yugoslavian mobsters’. All these accounts put me into an unavoidable paranoia while completing the first month of fieldwork. It was then that I began to notice all these ‘shady characters’ moving around and observing Paolo's office.

The months that I spent learning *Romanes*²⁷ before going to the field did not bring a better interaction with Roma; it brought suspicion. Unknown outsiders were generally grasped as spies due to power dynamics between Roma and authorities, even more so if they spoke *Romanes*. For instance, when I was practicing my *Romanes*, Paolo urged me not to do it because they would think that I was a cop in disguise. Indeed, one social anthropologist interviewee researching in another camp was comically nicknamed by his colleague as 'spy'. It is important to state, though, that different nomad camps have different power configurations. Although camp Y was an illegal settlement, I felt comfortable enough there to sharpen my *Romanes* and speak openly about my identity and research.

In short, the relations of ethnographers and host-communities must be understood inside an historical context of social and cultural relationship (Loftsdottir, 2010: 306). A fieldworker's identity is not coherent and simple but composed of different aspects depending on the context. Accordingly, my identity, which is intrinsically embedded within power and authority, was produced and reproduced in the course of our social interaction (Jenkins, 1994: 199). Hence, within this group of Roma, city and period of paranoia due to authorities' reprisal on inhabitants, my presence as an unknown *gadjo* was rather threatening. In camp X, strangers were dealt with suspicion and mistrust by inhabitants (to not mention how 'shady subjects' would deal with unknown *gadje*). Therefore, I took all this information into account and decided to cover my identity as an anthropologist in order to keep mine and my informant's physical integrity.

²⁷ *Romanes* is Roma vernacular language.

Apart from my covered identity, another limitation found in this thesis is related to gender. This is so due to two factors: Firstly, because I was raised as a male; secondly, it's due to the fact that camp X inhabitants attending Paolo's were mostly men.

In following Bourdieu's technique of 'participant objectification', I am conscious that I do bear a male *primary habitus* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 134). Such *system of dispositions* (i.e. schemes of perception and behaviour) are constantly reproduced by me and my written material. Namely, I am a social actor embedded in structures related to gender, and such facts strongly 'delimit the thinkable and predetermine [my] thought' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 40). I am aware that my internalisation of a male *habitus* distorts my representation and interpretation of reality. In short, my social construction as a man had a strong influence on the process of data gathering and analysis in this essay.

Besides my social construction as a man, the fact that I had only access to the male Roma's life story surely affected the results of this research. My way to acquire data in camp X through informal conversations was mostly based on the stance of waiting for inhabitants to come at Paolo's. Due to many reasons, *Romnie* attending the office were reluctant to interact with me. Different from their *Romnie*, Roma were much more receptive to talk and spend their time in 'trivial' conversations, which provided important information for this research. Taking into account all these limitations related to gender, I do confirm that this thesis is gender-biased and therefore partial.

Chapter 3: Background

The purpose of this essay is to understand Roma segregation by focusing on the relation between Italian institutions and Roma people. More precisely, the study seeks to shed light on the interaction between ex-Yugoslavian Roma and social cooperatives. To do so, I conducted interviews with social workers and performed two months of participant observation from January to March of 2013 in camp X, located in the city of Rome, Italy. Seeking precision in my analysis, I updated the information found in this work using data acquired during my internship from January to March of 2014.

The present chapter provides the background of my research by depicting the scenario Roma are placed in. It presents two important recent events undergone by Roma: ‘The Nomad Emergency’ and ‘The Nomad Plan’. Moreover, a description of camp X along with its inhabitants is given. The chapter concludes by defining what is understood as Italian social cooperatives. The next chapter will provide the first and broadest lens in the analysis of the relationship between Roma and Italian institutions.

The Nomad Emergency

On 21 May 2008, the Italian right-wing coalition adopted a ‘security package’ to tackle an alleged national threat caused by irregular immigration²⁸. Such political strategy led ultimately to a state of emergency decree named by specialists as ‘The Nomad Emergency’.

The high number of immigrants from the end of communism and the Balkan war neglected by the Italian government engendered the construction of numerous refugee camps on the outskirts of Rome. According to Nando Sigona (2006), a number of laws promulgated by the Italian regional councils during the 1980s have gradually institutionalised encampments, crystallising the image of the Roma as ‘nomads’. As Italy was already notoriously referred to as ‘Campland’ by international entities in 2000 (ERRC, 2000), the scenario of ethnic segregation became even grimmer when the Italian right-wing party adopted a ‘security package’ in 2008. This legislative measure proposed by the Interior Minister Roberto Maroni included: 1) Law decree no. 92 on ‘urgent measures in the field of public security’, 2) a governmental draft law approved by the Chamber of Deputies on ‘provisions in the field of public security’, and 3) the declaration of a state of emergency due to the presence of alleged nomadic communities in the region of Campania, Lazio and Lombardy. Among the many

²⁸ See Merlino, 2009:1; Colacicchi, 2008:35; Picker, 2010: 211; Tommasi, 2010: 235.

articles from the security package, these are the most relevant for ex-Yugoslavian Roma living in Rome:

1) Law decree no. 92: The statues of irregular immigrants became an 'aggravating circumstance' in Italian criminal law. Moreover, irregular aliens convicted for crimes will now face jail sentences three times longer than Italians. On the side of that, landlords of irregulars are subject to six months to three years of imprisonment. With this decree, mayors were also granted extra powers in the field of public security. Such facts gave them the competence to adopt urgent regulation for security reasons.

2) Governmental draft on provisions in the field of public security: Those using minors to beg will receive a minimum of three years of imprisonment. If parents were those encouraging children to beg, they lose their parental authority. In addition, illegal entrance in the Italian territory is now punished with six months to four years of prison.

3) The declaration of a state of emergency due to the presence of 'nomadic communities' in Milan, Rome and Naples: With this provision, prefects²⁹ from the provinces of Lazio, Lombardy and Campania became 'special commissioners'. This gave them the responsibility to overcome the state of emergency also inside camps. The first article of this regulation made prefects accountable for derogating the legislation concerning environment, sanitary-hygienic measures, territorial planning and local polices. In order to overcome this 'emergency', the prefect of Rome deployed 3,000 soldiers in cities across Italy and adopted measures such as surveillance in camps; identification and census of persons living in settlements through fingerprinting and photos; expulsion of individuals with irregular status; eviction of irregular camps; and identification of areas where new settlements were to be built³⁰.

On 25 July 2008, another decree was passed. It prorogued and extended this state of emergency to the entire Italian territory. Accordingly, the use of such legislation to deal with the Roma was unprecedented in contemporary Italian history (Daniele, 2011: 30). Needless to say, this entrepreneurship to deal with immigrants and Roma was fully criticised and rebuked by a number of international stances due to the violations of human rights. In short, 'The Nomad Emergency' was revoked by the Supreme Court on 11 November 2011. Nevertheless, its by-product, 'The Nomad Plan', persists to this day in Rome.

²⁹ Prefect is the representative of the Interior Minister present in each province. They are the responsible for the public security in case of state of emergency

³⁰ Merlino, 2009:7; 38; Rossi, 2010: 304; Colacicchi, 2008:35.

The Nomad Plan

In response to ‘The Nomad Emergency’, the Roman prefect, the Roman mayor and the Interior Minister implemented the urbanising solution ‘The Nomad Plan’ in Rome on 31 July 2009. At the time, there were thirty-five Roma dwellings officially recognised in Rome. Of these, seven were defined as ‘equipped’³¹, eight were ‘semi-equipped’³², nine were ‘non-equipped’³³ and the last eleven were either social housing or municipality residences (Rossi, 2010: 298). Within this new urbanizing plan, Roma settlements were now transformed into three types: authorised, ‘tolerated’³⁴ and illegal (Daniele, 2011: 36).

The Nomad Plan is based on two main ideas: to limit the number of Roma in Rome and to move encampments to outside city's perimeter (Rossi, 2010: 298). The objective of the plan is to ‘transfer’ 6,000 Roma to new ‘equipped camps’ (Daniele: 2011: 32), although inhabitants of this minority numbered between 7,200 to 15,000 just in Rome (Marinaro, 2010: 14). Among the many measures proposed by this urbanising plan, the most salient were the closing of 80 illegal camps and 14 ‘tolerated’;

the reclaim, recovery and return of the evicted area to citizenry; the construction of thirteen authorised equipped camps; displacement of two authorised camps (Cesarina and Lombroso) and the renovation of three ‘tolerated camps’: La Barbuta, Ortolano and camp X (Stasolla, 2012: 44). On the basis of this new plan, two among the biggest unauthorised camps of Rome were evicted: Casilino 700

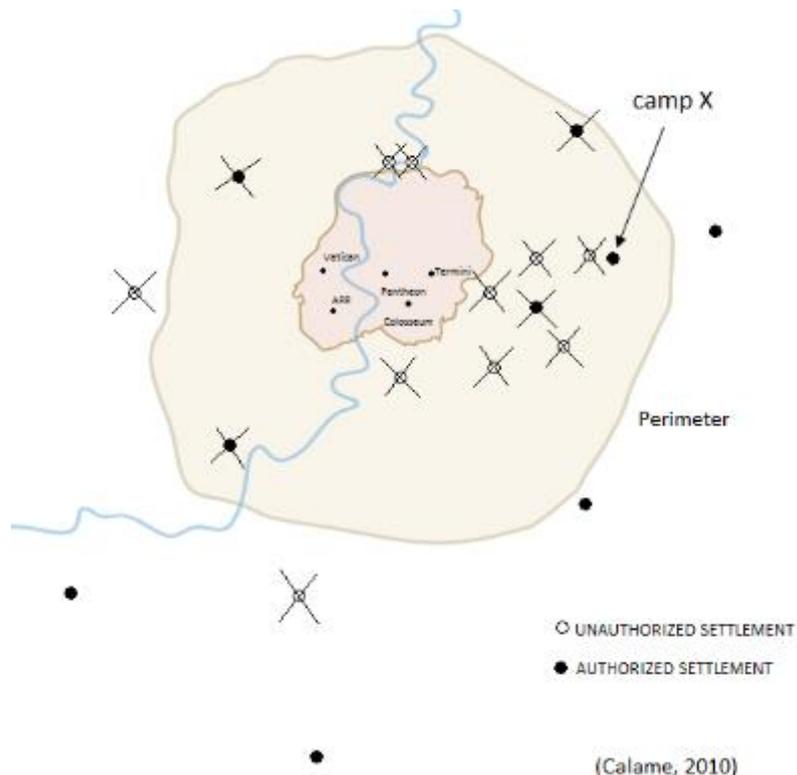


FIGURE 2: Map of Rome indicating settlements after ‘The Nomad Plan’

³¹ I.e. recognised by the Municipality and served with water, electricity, container, sewer service etc.

³² Recognised by the Municipality and having as accommodation small huts and camping van supported with chemical toilets, water.

³³ Informal dwellings without any public service.

³⁴ Considered authorised by the former mandate but now doomed to be dismantled.

– around 400 inhabitants – on 11 November 2009, and Casilino 900 – around 700 inhabitants – on 19 January 2010 (Open Society Foundation, 2010: 2).

Authorised camps, the ideal settlements proposed by Italian government, are areas video surveilled twenty-four hours and gated by municipal police. Access to these sites is granted to Roma holding a residence permit and DAST id, a document proving the right to stay in Roman territory valid for two years. Infrastructural services like sewage system, light and maintenance are provided by a governmental office called '*Ufficio Nomadi*'³⁵ but managed by outsourced social cooperatives. Associations are also responsible for social-educative agencies located inside camps. According to specialists, all these restraints and privileges mould authorised camps as self-sufficient settlements independent from the city to some extent (Daniele, 2011: 35). Even if 'The Nomad Plan' foresees labour and housing inclusion, schooling for kids and other initiatives, detailed strategies of these activities were neither published nor displayed (Associazione Geordie onlus, 2010: 59).

Camp X

The greater part of my field work was conducted in camp X, one of the few settlements regarded as an authorised semi-equipped camp mantled inside the city's perimeter. Camp X is bordered by a train line and placed near a bus stop; infrastructure for locomotion is well served. Surrounded by important governmental offices like the immigration office, police station and municipality, the settlement is well located when compared to other newly-built settlements. Different from other camps, where antagonist families are obliged to live attached to each other, camp X's spatial configuration was proposed by its own inhabitants. In addition, the particularity of camp X consists in the absence of social cooperatives managing it. The *Ufficio Nomadi* supervises the area and grants, in theory, basic services like water, light, cleaning etc. However, according to my observation, basic infrastructures are absent with the exception of the other half of the camp (camp X1), where inhabitants negotiate in person with local authorities. The entrance of the settlement is followed by a poorly paved street going downward and dividing the camp into two parts: X1 and X2. Needless to say, both camps are rather overcrowded with regards to housing regulations.

Camp X1 was built in 1994 after the dismantlement of the Martora camp during the '90s. There are approximately 70 inhabitants (being 40 of them under 18), composed of 15 nuclear

³⁵ Literally translated as 'The Nomad Office'.

families divided into two extended families³⁶. Dwellings are handmade wooden houses and inhabitants are from Serbia.

On the other side of the main street is X2. The camp was built alongside X1 in December of 1999 after evictions from the already cited mega camp Casilino 700. In total, there are 340 inhabitants (180 of them being under age 18). This settlement is composed of 45 nuclear families divided into four extended families



FIGURE 3: Camp X. The white circle indicates Paolo's office.

(Associazione 21 luglio, 2013). In camp X2, inhabitants are from Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Families live inside containers, a sort of metallic box, the same used by Italian Civil Protection for the temporary shelter of populations after natural disasters. Since I attended to a major part of my field work inside of one of these metal boxes (Paolo's office), I can assert that it is impossible to inhabit it without handmade heaters handmade by the Roma. During winter and summer, its temperature can increase or drop dramatically due to its internal humidity.

The *Xoraxane* and the *Rudari*

Roma people are composed by a mosaic of extended families and the groups' designations are the living signs of their particularity (Liegeois, 1994:47). Camp X1 and X2 are inhabited by Roma *Rudari* from Serbia and Roma *Xoraxane* from Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia, respectively.

The anthropological term *Xoraxane*³⁷ is used by specialists to refer to Muslim Roma. They were termed as such due to their religious specificity among the Christian Roma majority (Piasere, 2004: 75). Living originally within ex-Yugoslavia borders, the first waves of *Xoraxane* migration to Italy took place during the second half of the 1800s and more recently,

³⁶ Information acquired from interviews and the report Rom(a) Underground (2013).

³⁷ *Xoraxane* in *Romanes* means Turkish (or Ottoman).

between the 1960s and 1970s. They maintained an oscillatory movement between Italy and Bosnia until the 1980s. During the decade between 1985 and 1995, the great majority of the *Xoraxane* settled down in Rome (Solimene, 2011: 639). At first, they were motivated by the growing instability in Yugoslavian government following Tito's death in 1980, and later by the conflict which erupted in the Balkans.

Deemed one of most traditional groups among Roma, traces of their traditional coppersmith work remains to this day. According to specialists, the main sources of income for *Xoraxane* are the sale of scrap metal, scavenging and other informal jobs. Begging is practised by women, seldom by children, and rarely by men (Solimene, 2011: 643). Nevertheless, such practices have been disappearing more frequently among *Xoraxane*.

Their social organization is what Piasere (1999) called 'dust structure'. It is a sort of non-structure that is extremely flexible and based on a dynamic network extending from Western countries to ex-Yugoslavia (Lockwood, 1986: 67). Extended and nuclear families move independently from each other, though always maintaining contact. Also, the composition of family clusters is configured by alliances and conflicts between nuclear and extended families (Lockwood, 1986: 64; Solimene, 2011: 64).

Different from the *Xoraxane*, the name *Rudari*³⁸ is based on their traditional occupation, woodworking (Sorescu-Marinković, 2007: 139; 2011a: 1, Piasere, 2004: 75). However, their source of income in Rome is similar to the *Xoraxane*: that is, the reselling of iron scraps. Being originally from Romania, the *Rudari* started their migration throughout Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria during the 18th-19th centuries (Sorescu-Marinković, 2011b: 1). More precisely, their migration towards Serbia started after the abolishment of slavery in Romania in the mid-19th century. Specialists proposed that this was also prompted by their search for wood (Sorescu-Marinković, 2011b: 21). Being one of the widest spread Roma groups during the 19th and 20th centuries (Piasere, 2004: 75), *Rudari* communities do not share a common group identity. Each group has its own particular legends (Sorescu-Marinković, 2011a: 50). Despite the fact that communities are distant from each other, *Rudari* Roma do practice endogamic marriage (Sorescu-Marinković, 2011b: 7). Marriage across country borders and massive migration of their settlements are common in Western countries, owing to a 'mental continuity' between members (Skimic, 2006: 2). Like many other groups of Roma, the *Rudari* lost their original language, the *Romanes*, due to centuries of slavery in the Wallachian kingdom (present Romania) (Skimic, 2006: 18). Currently, they speak

³⁸ Also referred as *Bayash*, a synonym used uniquely in the academic circle.

a sub-dialect of the archaic Romanian language from the 16th century (Piasere, 2004: 18). In Italy, the first inhabitants arrived from Kragujevac, Serbia, during the first wave of Slavic Roma immigration in '65, prompted by extreme poverty (Associazione Giodie Onlus: 52). With regards to religion, they are Orthodox Catholic.

Italian Social Cooperatives

During the last decades, but especially in the '80s, the Italian government sought to diminish the financial burden while continuing to furnish welfare services to the economically weaker layers of society (Vanek, 2001: 1). To do so, in 1991 the Italian Parliament passed the law 'Discipline of Social Cooperatives', which codified former volunteer associations into a defined social cooperative form. Italian Parliament prescribed limits but also granted them with specific rights and benefits (Vanek, 2001: 1). According to the first article of law number 381 passed on 8 November 1991, social cooperatives are defined as institutions designed to promote human and social integration for disadvantaged people³⁹ through two ways: a) social services; b) the creation of employment for disadvantaged groups.

Another objective with the law 'Discipline of Social Cooperatives' was to grow the number of cooperatives and tie them to regions. In order to protect these small units from mega corporations, the Italian government built a geographic consortium granting them economic advantages (like special tax concessions and norms, contractual facilitations, etc). To date, the earnings of many units depend heavily on contracts with Italian state or regional entities. Their operation must therefore focus on the needs perceived and specified by public authorities.

As expected, social cooperatives became an important business sector in the national economic system. According to ISTAT⁴⁰ (2008), the number of social cooperatives increased from 650 in 1985 to 13,938 in 2008 (Carini, Costa, Carpita and Andreaus, 2012: 7). The highest concentration of social cooperatives is in Rome, with 1,117 units. In 2008, social cooperatives had more than 262,000 members, 244,223 paid workers and 34,626 volunteers. An updated source states that in 2012, social cooperatives employed 317,339 people (Carini, Costa, Carpita and Andreaus, 2012: 7). Although the number of cooperatives have raised rapidly, they still remain small or medium sized enterprises. The Italian third sector is therefore a huge industry

³⁹ According to the fourth article of the same law, disadvantaged people are defined as those with physical, mental and sensorial disability, ex-patients of psychiatric institutions, individuals in psychiatric treatment, drug addicts, alcoholics; minors in difficult family situations, convicts undergoing alternative measures to detention. Those indicated by decree of the President of the Council of Ministers shall also be considered disadvantaged persons.

⁴⁰ The Italian National Institute for Statistics.

composed of small companies. However, as we will see in the following chapters, the arena of NGO working with Roma in Rome is monopolised by only five social cooperatives.

This chapter has explained ‘The Nomad Emergency’ and ‘The Nomad Plan’, two of the most important events which occurred in the lives of Roma during the last decade. Moreover, the fieldwork site of my research, camp X, was defined, along with the group of Roma addressed throughout the thesis: the *Xoraxane* and the *Rudari*. The chapter concludes by clarifying what is understood as a social cooperative, providing the reader with a glimpse of the Italian third sector. As I have just provided the background of this essay, now we are to delve into the scenario encountered by ex-Yugoslavian Roma dwelling in Rome. In doing so, it will be necessary to touch upon topics present in their lives as illegal immigrants in Europe: discourses on criminalization, securitisation policies, state of emergencies and camps, among other phenomena.

Chapter 4: The European Fortress

“Don’t push your way into a suppressed minority whom you are not yet competent to understand. Study your own tribe for it may be they who are ‘the multicultural problem’” (Bauman, 1999:147)

Chapter one provided the purpose of this essay, which is to understand Roma segregation focusing on the relation between Italian institutions and Roma. In the same chapter, I set the theoretical framework of the research using the writings of Foucault, Agamben and Bourdieu. Chapter two described the methodology used to acquire data and discussed predicaments encountered during my field work. Chapter three explained two important events undergone by Roma in the last decade. Moreover, it defined Italian social cooperatives, camp X and its Roma population. Here in chapter four, I bring the broadest lens for analysing the segregation of ex-Yugoslavian Roma in the Italian capital. In this first ethnographic chapter, I focus on the relationship between Roma and Italian Institutions. By quoting excerpts taken directly from my fieldnote book, I present and analyse topics related to illegal immigration in Italy, to the extent that the great majority of camp X inhabitants are stateless. Topics such as criminalisation, securitization policies, state of emergence and camps are explored throughout this chapter. The first section argues that Roma are regarded by Italian majority as the most dangerous group of immigrants. The next section explains how such a fact legitimises exceptional policies of control over Roma. The chapter continues by explaining that the illegality undergone by Roma indeed has a place inside the system of the city. It concludes by focusing on the phenomena of camps in Europe: Authorities’ alleged temporary solutions, which are in fact permanent Roma dwellings. Throughout this chapter, I use Agamben's theory on modern biopolitics to analyse state control over an allegedly undesirable influx of people. In the next chapter, I will build the humanitarian field where social cooperatives and Roma interact.

International security and immigration

By reading articles in European newspapers, the relation between immigration and security seems clear to me; that is, immigration as a criminalised fact and treated as an international security matter. According to specialists, Europeans’ perception of immigrants shifted from labour force and productive guest (during the ‘70s and ‘80s) to a threat to national stability, mostly after the break-up of the Soviet Union, and to a subsequent creation of a new foreignness (Therborn, 2011: 80). This new image would be predicated upon the process of securitization defined as 'the practice whereby an issue becomes a security one, not necessarily because of the nature or the objective importance of the threat, but because the issue is presented

as such' (Scuzarello, 2008: 7). In accordance with specialists like Scuzarello, securitisation is a psychological and political strategy that attempts to answer fears about one's home-country being under siege (Scuzarello, 2008: 17). Accordingly, issues on securitisation, human security and how insecurity paves the way for new international policy frameworks have been studied by a number of authors during the last decades (Kaldor 2007; Duffield 2007; Furedi 2007; Chandler 2008). Authors assert that new security discourse (based on this new foreignness image) spawns restrictive laws and policies, reaffirming and reproducing this same discourse (Ibrahim, 2005: 164). As such, Agamben (2005) argues that states of emergency, and therefore the declaration of the state of exception, is an increasingly common technique of government found in Western democracies to cope with this allegedly dangerous international scenario (Agamben, 2005: 14). The use of a state of exception by nations appears to be the dominant paradigm of governments in contemporary politics (Agamben, 2005: 2).

In the Italian capital, Roma people are deemed by inhabitants to be the most dangerous group among immigrants. During interviews, 15 of 31 participants have posed the problem of Roma grasped as the ultimate threat for public order. While starting my interview with a social anthropologist researching on policies, he declared that Roma are the most stigmatised minority in Italy. Following his statement, I then asked him, 'And why do you think that the Roma are the main scapegoats for politicians and media?' According to him, during recent years in Italy, there has been a 'quasi-scientific job' to show Roma as culprits for the lack of security, although this problem has never really existed. Likewise, another anthropologist anticipated my question by stating that Roma are almost synonymous with criminals: 'If I have to tell you the truth, for the Italian government the Roma are a security question.' Moreover, during interviews with social workers, some of them took me as a Roma specialist and asked me, 'Why Roma are deemed the most dangerous among immigrants?':

How come this is the only population seen as people just to be segregated, isolated and controlled? And it seems that they are the only one among the poor and immigrated – I mean, sadly according to our political-economic history, all the different are to be kept at bay – however, historically, the most dangerous are the Roma.

Surprisingly, it was through unintentional observation that I witnessed how strongly locals see Roma as a threat. When I was riding on buses and asking for directions to reach nomad camps, locals (and many of them authorities) often reacted hostilely once hearing the word Roma. Two events can illustrate how Roma are seen as the utmost 'hated outsider'. Once, missing the stop

at La Barbuta camp and arriving at the bus terminal, I was allowed to remain in the bus so as to not pay for a second ticket. The bus driver then curiously asked me why I would go to a nomad camp. I then explained my research, only to be interrupted by his open animosity towards the Roma: ‘There is no research to do there. You just have to kill them and that's all.’ On a different context and day, in searching for the office of my next interviewee, I interrupted the conversation of two policemen to ask for directions. One of the policeman was unsure about the location of the office and asked his colleague for help. The second policeman then reminded him about the day when they entered camp X. Note how he used the verb ‘combat’, clearly defining Roma as enemies: ‘It's down this road where the gypsies are. We went there yesterday to combat them, remember?’

I witnessed the most glaring proof of such problematic relations between Roma and locals while I was following Giulio, a social worker helping them in public institutions. As touched upon in chapter two, it was inconceivable to converse with them due to the tension and paranoia undergone (by both sides) inside governmental offices. Many times, I had a first-hand experience of such an awkward scenario; for instance, when I was assumed to be a Roma family member by authorities:

Once I, two Roma women and their four children were talking loosely while waiting to be attended at a local municipality. After a while, three employees from the building arrived in the hall and approached the lift, talking and laughing loudly, unaware of our presence. When noticing that we were nearby, they suddenly stopped conversing and stared at us apprehensively.

Paradoxically, the rejection against immigrants is also strong inside the Roma group. Instead of using the word *extracomunitario*⁴¹, Roma use the word *zingaro* (gypsy) in order to frame other nationalities as morally inferior. In many occasions, I noticed that Roma Italian *Sinti* considered themselves superior to ex-Yugoslavian Roma, whom by their turn felt superior to the new arrivals from Romania. That is, a whole hierarchy seems to be expressed through 'who came first' to Italy. Accordingly, while attending to reunions between alleged Roma leaders and NGO workers, I heard more than once whispers from Italian Roma *Sinti* differing themselves from others using immigration as an argument: 'What are we doing here? They are all immigrated gypsies.' In the same vein, ex-Yugoslavian Roma in camp X engaged in exactly the

⁴¹ *Extracomunitario* is the Italian derogatory term used to refer to immigrants, meaning those who do not possess the nationality of a Member State of the European Union

same dialogue of identifying the other as an immigrated gypsy, especially when referring to new arrivals from Romania:

Soon the ex-Yugoslavia will be part of the EU, Paolo says. Really? When? I asked. In 2016. Yes, it's true – a young Roma using a blazer agreed. The Roma concludes: So, it's because of this that Italy is in such crises! Because they make these people come here!

Likewise, while I was helping Rako in dismantling a butcher table to sell the parts away, a young Roma carrying a baby approached us and stood idle. Curious about his presence, I asked Rako if he was his son. Referring back to the conversation that we had some minutes ago on kids neglected by parents, Rako cited the young Roma as example. This was due to his animosity towards the family of the young Roma. As we can notice, Rako used the Romanian nationality as an argument to stigmatise him:

Look. These kids are all neglected and then they do more kids. Yes, but I am abandoned because my father is in prison even if he did nothing. The kid replied. Are you sure, boy? Your family are all gypsies, all Romanians!

Such hierarchisation within the group was also displayed beyond words. An interviewee recounted that Italian Roma Sinti refused to live together with ex-Yugoslavians, leaving the camp to build another one alongside of it. In camp X, the relation between Roma Romanian and ex-Yugoslavian was defined by informal work contracts. The former were seen as cheap labour occasionally employed to clean the camp of the rubbish left behind by ex-Yugoslavians. Similarly to camp X, in camp Y new arrivals from Bulgaria and Romania were hired to clean and dismantle a huge informal market built up late at night by a prosperous Roma Serbian tradesman. The stigmatization was such that according to a social worker 'they were his lackeys'.



FIGURE 4: Rako's working area

A possible interpretation for this strong stigmatization inside the Roma group can be found in the renamed book *'The Established and the Outsiders'* (1994) written by social anthropologists Elias & Scotson. Based on a research carried out in an English city falsely named as Winston Parva, the authors analyse how two very similar communities of immigrants struggle for recognition from authorities. In this urban scenario, the established group asserted its superiority by excluding and stigmatising newcomers. The authors conclude that such actions were powerful weapons to keep the other firmly in their inferior place (Elias & Scotson, 1994: 18). In short, they find out that the small-scale problems between communities and the large-scale predicaments of a country are intrinsically inseparable, and as a result, 'it seemed useful to allow the microcosm of a small community to throw light on the macrocosm of large-scale societies and vice versa' (Elias & Scotson, 1994: 52). Needless to say, the similarity between the Winston Parva groups and Roma in Rome is glaring.

In referring back to the European 'macrocosm', one can say that Italians' despising and fear of new arrivals, but especially of Roma, is rather strong. According to the research *'Survey on fear in cities'* (2008)⁴² from World Summit Social, the fear of immigrants in Rome is more widespread than in other world capitals (WSS, 2008: 19). More precisely, 68.4 per cent of Rome's inhabitants blame immigrants' presence for the lack of public security (the highest percentage among ten chosen metropolises throughout the globe), whereas in other European capitals like London and Paris percentages are 24.5 and 35.8 per cent respectively (WSS, 2008: 19). Moreover, the study *'Eurobarometer survey: Discrimination in EU'* (2008) from the European Commission states that having a Roma neighbour makes 24 per cent of the European population uneasy, whereas for other ethnic minorities it is just six per cent. The rate related to Roma reaches 47 per cent in Italy and Slovenia, the highest percentages on the continent.

In Italy, Roma are the ultimate representation of the 'dangerous other' present in urban settings as described by Caldeiras (2001), Low (2003) and Davis (1992)⁴³. Bearing the described scenario and statistics in mind, it seems logical (from the point of view of inhabitants) that the Italian state ought to govern the Roma group differently. Taking this fact into account, we then need to deepen our analysis in order to understand the situation of Roma living in Italy. As we will see, their illegality is somewhat used by the majority, and thereby, it has a place inside Italian society

⁴² Original title: *La indagine sulla paura nelle città* (2008)

⁴³ See chapter one.

Living on the fringe

Today a Bosnian Roma and his teenage son came at Paolo's to ask for help in renewing their residence permit. Afterward, they engaged in a conversation about how to acquire a license for collecting iron, their main source of income: Look! –He showed a document to us, all proud of his feat – I just have to pay 600 euros to get the license. What?! – Paolo replied in shock – No way. Who said this? NGO Trailer Ink? No, it was the chairman of the Dismantlers Association [a sort of labour union made by those who buy the iron from Roma]. There is no way that you will have the license outright by just paying 600 euros. First, you must have...(then he spoke an infinite list of bureaucracy). But the chairman of Dismantlers Association told me that I could get the license by paying 600 euros! Paolo got shut for a while and seemed to be losing his patience. But who told you this is a criminal! Criminal?! Yes! Dismantlers are mobsters who practice tax evasion of millions of euros! Look, you have all these stamps and documents. Of course this is good, but I urge you to think very carefully before giving 600 euros to someone. Ok – the Roma replied, resigned – so what am I supposed to do if I can't get the authorisation? To steal? No, you have to keep doing the same thing that you have been doing. If someone confiscates your car, get another one and keep working.

The above excerpt from my field notebook summarises the everyday struggle for survival common to many families in camp X. It also displays one of the central elements of *homo sacer's* life: the 'inclusive exclusion' (Agamben, 1998:54). This dialogue is the starting point and base for developing my argument that the marginality of Roma is an important gear inside the system of the city.

One of the main reasons for the illegality of the Roma in this scenario is the juridical barrier built by the citizenship system in Italy. National law for granting citizenship is solely based on *ius sanguinis* law; namely, citizenship passed through blood. Because a major part of the ex-Yugoslavian Roma arrived in Italy during the war, many of their registrations disappeared or were destroyed. Therefore, the vast majority of the Roma ex-refugee in camp X are institutional ghosts, stateless *de facto* without the right for citizenship. Even grimmer is the situation of their offspring born and raised in Italy. The Roma are now facing a third generation who cannot rebuild their citizenship and are doomed to be placed in the 'bare life, which dwells in the no-man's land between the home and the city' (Agamben, 1998: 56). According to an interviewed sociologist working since the beginning of the '90s with the Roma, 80 per cent of ex-Yugoslavian *Xoraxane* are still living in illegality, regardless of almost three decades of residence in Italy. Hence, Paolo's office was often attended by Roma who were born, raised and

rooted in Italy. Many of them had established a family with Italian partners, although they were not capable of applying for either temporary or working permits. For them, it is normal to survive in the city as a 'second class citizen' to the extent that they don't enjoy any citizenship rights, relying upon informal networks. For instance, I befriended an immigrant from Bosnia who arrived in Italy at just two years old, completed a bachelor's program at Sapienza University and spoke fluent Italian, but was nonetheless unemployed and at risk of being removed from Italy. In his ordeal to apply for a temporary visa, he complained about the quantity of money spent to acquire it. In fact, he was still unsure if he would get one: 'It's unbelievable, 120 euros and you don't even know if you will have 1 month or 1 year. To tell you the truth I am not so sure that I will receive it.' Similar stories of other Roma from the second or third generation living in such a juridical limbo abound in my field notebook.

Italian citizenship based solely on blood is the main underpin for the 'inclusive exclusion' of the Roma in the system of the city, since it deters them from acquiring rights granted by national sovereignty. This pushes them into a vicious cycle of exclusion and informality, given that the chances of acquiring a visa became slim due to previous laws on immigration such as the law of Bossi-Fini in 2001⁴⁴ (Merlino, 2009:4). By contrast, such 'inclusive exclusion' is also strengthened by the same informal scenario in Italy. Currently, major causes for immigration to Western Europe are the family reunion and the prospect of acquiring either legal or illegal employment through a personal network (Appadurai, 1996: 168; Castles, 2006: 745). The informal circuit in Italy is indeed a significant slice of the Italian economy (Saitta, 2010: 18). Italy has been of great concern for international organisations like IMF and OECD, since its informality reaches 30-48 percent, being one of the highest in Europe. (Rossi, 2010: 99). Thus, the 'inclusive exclusion' of immigrants, and more precisely, the Roma, is soared by their hopes of informal employment and housing supported by the extended family network.

The illegal status of Roma is a source of income to many subjects, such as social cooperatives and iron dismantlers. Accordingly, an ex-social worker with years of experience in schooling projects recounted that she often witnessed open conflicts between city inhabitants and Roma. She told me that more than once, while leaving from buses with Roma kids, outskirts inhabitants spit on their way. According to her, this animosity is because Italian inhabitants living in abandoned areas do not enjoy the same exclusive transportation as Roma do. Based on the scenario described throughout this chapter, it seems clear to me that this grudge creates

⁴⁴ After the implementation of this law, non-EU citizens can only receive visa when holding documents proving the link with regular employers.

conflicts with an ethnic tone. She recounted to me that this ‘war between poor’ is fruitful for those behind the scenes earning money although it strengthens locals’ hostility towards Roma:

Everybody in the political scenario is comfortable to leave the Roma in this position because Europe applies rivers of money on their inclusion. This huge circulation of money is good for everybody, minus the Roma.

Similarly, another interviewee believes that governmental inertia to dismantle camps is mainly due to the creation of employment for city inhabitants. Roma reclusion inside camps would prompt jobs and help to heat the economy of Rome:

The camp in Italy is a typical Italian anomaly – they cost so much, and are kept because even if it produces discrimination and segregation, it also gives money. In Rome there are in total 450 employees working in camps.

Deemed a vulnerable group by Italian legislation, the Roma are attractive subjects for social cooperatives' businesses owing to large governmental funds aimed at their inclusion. Moreover, the fact that a number of these organisations have recently been established can be linked to the large amount of money given by the European Social Fund. Italy is the European member with the highest monetary support, receiving 15,321 € million from 2007 to 2013 according to the report 'The European Social and Roma' from European Union (2010). Just in Rome, 86.247.106 € was spent through the system of camps from 2005 to 2011 (Berenice, Compare, Lunaria e Osservazione, 2013: 33)

Apart from the fact that the marginality of Roma does stimulate jobs for the non-Roma, the iron recycling business also benefits from their presence. Despite all the lack of knowledge in dismantling equipment, the work of waste picking and recycling engaged in by Roma is positive entrepreneurship for the city. Social workers stated that the garbage deposits in Rome have been overflowing and that the 'situation is very serious'. According to them, this is so because the recycling system of the city is rather obsolete and cannot cope with the immense waste produced. Such facts lead Rome’s municipality to soil new areas in order to create more deposits, bringing negative consequences for the environment. A social worker told me that Roma illegally⁴⁵ reselling iron is the main engine for keeping an unrecognised recycling system:

⁴⁵ As explained by Paolo, discarded iron is governmental property. Although to buy iron is legal, to sell it is illegal in agreement with the article 266 of the law ‘Environmental regulations’ decreed on 21st of April, 2006. Even if this law was declared some years ago, it was only recently that authorities were putting it into force. According to interviewees, this was so because we were on the eve of municipal elections. Consequently, authorities and politicians strengthened their control on Roma so as to acquire vote.

‘The Roma do a huge favour for the municipality. If you speak with one of these entrepreneurs [independent employers buying iron], they will tell you that 80 per cent of the iron is collected by the Roma.’ Similarly, another social worker asserted other benefits to the environment and city owing to the presence of the Roma. Even if the gathering of iron equipment (through scavenging but not only) is despised by authorities, in doing so, Roma would resell wasted objects: ‘The fact that there are the Roma putting discarded objects back on the circuit of goods, like inside houses, offices, etc, it’s perfect for the environment.’

During conversations in camp Y, a group of Roma told me that despite all the problems of intolerance, Rome was the perfect place to earn money and build their own houses in Romania. Although they have been travelling throughout Western Europe, Rome was the only city where they could build up their informal camp (camp Y) in such a strategic point for selling their goods to inhabitants. Similarly, a Bosnian Roma friend of Rako once told me that Rome is the best place to live in Western Europe if you don’t have a passport. He had already lived in five other European countries but decided to settle down in Italy because there he could survive and earn money even without papers:

I have already lived in Spain, France, Portugal, Holland and Belgium. Why did you come back to Italy? I am here because I can survive in this country. I can work even if I don't have the visa. In other countries there is too much control. The best of living in Italy is that here nobody bugs you. They don't deport you if you don't have a visa. But then you must live here inside the camp because if they see you outside, for sure they will ask you for your documents.

According to him, authorities were loose enough to not enter the camp and deport him. He stressed, however, his impossibility to move freely in the city. Once policemen see him outside camps they would promptly ask him for his documents. Such facts and the fear of being deported⁴⁶ discouraged him and his relatives from leaving camp X. This dynamic between authorities and Roma show us that this minority is indeed undergoing exceptional policies of control.

The Roma exception

Here, I seek to show that Roma are treated differently by authorities and the law when compared to other immigrant groups in Rome. Roma can be considered a minority undergoing exceptional policies of control partly due to the scenario described above. In the last years, but

⁴⁶ Bearing in mind that Bosnia do not belong to the EU, such a fact makes his return to Rome rather difficult.

especially after ‘The Nomad Emergency’, Roma has been dealt exclusivist policies of control by the Italian state.

According to many interviewed specialists, authorities regulate Roma families through measures never seen before inside the Italian territory. They are therefore a sort of experiment related to policies of immigration and control, as one social anthropologist researching policies targeting Roma explained:

They live things that other groups have never experienced for what regards political measures and social service. So, you have the idea that they truly live at a threshold.

Similarly, a second social anthropologist working with the Roma since the ‘80s asserted that exceptional measures over this group are mainly related to the criminal law. According to him, Roma are treated differently when a felony is committed by a family member. Consequently, whole households are often punished for the mistake of single subjects. This fact shows that Roma subjects are usually judge as a group rather than individually:

With the Roma, the basic pillars of modern states happen to be suspended. If a Roma householder is convicted for drug dealing, the whole family is kicked out of the camp and their container is destroyed.

In fact, I did witness exceptional policies of state control on camp X inhabitants. While talking to an informant and commenting that one of the families in the camp looked extremely poor, he consoled me by telling me the opposite. Curious about his statement, I asked him from whom he had acquired such information. By his turn, he gave me an important piece of information related to the exceptional strategies of control exclusively aimed at Roma:

Don't worry about them [the family]. Captain C [a notorious policeman] told me that he knows all the criminal antecedents, banking account, etc of camp X inhabitants and he told me that this family has rivers of money in their bank.

Other exceptional governmental measures can be found with special buses bringing only Roma kids to schools, with practices of deterring this group from leaving camps by disregarding their scores for the acquisition of public housing, in the existence of these nomad camps as such (explained more succinctly in the following pages) and many other state entrepreneurship⁴⁷ policies deemed illegal for European authorities, however transformed into law in Italy.

⁴⁷ Indeed, during my internship in Rome, a human rights watcher confirmed such a special investigation occurred in camp X. A similar operation exclusively aimed at Roma has been (or “is currently being”) carried out in Abruzzo, an eastern province bordering Lazio (where the Italian capital is located). From February 2013 to date,

According to Agamben (2005), the juridical exceptionality lived by a chosen population is the main sign of the state of exception (Agamben, 2005: 12). As already touched upon in chapter one, state of exception is the ultimate state mechanism of security to manage undesirable populations inside national borders. Mark Duffield (2007) gives us a clearer picture of what can be understood as an undesirable population. He argues that the permanent war on insecurity is actually a product of the 'neoliberal biopolitical' division of the world between the insured and the uninsured (Mark Duffield, 2007: 17). That is, important historical facts grasped as development⁴⁸ have spawned an undesirable mass whom is, to some extent, excluded and wasteful. In Duffield's opinion, this allegedly dangerous population unadapted to modernity has now encountered a new truculent wave of enclosure, grasped by a number of authors as modern biopolitics. Indeed, for many authors, the inclusion of man's natural life in the mechanism and calculation of state power (i.e. biopolitics) has been increasingly deployed on Roma in Italy (Daniele, 2011:121; Alumni, 2012: 8; Clough, 2009: 2).

From Agamben's point of view, exceptional policies like in the Italian scenario 'traces a threshold (state of exception) between (...) the normal and chaos, [and] enter into those complex topological relations that make the validity of the juridical order possible' (Agamben, 1998: 19). Namely, such uncommon policies of control over Roma became accepted by the Italian majority and legitimatised by law on the basis of national security. State of exception, the grey area between legal and illegal, is therefore the utmost technique of control over 'undesirable populations' in Western 'democracies' (Agamben, 2005: 3).

Consequently, this technique of governing lives would produce 'a legally unnameable and unclassified being' (Agamben, 2005: 3); that is, groups of refugees and illegals are not represented as individual cases but as a mass phenomenon just like the second social anthropologist quoted above stated. A deeper exploration of Roma's dwellings in Italy will help us to understand their exceptional position before law, society and state. More precisely, it will now be brought into discussion a phenomenon feared by illegal immigrants in Europe: the camp.

authorities have been conducting an operation literally called 'Gypsy Drug' which investigates drug dealing among Roma families.

⁴⁸ Duffield exemplified in his writing decolonisation in Africa, the end of USSR and global market-community as such.

The Camp

Along the way of a dusty road leading to the gate of La Barbuta camp, I began to observe the structure and take pictures. The site did seem like a concentration camp just like many interviewees dramatically recounted. It was all composed by symmetric blocks with houses coloured all the same. Following the light poles I could see video cameras attached to some of them – indeed, a quite paranoid environment. 'Is Julean there?' I asked to the gatekeeper. 'You are here for the interview, right?' He asked me while opening the gate: 'Go straight and enter in the second to the left'. Confused by the regularity of the structure, I asked to two Roma where Julean's office was. By their turn, they asked me: 'What are you doing here? Journalist, Journalist? No, I am doing a research. Look at this camera behind my back. It's an absurdity!' He exclaimed. You know, one day Captain C broke into our houses searching for something, he regularly do this. Captain C? I asked, surprised. Yes, Captain C.

In exposing the piece of information above, my intention is to give a glimpse of the routine of Roma living in camps. As we have seen, Roma's lives and choices are constrained by exceptional policies of control. As such, the ultimate materialization of Roma exception before the law is the camp.

The exceptionality found in Roma lives is not only related to their political status; it is also traced back to their dwellings. According to an architect with a long term of relation with the Roma, the whole spatial arrangement of nomad camps is incongruous with European standards of housing. Its density is more than double what is allowed, the material of containers where families live is rather flammable, its height is smaller than the standards, and finally, such containers are only meant to be used for temporary housing in case of natural disasters. In concluding the interview, he tells with his own words that the camp is the glaring proof of the state of exception undergone by Roma:

The concern for this other 'event'[natural disasters] was lost. Now the camp is the camp. The camp became an exception managed by a government that have been breaching the rules of housing. With this I mean that a perverse mechanism of control was evolved over the exceptionality of law, as a device of exception. The camp is utterly unconstitutional.

Like other authorised encampments, camp X was built to be a temporary solution for families evicted from illegal settlements. Roma were gradually displaced from inside the city perimeters to authorised camps far from the city. Many families from camp X were previously living in mega camps like Casilino 700 and Casilino 900 which were finally dismantled during 'The

Nomad Emergency'. With the promise of better housing, Roma were lured to 'temporary' solutions, now living almost two decades in metal containers used for natural disasters. Although such metal containers are convincing enough to give an image of transiency, the reality is quite different. Almost twenty years after the construction of camp X, in February of 2013 the Italian government declared that authorised nomad camps are to be Roma permanent dwellings, and no longer a temporary solution (ERRC, 2013).

The camp phenomenon is researched by many specialists, such as Agamben and Rahola (2003; 2006). According to Agamben, the purest relation of 'inclusive exclusion' (between groups and the state) is based on these zones, grasped as thresholds opened by the sovereign violence. There, the 'temporary' suspension of the normal juridical order for security reasons becomes permanent. In camps, the exception becomes the rule, meaning that the threshold between legality and illegality disappears. From Agamben's point of view, the structure of the camp can also be metamorphosed in other forms, such as *zones d'attentes* and security lodges within cities' interiors:

'(...) if the essence of the camp consists in the materialisation of the state of exception and in the subsequent creation of a space in which bare life and the juridical rule enter into a threshold of indistinction, then we must admit that we find ourselves virtually in the presence of a camp every time such a structure is created, independent of the kinds of crime that are committed there and whatever its denomination and specific topography' (Agamben, 1998: 98).

Accordingly, this structure can also be found in Lampedusa island in Sicily, where thousands of African refugees await their liberation in degrading life conditions; in Yarl's Wood immigration removal centre in England, notorious for sexual abuses; and finally, in institutionalised nomad camps in Italy, where Roma children are filmed and video surveillance goes unpunished.

Different from Agamben, Rahola researches common characteristics shared by all kinds of camps (i.e. nomad, humanitarian, refugee or concentration camps). In a similar fashion to Mark Duffield (2007), Rahola (2003) states that the camp is an alleged temporary space, being in practice the permanent dwelling for the 'humanity in excess'. According to him, the common point found in all types of camps is 'the deportation and, therefore, mainly the blackmail ("you are protected only if you don't leave this area; you can be expelled at any moment") over bodies marked by a confinement that concretely ratified the illegal immigration, the unlawfulness and

the absolute material deprivation' * (Rahola, 2003: 24). Or, according to an anthropologist, 'Either you are banned to illegality or you accept to be inside the nomad camp, the deepest level of control', meaning that either Roma are jettied into the life of persecution and illegality or they comply with the rules of the camp along with its irregularities and abuses (invasion of property, subject judge as a group, video surveillance, etc) as described in the excerpt taken from my field notebook. Rahola concludes that:

‘(...) in the exceptionalist logic, camps are the device whereby sovereignty conceives and seizes the external space inside its own territory (...) it creates a double juridical system: it includes in a different fashion and engenders an extreme contrast (...) It is a logic that continuously spreads itself in defined national boundaries, and, therefore, it's based on an “inside-outside”. Such fact, by its turns, configures the camp as the extreme outside’ (Rahola, 2003: 30).

As explained in chapter one, modern biopolitics separates what is inside from what is outside and has as its main targets illegals and refugees (Agamben, 1998: 77). Also, the most effective mechanism of state control over these alleged dangerous populations is the state of emergency (that is, state of exception). Moreover, I also argued that the main element of the state of exception is what the author called 'inclusive exclusion'. And finally, according to Agamben, the camp is the zone where 'inclusive exclusion' is found in its purest form. Therefore, similarly to Agamben, Rahola assumes that national sovereignty seizes the undesirable mass or 'humanity in excess' through camps: The metamorphosis of national territory transformed into the 'extreme outside'.

In these zones, humanitarian work and human rights are deployed to the extent that inhabitants are not subjects bearing sovereignty. In camps, state of exception becomes the rule, 'politics becomes biopolitics and *homo sacer* is virtually confused with citizen' (Agamben, 1998: 97). Dwellers are legally unamenable and unclassified beings (Agamben, 1998: 97) or, in Rahola words, a 'mass – almost symbolising the opposite, the complementarity and dialectic part of society composed by single subjects that modern sociology speaks so much about' (Rahola, 2006: 1). In camps, the topic on citizenship vanishes; a link is built between human rights and camp, transforming them into synonyms (Rahola, 2003: 30). In doing so, the importance of the camp is reassured and its inhabitants are naturalised as *objects of assistance*, and no longer as *subjects of rights* (Rahola, 2003: 30; Agamben, 1998: 78).

*Rahola's work is not available in English. Any shortfall in the translation is my responsibility.

Taking this information into account, the separation between humanitarianism and politics seems evident. Illegals and refugees like ex-Yugoslavian Roma are not seen by society as a political matter but rather a ‘solely humanitarian and social mission’ (Agamben, 1998: 78). Therefore, humanitarianism understood as neutral and apolitical leads to a paradox (Pandolfi, 2010: 157), keeping the power relation unchanged. If it is true that ex-Yugoslavian Roma became an apolitical matter for society, then we must uncover this supposed veil of neutrality and delve into the dynamics between NGO and Roma inside camps. In the next chapter, I will depict the humanitarian field found in Rome. In doing so, my objective is to build the *field of power* (structure) by outlining what is at stake in the relationship between NGO and Roma.

Chapter 5: Constructing the Field of Power

“Innocence is the privilege of those who move in their field of activity like a fish in water.” (Bourdieu, 1986: 57)

Chapter four touched upon common events undergone by Roma in Italy. In progressively narrowing my focus of analysis, the chapter began by describing the broad European scenario related to immigration. It followed by arguing that Roma are indeed treated differently by governmental authorities when compared to other immigrated groups. Chapter four concluded by suggesting that camps are the utmost materialisation of ‘modern biopolitics’. Such facts would then bring us to the need to analyse dynamics between social cooperatives and Roma inside such areas.

The present chapter outlines the *field of power* (structure) of the humanitarian arena by following Bourdieu’s instructions of how to map a field. Firstly, I explore the logic and history of the field in order to designate its stakes and capitals. To do so, I use as reference the writing of Fassin (2010) and Calhoun (2010). Secondly, I define what is at stake in the Italian subfield of NGO through information gathered from my fieldwork and previous researches on Roma in Italy. Thirdly, I analyse the position of this subfield vis-à-vis the hierarchical array of *fields of power*. In exploring the governmental call for project *concorso di bando*, we will be able to narrow down the number of actors in the field. And lastly, I map out the distribution of actors within their strategic orientation toward the ‘game’. The chapter ends by giving a precise description of NGO and Roma placed on prominent positions inside this field. For a better understanding of Bourdieu’s theory, throughout this chapter I use his metaphor of players (actors) deploying cards (capitals) during a game (struggle for a stake) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 104). In setting up the humanitarian field, in the next chapter I scrutinise actors’ dynamics in the *field of struggle*.

Humanitarian Logic & Capitals

In this part, I will outline the international humanitarian field and the ‘trump cards’ used during the ‘game’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 98). I define the humanitarian logic and capitals in this same section because to construct a field, there must be a sort of hermeneutic circle (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 107). That is, to build a certain microcosm, one must at the same time identify its forms of capitals and specific logics.

Fields are relatively autonomous social microcosms configured by their own objective relation, logic and history. They are composed by the configuration of actors’ positions which

varies between domination, subordination and homology. Agents' locations within the field are defined by the unequal distribution of capitals and its accumulations. In grasping these assets, subjects enhance their chances of seizing the stake of the game. Finding what is at stake in a microcosm is therefore the first step towards the construction of a field. To do so, we will have to explore the logic and history of the humanitarian field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 109). I will start my investigation by departing from a special event which occurred at camp X.

During a common day at Paolo's I saw a small truck being swarmed by camp X inhabitants. Strangely, there were just young girls and women surrounding the car, no boys or men whatsoever. Confused about this setting, I asked Paolo what was going on:

'Who are these people? They are the ASL [Local health authority]. They come here sometimes to give medicine to those who don't have documents and therefore cannot go to public hospitals. This is a project made by NGO Trailer Ink, ASL and Rome municipality.'

In this setting, healthcare is brought inside the nomad camp although hospitals are located a few kilometres away (bearing in mind that this camp is one of the few still remaining inside the city's perimeter). Through a superficial analysis, we can say that NGO Trailer Ink's⁵¹ decision to bring healthcare inside camps is guided by the 'moral duty' of helping the Roma. Moreover, as the reader may notice, through this project Roma people are kept inside the enclosure, discouraging them to attend public institutions.

Accordingly, there are two anthropologists who can help us to analyse such an event: Didier Fassin (2010) and Craig Calhoun (2010). Fassin argues that humanitarianism is the moral counterpoint of modern apparatuses of population management. In his opinion, humanitarianism is the ethical guise ('it is our duty as humans') found in the technique of state control. As a result, humanitarianism can be understood as the newest pillar of modern governance (Fassin, 2010: 271). When referring back to our setting, NGO Trailer Ink's service can be seen as 'a moral counterpoint of modern governance' (Fassin, 2010: 271) since it is in fact a governmental strategy to keep the Roma at bay.

In the same scenario we can also observe actors instrumentalising humanitarian action to acquire resources from both sides. According to Fassin, humanitarianism took its shape in the last decades. Even so, its idea goes back to the historical moment 'when moral sentiments became the driving force for politics' (Fassin, 2010: 272). What makes humanitarianism unique

⁵¹ The description of social cooperatives carrying out activities inside camps will be given in the section 'The five cats' found in the end of this chapter.

in the political arena⁵² (i.e. in the hierarchical array between different *fields of power*) is the:

(...) articulation of reason and emotion in the attitude held toward the other as vulnerable human being. This articulation opens up the possibility for all actors, including victims, to claim the authority of law or to exercise sympathy and to play on this tension in order to promote interests and defend causes and even to instrumentalise humanitarian action. (Fassin, 2010: 272)

In taking into account this piece of information, it seems clear to me that camp X inhabitants are reinforcing, consciously or not, their image as a vulnerable group in bringing forth solely young girls and women. NGO Trailer Ink's decision to bring healthcare inside camps is also driven by the interest of creating bonds with Roma (explained more succinctly in the following pages). Therefore, humanitarian action is used as a tool on both sides of the field. The author reaffirms our notion of humanitarianism as a field:

The “competitive humanitarianism” (...) is embedded in the dual social logic of the market and the field (...). On the one hand there is the market (...) in humanitarianism, with its resources (including symbolic ones) that various supplies attempt to appropriate. (...) On the other hand, the context of humanitarianism operates like a field, in Pierre Bourdieu's sense. (Fassin, 2010: 279)

Apart from that, according to many interviewees the most important task of NGO is to detect problems that are unseen by governments. One project manager working for the state admitted that NGO were important because they were the first to denounce the problems undergone by Roma in Italy: ‘NGO were the first to scream and shed light on predicaments that must be tackled.’ Likewise, Rosy, the projects manager of NGO Holy Fraternity, declared that part of their work is to encourage the state to act rather than replace them: ‘We tell them, “Here we have a problem; I teach you how you can deal with this and after you take care of it”.’ Correspondingly, Fassin (2010) points out that the main symbolic resource contested in the ‘competitive humanitarianism’ (*field of struggle*) is what he named as ‘moral stakes’ (Fassin, 2010: 281). In his opinion, ‘moral stakes’ legitimise all sorts of interventions (military, hygienic, political, etc). Agents’ arguments are therefore mostly based on the ‘apolitical’ objective of saving lives. Consequently, humanitarian practices are seen as neutral since decision-making is solely oriented to relieve the suffering of victims. Fassin shows that those controlling the ‘moral

⁵² Field of politics in Bourdieu's writings is the main structure responsible for regulating other fields of power (Bourdieu, 1992: 257). Such a dominant microcosm in the hierarchy of structures is composed by the gathering of the prevailing actors from all other fields.

stake' within the field are the same capable of defining where to intervene and who are victims or culprits in different contexts.

Besides Fassin, Craig Calhoun (2010) also explores humanitarianism's history and logic, however with a greater focus on Bourdieu's theory of field. Similarly to the former, Calhoun asserts that humanitarianism's roots spring from the 'ancient tradition of charity' which has always been oriented to save those who are suffering. According to the author, the transformation of humanitarianism as a modern phenomenon started during WWII, taking its final form in the '70s. Even so, this field had momentum in the '90s, having as main subjects (objects) displaced populations. From the author's point of view, humanitarianism is now distinguished by its own purpose of altruism whereby actions are deemed right in themselves, i.e. 'its ethics are to value care as right in itself' (Calhoun, 2010: 50). Humanitarian agents would conceive their clients as a mass of individuals sharing a standardised humanity, tossing aside issues on citizenship and other imperatives (Calhoun, 2010: 31). Therefore, like Fassin, Calhoun asserts that humanitarian action is based on the alleged neutrality of helping victims in emergencies. All in all, Calhoun concludes that 'humanitarianism or response to emergencies became a "field" by virtue of establishing boundaries, hierarchies of value, space of position, and competition for standing' (Calhoun, 2010: 51).

Having briefly outlined humanitarianism's history and logics, now we ought to explore the *nomos* of the field. According to Bourdieu, *nomos* is the principles of vision and division dwelling in all sorts of structures. It is connected to subjects' systems of classification and processes of giving meaning to the world. Likewise, *nomos* can be shared by agents experiencing similar socialisation. It is considered to be one of the elements constituting common schemes of perception and action (Bourdieu, 1998: 66). *Nomos* are therefore strongly related to the subjects' perceptions of the world. Although the division of this microcosm is quite obvious (like the clear cut distinction between social cooperatives and Roma people), the principle of vision in this field is rather subtle.

As Calhoun (2010: 51) explains, the humanitarian microcosm, like any other field, developed a set of practices to be compulsorily preached to new entrants or organisations. What once was informally taught in churches and meetings has now been standardised as the knowledge of the field. For instance, the lore of how to care for suffering victims and keep a neutral position have been professionalised and transformed into 'an "admission fee" that [this] field imposes and which defines eligibility for participation' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 107). Thereby, the codification of best practices in the humanitarian field influences actors' perspective and daily bearings. According to Bourdieu, becoming aware of these sets of

practices allows us to grasp actors' points of view and particular visions (*nomos*) of the world (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 107).

Humanitarian subfield of Italian NGOs

To the extent that we have just sketched the international humanitarian field with its main symbolic capital, now we ought to deepen our analysis by constructing the local microcosm of Italian NGO. According to Bourdieu, fields do not have parts but components. As such, subfields have their own logic, rules and regularities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 104). As suggested by the theorist, the symbolic capital praised within a field can only be grasped through the analysis of the empirical material and, in our case, through information given during my fieldwork. With this in mind, we will now have to investigate and find the main stake in this humanitarian subfield composed by social cooperatives.

Accordingly, when I asked to Paolo if he would go to NGO People United's meeting on housing issues and the prohibition of iron gathering, he replied with an incongruous answer that I couldn't understand at the time: 'What for? I don't want to be a leader!' After much thinking, I realise that his reply had much to do with what NGO and Roma were struggling for. Likewise, when interviewing Josef, the co-founder of NGO Brothers of Confederation, and Mario, the chairman of NGO Rights & Society, they clarified the fact that they have never influenced 'the destiny' of this group. Josef and Mario stressed that Roma should decide their own way and leadership. Moreover, during one of the meetings at NGO People United's headquarters, organisers revealed that their objective was to elect four Roma representatives in each camp followed by one *gadjo*. The day after the reunion, a social worker of People United explained to me that they were giving the Roma an opportunity to become leaders. Similarly, while I was attending the meeting of another NGO not belonging to the Roman circuit, organisers declared that they were operating a project whereby selected participants had been instructed on human rights. Organisers declared that their objective in carrying on such entrepreneurship is to 'raise Roma representatives'. In agreement with previous researchers, Italian administrations had indeed tried to facilitate the political participation of Roma through the creation of community leaders and organisations (Sigona, 2009:286). Therefore, based on the gathered data and information given by social scientists analysing the same scenario, I will outline partnership as the main stake in this subfield.

The building of partnership was also displayed in a subtler fashion during interviews with specialists. Two of them recounted that they had been sponsored by international institutions for researching how Roma understand the space of political participation given by

local administration. Other experts criticised this European orientation. According to them, by following this ‘top down approach’, international organisations have been promoting an ethnic caste. Thereby, it seems that this objective is shared and sought by all actors in the field, from Roman NGO to international associations. For instance, a member from Amnesty International had been invited to NGO People United’s meetings owing to his wisdom and prowess in unifying voices in African shanty towns.

A number of authors (Kovats 2001; Rövid 2009; McGarry 2008) have been exploring the topic on European institutions’ effort to unify Roma voices. In *‘Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe’* (2009), a book composed of a collection of articles, specialists scrutinise the engagement of organisations to prompt a continental Romani movement. According to Etienne Balibar (2009), Nando Sigona (2009) and Nidhi Trehan (2009), Roma leadership and ‘roads to emancipation’ are still uncertain⁵³. The information from this book most important to our discussion is found in Trehan’s text ‘The Romani subaltern within Neoliberal European Civil Society’. She asserts that the creation of this movement has been the primarily objective of INGOs (Trehan, 2009: 56). Based on her doctoral thesis, she argues that:

Romani civil society is an embryonic and fragile sphere, as ‘counter discourses’ and dissident ideologies continue to remain marginalised (...) the creation of a ‘Roma movement’ dominated by NGOs subscribing to a neoliberal agenda was itself an imposition from outside the Romani communities and has been an arena of strategic instrumentalisation by elite participants (both Roma and non-Roma). (Trehan, 2009: 54)

In other words, in creating voices inside the Roma group, NGO can build dialogues, businesses and partnerships.

In our case, the power structure of fields leads to a hierarchy of stakes. Since social cooperatives are outsourced organisations providing services to clients (Roma), the approval of the latter is required. That is, if an NGO is to work inside camps, acceptance and partnership must be conquered from population. In addition to governmental funds, alliances with the community are a must for NGO’s activities. Or, in other words, NGO are more likely to thrive (and build partnership) by conquering areas (camps) of influence. Accordingly, as Paolo told me many times, NGO struggle to conquer influence inside settlements since in each camp there

⁵³ According to Mirga & Gheorghe (1997), Balibar (2010) and Wicker (1997), the emancipation of minorities (and in our case of Roma people) are oriented whether towards a ‘majoritarian’ or ‘minoritarian’ path. In following the ‘majoritarian’ direction, the recognition of basic rights is strengthened, leading to the end of the ‘positive exception’ for groups. Conversely, the ‘minoritarian’ way relies on a growing sense of identity and solidarity amongst Roma people across national borders, prompting a greater cultural autonomy (Balibar, 2009:xii).

is a social cooperative managing it or bringing Roma kids to schools.

On the Roma side of the field, the topic of territory control was rather explicit. During my internship in Rome one year after my first fieldwork, I went to camp Z a number of times in order to conduct questionnaires with Roma. On one of these occasions, a Bosnian Roma warned me not to go around asking questions. Pointing towards the direction I had just come from, he explained: ‘We are at war with this family over there. If the wrong person see you here, he might get upset.’ He then invited me to go to his representative’s house, explaining that it was safe enough for him to fill in the questionnaire. Seeing that I was not so willing to go, he insisted, ‘Come!’ We then arrived at a container (house) a few meters away. Its inside seemed more like an office, very different from a family container. Sitting on the sofa were four old Roma. One of them introduced himself, showing an ID card written “Roma Municipality”. By reading his name, I realised that he was a notorious *baro Rom*⁵⁴ who participated in the dismantlement of Casilino 900⁵⁵. While I was being attentively observed by the others, he asked me what my business in his area was about. I then explained the task given by my internship supervisor. He ignored my arguments and continued to pose other questions in order to assert his control over this part of the camp: ‘And to where all this information will go?’ He then slowly got one of the questionnaires from my hand and skimmed through it. At the end of our conversation, he decided to keep some of the papers and told me to not continue with my task in ‘his zone’. Therefore, based on my personal experiences in Rome and on Paolo’s great knowledge in the field, we will outline a second stake in the Italian microcosm named territorial influence.

According to other researches, hierarchies in the NGO Romani sector were established in the last decades when local organisations were quickly supplanted by powerful INGOs’ interests (Trehan, 2009: 55). Translating my data and specialists’ writings into the theory on *field of power*, we can affirm that ‘the whole humanitarian field [and subfield] of action is (...) embedded in a larger field where issues of development, democracy and other sorts of progress also contend’ (Calhoun, 2010: 54). Hence, the stake of partnership spawned by a higher international *field of power* is translated into the struggle for influence and control inside nomad camps.

⁵⁴ *Baro rom* is a term used by Roma to refer to powerful subjects. The term literally means ‘big man’ in *Romanes*.

⁵⁵ As already described in the Background section of this paper.

In short, organisations capable of building partnership with the Roma through territorial influence in camps will accumulate a greater amount of capital and enhance their position within this field.

Consequently, on the other side of the field you will have Roma families struggling for territorial influence and partnership with organisations. We will now explore the main governmental strategy for binding social cooperatives to local administration: the *concorso di bando*. In exploring the call for projects' *concorso di bando*, we will be able to narrow down the number of actors in the field.

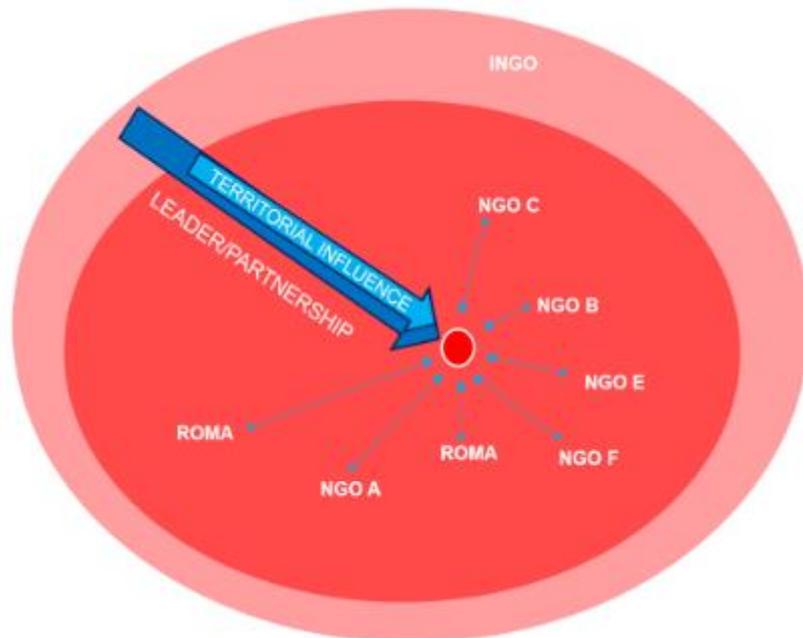


FIGURE 5: The distribution of actors and stakes within the humanitarian field

‘Il concorso di bando’

As explained by many social workers, the *‘concorso di bando’* is a call for bids whereby a municipality chooses projects that are the most in agreement with their governmental guideline requests. Apart from some particular cases, projects (either the management of camps or schooling) are normally entrusted to organisations presenting the most beneficial (economic) offer for the local administration (Rossi, 2010: 216). Correspondingly, when carrying out the study of a microcosm ‘one must analyse the position of the field vis-à-vis the [hierarchy in] field of power’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 105). Based on the existence of this bureaucratic constraint (*concorso di bando*) and on Bourdieu’s statement, henceforward I will narrow down the number of actors located in the subfield and define their respective positions (and stances).

Yet following Bourdieu's instructions in mapping fields, another division between organisations must be done. Many interviewees made it clear that they were not funded by the Roman municipality, meaning that they were not furthering such scenarios as described in chapter four. For instance, one specialist said proudly that an international organisation hired

him because he was out of the ‘local logic’. Similarly, some of the interviewees reacted in shock when I asked them if they were sponsored by the local government: ‘No! From nobody in Italy! I got some grant from the French academy and a foreigner company.’ As such, a sociologist explained to me why interviewees were reacting so strongly to this question. According to him, NGO had become too dependent on the funds of local administrations. This led them to be submissive enough to not complain about governmental practices sometimes seen by specialists as racism. The most striking example of the division between associations was noticed while interviewing the founder and chairman of an NGO. He intentionally wrote in the charter of his NGO that they can never receive governmental funds so as to not become bonded to the local administration: ‘This was my strategic way to be free to speak and act when managing the organisation.’ Based on all this information, I will divide the Italian subfield into those sponsored by the local field of bureaucracies (explained in the following lines) and those who are not.

In keeping with Bourdieu’s framework, the main objective of the state is to normalise actors’ stances in accordance with its own orientations (Bourdieu, 1998: 41). The state would be a field of bureaucracy where actors (politicians, bureau, commissions, boards, etc) struggle to control it. This central structure is composed by the overall concentration of capitals in a given territory. Such combination of powers allows the government ‘to regulate different fields, whether through financial intervention (such as public support of investment in the economic field or, in the cultural field, support for one kind of education or another) or through juridical intervention’ (Bourdieu, 1998: 41). That is, this special *field of power* imposes a universal manner on all actors within a territorial boundary. Such a process, named by the author as *effect of universality*, constrains agents’ dispositions and regulates practices within all other fields (Bourdieu, 1998: 58). When referring back to the Italian scenario, we can say that the *concorso di bando* is *per se* the governmental strategy that normalises social cooperatives’ stances. Associations’ position-making is moulded and controlled through these contract guidelines. Hence, this document is the artefact dividing the Italian subfield *continuum* into two parts and types of NGO.

The NGO presented throughout this paper are those heavily influenced by the local administration’s style of governing. As argued before, the *concorso di bando* is the main key for understanding NGOs’ bind to governmental strategies to regulate the Roma. Accordingly, social cooperatives developing the best projects (from the municipality point of view) are granted a greater amount of points. Once conquering the highest score, winners are placed into

a preferential position to choose the camps they will be responsible for⁵⁶. Bearing this in mind, those awarded with the largest quantity of economic capital by local government are also the most obliged to follow its frameworks, guidelines and objectives. As explained by anthropologists, economic exchange is one of the most sincere relations since interactions do not bear extra meanings (in contrast with social or symbolic transactions) (Bourdieu, 1986: 54; Graeber 2006:76).

The greater the presence of an NGO in different camps, the more money from the municipality they receive; the higher the economic capital of a social cooperative, the more submissive to the local bureaucratic *field of power* they will be. As Calhoun proposes, Doctors Without Borders is ideal for actors in the humanitarian field because they resist both the political and corrupting influence of local governments or other donors' demands (Calhoun, 2010: 50). Therefore, their reputation within the field is centred on the 'fairness' of their service (Calhoun, 2010: 50). Although keeping a neutral position before the state is unconceivable in the Italian node, this logic is strongly present among cooperatives (as we will see in the next chapter). All in all, social cooperatives' stances in this knot from the humanitarian subfield are oriented into a coordinate divided into two poles: 1) Autonomous strategies defending the principles of the *field of force* analogous to the field of local bureaucracy; 2) Heterogeneous strategies of subverting this order.

Besides the bipolarization between NGO, *concorso di bando* also prompts the monopolization of this cluster in the hands of a few actors. The requirements for participating in the bid are conceived in a way that makes it almost impossible for new organizations to participate, since they favour already existing associations. For example, an organisation ought to prove a minimum of five years working with the Roma on a similar type of project. Likewise, NGO can only compete if they have been sponsored by public bodies throughout the duration of the activity (Rossi, 2010: 217). As a result, only a certain few NGO monopolise this arena. Like Rosy, a social worker of NGO Holy Spirit, sarcastically explained, this area where the local field of bureaucracy directly dominates the humanitarian microcosm is composed of 'always the same four cats'⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Needless to say that the quantity of money given to NGOs is proportional to the number of inhabitants dwelling in camps.

⁵⁷ '*Sono sempre gli stessi quattro gatti*' is an Italian expression meaning that there are always the same subjects present in a certain situation.

The ‘five cats’

As we have seen, social cooperatives are associations guided by humanitarian logic. According to Fassin and Calhoun, humanitarianism has its set of practices rooted in ancient charity organisations. The latter, once professionalised and transformed into formal knowledge, became the modern humanitarian business. In our setting, such business is represented by associations from sector B responsible for solving ‘social emergencies’ in Italy⁵⁸ (Rossi, 2010: 217). Moreover, I argued that governmental strategies (*concorso di bando*) for regulating NGOs’ stances strengthen social cooperatives’ orientation towards modern biopolitics (described in chapter four) and reduce the number of actors in the scenario. I will dedicate the rest of this chapter to defining prominent actors in the humanitarian subfield of Italian NGO. In this section I will describe the five social cooperatives found throughout this essay. In the next section, I do the same for the Roma side of the field.

Our last step in outlining the humanitarian *field of power* is to ‘map out the objective structure of the relation between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete (...) in the site’ (Bourdieu, 1998:105). In agreement with Bourdieu, the structure of positions is methodologically inseparable from the field of stances, and, consequently, both abstractions are to be analysed simultaneously (Bourdieu, 1998:105). Nevertheless, the former tends to command the latter (Bourdieu, 1998: 99). In other words, a social cooperative’s *dispositions* are more likely to be defined by the quantity of accumulated capitals.

The descriptions of the following social cooperatives are based on information acquired during interviews and informal conversations⁵⁹:

Trailer Ink: They used to be the most powerful NGO in this node. Founded in the ‘60s, they are the first social cooperative dealing with Roma people. Some of its former members have left the association to work in other organisations or to build their own. This cooperative enjoys a special membership among the ex-Yugoslavian Roma since it was the only one existing at the time of their arrival. Such NGO have a high volume of social and symbolic capital due to labour-time (the time spent building connections and recognition among Roma). Currently, Trailer Ink holds little economic capital since they are not carrying on (in theory) any substantial projects in nomad camps. They have a low amount of symbolic capital among

⁵⁸ According to the institutional framework, an ‘emergency’ response is the recognition of the high risk of survival of a group (Voutira, Benoist and Piquard, 1998: 2). ‘Social emergency’ means a burst of social irregularities, for instance drug abuse, deviance, etc. In the case of ‘The Nomad Emergency’, this would be prompted by the high influx of Roma people immigrating towards Italian cities.

⁵⁹ I purposely described them briefly in order to keep them unknown. Furthermore, the description is not based on their official documents and websites in order to reconstruct them in accordance with the representations shared by actors in the field.

cooperatives since they were regarded as unprofessional by other NGOs (explained more thoroughly in chapter six).

Holy Fraternity: They are by far the richest in economic capital. According to interviewees, this NGO is sponsored by the Vatican and its founder is a close friend of members of the Italian Parliament. Also, social workers who criticised this organisation often declared that Holy Fraternity was the social cooperative closest to the governmental style of managing the Roma, meaning that they were welfarists. Therefore, they are considered as one of the most dominant actors in this node of the field.

Rights & Society: They have been working as a social cooperative since the '70s. Despite rumours that they were obliged to work with the Roma (and immigrants in general) because they were in default, social workers praise them for their efficiency in the field. Hence, they hold a high symbolic power among NGO.

Brothers of Confederation: Built from a bigger organisation, Brother of Confederation is a specialised branch for including Roma in society. They concentrate a high volume of economic capital since they have won the majority of seats in the *concorso di bando*. Currently, they are managing schooling projects in camp X and in the biggest nomad camp in Rome.

People United: Like Brothers of Confederation, they are a specialised branch of a bigger social cooperative. According to Paolo, they are the most powerful NGO present in this subfield. As such, People United was composed of small associations. A number of its members have a high quantity of social capital since they have been working with the Roma for many years through their ex-employer, Trailer Ink. Therefore, People United is the social cooperative holding the highest amount of social capital in the field.

Defining Roma actors

In this second part of the humanitarian field of structure, the number of agents will be narrowed down again. Such entrepreneurship will be once more based on the *nomos* of the field found in the specific scenario of nomad camps. In the 'game' to acquire territorial influence and partnership from the *gadje* NGO, gender and types of capitals must be problematised. But different from the other pole, here we need to touch upon the concept of family understood as a field.

In our framework, family is a field composed of individuals linked either by alliances, filiations or adoptions. In being a microcosm, family imposes a common principle of vision (e.g. brotherhood, motherhood, etc) and division (mother/son, mother/father, etc) in our perception and practices. But not just that; family is also a social category to the extent that it

is collectively recognised and internalised. It is a structure rooted in both individual and collective levels that ‘goes without saying and it comes without saying’, or in Bourdieu’s terms, a *doxic* experience (Bourdieu, 1977: 164). *Doxa*, or common sense, makes social reality evident. Through the ‘naïve compliance with fundamental presuppositions of a field’ (Bourdieu, 1990: 68), social categories like family are experienced as naturally given. At the same time that we are complying with familiar roles and responsibilities, we are also accepting and confirming power relations and hierarchies (i.e. woman/man, young/old). Consequently, unequal relations within the familiar microcosm are institutionalised and reinforced by exchanges (reciprocity between feelings, etc), rituals (when reciprocity is cohesive. E.g.: Christmas), forms of knowledge (anthropology, sociology, psychology, etc) and, most importantly, by the state and its law (Bourdieu, 1998: 68).

As argued in chapter four, Roma in Italy dwell in an exceptional juridical arena. Long before ‘The Nomad Emergency’ in 2008, in June of 1993 an exceptional ordinance named ‘Regulation in camps for Roma people’ was approved. The fourth article of this regulation legitimated ‘householders’ as those entitled to speak for the extended family (Daniele, 2011: 209). Thereby, in creating householder boards functioning as a united voice for dialoguing with institutions, gender inequality was strengthened. Relations of domination and dependence between genders were officialised (Bourdieu, 1990: 130), and the unbalanced power relation once informally present in *Romnie*’s lives was institutionalised. Therefore, females dwelling in this second pole of the humanitarian field are formally excluded from the ‘game’.

Like gender, the accumulation of certain types of capital is another important consideration to be discussed. By reading the works of ethnologists specialised in Roma before going to the field, I was certain that elders were those with the decisional power inside families. As in many traditional communities, such an assumption would be based on age as symbolic power. However, I observed a different scenario in camps. While I was teaching Italian in camp Y, it seemed clear to me that the youngest son from a Bulgarian Roma family had a stronger voice than his father. The former holds a broader network than other family members. More precisely, the fact that he speaks better Italian made him responsible for arranging informal jobs for relatives. His accumulation of social and economic capital puts him in a dominant position before his kin. Other examples of sons surpassing elders’ authorities due to their greater network and wealth abound in my field notes. As in any other field, family members would struggle to change power relations and enhance their positions inside the domestic unit (Bourdieu, 1998: 70). Thus, the once important symbolic asset (age) wielded to exert power inside the family has been replaced by economic and social capital.

Indeed, there are some specialists describing changes in power relations inside *Xoraxane* families, as argued in the paragraph above. Authors (e.g. see Lookwood, 1986) have asserted that the leadership in families based on age (symbolic capital) has been replaced by ‘the big man’ of Sahlins (1963). Namely, those capable of controlling channels of communication and assistance from outside the community are now recognised as powerful subjects (Lockwood, 1986: 68). Authors (e.g. see Daniele, 2011) currently researching in Italian camps propose that dominant Roma in *Xoraxane* families still withhold power through the same ways described by other researchers twenty-five years ago.

Based on my limited observation, the theory of capitals and specialists’ writings, I will single out the three most powerful actors inside camp X: Yuri (camp X1), Hugo (camp X2) and Zano (camp X2). Yuri is a prosperous Serbian entrepreneur. As we will see in chapter six in the section ‘With those I am no longer!’ and ‘This one should be sleeping in the snow’, part of his successful accumulation of economic capital is linked to NGO’s sponsorship and legal employment. Like Yuri, Hugo holds a powerful network and prestige inside camp X as we will see in chapter six in the section ‘You know how it is: it’s half me and half you’. While I was in the field, I saw him as an active Roma often present at NGO meetings and Paolo’s. During conversations, Hugo would give us a big smile and gather information by asking: ‘What is the news?’ Different from these two charismatic Roma actors, Zano was contemptuously referred to as ‘this one’ by inhabitants. From my point of view, Zano is an incognita since his presence was usually mediated by his brothers. Even so, he has a powerful presence in camp X2, to the extent that inhabitants’ lives are affected by his thuggish behaviour. The impact of Zano’s presence in camp X will be explored in chapter six in the section ‘This one should be sleeping in the snow’.

As already mentioned, the accumulation of types of capitals is a variable in actors’ dispositions. Tokens accumulated by actors define their styles of domination. The importance of locating actors by the irregular distribution of capitals will be clearer in the following pages. For instance, as we will see in chapter six, Trailer Ink holds a strong membership and network (social capital) in camp X. Consequently, such social power is openly wielded by the association for retaking their dominant positions in the field. By the same token, Holy Fraternity’s strategies are similar to the local bureaucratic *field of power* insofar as they receive the highest amount of governmental funds. As we have just set the players’ positions with their respective ‘cards’, now we will explore the dynamics within the game of conquering partnership and territorial influence.

Chapter 6: The Field of Struggle

“A man possesses in order to give. But he also possesses by giving.” (Bourdieu, 1992:126)

Chapter five outlined the logics and capitals found in the humanitarian field. It narrowed my focus of analysis by defining the humanitarian subfield in Rome. The chapter followed by explaining how the call for project proposals ‘*corcorso di bando*’ limited the number of NGO working with Roma to just five cooperatives. It then concluded by singling out all prominent actors placed on the field.

Insofar as in chapter five we have constructed the *field of power*, in chapter six we will explore the *field of struggle*, or the dynamic within the ‘game’. Capitals accumulated and deployed to attain the stakes of the game are economic, cultural, social and symbolic. According to Bourdieu, any structure can be divided into parts dependent on each other (Bourdieu, 1990: 223; 1998: 53). Following his advice, this chapter is split into two sides: the interaction between the providers of the humanitarian service (social cooperatives) and the relationship between consumers of the service provided (ex-Yugoslavian Roma families). In the first part I investigate how NGO relate with each other and how NGO relate with Roma families. In the second part I analyse how few Roma dominate camp X inhabitants and how Roma relate with NGO. As already defined in chapter five, actors’ objectives in these interactions are to build partnership and territorial influence. Once this thorough description of the NGO-Roma relation is provided, in the next chapter I will deepen my analysis by focusing on the interaction between camp X inhabitants and social workers.

‘We have recognition, not authority’

In this section I scrutinise how NGO are likely to acquire recognition among fellow social cooperatives. Recognition here is translated into efficiency when bringing service to Roma. More precisely, NGO not siding with stronger Roma families are highly recognised in the world of social cooperatives. This same recognition allows them to build further alliances, facilitating their way to influencing camp inhabitants. As we will see in the next section, although keeping a neutral position is an ideal defended by social cooperatives, this goal is a paradox given that NGO can only acquire territorial influence inside camps when favouring stronger families.

In taking into account social workers’ information, the starting point for analysing the interaction between cooperatives will be the topic on projects. While asking Robert, a self-employed project evaluator and former worker of Brothers of Confederation, ‘To what extent do other NGOs interrupt in your activities?’ he explained that if he were to do a project with

someone from a camp managed by, for instance, Brothers of Confederation, he should ask them for permission. He finished his argument by complaining, ‘And that’s a serious problem.’ Sometimes conflict can be open and hostile, as a social worker from Holy Fraternity stated, ‘There are those who see you as a contender and ask “What are you doing here? What do you want?”’

Accordingly, inefficiency in carrying on projects was repeatedly used by social workers to slander adversary cooperatives. For instance, I heard more than one social worker commenting on the inefficiency of Trailer Ink to build leadership among Roma: ‘Trailer Ink failed miserably to prompt Roma emancipation,’ or ‘Trailer Ink has not built anything substantial for the Roma.’ Consequently, Trailer Ink was not taken seriously by other associations. In the same vein, Josef, the co-founder of Brothers of Confederation, explained to me that the Roma who are generally favoured and attend projects are from the most influential and rich families. Likewise, according to an employee of People United, projects tend to fail when the strongest families put their businesses against the collective interest. As we can see with these statements, inefficiency for social workers is linked on the one hand to the failure in sustaining projects, and on the other hand it is also related to the topic of the strongest Roma families.

A specific event can illustrate what is understood as inefficiency amongst NGO. Once there was an experimental project aimed at building a prototype low cost house to replace the iron containers still inhabited by the Roma. According to Josef, the initiative failed because activists ignored the strongest families inside the camp, which became divided into two parts: one interested in setting fire to the building and the other willing to maintain it. All in all, in his opinion the house was torched and the activity failed because different families wanted to use the project for themselves. When asking one of the architects of this project, ‘Why do you think that your project was sabotaged?’ he replied to me that the house was an obstacle to some families’ interests. Taking into account different views of this episode, here inefficiency can be connected to the inexperience of ‘how to deal with families’, especially those deemed powerful.

Conversely, efficiency in ‘how to deal with families’ is recognised as a valuable skill. When posing the question ‘How do social workers from other NGO react to your presence at their camps?’ Rosy, a social worker with Holy Fraternity, replied to me that her successful networking with other NGO was based on her recognition in the field: ‘We have recognition, not authority, so if I go to the camp and ask them to do a certain intervention, they participate and collaborate.’ According to her, this is because her projects are successful and thereby recognised by social cooperatives. As a result, her efficacy in the humanitarian field is displayed

to NGO colleagues, allowing her to build further agreements and alliances. In following my interview guideline, I asked her, ‘What do Roma leaders think about your project?’ She answered that she deals mostly with Roma kids and therefore she has never interacted with them. In other words, within this relationship of ignorance (or avoidance) of Roma’s strongest families, she kept a neutral position; she neither ‘took sides’ nor meddled in the interests of powerful families.

The topic of stronger families inside camps was more evident while conducting an interview with Gabriel, a public employee cooperating with Paolo. According to him, they do not treat stronger families differently in order to avoid legitimising them as a point of reference inside the camps:

Paolo and I do not let the strongest families manipulate us. With this I mean that we do not treat them differently from other families when bringing our service. If we would do it so, we will legitimise them as the reference in camps. Those who know the camp well know that victims can also become offenders in miserable environments.

As commented in chapter two, Paolo was recognised among social workers owing to his efficiency on the ground. On a common day at camp X, he explained to me that to work directly with the Roma, one must know how to not favour just one family: ‘You must always try to keep a distance from them and work neutrally.’

Accordingly, I often heard that Rights & Society was recognised among social workers due to their good results on projects. That was so mainly because they have a good methodology when working on the ground, as Robert, an ex-worker of Brothers of Confederation, recounted. When interviewing one social worker and Mario, the chairman of Rights & Society, both explained to me that they avoid the concentration of services in the hands of a few clans by understanding what kind of project goes best for each family: ‘You have to plan differently with each individual family since they have different needs.’ Similarly, the only association praised by Paolo was Holy Fraternity since nuclear families are assisted singly, avoiding favouritism.

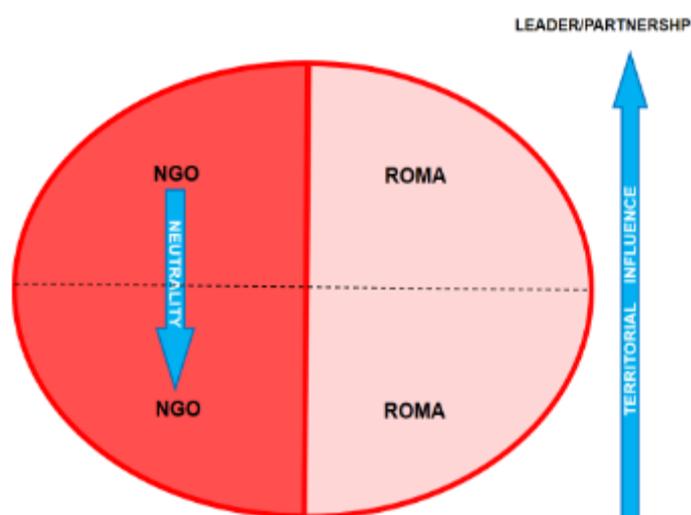


FIGURE 6: Interaction between NGOs

According to Bourdieu, recognition can only exist in relationships between actors sharing a common knowledge⁶⁰ (Bourdieu, 1984: 328). That is, legitimised forms of knowledge affects deeply on what is recognised or misrecognised among subjects. Actors' perception (*nomos*) within this field is directly influenced by the humanitarian knowledge along with its set of practices like 'neutrality'. Impartiality, a praised category found in actors' vision, is here the main reason that employees become recognised as efficient workers. Therefore, the value of efficiency is only granted to those able to relate neutrally with families. Efficiency, based on the ideal of neutrality, is therefore a value acknowledged between subjects dwelling in this arena. As suggested by interviewees, such recognition/misrecognition of how to deal with the strongest Roma families when managing projects can be displayed as a symbolic power (capital):

Symbolic capital [efficiency] is any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception [neutrality] which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value. (Bourdieu, 1998: 47)

Moreover, social cooperatives do not only battle, but also get along for monetary benefits. According to Paolo, associations also enter into agreement and are careful to not invade areas of influence belonging to others: 'Brothers of Confederation and People United respect their places and split the city; they don't battle.' As Bourdieu asserts, symbolic and social capital (network) are strongly related insofar as both abstractions are based on mutual cognition and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986: 53). Namely, both are subjectively felt; these tokens can only exist when reciprocally acknowledged that they are shared between subjects:

(...) two forms of capital that are very strongly correlated, social capital, which consists of resources based on connections and group membership, and symbolic capital, which is the form different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate. 3-4 (Bourdieu, 1987f, 3-4)

Therefore, the display of effectiveness/ineffectiveness (symbolic capital) in projects allows NGO to build/lose network (social capital), enhancing their position within the field.

'With those I am no longer!'

⁶⁰ Here knowledge is understood as a collection of experiences accumulated in the course of an uncharted exploration checked by standardised (institutionalised) stages and obstacles, for instance school degrees and exams (Bourdieu, 1984: 328).

Since I have just explored how cooperatives seek to acquire recognition from each other, in this section I analyse NGO ways to seize territorial influence and build partnership with Roma. As we will see, their methods to influence inhabitants are far from neutral; they do affect power dynamics inside the camp. Social cooperatives' strategies in acquiring capitals can be found through projects favouring powerful families. More precisely, NGOs build loyalty with selected Roma actors capable of influencing inhabitants. As such, topics on projects assessment, selection of participants and timetable will now be brought into discussion.

While I was in the field and reading reports from organisations, assessment in projects struck me as an important matter to investigate. Two reports interested me the most: *'Another city is possible'*⁶¹ from the association Geordie onlus (2010) and *'Dirty work'* from Associazione 21 luglio (2012). The first document evaluated activities in a more general fashion, analysing the activities developed by social cooperatives throughout the last twenty years. The second NGO evaluated the results of three labour inclusion initiatives from 2010 to 2011. Geordie onlus (2010: 84) concluded that all projects have a 'certain lack of qualitative and quantitative monitoring and evaluation of results'. Similarly, Associazione 21 luglio (2012: 15) asserts that assessments made from social cooperatives are absent or not objective enough. Once aware of such information, I decided to investigate NGOs' projects more thoroughly.

Spontaneously, many employees evoked the topic of assessment. When asking Mario, chairman of Rights & Society, about initiatives of labour inclusion, he sarcastically returned the question by implying that they do not exist: 'Where are these projects of labour inclusion? In Rome true policies to include the Roma do not exist. Just a little bit of charity.' Likewise, Rosy of Holy Fraternity replied to me that the few initiatives to include the Roma were poorly done and did not build any type of competencies or further relationships for prompting the Roma to leave camps. When asking her about project assessments, she replied that they were easily twisted by rewriting them with beautiful words: 'Even if there weren't satisfactory results, it can be passable if you embellish your report.' By contrast, Josef, the co-founder of Brothers of Confederation, anticipated my question by stating the positive results from his projects while indeed using 'beautiful words': 'We had some beautiful experiences with the Roma. When interacting with the *gadje*, the magical thing was that they promptly adapted to the standardised setting like time, behavior, etc.' In fact, social workers from Brothers of Confederation and People United were dissatisfied with employers since their own developed projects have never been evaluated.

⁶¹ Original titles are *'Un'altra città è possibile'* and *'Lavoro Sporco'* respectively.

Still on this topic, the testimony of a special interviewee called my attention. Robert, an ex-worker of Brothers of Confederation, argued that if the NGO verified their objectives and results, they would surely be bankrupt. According to him, this is not the case because associations' failures cannot be seen outright. He kept on his explanation by using as a metaphor the construction of a house:

If I give you the money to build a house and in the end, it crumbles, it means that you did not build it correctly (...) in the social world you cannot see this. For instance, the municipality spent three million euros per year for schooling two thousand Roma children. After 20 years, just 87 of them are registered in the high school! In any other employment you would be fired.

Robert concluded that social cooperatives are justifying the end (to maintain the association) by their means (projects), forgetting the objective (including the Roma).

Besides assessments, the selection of participants in projects is another issue to be discussed. One of the projects analysed in 'Dirty work' was realised jointly by the local municipality and a private organisation. During the interview with the project manager and chairman of the company, I asked him, 'And how did you select the participants?' He shrugged his shoulders and told me that participants were chosen by social cooperatives managing their respective camps. He continued by explaining that those most capable of attending projects were indicated by the NGO and then selected by the municipality. Similarly, when I posed the same question to a contributor on another project found in 'Dirty work', he explained to me that People United did favour stronger families in the beginning of their activities so as to be accepted inside camps. This allowed them to keep on with their projects: 'We worked in camp Z already ten years, so if you arrive in a new setting you surely have to confirm – I mean, you must relate with the most powerful inside camps, or it will be impossible to work.' Be this as it may, he told me that they have been striving against such dynamics. In short, frank participants confirmed that some NGO do protect a few families, just like Rosy asserted: 'Cooperatives surely follow and enter in a sort of partnership with small groups, but they do not show this openly.'

In addition to the flimsy assessment and the biased criteria for NGO to choose Roma participants, the timetable of projects was also polemical. Like a number of social workers stated, Mario, the chairman of Rights & Society, said sarcastically that projects that are ongoing for fifteen years without clear aim or appraisal of results are a sham.

An example of NGO favouring selected Roma by granting them resources from projects was clearly noticed in camp X. There, I couldn't avoid noticing Yuri driving different cars. While explaining something related to the Italian bureaucracy to me and Rako, Paolo was abruptly interrupted by the roar of a beautiful BMW engine. Rako commented on Yuri's wealth: 'This one eats well! [Meaning that Yuri is rich.]' Needless to say, such a shiny BMW leaving camp X1 seemed totally incongruous within the setting of severe poverty. In the following weeks I saw Yuri passing by with a brand new white van ornamented with a company logo. The van seemed rather modern when compared to second-hand vehicles used by Roma from this camp. Moreover, Yuri had been occasionally seen driving another van with 'Rome Municipality' written on it. Startled by the numbers of car handled by Yuri, I asked Paolo, 'How many cars do you think he has?' He laughed and answered that two of the cars belonged to Brothers of Confederation: 'The white car is to bring kids to the school. Different from the yellow bus [which he also manages] this car has a more flexible trajectory for bringing kids.'

The topics of project assessment, favouritism in choosing participants and inexistence of timetable can surely be grasped as cooperatives' strategies to acquire social capital. A number of authors researched networking; however, few of them explored it on the inter-personal level (Portes, 2000: 4). Bourdieu, translating network into capital, asserts that:

the network (...) is the product of investment strategies (...) aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, (...) into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.)
(Bourdieu, 1986: 52)

In agreement with Bourdieu, social capital is the accumulation of stable relationships (i.e. networks) whereby 'obligations are felt'. Just as symbolic capital, social power relies on the recognition between actors (Bourdieu, 1986: 52). Accordingly, recognition may or may not be attained through exchanges, since it is highly subjective. However, the chance of success in such processes becomes higher depending on how much energy is invested to establish relationships. Stable connections can only be produced and reproduced when material (or symbolic) exchanges are occasionally reinforced, reaffirming the feeling of obligation between actors (Bourdieu, 1986: 52).

Besides the 'unceasing effort of sociability and exchange' (Bourdieu, 1986: 52), stable relations can only be secured by time. As touched upon in chapter one, the main element found in the conversion of capitals is labour-time. That is, the time lag is one of the factors in the

transformation of the pure simple debt into recognition of non-specific indebtedness (Bourdieu, 1986: 54). Bearing that in mind, economic capital (money) can then be converted into social obligations (network), although profits are neither immediate nor certain (Bourdieu, 1986: 47).

Another important fact to be considered when wielding social power is who the action is aimed at. Those endowing a greater number of capitals are more likely to be targeted by actors. Hence, donors (of money, contacts, etc.) attain a bigger profit (i.e. obtain more network) when establishing relations with powerful recipients. In other words, to favour the strongest families is more preferable for NGO:

Social capital can be highly profitable if the person aimed in this work, is richly endowed with capital (mainly social, but also cultural but even economical). They are sought for the accumulated social capital because (...) they are known to more people than they know, and their work of sociability, when it is exerted, is highly productive.”
(Bourdieu, 1986: 53)

Analysing such scenarios with Bourdieu’s tool, a social cooperative’s poor assessment may be a way of converting money into social capital, i.e. network inside camps. Moreover, participants were not selected randomly, but based on their extended families’ accumulated power. The disregard for the timetable in projects can be grasped as the labour-time required for cementing unstable relations into relationships of trust. Thus, projects (along with their funds) can be used as strategies for converting money into durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of loyalty and gratitude). Or, in the words of Paolo, ‘NGO build alliances by exchanging their services with families. Like this they conquer stronger families’ loyalty.’

Taking into account this information, events that once were incomprehensible to me can now be understood. For instance, I once followed Giulio, a social worker rallying Roma from different camps, to a meeting at People United’s head office. Arriving at a camp managed by Brothers of Confederation, we encountered Yuri (from camp X1) leaving from the cooperative’s schooling bus. Giulio then explained the reason for the gathering and invited him. However, Yuri seemed a bit annoyed, ignoring Giulio’s presence. Based on the analysis herein shared, we can say that Yuri’s loyalty to Brothers of Confederation had been tested, and that Giulio was a threat to his business with them. Already inside the camp, Giulio moved around and spoke with selected Roma. Leo, a praised head of an extend family, lamented repeatedly to him: ‘Josef [co-founder of Brothers of Confederation] in the end did not choose me! After all the gatherings that I did here, after all my engagement, the bastard choose another one!’ Leo’s frustration is surely due to Brothers of Confederation’s misrecognised gratitude (the non-

reciprocal feeling of obligation) for his efforts; or to put it more simply, his networking with the association failed (Bourdieu, 1986: 54). Afterward, we returned to camp X. There, Giulio randomly asked a Roma, ‘What is your last name?’ ‘Remotti.’ ‘Oh, ok, we are gathering people to the meeting...’ As such, Remotti is regarded as a powerful extended family and therefore a good partner to network with. The day after the gathering I once again accompanied Giulio to camp X. Approaching the entrance, we were blocked by a truck slowly heading in our direction. Giulio greeted the driver, Hugo⁶², a well-known spokesperson of camp X2 who attended the reunion. As a reply to his greeting, Hugo aggressively charged towards us and brusquely stopped the truck on our side. He then furiously yelled at us, ‘With those I am no longer!’ After much thinking, I realised that ‘those’ in Hugo’s enraged statement was People United.

In conclusion, the first step in conquering territorial influence is to gain the strongest families’ loyalty. On the one hand, associations’ economic capital is proportional to the number of camp inhabitants (as argued in chapter five). But on the other hand, the higher is the population contingent, the stronger (i.e. more loyal) and broader an NGO’s network (social capital) inside encampments must be. From this point of view, projects are strategies to influence Roma community by conquering the trust of a few heads who are often the reference point. Although keeping neutrality when bringing service to families is an ideal shared among social cooperatives, this is not a realistic fact in the ‘game’ of acquiring partnership. Just like Calhoun (2010) and Fassin (2010) unveiled the contradictions in the humanitarian mantra of ‘neutrality’, through the lines above we see that NGO impartiality when relating to Roma is unsustainable.

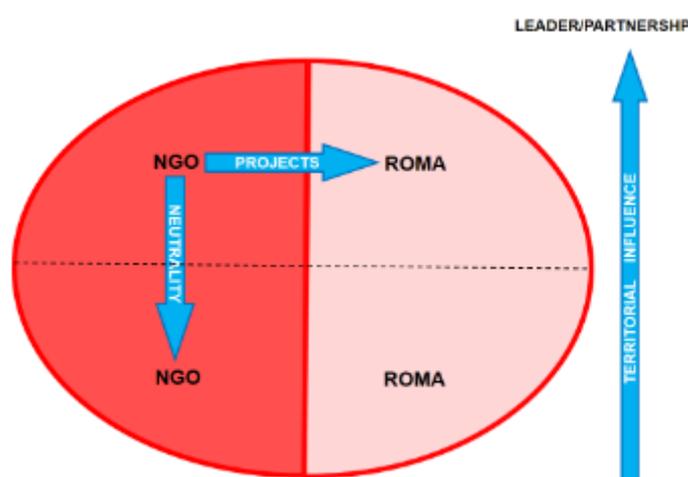


FIGURE 7: Interaction between NGOs and Roma

‘This one should be sleeping in the snow’

As I have just explored NGO’s strategy to build partnership and acquire territorial influence, in this section I will describe how selected Roma seek these same objectives while living inside camps. In this first part of the Roma side of the field, we will see how Yuri and

⁶² Hugo is known in camp X for his accumulated network and information, as we will see in the last section of this chapter named ‘You know how it is: it’s half me and half you’.

Zano⁶³ keep their dominant position inside camp X. As the reader may have noticed, the building of Roma partnerships is one of the many factors prompting Roma families to contest and struggle. It will be argued that this same struggle is an additional variable in the process of segregation. As such, a sentence uttered by a cultural anthropologist researching inside camps radically changed my view regarding the dynamics between Roma families: ‘Similarly to many contexts of extreme poverty, one mustn't refer to nomad camps using the word community.’

Yuri, a keen businessman from camp X1, thrived by being a broker between the locals and Roma. Different from many who immigrated to Italy, Yuri is formally employed by Brothers of Confederation⁶⁴. This places him in a superior position when compared to his fellow Roma. Having a stable income, Yuri applied for a permanent visa and built his micro business. In such a scenario where Roma are on unequal footing compared to Yuri, inhabitants grasp him as a powerful contact in the *gadje* world of associations. Yuri is also seen as an authority conjured by other Roma in times of need, owing to his image of a ‘self-made man’.

Yuri is also recognised by inhabitants as a problem solver. Gabriel, a public employee cooperating with Paolo, revealed that Yuri always go at him to aid other Roma do their documents. In fact, Yuri's aid would be the simple action of bringing Roma to municipalities; a right belonging to any subject, whether bearing citizenship or not. When Gabriel was comparing how Zano and Yuri conduct their business inside the camp, he told me that Yuri's exploitation seemed much softer because he did not let others see his illegality: ‘To come here and say “Hello dear friend, I introduce you this one, help him,” and get money from this is also a kind of exploitation, but much softer.’ Therefore, Yuri was sought and paid by inhabitants for his exclusive ‘favours’.

Yuri's services are often connected to basic rights absent in Roma lives. Camp inhabitants seek Yuri to help them keep on with their daily vital activities, such as the gathering of iron. Yuri can always help you avoid authorities seizing your truck for a substantial price. Through his great network extending outside of nomad camps, Yuri would arrange an Italian passport as a dummy. Apart from getting contacts for Roma to register their cars, Yuri also had a keen sense for the housing market. According to Gabriel, to own a container inside encampments can be a good deal. Indeed, to live outside camps and rent out containers to fellow Roma is a fruitful source of income for many, an opportunity that Yuri surely could not lose. During some of his brainstorming related to possible business ideas, he confessed to Paolo his

⁶³ Zano and his family are known by Roma due to their violent behaviour. A more thorough description of Zano's presence in inhabitant's life will be provided in the following pages.

⁶⁴ In previous pages I showed the many tasks and vehicles given to Yuri by Brothers of Confederation.

intentions of following the housing market: ‘I was thinking about applying for a popular house.’ In doing so, Yuri will acquire one more property to be lent out. Sources told me that the rent of containers is around 250 euros, an unreachable price for many Roma families.

Different from Yuri, Zano dominated camp X2 with an iron fist. During a sunny morning in camp X, Paulo looked at the field right beside his office and said gloomily, ‘I imagine this camp much different.’ While removing a huge block of stone used to shatter his window, he continued by describing his ambition of building a market nearby: ‘I imagine this place flourishing with a market.’ I then asked him what was preventing him from doing so: ‘And why don’t you mobilise the elders?’ By his turn, he explained that Roma elders are no longer respected by inhabitants; to do a market in this area he must ask permission from Zano, otherwise his brothers would soon be charging him ‘for the protection’. He then declared bitterly, ‘I will not ask permission to someone who is not my boss.’ He then pointed out the broken glass on the floor, symbolising Zano’s territorial control: ‘This place is surreal! They break cars in front of the immigration office and the police station just to mark the territory!’ A couple of days later, Rako and some friends arrived at Paulo’s complaining about the closure of a nearby market. Paulo proposed that they unite themselves and build a market there, just like he had been dreaming about. Rako stated the obvious; according to him, Zano would not allow this to happen for free: ‘C’mon, but do you really think that “this one” wouldn’t break everything?’ Similarly, while we were conversing loosely with Rako and his friends weeks after, Paulo insisted again on the market. A friend of Rako replied, frustrated and once more using the same argument posed by Rako days before. He did, however, add that the kids would be those vandalising their activities and not Zano’s brothers in person: ‘No, it’s impossible! “This one” will ask the kids to break everything. Look at the broken glasses. Damn kids commanded by these adults!’ Seeking to discover how he really felt about Zano’s presence, I provoked him by asking: ‘So why don’t you all do something about it then?’ He remained in silence for a while. Clearly afraid of Zano, he ignored my question and continued his lamentation: ‘This piece of sh*t must say bye bye and go back to East Europe. This one should be sleeping in the snow.’

Indeed, we were all too used to such ‘surrealistic’ scenes as stated by Paulo. It was quite often that cars parked close by were burgled. Many times, those attending Paulo’s office were the targeted victims. When welcoming the Roma, Paulo and I usually urged them to be aware of their belongings. More than once, kids came by and implied to Roma that they needed to move their cars out of the settlement. Kids would usually warn Roma by saying that they were being observed: ‘Sir, a guy back there will break your car if you don’t give him money!’ One

event in particular illustrates how Zano's territorial control can bring negative consequences for camp X inhabitants. While Paolo and I were out, a car belonging to a Remotti member was burgled. Since Paolo knows how a rivalry between families can turn out, he asked me to watch the office while he was trying to recover Remotti's equipment: 'This may become a feud. I am not sure if the kids knew to whom this car belongs.' Fortunately, Paolo retrieved his sound system.

It cannot be said that the few encounters I had with Zano and his brothers were pleasant experiences. In order to communicate that Zano and his brothers were spying on us, Paolo and I created codes: 'Today will be a cloudy day' meant that we were being observed and 'The sky will be clearer soon' implied that they went away. However, we were not the only targets of espionage. Roma were also living in daily paranoia. Once recounting funny habits from Brazil to a Bosnian Rom, I noticed that he seemed distracted by one of Zano's brother's conversation on the telephone. Although he was on the other side of the parking lot, his screams were loud enough to be within our earshot. Minutes later, Dario, an elder Bosnian-Herzegovinian Roma, went down from his truck and began to walk towards Paolo and Hugo. Interrupting Dario's route, Zano's brother began to shout at him in *Romanes*. Dario reacted defensively and succeeded in avoiding him by calming him down. In doing so, Zano's brother then moved to Hugo and unleashed the outburst on him, who, by his turn, replied in the same tone. Suddenly, my Roma interlocutor commented on Zano's brother's presence: 'This one is angry!' With this comment, he gave me the opening to ask him what this was all about. My interlocutor explained that Zano's brother was mad since something went out of their (Zano's family) control. Trying to change the topic as to avoid Zano's brother's attention, I asked him: 'Do you like to live in camp Z?' The Roma kept on observing the scene and replied to me as if he was projecting himself on Dario and Hugo: 'Yes and no because there are good and bad people just like here [camp X].'

During one of the meetings at People United, the concentration of power through violence was the most commented topic by Roma. Renzo, a well-known Bosnian householder, had been constantly fighting against mobsters in his camp. He recounted that when he finally managed to expel a few subjects, the morning after cops broke into his houses with dogs; that is, they were teasing him. Another Roma added that his camp was becoming a dangerous place to live. Relying on his own experiences, he commented, 'My neighbourhood now is very difficult to live in since the *baro Rom* is a mobs – lowering his voice – ter.' At the end of this meeting, another respected Roma complained about the absence of a Human Rights NGO in

his camps. The social worker justified his absence by saying that he was banned from entering in the camp by a *baro Rom*: ‘I am not going there because I was warned to not go.’

In the lines above, we can see two different styles of domination in camp X. Yuri operates through a much softer fashion given that inhabitants grasp him as a Roma authority conjured in times of needs. By acting as a broker, he is seen as a ‘fellow Roma’ doing ‘favours’. Since Roma cannot access certain services solely through money, Yuri completes the other part of the equation by using his contacts. That is, he may have a container to rent or know a friend of a friend who can be a dummy to register trucks. In doing so, Yuri acquires inhabitants’ gratitude and admiration through his cleverness in providing ‘services that you wouldn’t find anywhere’. On the one hand, through his informal businesses, Yuri converts network into money. But on the other hand, he also earns prestige or, in our case, territorial influence. Therefore, it can be said that Yuri’s social capital is also converted into symbolic power.

In addition to this, the ‘help’ granted by Yuri binds Roma to his services. As we have seen, Yuri’s way of approaching other Roma makes them believe that he is granting favours. Yuri’s actions are recognised as kindness, uncovering relations of exploitation. In other words, Roma in camp X1 are not aware that they can actually complete documents at local municipalities by themselves. From their point of view, documents can only be done when Yuri follows them since he ‘knows very well’ an employee working there. Yuri is then seen as the essential subject called for solving important matters. Consequently, Yuri’s superiority is reinforced by creating bonds of dependence, by ‘winning and tying’ Roma through personal inter-relations. Yuri’s domination over families is ‘disguised under the veil of enchanted relations’ (Bourdieu, 1990: 126) which can only be possible when the latter is not aware of it.

Moreover, we can also grasp the relation between Yuri and camp X inhabitants as one of the many factors deterring Roma from leaving camps. Among many authors, Wacquant (1998) introduced Bourdieu’s theory on social capital as a tool for understanding the continued segregation of African Americans in the US. Wacquant (1998: 28) divided social capital into two types: formal (made up of ties based on state institutions) and informal (social ties anchored in an interpersonal network of exchange). The fact that camp X inhabitants are buying services from subjects like Yuri is mostly due to the inaccessibility to formal services (physical safety, legal orientations, etc). Segregation in this setting is then connected to the transformation from formal to informal social capital. Thus, this process binds inhabitants to services brought inside camps by subjects like Yuri, who replace public institutions to some extent.

In contrast to Yuri, Zano’s way of domination is self-evident. Many specialists told me that inside camps unspeakable and shameful things happen to serene Roma who are in many ways defenceless against *baro Rom*. This is so partly because inhabitants in camp X2 are afraid of *gadje* authorities. Once threatened, they will never seek protection from the police like a ‘good citizen’ would do.

Their illegality (i.e. the possibility of being removed from Italy at any time) and despised image are important factors for silencing them. According to Bourdieu, the ‘choice’ between overt and gentle violence depends on the conditions of the power relations between parties (Bourdieu, 1990: 127). In the scenario of camp X, the extremely unequal power relation between Zano and other families allows him to use overt violence: A mode of domination which requires neither investments (use of capitals) nor labour-time (Bourdieu, 1990: 127). Through a violent relationship with inhabitants, Zano influences their behaviours without the need of knowing or granting them ‘favours’ (Graeber, 2006: 76). With this same behaviour, Zano follows a shortcut to seize territorial influence and control. Within this depacification of inhabitants’ everyday life⁶⁵ (Wacquant: 2004: 113), Zano keeps his position of dominant subject in the field by deterring other Roma from accumulating resources (e.g. discouraging Roma from building their own market in camp X).

In short, families in the lowest positions within the field are sources of income for subjects from outside (NGO and Iron Dismantlers) and inside (Yuri, Zano, etc) the camps. While Yuri sells services to families which are otherwise unavailable for them due to the absence of citizenship and basic rights (housing, employment, etc), Zano dominates them through violence insofar as families are mute. Whereas Yuri acquires territorial capital through selling ‘favours’, Zano accumulates the same symbolic power through violence. Similarly to Brazilian *favelas*, although Italian society is partly unaware of events undergone by Roma, I believe that authorities are conscious about it. Like in the Brazilian setting, the marginality where Roma

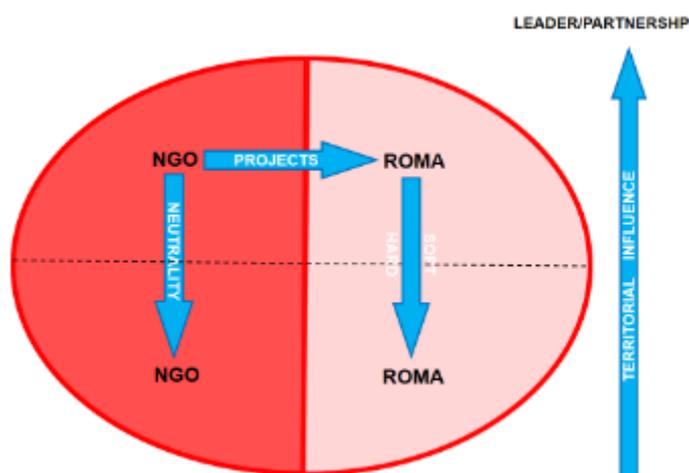


FIGURE 8: Interaction between selected Roma and camp X inhabitants

⁶⁵ As spelled out in chapter one, depacification of the everyday life is a term coined by Wacquant (2004) stressing inhabitants’ incapacity to react against violence. In this deadlock situation, Roma are silenced due to their fear of authorities and local criminals.

live in and the physical structure of camps (which helps to veil ongoing events) facilitates the exploitation of many by few. Bearing all this information in mind, the very existence of camps would be the source of power for a few actors in the field.

‘You know how it is: it’s half me and half you’

Here I describe the last part of the *field of struggle* within the humanitarian microcosm. As we have seen, in the game of building partnership (NGO with Roma and vice-versa) and territorial influence (inside camps), I first showed how NGO relate with NGO; then I analysed how NGO relate with families, followed by how a few Roma dominate inhabitants. Throughout the rest of this chapter I will explore how Roma understand and use NGO to conquer territorial influence.

During the months that I spent in camp X, Italian authorities were reinforcing the law against informal markets and iron gathering, both important activities through which Roma, especially from ex-Yugoslavia, earned their income. Yet in the beginning of my fieldwork, some events caught my attention. A *Romnie* left from her husband’s truck and went to Paolo, pleading for his help. While waving a paper written by Trailer Ink, she said emotionally, ‘Paolo, Paolo, the iron dismantlers are not buying our iron!’ Grasping Trailer Ink as a tool to convince iron dismantlers that they had legal permission to sell their goods, she asked to Paolo: ‘Go there with us and tell them that Trailer Ink is giving us the permission!’ Correspondingly, during a meeting at People United, Hugo (from camp X2) began to complain furiously about recent events in his camp. According to him, the local municipality had promised to not confiscate their cars until March 22; however, this agreement was not being respected by authorities. Hugo then kept on by pointing out that policemen have been entering their camp to seize their vehicles. In light of such events, Hugo demanded explanations and an outright resolution from People United: ‘I want a solution!’ After not receiving a satisfactory answer, Hugo stood up and left the meeting followed by other inhabitants from camp X2. In the next meeting, not even a third of the Roma present in the last reunion were there. Giulio wondered why the room was so empty. A Romanian Roma explained that this was because a meeting promising a solution for the problem brought by Hugo was being held at Trailer Ink’s headquarters. Noticing Trailer Ink’s well played strategy to attract ex-Yugoslavian Roma, a Serbian burst into anger: ‘Damn Trailer Ink! They did it on purpose!’⁶⁶ Apart from these passages, there are plenty of other

⁶⁶ Such events can be read as Trailer Ink deploying social capital over ex-Yugoslavian Roma. With this strategy, Trailer Ink on the one hand avoids Ex-Yugoslavian Roma to be influenced by People United and on the other hand displays its dominance in the field.

examples found in my field notes showing Roma grasping NGO as powerful entities capable of negotiating with authorities.

Besides the information above, NGO are also regarded by Roma as tools to solve other vital matters in their daily lives. The most glaring example was Dario's ordeal to access health compensation for his invalidity. While standing in the line to be attended by Paolo, Dario and I began to chat loosely. Unfolding a document from a public hospital, Dario stated that he was there to fix a discount on his medical bills. With a painful face, he unfolded another document, this time from Trailer Ink. He continued explaining his case: 'I will ask Paolo how to apply for a pension from the government. Unfortunately I cannot work anymore because of my heart and leg.' Through his appearance, one could clearly see that Dario indeed suffered from multiple health problems, making him unfit to work. One month later Dario was back at Paolo's. Much thinner than before, but with a smile on his face, he told us his successful achievement by showing a health insurance paper: 'I got it!' Regardless of whether or not Trailer Ink helped Dario obtain his compensation, the important information presented here is that Dario, like many other Roma, values cooperatives as an authority to access basic rights.

Due to such a strong representation, Roma often judge any *gadje* inside camps as NGO workers. As such, like many other curious Roma had already done, Rako's nephew once asked me about my alleged income given by Trailer Ink. Such queries confirm that inhabitants categorise Paolo and I not as volunteers but as hired social workers. On a different day, as I went back to the office to entertain kids by reading books, I observed a Roma impatiently waiting to be attended. Once done with his previous task, Paolo commented that it was better to finish his case on the same day since we would not reopen the office until Monday. Already angry with the long wait, the Roma contested, 'Seriously!?' Paolo replied sardonically by highlighting that he was a volunteer worker providing free support: 'Well, to put it correctly, I am just working on Friday. Here, I am doing you a favour.' In closing the office, I advised Paolo to make it clearer that he was not working for Trailer Ink. In replying how tired he was of always denying his supposed link to Trailer Ink, he revealed an important piece of information. According to him, when Roma are in doubt as to which document they are to make, they automatically evoke the name Trailer Ink. This proves how ingrained Trailer Ink's representation is in the perceptions of inhabitants:

I am sick and tired of telling them this. But every time they come here to register their address, do a passport, or whatnot, they ask me: 'Can I do a Trailer Ink?'

Accordingly, when asking specialists working inside settlements, ‘What are the most difficult things that you encounter when relating to the Roma?’ I usually heard similar statements describing my daily routine in camp X: ‘Roma must always categorise you by something once you enter inside camps, being a social worker is the most common classification.’ As such, a cultural anthropologist explained to me that the moment you step inside the camp your identity passes through many mediations. He concludes, ‘The most common process is for Roma to automatically link you to NGO, a rather biased image.’

As for myself, I personally experienced such powerful generalisations from the point of view of Roma. Like I described in chapter two, I initially followed Giulio with inhabitants to local municipalities. Among many other reasons to avoid this kind of observation, one of the factors was that Roma were seeing me as a member of People United⁶⁷. As a result, they randomly approached me many times asking about Giulio and documents minutes before his arrival: ‘Did you bring your passport? Where is Giulio? Can you call him?’ In short, we can summarise this scenario through the sincere quote from a social worker/psychologist. Spontaneously, she confirmed the fact that Roma indeed understand NGO as powerful tools to acquire basic rights and resources from outside camps:

‘Mainly with them [Roma co-workers] I try to discuss their dependence on the cooperative. Because from their point of view, the NGO have a powerful representation. This encourages them to demand cooperatives to solve their everyday problems like giving them employment, fixing jobs for their child, etc.’

Bearing in mind such information, it seems quite logical why Roma in dominant positions struggle to build partnership with NGO. Hugo, differently from many inhabitants in camp X, succeeded in being a member of the Iron Dismantlers Association. Likewise, he was often present at different NGO meetings and at Paolo’s, giving us the impression of being a socially engaged person. Hugo was much-esteemed by Paolo, and he was indeed very generous with us. After assaults in the office, Hugo would bring new acrylic plates for repairing windows. On one occasion, he came to Paolo and declared his intention of gathering inhabitants to do a ‘strike’ since iron dismantlers were not accepting their iron. Clearly expecting to listen to Paolo’s opinion about the matter, he kept on speaking about his plan. However, Paolo changed the topic since he was upset with some trivial gossip circulating in the camp: ‘People here are so jealous!’ Hugo then replied by reasserting his image as a trustful colleague: ‘What did

⁶⁷ Even if Giulio was regarded by fellow social workers as a neutral agent not linked to any NGO, inhabitants categorised him as a member of People United. This is mainly because of the days when Giulio was gathering Roma for the meeting at People United’s head office.

happen? You know that everything that we talk is ok, you know how it is: it's half me and half you.' On the day after, Hugo arrived at Paolo's with some fellows and asked him if he was going to the meeting at People United's. After replying no, Paolo continued by clarifying once more that he was not related to any NGO. Hugo seemed glad to know that; after all, he could create a cooperative with Paolo by using his wisdom and knowledge. Hugo screamed enthusiastically: 'Paolo, let's do our own NGO!' Hugo then began to converse in *Romanes* with his friend while repeating the word *love* (money). Once aware of such a word, Paolo interrupted Hugo yelling in a sarcastic tone so as to show his disapproval of using a social service to make money: '*Love, love, NGO big love!*'

As we can see in the above events, NGO are clearly grasped as a lucrative business for the Roma. However, the most important topic in this passage is found in the relationship between Paolo and Hugo. As commented before, despite Paolo's efforts to deconstruct his image as a member of Trailer Ink, inhabitants are still categorizing him as such. In being an alleged NGO member, Paolo is seen as a connection inside the world of cooperatives and, therefore, a potential ally. As the reader may have noticed, Hugo have been exchanging favours (e.g. repairing our office, etc) for updated information. Paolo is then a valuable source of information and knowledge from both inside and outside the camp.

As expected, Paolo's usefulness was also sought by other powerful Roma. By the time I arrived at camp X on a typical Thursday, he recounted to me, still in shock, that Zano's brothers had just left from this office. Their unpleasant visit was in order to ask for the list of inhabitants engaging in iron gathering along with their respective surname, income, residence, etc. According to Paolo, the letter used by them was written and signed by the chairman of Trailer Ink, who was surely aware of the dynamics found in camp X2. Similar to this event, when searching data from camp X for this essay, I asked both Paolo and Giulio if Brothers of Confederation (working in camp X) would give me the census of the settlement. Both disagreed with my decision to ask them for information by replying with a very similar answer:

Brothers of Confederation surely have the data but they will not give you. It's better to not even let them know that you are here doing the research. You know how things are.

With this last sentence, Paolo and Giulio meant that once Brothers of Confederation were aware of my presence in camp X, Roma like Zano would promptly know that I was researching inside 'their territory'. Indeed, an interviewee from Brothers of Confederation commented that they do have the exact number of inhabitants in camp X along with their approximate income and

other details. Therefore, the statements of Paolo and Giulio would confirm that stronger families do have privileged channels of communication with social cooperatives working inside camps.

In addition to the fact that Roma use NGO as tools for acquiring information, project funds were also a way to conquer influence among inhabitants. However, I opted to not address this topic since it has already been explored by other authors (Daniele 2011).

Throughout this chapter I mapped actors' strategies inside the game of creating partnership and conquering territorial influence. The relation between NGO tends to be defined by the principle of the humanitarian field. Efficiency and prestige from this part of the arena are based on the ideal of keeping neutrality when providing

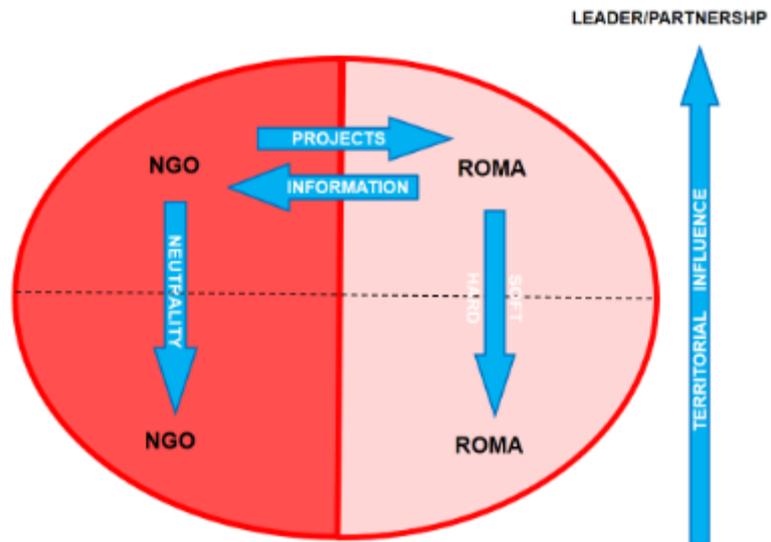


FIGURE 9: Interaction between selected Roma and NGOs

service to Roma. Paradoxically, when NGO relate to Roma, the former use projects to gain the trust of selected subjects. In return, these selected Roma allow NGO to enter camps. Since these few subjects are recognised by other families as powerful subjects, NGO are likely to use these partnerships as tool for influencing camps as a whole. In other words, once conquering the trust of these subjects, NGO are more likely to work inside settlements. At the same time, camp X inhabitants grasp NGO as powerful tools inside the *gadje* world, mainly used to access basic rights. Since basic rights are easily available to powerful Roma like Hugo, Yuri and Zano, these few subjects use social cooperatives as instruments to acquire information for controlling the territory.

Chapter seven explores how such competition for power is one of the causes prompting Roma to segregate. As we have just analysed the interaction between prominent actors in the field, now I will describe the consequences of this 'game' on the encounters between families and social workers.

Chapter 7: How does segregation work?

*“The machinery of power focused on the whole alien strand did not aim to suppress it, but rather to give it an analytical, visible and permanent reality: it was implanted in bodies, slipped in beneath modes of conduct, made into principle of classification and intelligibility, established as a *raison d’être* and natural order of disorder (...) the strategy behind this dissemination was to strew reality with them and incorporate them into the individual.” (Foucault, 1990: 44)*

I begin to search for reasonable explanations behind the strong segregation of Roma from ex-Yugoslavia by depicting in chapter four the broad scenario found in Rome. Chapter five followed by building the ‘game’ and space where social cooperatives and Roma are likely to interact. Chapter six described actors’ strategies for seizing the stakes at the field. This last ethnographic chapter explores the consequences of the game for the rest of the inhabitants in camp X. Here, I analyse how active Roma are in the process of segregation. It is argued that the long-term dynamics between Roma and NGO inside camps led this group to develop common schemes of perception and behaviour. I propose that such schemes acquired by Roma help to produce and reproduce segregation. To further this argument, the chapter begins by describing how Roma dominated in the struggle for territory and leadership often interacts with two social workers: Paolo and Giulio. In the next section of the chapter, the focus of the analysis is moved towards the meetings held by People United. The chapter then follows by exploring social workers’ and specialists’ explanations for the segregation of ex-Yugoslavian Roma. It will be evident that such schemes of perception and behaviour are also present in ex-Yugoslavian Roma living in other camps. In the light of such arguments, it will be suggested that the ‘game’ described throughout this essay is creating lives connected to camps. The chapter concludes by affirming that social cooperatives proposing Roma emancipation are part of governmental strategies of securing public space since they contribute to keeping this minority at bay.

Roma dependence on NGO

As touched upon above, throughout this chapter I propose that Roma who are dominated in the struggle for partnership and territory share common schemes of perception and action⁶⁸ towards social workers and NGO. Like I described in chapters two and six, Roma tend to classify any unknown *gadjo* as a journalist, police in disguise or social worker. When someone

⁶⁸ The common scheme of action will be pictured in the following pages.

is indeed a social worker doing a volunteer job, he is automatically linked to NGO⁶⁹. These patterns of categorisation are proof that Roma dwelling in environments⁷⁰ similar to camp X have been internalising a common *system of dispositions*⁷¹. Such a system is mainly prompted by historical relations ‘deposited’ within individual bodies in the form of mental schemata (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 16, 135; Bourdieu, 1977: 86). This internalised history (Bourdieu, 1981: 313), or *habitus*⁷², is spawned by (and spawning) the particular *space of positions* within the already described humanitarian subfield of Rome⁷³. Consequently, such *habitus*, orienting ex-Yugoslavian Roma’s perception, experience and practice (Bourdieu, 1977: 82-3), reasserts and reproduces hierarchy between families and NGO, along with segregation and dependence on services. I will begin to develop this argument by describing Roma’s everyday encounter with two social workers: Paolo and Giulio.

Paolo and Giulio are two volunteer social workers whose style of approaching camp X inhabitants was different to some extent. Giulio was criticised by many interviewees for being too ‘paternalist’. In Paolo’s opinion, Giulio was an ‘inverted racist’, meaning that by giving too much assistance to Roma he would treat them inferiorly. By contrast, Paolo was famous due to his expertise and vast experience in the field, but not only that. According to an employee of Rights & Society, Paolo was well-known for his strictness while working with Roma: ‘He is the toughest social worker; not soft at all. He always has things under control, knows how to work with Roma.. A similar opinion of Paolo’s strictness was shared by Giulio: ‘Paolo is more “hard line”, I am more “soft-life”.’

Whilst observing the interactions between Paolo and Roma, I sometimes became startled with the little notion that the latter have of basic procedures related to bureaucracy. For instance, Roma householders often asked us elementary questions related to basic notions of bureaucracy: ‘How many paid months is this receipt stating?’ or ‘Why are these fees rising every month?’ Another example in this regard is when Roma used to give documents to Paolo in Bosnian, disregarding what municipality employees would think about it. Similar to these last cases, it was also very common for Roma like Margareta, a very comic Bosnian *Romnie* in

⁶⁹ In chapter six, we can find other examples of the common scheme of perception shared by Roma. E.g. When inhabitants grasp NGO as an entity to deal with authorities, as a source of information, etc.

⁷⁰ Or the shared material conditions of existence (Bourdieu, 1977: 79).

⁷¹ *System of dispositions* is defined as schemes of perception and action (Bourdieu, 1977: 82-83; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 11) and a ‘past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices’ (Bourdieu, 1977:86)

⁷² *Habitus* is conceived as an open and lasting transposable *system of dispositions* inside a group or class (Bourdieu, 1977: 82-83; 1990, 66-79)

⁷³ In chapter six, but especially in chapter five, I built this objective structure or ‘the distribution of socially efficient resources that define the external constraints bearing on interactions and representations’ (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992: 11)

her 60s, to begin conversations in an incongruous manner and without any idea of which document she was demanding: ‘You know what I have to do, Giulio told me that you know.’ Without any idea of what was happening Paolo would reply: ‘I really don’t know what you are talking about.’ Sometimes, Roma naivety when dealing with bureaucracy was such that even important decisions, like which VISA to apply for, were left to Paolo. Moreover, other very important civic engagements, like whom to vote for, were often based on Paolo’s opinion. Dialogues of this kind abound in my field notes, though the following happened between Rako and Paolo:

‘Did Berlusconi win the election?’ ‘No, it was even between Berlusconi, Bersagli and Grillo.’ ‘And who do you think is the best to vote for?’

Although the first two patterns presented here might be related to illiteracy, these last events show that Roma inexperience in bureaucratic matters and civic participation is connected to deeper issues.

Their lack of skills in coping with bureaucratic issues prompted Paolo to carry on extra activities outside of his work duties⁷⁴. That is, he would personally bring their cases to municipalities at the end of his working shift since they couldn’t understand the procedures. He would argue that: ‘The time that I will spend to explain them how to do this I would have things already done.’ Likewise, when Roma had performed language tests for acquiring the temporary VISA, he would occasionally grant small favours which are their own responsibilities: ‘Don’t worry, I will see your result online.’ The same intimacy was passed to some Roma arriving minutes after we closed the office. Paolo would offer a friendly greeting, saying, ‘I was waiting for you to close!’

As already discussed in the last chapter⁷⁵, inhabitants sought Paolo whenever they were hounded by authorities. This dynamic was clearly noticed during the weeks when policemen were dismantling informal markets and fining Roma for collecting iron. For instance, on an ordinary day at the office, Paolo and I were observing a police unit wandering around the camp. All of sudden, Margareta showed up at our side and grumbled as she called for help: ‘These bastards are trying to get my truck. It will be the first one to be confiscated.’ Paolo comforted her by joking and reinforcing the idea that his office indeed offered protection: ‘Don’t worry. Stay here and you will be safe. Here is like a church, a safe ground against invasions.’ Margareta seemed calmer. In observing this event, I commented, ‘It seems that she really listened to you.’

⁷⁴ As described in chapter two, his specific tasks were: cultural and social mediation, fiscal and legal advice, information about Italian passports and citizenship, orientation in developing micro business and job orientation.

⁷⁵ Where I argued that NGO are grasped by Roma as powerful entities capable of negotiating with authorities.

By his turn, Paolo confirmed my observation, adding, ‘Yes, they come here to talk because they feel in danger.’ Based on this piece of information, Paolo unwittingly reaffirmed an image of protective authority while acting intimately with Roma.

Paolo’s features evoked both by his everyday routine (intimacy, protection) and alleged link to Trailer Ink (source of information, resources) were then combined with inhabitants’ suppositions that he was employed so as to serve and not simply to help them. As a result, Roma usually demanded services out of Paolo’s role or power. For instance, I remember when a Bosnian carrying his toddler asked Paolo questions which were only answerable by higher governmental authorities: ‘Will I get my permit?’ Similarly, when Roma have received the receipt of their language test, many of them would demand activities unrelated to Paolo’s job: ‘Ok, so I will call you if I have some doubts about it,’ or more generally, ‘Call me when you are done with my documents.’

Through analysing these encounters between Paolo and inhabitants, one can notice that they expect him to perform their own responsibilities before institutions. Bearing in mind that Paolo was a ‘hard-liner’ avoiding fulfilling demands not linked to his role as social worker in order to not make them dependent on him, one can just imagine how camp X inhabitants relate to more flexible volunteers like Giulio.

In comparing Roma interactions with Paolo and Giulio, I can identify patterns. Inhabitants’ demands, expectations, and frustration towards Giulio were stronger than those directed at Paolo. During a conversation with Rako and his friend, Giulio passed by while leaving the camp. Much to my surprise, Rako’s friend cursed him: ‘Look at his ass****.’ Rako joked, confirming the same animosity towards Giulio, ‘His car could be a great finding to our pocket.’ In a totally different context on another day, a person inside a car honked the klaxon, like telling me to come forth: ‘Can you call to Giulio? The line is busy. This *gadjo*... I will kill him...’ By thinking out loud and realising that he was actually speaking with a ‘social worker’ (me), he explained himself. According to him, Giulio had promised a number of times to help his daughter to acquire a passport, however with no success. This was surely interpreted by the Roma as Giulio’s unwillingness to help his daughter: ‘He has been bringing my daughters to the municipality already three months and she got no documents.’ Likewise, while I was following Giulio into camp X, a well-built Bosnian Roma at the entrance screamed, ‘Did you get my mail?’ Giulio kept on driving and commented on the Roma’s impolite demand: ‘Did you see this?’ Stopping his car in front of a house (container), an old *Romnie* surrounded by kids greeted Giulio, who by his turn answered back and gave her mail. As we were leaving the camp, we had to stop and wait for a car to move away from the entrance/exit. At this same

moment, the well-built Roma approached our window and again demanded an explanation: ‘Did you get my mail?’ ‘No I didn’t.’ The Roma then changed the topic to avoid further conflicts: ‘My brother went to prison but’ – all of sudden, Margareta opened the rear door, sat on the car and said, as if it was Giulio’s duty to comply, ‘I want a lift!’ While driving away from the camp but yet in its block, we encountered a traffic light and had to stop once more. A *Romnie* pushing a shopping cart and followed by her small daughter yelled angrily and repeatedly. She seemed quite frustrated with Giulio’s unwillingness to help her mother: ‘Why did you tell to my mom to come here to see you if it wasn’t true?’ Giulio replied by placing his limits: ‘Next time I am not coming here at all.’ They began to scream fiercely at each other. Upon finally moving away from the neighbourhood, he commented, ‘People criticise me saying that I am paternalist, but without help how can they survive? They cannot help themselves from one day to the other.’⁷⁶ While interviewing Giulio, I asked about the activities that he carried out with Roma. He answered with a huge list of civil responsibilities that they are incapable of following, and concluded, ‘I could list fifty activities that they need to do but cannot manage by themselves.’

As we can see, Roma interactions with Paolo and Giulio are similar although the social workers’ styles of dealing with them are the opposite. On the one hand, the fact that Giulio answers the demands of Roma more often would lead them to feel frustrated when he did not fully correspond with them. And on the other hand, an important topic is displayed in the pages above: Roma are clearly dependent on Giulio’s and Paolo’s service regardless of inhabitants’ animosity towards them.

Internalising and externalising history

In this section I propose that these patterns of behaviour and perception are also shared by Bosnian Roma dwelling in other Italian camps. Such *dispositions* were noticed in actors placed in superior *positions* in the humanitarian field; that is, those closer to the stake of building partnership with NGO. During observations in the People United meetings, the antagonism between Roma ‘representatives’ due to their allegiance to NGO was rather explicit. As we will see, the dependence of Roma representatives on social workers and NGO strengthens the

⁷⁶ Indeed, many social workers seemed to share Giulio’s enigma. A social worker from Holy Fraternity was aware that helping Roma personally in municipalities would make them dependent on her, arguing that in the end they would not be able to access the service based on the same argument exposed by Giulio: ‘they don’t understand the procedures or people don’t understand them’. According to a project manager working in a labour inclusion activity with Roma, she initially thought that the six months given to her to explain basic rights and duties (job security, pay checks, bills, contracts, etc) to them were more than enough. However, when carrying out activities, she actually saw how little time this was since ‘I had to teach them everything’.

conflict between families. In the following lines we witness that the struggle between families to conquer territorial influence and partnership combined with inhabitants' dependence on social workers weaken any chance the Roma have of uniting themselves in order to solve common daily problems. After depicting and interpreting Roma *dispositions* in these gatherings, the section concludes by bringing to the fore social workers' and specialists' explanations for Roma segregation.

In the first meeting, Renzo, a prominent Bosnian Roma from a camp under People United's influence, bemoaned about their dependence on NGO and the consequent fragmentation of their union: 'It's a shame that we Roma do not unite ourselves and always need the *gadje* to do something.' In the end of this first reunion, Giulio wrote the names of present Roma below different camps, giving them the responsibility to call other subjects for the next reunion. Missing one name, he wondered, 'Where is the representative of Camp W?' 'Here I am!' a Roma promptly answered, almost 'jumping over my head' to shake his hand so as to keep his spot on the list. In the second and biggest meeting of People United, Renzo began the reunion by pleading for help, stating that his small association needed their aid. Leo⁷⁷ burst into anger at hearing such a plea, and a discussion between him and Sonia (Renzo's cousin) began: 'We can do it by ourselves; we don't need the help of the *gadje* for nothing! We will go by ourselves to complain to the mayor about this situation⁷⁸!' Sonia disagreed, defending the importance of People United while furthering her own image before the cooperative: 'But if we are going by ourselves they will not listen to us! We need the *gadje* to help us!' Once the discussion was over, Leo stood up outraged and left the reunion. In the third meeting, much emptier than the previous appointment⁷⁹, a member of an NGO working with human rights explained his intention of organising a demonstration synchronised with others around Europe, concluding his proposition by commenting that the Roma should take the first step. The comment was promptly criticised by a social worker with People United, using the marginality undergone by Roma as an argument while disapproving of Leo's behaviour: 'They are very unlikely to organise and react by themselves due to the extreme marginality they live in. Imagine how messy it would be if Leo just knocked on the door of the municipality and complained!' At the end of this meeting, Giulio commented on the fact that the room was empty and asked Roma to apply themselves to gathering people. A Romanian Roma explained him

⁷⁷ As touched upon in chapter six in the section 'With those I am no longer', Leo was extremely frustrated and feeling betrayed by Brothers of Confederation.

⁷⁸ Situation here means the closure of informal markets and the seizure of their trucks due to illegal iron gathering.

⁷⁹ As explained in the chapter six section 'You know how it is: it's half me and half you', the absence of ex-Yugoslavian Roma was due to the meeting held by Trailer Ink at the exactly same time.

that he couldn't do so due to his weak voice inside the camp: 'The light and water in my camp went off for almost one year. If I try to muster people they will kick my ass!' The same worker from People United wondered: 'They do not get mad with the municipality? No, they get mad with me!' A Serbian Roma from the same camp as Renzo also shared the idea that he is an insignificant 'representative' when compared to People United's social workers: 'Yes, in Camp W the Roma listen much more to you [referring to the social worker] than me!'

In these passages we see People United's 'patronage'⁸⁰ over a Bosnian family. Within this relation of loyalty (a successful networking)⁸¹, Renzo and Sonia blindly follow People United, leading them to discuss and defend the association against other fluent Roma like Leo. When Leo and other figures (e.g. the human rights worker) finally proposed to Roma to stand by themselves, a social worker from People United publicly disagreed by playing on the vulnerability of the group. Moreover, you can see once again Roma recognising NGO as an authority capable of bestowing power to them. For instance, when the Serbian Roma blurted out, 'Roma listen more you than me,' or the fact that the alleged representative of camp Z hastily reached Giulio to assert his presence. The events described in the pages above led me to believe that ex-Yugoslavian Roma, especially Bosnians, are being represented by and dependent⁸² on social cooperatives. I want to stress, however, that all the *dispositions* described in the pages above are only found in subjects living in camps served by cooperatives. Such an argument was mostly developed after my visit to Metropoliz⁸³ and to informal settlements like camp Y, where Roma seemed to have a great degree of autonomy.

When I finally posed the question 'Why do you think ex-Yugoslavian Roma are the most segregated group in Rome?' to social workers, among the most common answers⁸⁴, a great

⁸⁰ Patronage is Paolo's favourite word when describing the relation between dominant Roma and NGO

⁸¹ This process was described thoroughly in the chapter six section 'With those I am no longer!'

⁸² But of course, with the exception of few Roma like Leo since 'determinations attached to a given position always operate through the multi-layered filter of dispositions acquired and active over the social and biographical trajectory of the agent' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 135).

⁸³ According to a number of interviewees, Metropoliz was praised due to their engagement in making Roma autonomous. A social anthropologist explained to me that this squad was a positive activity because they indeed proposed a new housing setting for Roma 'for the first time Roma left from the safety framework of the Nomad Plan' and 'there Roma interact with diversity, different ethnic groups'. According to Josef, the co-founder of Brothers of Confederation, in Metropoliz Roma defended their occupation against evictions and demonstrated for housing rights 'just like the rest of us'. In addition, an architect living in the structure recounted to me that Roma families with totally different backgrounds got along and cooperated when required. For instance, he told me that during an assembly, a Roma family possessing a great quantity of iron gave away their 'fortune' to organisers in order to acquire material to rebuild the structure. The architect concluded that Roma inhabiting in Metropoliz behaved rather differently than those living in Italian camps: 'This was one of the examples showing that they respected the public space. Or rather, Roma put private interest aside for the common good. Here they think a lot in community'.

⁸⁴ Varying between Roma, strong stereotypes are used as a reference for institutions, citizens, media and politicians leading to erroneous policies; Roma cultural traits dividing the world into the binary Roma\Gadje; the lack of a proper system of citizenship (as discussed in chapter four), etc

number were related to the topic at hand: The scenario of assistance mantled due to the exceptional influx of refugees from the fragmentation of ex-Yugoslavia has never been fully dismantled; rather, after ‘The Nomad Emergency’ in 2008 this system was strengthened. That is, policy orientations⁸⁵ had changed through time, but ex-Yugoslavian Roma have never left Italian camps. Consequently, second and third generations have not experienced other realities than the system of camps, reproducing this relation of dependence on NGO to offspring. As such, when social workers were confessing their professional hardship to me during interviews, some condemned the strong degree of dependence of Roma on NGO. Arguments were mostly related to Roma expecting NGO to conduct their ‘everyday life’ routines:

They are used to NGO representing them, demonstrating for them, and doing things that they are supposed to do by themselves even in the small facts of everyday life. When I was working in camps, they used to tell me to bring their wives to do physical examinations although many of them had cars.

Similarly, another social worker seemed startled by Roma depending on NGO to proceed with basic routines in life like the search for jobs:

A Romnie co-worker of mine was mad with the NGO because they had already given her son three grants for different projects of inclusion but never a job. Then I complained, ‘Why do you think that grants are the solutions to include your son in the labour market? He is full of qualifications. Just go and apply to a job.’ I really dislike this inertia created by their dependence on NGO.

When I posed the same question above to specialists, answers were mostly explaining patterns of relations built and solidified through time. A cultural anthropologist explained that Bosnian familiar arrangements and economic frames (related to traditional iron working) combined with the segregation of almost forty years prompted by Italian camps led them to build an exclusionist identity node. According to a sociologist, the Italian third sector thrived through the last decades by replacing public institutions’ interaction with Roma. He then concluded the interview with his conundrum related to the exit of Roma from camps: ‘How do you leave from this relation and the camp after forty years?’ A second cultural anthropologist believes that Roma have structured a modality to relate with the *gadje* that is somehow ‘vampiric’. And finally, in the opinion of a social anthropologist, segregation and dependence undergone by Roma are mostly linked to decades of policies having camps as cornerstone. According to him,

⁸⁵ Assimilationism, Multiculturalism, Securitization, etc

years of such political framework structured current dynamics between Roma-NGO (and social workers):

It's mostly about solidified social arrangements that can be changed through time. So if you research in other places of Italy, you will not find this type of dynamic [dependence] since the history there is different. In Rome this is very strong because during the last forty years, the policies of 'nomad camp' structured the relation Roma-gadje.

Based on all the information presented in this essay, I assert that segregation is mostly related to the Roma scheme of behaviour and perception towards NGO (social workers). This *habitus* have been passed through an intergenerational transmission since their arrival in the mid '80s. A whole way of living embedded in Italian camps has been produced and reproduced. However, this scheme of behaviour and perception has not been generated in the way that Massey and Denton (1998) propose⁸⁶. According to these authors, segregation is understood as an 'institutional apparatus'⁸⁷ producing a set of behaviours reinforcing separation. Rather, such schemes are the consequence of the long-term playing of the 'game' described throughout this essay. In this process, segregation is not purposely manufactured by 'white institutions'. Segregation in this setting is a result of the specific history of ex-Yugoslavian Roma in Rome composed by a blend between securitization and humanitarian policies. These policies would therefore act in this group twice (Bourdieu, 1981: 305): through



FIGURE 10: Metropoliz

⁸⁶ As explained in the literature review on segregation in chapter one.

⁸⁷ The notion of 'institutional apparatus' in social science glosses over actors and gives us the idea of an 'infernal machine' with purposes and aims (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992: 102)

materialised objects (especially the ‘camp’ but also exceptional law and policies, etc) and through *habitus* internalised in their minds and conduct.

When safety is stronger than kindness

In referring back to the broader view, we can say that social cooperatives are functioning as one of the many governmental tactics to manage this alleged ‘unruly population’ (Brown, 2006: 76). The public space is successfully segregated not solely by its militarisation (Caldeiras 2001; Low 2003; Davis 1992) but also through relations of dependence of Roma on NGO and camps. The urban space is secured against the ‘dangerous others’ (Caldeiras, 2001: 332) from within their settlements. Social unrest⁸⁸ is avoided not only by the direct repression (gates, video surveillance, etc), but also by Roma engagement in a game working as a natural regulation managing their conduct (Foucault, 2007: 451). Consequently, the collateral effects of this game are assistance, dependence, patronage, and contest between families, rendering Roma a politically weak and docile group. The humanitarian field then is ‘collectively orchestrating’ (Bourdieu, 1977: 72) ex-Yugoslavians’ conduct in agreement with locals’ and politicians’ demands for security:

(...) the means that the government uses to attain these ends [security, welfare, health, etc] are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc. (Foucault, 1991: 99)

On that side, non-Roma institutions co-opt selected Roma with enough influence to be heard by the community. The constitution of a politically responsible subject (from the non-Roma point of view) leads to two ongoing processes: association (to NGO) and participation (following a non-Roma framework). If we read such events through the power-relation approach in our current ‘society of security’ (Foucault, 2007: 25), we can clearly see hierarchies between subjects. We can also interpret association and participation as instruments for the defence of order (Procacci, 1991: 165) and public space (David, 1992: 156).

All in all, we can say that together with modern biopolitics⁸⁹ and its exceptional policies of control, humanitarian organisations, wittingly or not, are an extra mechanism of security in

⁸⁸ From both the Roma and the Italian side due to their hate towards the former.

⁸⁹ As explored throughout chapter four, it is the state of exception geared towards the control of outsiders inside national territory.

the Italian scenario. By receiving governmental funds (and following guidelines), a humanitarian institution becomes one of the ‘multiple spaces of partly autonomous authority positioned exterior to the state apparatuses’ (Gordon, 1991: 3). Cooperatives are managing Roma in their depths and details (Foucault, 1991: 101), although the former are allegedly unrelated⁹⁰ to political power. Cooperatives are therefore a governmental tactic inside the range of knowledge dispersed across modern society (Brown, 2006: 81), regulating and orchestrating Roma lives rather than threatening them with death: ‘*Making live and letting die*’ (Foucault, 1991, 95). In Rome, the humanitarian field and practice partly sustains ex-Yugoslavian Roma ‘inclusive exclusion’⁹¹ by helping create ways of life linked to ‘extreme outside’⁹² spaces.

⁹⁰ Dealing with Roma as a ‘solely humanitarian and social mission’ (chapter four) while ‘taking no sides’ (chapter five).

⁹¹ Described in the chapter four section ‘Living in the fringe’.

⁹² Explored in the chapter four section ‘The camp’.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis has sought arguments for understanding the segregation of ex-Yugoslavian Roma in the Italian capital despite all the resources relocated and projects implemented which are aimed at their inclusion. To do so, fieldwork was conducted between January and March of 2013 in Rome, Italy. Through interviews with social workers and Roma, but also by observing and participating in the routine of the former when providing services to the latter, this thesis has analysed the ‘humanitarian scenario’ found in the city. Based on a relational approach to investigating their segregation, the essay has given a detailed description of NGO’s and Roma’s engagements to build influence and partnership inside camps. It is argued that segregation has much to do with patterns of relation which have evolved and been structured through time, but also that ways of living linked to camps are being produced and reproduced due to the ‘game’ described throughout this work. Based on arguments presented throughout the essay, we can outline five interconnected factors prompting Roma to segregate:

The societal factor. Roma are conceived by locals as the utmost ‘dangerous other’ (Caldeiras 2001; Low 2003; Davis 1992) in the Italian urban context. This fact legitimised authorities to deal with Roma through exceptional policies geared towards a confusing blending between securitisation and humanitarianism frameworks. These contradictory and paradoxical measures to include this group into society (e.g. exceptional buses for Roma, health care brought into camps, etc) are lucrative businesses for social cooperatives even though they reinforce segregation. Moreover, Roma life in illegality is enjoyed by the citizenry (e.g. recycling and low cost for disposing of used objects, informal markets, etc) though it is not recognised. Since the great majority of the Bosnian *Xoraxane* are stateless *de facto* due to Italian *ius sanguinis* citizenship law, their survival is based on these informal services and networks. The ‘inclusive exclusion’ of ex-Yugoslavian Roma therefore has its place and role in the underground economy of the city.

My observation shows that if the citizenship system *ius sanguinis* was changed to *ius solis*, this would undo some of the problems undergone by Roma. In doing so, Roma offspring would no longer be pushed into the vicious circle of illegality described in chapter four. What could be also done, but this time through the long-term, is to rethink the Italian governmental framework on immigration. That is, policy-makers should be constantly reminded that the current political trend has been creating more illegality and marginalisation. Hence, the work of raising awareness among politicians and local population should be carried out in the following decades. This would help greatly to deconstruct stereotypes of Roma.

The geographical factor. Within this security-humanitarian setting, special attention must be paid for the utmost materialisation of the ‘state of exception’ undergone by Roma: the camp. Since their arrival in Italy during the eighties, the camp, once a temporary alternative for this group of refugees, was transformed into a permanent solution embedded with an ethnic tone. As time and political tendencies changed, the camp was officialised as a stable (exceptional) reality mostly incongruous with its urban surroundings. As we have seen, these areas are generally isolated from the eyes of the Italian majority. Moreover, its location and structure facilitates the unveiling of many events occurring in similar places like the *favelas*; that is, the violent control over inhabitants by a few characters like Zano. Although the Italian majority is unaware of such dynamics, social cooperatives and governmental agents are well informed and conscious of them. In addition to that, governmental spatial control (by offices such as *Ufficio Nomadi*) helps to block the access of subjects (journalists, researchers, human right workers, etc) who could denounce exploitations and power dynamics. By ignoring the violence committed on inhabitants, Italian institutions allow a few characters to keep on with their informal ways of managing inhabitants. Taking that into account, camps as such are the reasons for reinforcing Roma segregation. If only governmental authorities would build houses assigned to Roma in proximity to the local population, the everyday encounters between locals and Roma may weaken stereotypes.

The relational factor between NGO and families. The struggle for recognition and network throughout the last decades structured modes of relation on both sides of the field. On the NGO side, ways of acquiring territorial influence are far from being ‘neutral’ as believed by social workers. As a way to conserve and acquire power inside camps, NGO often side with authoritative subjects like Zano and Yuri by giving them resources of projects and information related to settlements. Driven by the fact that they are the most influential figures inside camps, social cooperatives would indirectly strengthen segregation by legitimising a few subjects. More precisely, NGO provide them with tools for enhancing their informal control over inhabitants, building a privileged channel of communication with them. Moreover, segregation is also partly based on the empowerment of subjects manipulating and selling services to Roma lacking citizenship rights (e.g. when Mirko capitalised exclusion and transformed it into a business). This fact would reinforce inhabitants’ connections to camps. That is, networks made with subjects living outside of segregated areas are replaced by informal social capital inside camps (Wacquant 1998). On this side, the scenario of territorial struggle between families would be strengthened by the recent international entrepreneurship of building Roma leadership/partnership.

Since exceptional policies geared towards positive discrimination (e.g. camps, school buses, etc) are commonly distorted into negative discrimination⁹³ due to their strong unpopularity in Rome, the strengthening of citizenship rights would be the ideal option to ‘include’ this minority into society. Once conscious about their rights, Roma will no longer have to ‘buy’ services from selected subjects which bind them to camps. Thus, cooperatives should encourage Roma to fight for citizenship rights rather than minority or human rights.

The relational factor between families. The animosity among Roma families is also another point for strengthening segregation. Within this security-humanitarian scenario isolating and keeping them inside camps, the fragmentation of the Roma as a united political group deters any chance of their exit from settlements. Roma families contest to build network and links with cooperatives since the latter are believed to be powerful entities. Therefore, the familiar struggle for recognition under the eyes of *gadje* NGO weakens a united voice demanding houses. For instance, in chapter seven we have seen Paolo (an alleged member of Trailer Ink) grasped as a connection inside the world of cooperatives and, thus, both a potential ally and point of contest. In other words, the disgrace of one family (the loss of network and influence) is the grace of other households; that is, more space for them to build partnership with cooperatives.

The unification of Roma voices and the prevention of family feuds are very complex topics being discussed by Roma specialists (as we have seen in chapter five, researchers have been hired by INGO to formulate feasible answers for these questions). Even so, we can once again find factors contributing to the disagreement between families in the NGO-Roma relation. According to the data which emerged in my fieldwork, social cooperatives often relate with Roma through relations of ‘patronage’. The most glaring examples of such a relationship were observed during the meetings of People United (in chapter seven). People United have a strong patronage over Renzo’s family. In having a strong influence over them, the NGO subtly delimitate how they should behave when defending their own rights. For instance, in disapproving of Leo’s decision to go in person to municipalities, People United is pointing out to Renzo and Sonia how not to proceed. Moreover, in following People United’s guide, Renzo and Sonia are to be recognised and gain more space inside the NGO. But not only that; the animosity between Roma families is also increased in this setting. In the same setting, we also witnessed Sonia and Leo fighting fiercely, a fallout that became a personal matter between

⁹³ According to Jenkins and Solomos (1989: 135), positive discrimination involves radical policies of deliberately manipulating selection procedures and standards as to ensure that a proportional number of members of a specific deprived group be benefited due to historical wrongdoings.

Leo's and Renzo's families. All these interconnected events of cause and consequence would undermine Roma unity along with their exit from camps.

The individual factor. The last and most significant factor for segregation is found at the individual level: The history of the securitisation and humanitarianism in Rome was internalised in their mind and conduct. Despite all the abuse committed on Roma by the control of a few characters and Italian authorities (e.g. 24h video surveillances, hired guards at the entrance of camps, etc), offspring born and raised in Italian settlements are still reluctant to leave them.

Since the arrival of this group to Rome, NGO have mostly been performing their own responsibilities before the Italian state. The Roma lack of skills to cope with bureaucratic and vital issues became social cooperatives' duty and business. As a result, Roma now expect and demand NGO to carry out activities related to their 'everyday life' routine, such as bringing *Romnie* to doctors, searching for employment, etc. The product of this silent and veiled process which evolved over the last decades leads Roma to categorise cooperatives as powerful tools to access basic services, negotiate with authorities and stand by their own rights. Roma then see cooperatives (and social workers) as necessary subjects, regardless of the grudge against them (e.g. the case of Giulio). In this setting, Roma schemes of perception and behaviour reinforcing segregation were not purportedly manufactured by 'institutional apparatuses' as argued by Massey and Denton (1998). Rather, such schemes have been produced by and are reproducing the 'game' played between NGO and Roma. It is not illogical to say that schemes of perception and patterns of behaviours, i.e. *habitus*, have been learned by and passed to new generations.

A suggestion for further studies would be to investigate how the stake of building leadership/partnership affects the lives of Roma dwelling in houses. For instance, in the Italian Southern state of Calabria, 80 per cent of Roma live in houses (EU Inclusive: 10). This would raise the following questions: How do these few Roma placed outside the game of acquiring territorial influence seek recognition from NGO? Are they dependent on social cooperatives' services like those groups living inside camps? This theme mainly emerged during an interview with a social worker from Calabria. She could not understand why Bosnian Roma living in Rome behaved completely different when compared to those from her hometown (also immigrated from ex-Yugoslavia). Therefore, she seemed to share my curiosity about the strong differences between the *Zingari* (Italian Roma) and *Ciganos* (Brazilian Roma) evoked in the introduction of this essay.

Another suggested topic for further research is to study the relationship between Bosnian institutions and camp X inhabitants' extended family back home. How does the European stake of furthering Roma leadership/partnership affect group hierarchies in Bosnia? It would be

interesting to compare camp X inhabitants' and extended family members' strategies for acquiring leadership/partnership, since the latter live in a setting different from the 'modern bio-political' scenario found in Western European countries. In studying this group as a native minority instead of an 'influx of dangerous population', a whole scheme of representation and decision making may be, for instance, connected to the land. This fact will surely bring the classical discussion of autochthony/allochthony to the fore. Such research would also address questions of how local policies in Bosnia influence the relationship between Roma inhabitants and social workers. Does the building of leadership/partnership among Bosnian Roma strengthen or weaken segregation in their homeland?

The last suggestion leads us to another topic, but this time overseas: What is the relation between Roma groups and institutions like in other parts of the globe, such as Latin America? The different continental past surely brought a distinct present for Roma who immigrated to Brazil. For instance, when compared to the European scenario, the sharp idea of Roma otherness is very flimsy or sometimes absent in Brazil. Likewise, the almost 400 years of slavery undergone by Roma in the kingdom of Wallachia, currently Romania, (Hancock, 2002: 16) surely influenced their ways of relating with authorities. Given that Brazilian Roma were slave traders rather than slaves (Donovan, 1992: 47), how did these distinct continental histories structure their modes of relation with institutions? Do Brazilian Roma undergo the stigma and segregation often present in the lives of European Roma?

Research locating a 'problematic minority' by analysing their surroundings and history can unveil power relations and put dynamics into perspective. The contextualisation of a 'deviant behaviour', like the one described in the first lines of this essay, helps us to deconstruct absolute categories and stereotypes. Often, strategies and behaviours shared by members of a minority are seen as natural and used as a platform for policies and projects, which by their turns may reinforce power hierarchies⁹⁴. In this regard, anthropology as a discipline can be used to undermine stereotypes and help with policy making. Anthropology would then have much to offer for studies tackling institutionalised antiziganism.

⁹⁴ For instance, according to the data which emerged from interviews with social workers, a number of NGO grasp iron working as a 'cultural characteristic' belong to the Ex-Yugoslavian Roma group. As such, social cooperatives usually plan projects of labour inclusion basing themselves on these characteristics. Cooperatives therefore would teach them obsolete activities rather than other modern crafts which could help them to enhance their position in the labour market. Needless to say, the impact of such projects is almost none. In following this example, one must see that power relations remain unchanged not solely through the use of wrong terminologies like 'nomad', but also through misconceptions and stereotypes shared by specialists.

References

- Agamben, Giorgio (1998) *Homo Sacer*. California: Stanford University Press-Stanford.
- (2009) *What is an Apparatus? And other essays*. California: Stanford University Press.
- (2005) *State of Exception*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Alumni, Lorenzo (2012) “‘After all, they are nomads, aren’t they?’: Roma transnationalism and health issues’ *MMG Working Paper*, vol 12, issue 20, pp 7-24.
- Appadurai, Arjun (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Associazione 21 luglio (2012) ‘*Lavoro Sporco*’, 3 May 2012.
- Balibar, Etienne (2009) ‘Foreword’ In Nando Sigona and Nidhi Trehan (ed) *Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Mobilisation and the Neoliberal Order*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/ Macmillan. pp. viii-xiv
- (1991) ‘*The Nation Form: History and Ideology*’, In E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein (ed) *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.
- Barth, Fredrik (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*. London: Little, Brown
- Baumann, Gerd (1999) *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities*. New York: Routledge.
- Beneduce, Roberto (2007) *Etnopsichiatria: sofferenza mentale e alterità fra Storia, dominio e cultura*. Roma: Carocci editore
- Berenice, Compare, Lunaria and Osservazione, (2013) ‘*Segregare Costa: La spesa per i “campi nomadi” a Napoli, Roma e Milano*’, 19 September 2013
- Bernard, H. Russell (2002) *Research Methods in Anthropology*. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.
- (1981) ‘*Men and Machines*’ In Karin Knorr-Cetina and Aaron V. Cicourel (ed.) *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Toward and*

- Integration of Micro-and Macro Sociologies*. Boston: Routledge Kegan and Paul, pp. 304-317.
- (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2003) 'Participant Objectification', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropology Institute*, vol 9, n 2, pp. 281-294.
- (1998) *Practical Reason: On the theory of action*. California: Stanford University Press
- (1995) *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage Publications.
- (1986) 'The forms of capital'. In J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood, pp.241-258.
- (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. California: Stanford University Press
- (1987) 'What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups'. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32, pp.1-18
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Loic J.D. Wacquant (1992) *An Invite to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Brown, Wendy (2006). *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Caldeiras, Teresa (2001) *City of Walls: Crime, segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*. California: University of California Press
- Calhoun, Craig (2010) 'The Idea of Emergency: Humanitarian Action and Global (Dis) Order' In Fassin, Didier & Mariella Pandolfi (ed) *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, New York: Zone Books, pp. 29-59.
- (1993) 'Habitus, Field and Capital: the question of historical specificity'. In Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma & Moishe Postone (ed) *Bourdieu: critical perspectives*, Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 45-61

- Carini C., Costa E., Carpita M., Andreus M., (2012) 'The Italian Social Cooperatives in 2008: A Portrait Using Descriptive and Principal Component Analysis' *European Research Institute on Cooperatives and Social Enterprises Working Paper*, N.035 | 12
- Castles, Stephen (2006) 'Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection?' *International Migration Review*, vol 40, 4, pp. 741-766.
- Chandler, David (2008) 'Review Article', *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol 8, 2, pp. 265-276.
- Clough Marinaro, I. (2009) 'Between Surveillance and Exile: Biopolitics and the Roma in Italy'. *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, vol 1, 2, pp 265-8.
- (2010). Life on the run: biopolitics and the Roma in Italy. Paper presented at the International Conference Romani Mobilities in Europe: Multidisciplinary Perspectives, 14-15 January 2010, at the *Refugee Studies Centre*, University of Oxford.
- Colacicchi, Piero (2008) 'Ethnic Profiling and Discrimination against Roma in Italy: New Developments in a Deep-Rooted Tradition', *Roma Rights Journal*, number 2, pp. 35-44.
- Daniele, Ulderico (2011) *Sono del campo e vengo dall'India: etnografia di una collettività rom ridislocata*. Roma: Meti edizioni.
- Graeber, David (2006) 'Turning modes of production inside out: or, why capitalism is a transformation of slavery'. *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 26, 1, pp. 61-85.
- Davis, Mike (1992) 'Fortress Los Angeles: the militarization of urban space' In Sorkin M (ed) *Variations on a Theme Park*, New York: Noonday, pp. 154–80
- Devereux, George (1967) *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. Paris: The Hague.
- Donovan, B. M. (1992) 'Changing perceptions of social deviance: gypsies in early modern Portugal and Brazil', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 26, 1, pp. 33-53.
- Duffield, Mark (2007) *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Elias, Norbet & John L. Scotson (1994) *The Established and the Outsiders: A sociological enquiry into community problems*. London: Sage publications
- ERRC (2000) 'Campland. Racial segregation of Roma in Italy', Budapest: ERRC. European Union (EU)
- 'Italy: Municipality of Rome Denies Social Housing to Roma Living in Formal Camps', 27 February 2013
- European Commission (2008) 'Special EUROBAROMETER 263: Discrimination in the European Union', July 2008.
- (2010) 'European Social Fund and Roma', 2010
- EU Inclusive (2013) Rapporto Nazionale Sull'Inclusione Lavorativa e Sociale dei Rom in Italia
- Euricse (2011) Report on Social cooperatives in Italy – Year 2008
- Fairclough, Norman (1993) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fassin, Didier (2010) 'Heart of Humaneness: The Moral Economy of Humantiarian Intervention' In Fassin, Didier & Mariella Pandolfi (ed) *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, New York: Zone Books, pp. 269-295.
- (2011) 'Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 40, pp. 213-226.
- Foucault, Michel (1972) *Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon books.
- (1995) *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- (1991) 'Governmentality' In Grahan Burchell, Collin Gordon and Peter Miller (ed) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Chicago: The university of Chicago Press, pp. 87-104.
- (2006) *History of Madness*. New York: Routledge
- (1977) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.

- (2007) *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- (1990) *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon books.
- Fraser, Angus (1992) *The Gypsies*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Furedi, Frank (2007) *Invitation to Terror: The Expanding Empire of the Unknown*. London: Continuum.
- Gay y Blasco, Paloma (1997) 'A 'different' body? Desire and virginity among Gitanos'. *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* vol.3, 3, pp. 517–35
- Geschiere, Peter (2009) *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Geordie Onlus (2010) *Un'altra città è possibile: Percorsi di integrazione delle famiglie Rom e Sinte Roma: problemi, limiti e prospettive delle politiche di inclusione sociale*, Roma: Geordie Onlus
- Giami Alain (2001) 'Counter-transference in social research: George Devereux and beyond'. *Papers in Social Research Methods Qualitative Series*, 7; London: LSE.
- Goffman, Ervin (1968) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Anchor Books.
- (1969) *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*. London: Allen Lane
- Gordon, Colin (1991) 'Governmental rationality: and introduction' In Grahan Burchell, Collin Gordon and Peter Miller (ed) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Chicago: The university of Chicago Press, pp. 1-52.
- Hancock, Ian (2002) *We Are the Romani People (Ame Sam E Rromane Džene)*. Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Haraway, Donna (1997) 'The Virtual Speculum in the New World' in D. Haraway, Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan©_Meets_OncMouse™: *Feminism and Technoscience*. London: Routledge, pp 173-212.
- Harding, Sandra (1991) *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

- Heilbron, Johan (1999) 'Reflexivity and its Consequences' *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 2, 3, pp 298–306
- Herrera, C.D. (1999) 'Two arguments for 'covert methods' in social research. *British Journal of Sociology*, vol 50, 2, pp. 331–343
- Ibrahim, Maggier (2005) 'The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse'. *International Migration*, vol 43, 5, pp. 163–187.
- Jenkins, Richard (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Routledge.
- (1994) 'Rethinking ethnicity: identity, categorization and power'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. vol 17, 2, pp. 197-223
- Jenkins, Richard and John Solomos (1989) *Racism and Equal Opportunities Policies in the 1980's*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Jorgensen, Marianne & Louise J. P (2002) *Discourse Analysis: as Theory and Method*. London: Sage publications.
- Kaldor, Mary (2007) *Human Security: Reflections on Globalization and Intervention*. London: Polity.
- Kovats, Martin (2001) 'Problems of Intellectual and Political Accountability in Respect of Emerging European Roma Policy' *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, issues 1.
- Liegeois, Jean-Pierre (1994) *Rom, Sinti, Kalè...Zingari e Viaggianti in Europa*. Strasbourg: Consiglio d'Europa.
- Loftsdottir, Kristin (2002) 'Never forgetting? Gender and racial-ethnic identity during fieldwork'. *Social Anthropology*, vol 10, 3, 303–317.
- Lockwood, William G. (1986) 'East European Gypsies in Western Europe: The Social and Cultural Adaptation of Xoraxanè' *Nomadic People*, number 21/22, pp. 63-70.
- Matras, Yaron (2001) *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- (2004) 'The role of language in mystifying and demystifying Gypsy identity' In Saul N and Tebutt S. (ed) *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images*

of "Gypsies"/Romanies in European Cultures. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, pp. 53–78

Massey, D and Nancy Denton (1998) *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press

McGarry, Aidan (2008) 'Political Participation and Interest Articulation of Roma in Romania', *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, vol 7, issue 1

Merlino, Massimo (2009) 'The Italian (In) Security Package: Security vs. Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights in the EU'. *CEPS Challenge Paper No. 14, 10 March 2009*.

Mirga, A. and Nicolae Gheorghe (1997) *The Roma in the Twenty-First Century*, Princeton: PER, [http:// www.per-usa.org/21st_c.htm](http://www.per-usa.org/21st_c.htm).

Okely, Judith (1983) *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press

Olivier de Sardan, J.P (2009) 'La politica del campo. Sulla produzione di dati in antropologia', In F. Cappelletto (ed), *Vivere l' etnografia*. Firenze: Seid. pp.21-63

Open Society Foundation Justice Initiative (2010) 'Roma in Italy: Briefing to the European Commission, <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/memorandum-italy-ec-20101018.pdf> (accessed on 11/05/2013)

Pandolfi, Mariella (2010) 'From Paradox to Paradigm: The Permanent State of Emergency in the Balkans' In Fassin, Didier & Mariella Pandolfi (ed) *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, New York: Zone Books, pp. 152-172

Patrick, James. (1973) *A Glasgow Gang Observed*, London: Methuen.

Paul Gee, James (2011) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: theory and method*. London: Routledge.

Piasere, Leonardo (2004) *I rom d'Europa*. Roma: Editori Laterza

————— (1985) *Mare Roma: Categories Humaines et Structures Sociales*. Paris: Et. Doc. Balk. Mediterr.

————— (1999) *Un mondo di mondi: Antropologia delle culture rom (Gli alberi)*. Roma: Ancora

- Picker, Giovanni (2010) 'Nomads' land? Political cultures and nationalist stances vis-à-vis Roma in Italy', In Stewart, M and Rövid, M (ed), *Multi-disciplinary approaches to Romany studies*. Budapest: CEO, pp. 211-227
- Potter, Jonathan (2001) 'Wittgenstein and Austin' In Wetherell, M. Taylor, S. and Yates, S. (ed) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 39-46
- Potter, Jonathan and Margaret Wetherell (1992) *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Portes, Alessandro (2000) 'The Two Meanings of Social Capital' *Sociological Forum*, vol. 15, 1, pp. 1-12
- Procacci, Giovanna (1991) 'Social economy and the government of poverty' In Graham Burchell, Collin Gordon and Peter Miller (ed) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Chicago: The university of Chicago Press, pp. 151-168.
- Quinn Patton, Michael (1980) *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. London: Sage Publications
- Rahola, Federico (2003) *Zone definitivamente temporanee. I luoghi dell'umanità in eccesso*. Verona: Ombre Corte.
- (2007) 'La forma campo: Per una genealogia dei luoghi di internamento contemporanei'. *Conflitti Globali*, numero 4, pp.11-27.
- Robben, Antonius C. G. M. (2006) *Ethnographic Seduction, Transference, and Resistance in Dialogues about Terror and Violence in Argentina*. In Robben, Antonius C.G M & Jeffrey A. Sluka (ed) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an anthropological reader*, Boston: Blackwell, pp. 159-177
- Rossi, Monica (2010) *The City and the Slum: An Action Research on a Moroccan and a Roma Xoraxaranè Community in Rome*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Birmingham.
- Rövid, Márton (2009) 'One-Size-Fits-All Roma? On the Normative Dilemmas of the Emerging European Roma Policy' *Romani Studies*, vol. 21, n. 1
- Saitta, Pietro (2010) 'Immigrant Roma in Sicily: The role of the informal economy in producing social advancement'. *Romani Studies*, vol 19, 1, pp.17-45.

- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy (2007) 'Ire in Ireland' In Robben, Antonius C.G M & Jeffrey A. Sluka (ed) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an anthropological reader*, Boston: Blackwell, pp. 202-215.
- Schmid, K, Hewstone, M, Hughes, J, Jenkins, R & Cairns, E (2009), 'Residential Segregation and Intergroup Contact: Consequences for Intergroup Relations, Social Capital and Social Identity.' In M Wetherall (ed.), *Theorizing Identities and Social Action*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 177-197
- Scuzzarello, Sarah (2008) 'National Security versus Moral Responsibility: An Analysis of Integration Programs in Malmö, Sweden' *Social Politics*, vol. 15, 1, pp. 5-31.
- Setha, M. Low (1997) 'Urban Fear: Building the Fortress City'. *City & Society*, vol 9, 1, pp: 53 - 71.
- (2003) 'The Edge and the Center: gated communities and the discourse of urban fear' In Setha, M. Low & Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga (ed) *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 387-408.
- Sigona, Nando (2006) 'Lo scandalo dell'alterità: rom e sinti in Italia' in Bragato, S e Menetto, L (ed), *E per pátria uma língua segreta. Rom e sinti in província di Venezia*. Portogruaro: nuovadimensione.
- (2009) 'The 'Problema Nomadi' vis-à-vis the Political Participation of Roma and Sinti at the Local Level in Italy' In Nando Sigona and Nidhi Trehan (ed) *Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Mobilisation and the Neoliberal Order*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/ Macmillan. pp. 272-293.
- Sikimić, Biljana (2006) 'Transborder ethnic identity of Banyash Roma in Serbia' *TRANS, Internet Journal for Cultural Sciences*, number 16, pp.1-18.
- Simon, Patrick and Valeria Sala Pala (2010) "'We're not all multiculturalists yet': France swings between hard integration and soft anti-discrimination' In Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf (ed) *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. New York: Routledge, pp. 92-111
- Solimene (2011) 'These Romanians have ruined Italy'. Xoraxanè Roma, Romanian Roma and Rome', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol 16, 5, pp. 637-651.

- Soros foundation Romania (2012) *Roma from Romania, Bulgaria, Italy and Spain between Social Inclusion and Migration*, Romania: Soros Foundation.
- Sorescu-Marinković, Annamarie (2007) 'The gurban displaced: Bayash guest workers in Paris' In Sikimić, Biljana(ed) *Kurban in the Balkans*, Beograd: Balkanološki institut, pp. 137–151.
- (2011a) 'Strategies for creating an explanatory Bayash dictionary in Serbia' In Batakovic, Dusan (ed) *Balkanica XLI: Annual of Institute for Balkan Studies Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Institute for Balkan Studies*, pp. 17-34.
- (2011b) 'Imagining the Past, Creating Identity: the Case of the Bayash'. *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU* vol 59, 2, pp.45-59.
- Stasolla, Carlo (2012) *Sulla pelle dei rom: Il Piano Nomadi della giunta Alemanno*. Roma: Alegre
- Stewart, Michael (2013) 'Roma and Gypsy "Ethnicity" as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 42, pp. 415–32.
- (1997) *The Time of the Gypsies*. Boulder, CO: Westview
- Sutherland, Anne (1975) *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Teo, Thomas (2008) 'From Speculation to Epistemological Violence in Psychology: A Critical-Hermeneutic Reconstruction'. *Theory Psychology* vol. 18, 1, pp. 47–67.
- Tommasi, V and Erico Claps (2010) 'Not always the same old story: spatial segregation and feelings of dislike towards Roma and Sinti in large cities and medium-size towns in Italy' In Stewart, M and Rövid, M (ed), *Multi-disciplinary approaches to Romany studies*. Budapest: CEO, pp. 228-256.
- Therborn, Göran (2011) *The World: A Beginner's Guide*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- The World Bank (2010) '*The Economic Cost of Roma exclusion*', April 2010.
- Trehan, Nidhi (2009) 'The Romani Subaltern within Neoliberal European Civil Society: NGOization of Human Rights and Silent Voices' In Nando Sigona and Nidhi Trehan (ed) *Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Mobilisation and the Neoliberal Order*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/ Macmillan. pp.

UNHCR (2011) *'Thematic Report: Roma'*, May 2011

Vanek, Wilda (2001) 'Italian Social Cooperatives' *Grassroots Economic Organizing Newsletter*, <http://www.geo.coop/archives/vanek.htm>

Voutira, E, Benoist, J and Piquard, B (1998) 'Introduction' In European Commission: NOHA (ed) *Anthropology in Humanitarian Assistance*, vol 4, pp. 1-6.

Wacquant LJD (2004) 'Decivilizing and Demonizing: The Remaking of the Black American Ghetto' In Loyal, Steven I & Stephen Quilley (ed) *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 95-121.

————— (1998) 'Negative Social Capital: State Breakdown and Social Destitution in America's Urban Core'. *The Netherlands Journal of the Built Environment*, vol 13, 1, pp. 25-40.

————— (2006) 'Pierre Bourdieu' In Rob Stones (ed) *Key Contemporary Thinkers*. London: Macmillan, pp. 261-277.

————— (1994) "The New Urban Color Line: The State and Fate of the Ghetto in Post-fordist America." In Craig J. Calhoun (ed) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford and Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, pp. 231-276.

Wicker, Hans Rudolf (1997) 'Theorizing Ethnicity and Nationalism' In Hans Rudolf Wicker (ed) *Rethinking Nationalism & Ethnicity: The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe*. New York: Berg, pp. 1-43.

Williams, Patrick (1984) *Mariage Tsigane: Une Ceremonie de Fiancailles Chez les Rom de Paris*. Paris: L'Harmattan Selaf

————— (2003) *Gypsy World: The Silence of the Living and the Voices of the Dead*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Winther-Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Philips (2002) *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications.

Wiggins, Sally and Jonathan Potter (2008) 'Discursive Psychology' In Carla Willig & Wendy Stainton-Rogers (ed) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*. London: Sage publications. pp 73-90

Wolf, D.R. (1990) *The Rebels: A brotherhood of outlaw bikers*. Toronto: Univesity of Toronto Press.

World Summit Social (2008) *La indagine sulla paura nelle città*, 25 September 2008.

**Master Theses in Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University, 2005 -
ISSN 1653-2244**

1. Levin, Ulf: Mayaness Through Time: Challenges to ethnic identity and culture from the past to modernity, June 2005
2. Berg, Angelica: Oligarkins järnlag – om demokrati i en frivilligorganisation, juni 2005
3. Tjernström, Hanna: Parents Wishes and Children's Lives – Where Does the Education Lead? Social Change among Young People in West-Central Tanzania, June 2005
4. Hajo, Sirin: En länk till Gud i cd-format? Om qawwalimusiken i rörelse och globaliseringskrafter, januari 2005
5. Blum, Rebecca: Service or Violence? Or A Violent Service: A fieldwork based study on change in attitudes towards the use of force within the South African Police Service analysed using the community concept, September 2005
6. Molin, John: The Past Is Present: Archeological sites and identity formation in Southern Africa, September 2005
7. Kristek, Gabriela: 'We Are New People Now' – Pentecostalism as a means of ethnic continuity and social acceptance among the Wichí of Argentina, September 2005
8. Frykman, Carina: The Power of Waste: A Study of Socio-Political Relations in Mexico City's Waste Management System, January 2006
9. Bjarnesen, Jesper: Waves of Relief: An Ethnography of Humanitarian Assistance to Post-Tsunami Sri Lanka, January 2006
10. Emilsson, Malin: A Place Made out of Music: An online field study of a forum for record collectors, May 2006
11. Hellman, Erik, Battle over Reality: Medical Culture and Beyond. Report from San Pedro la Laguna, Guatemala, May 2006
12. Molina, Natalia, Collected Objects, Hidden Cultures: Colombian indigenous people in a Swedish ethnographical collection, September 2006
13. Spasenič, Jelena, Tiden i Timglas: En studie om politiskt sanningsägande i Serbien, september 2006
14. Svenfelt, Carina, Going to University, Learning on Campus: On the experiences of being university student and young in today's Syria, September 2006
15. Amankwaah, Clementina, Negotiating Culture: Tradition and Modernity in Elite Ghanaian Secondary Schools, December 2006
16. Sundberg, Molly, Filtering through 'The White Paper': Conceptions of Cultural Sameness and Difference at Two Orphanages in Post-Apartheid South Africa, June 2007
17. Rosen, Franciska, At the Crossroads of Subsistence Farming and Development Initiatives: Gender and Organizational Culture among the Ovambos, Namibia, June 2007
18. Lundberg, Arvid, Memory and Imagination of Palestine, December 2007
19. Rasmussen, Annika, Om det personliga är politiskt – är sexuella praktiker offentliga? BDSM-utövare och det sexuella medborgarskapet, February 2009
20. Morton, Andrew, Accounting for Difference: Is there an "Indian" Psychiatry?, June 2009
21. Ulrik Jennische, Civil Society and Political Debate among Drivers and Traders in Urban Ghana: The Koforidua Central Market and Taxi Station, September 2009
22. Katrina Bergander, The Reality of Dirt: Perceptions of cleanliness, dirtiness and garbage in Kléla, a rural town in Mali, January 2010
23. Angela Alcalá Bergquist, Parallel Perspectives: Children and adolescents in street situation in Colombia – their own views and that of their helpers, January 2010

24. Rebecca Karlsson, *She Walks With a Man: Perception and Practice of Honour Amongst Women in Egypt*, June 2010
25. Sofia Baruffol, *Institutionalization and Industrialization of Organic Farming in Sweden and in France: Organic farmers between quest for authenticity and economic sustainability*, June 2010
26. Lisa Rahbek, *BIOPOLITICS ON BIRTH: Experiences on Biopolitical use of Biomedicine in the Pregnancy and Birthing Arena. A Case Study from León, Nicaragua*, June 2010
27. Erika Andersson, *Israeli Peace Activists; Discourse, Action and Attitudes*, September 2010
28. Josefin Emitslöf, *Promises of Beach: Toursi(e)scapes, Development and Social Navigation on Lamu Island, Kenya*, June 2011
29. Josefine Lindström, *House of Memories: Tourism and Local Livelihoods on a World Heritage of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, June 2011
30. Robert Benjamin Thompson, *Out of the Frying Pan, into the Freezer: Anthropological Perspectives of the Experiences and Challenges facing Sweden's growing Immigrant Population*, June 2011
31. Lisa Tistedt, *Paradoxes of Doing Good in Africa: An Exploration of Identity and Power in International Volunteering in Kenya*, June 2011
32. Astrid Thews, *Imaginations of Egypt and Egyptians in a Private Arabic Language Center in Greater Cairo: Cosmopolitan Imaginations of Others and Selves*, September 2011
33. Yuko Harada, *The Song of Peace: Ethnicity, Development and Gender in Warfare and Peace among Gabra Camel Pastoralists in Northern Kenya*, September 2011
34. Yusuf Muslim, *Backs to the Future: The Mythologizing of Modernity and the Modernizing of Magic amongst Muslims in East London*, January 2012
35. Andreas Sandberg, *"Little by little": Dealing with HIV/AIDS in Ekwendeni, northern Malawi*, January 2012
36. Fanny Johansson, *It Looks Good on Paper: An Anthropological Exploration of Volunteer Tourism and English Teaching in Northeastern Thailand*, February 2012
37. Maja Modin, *"Thank God, Pythagoras was not from Bosnia" A study about the dynamics of categorizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, May 2012
38. Hande Cakinel, *One Nation, One Discourse. A Study of Nationalization and National Identity Formation in Two Syriac Ethno-religious Communities in Turkey*, May 2012
39. Nina Miller, *Women's Access to Subsidized Antiretroviral Treatment in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso*, September 2012
40. Hugo Hultqvist, *Running for Modernity: Athletics, Social Change, and Replacing Kenyan Traditionalism with a Modern Consciousness*, September 2012
41. Benedikt Fendel, *Process Work, Dreambody, and Shamanism: A Study of Neoshamanism at the Process Work Activists' Community and the Theories of Process Work as Laid Down by Arnold Mindell*, June 2013
42. Obaid-ur-Rehman, *Ethical-Formation of Self In Islamic Discursive Practices Amongst Muslim Youth: An Ethnography of the Uppsala Mosque*, June 2013
43. Aïdas Sanogo, *Behind the Scenes: Urban Planning and Resettlement of Displaced People Following the Flooding of the 1st September 2009 in Burkina Faso*, September 2013
44. Arlena Siobhan Liggins, *"They Say It Has No Cure": Illness Narratives of Diabetes Patients in Uganda*, September 2013

45. Ann-Marie Karcsics, "My Friends Are My Safety Net": Friendship Amongst Young Adults in Sarajevo, Bosnia & Herzegovina, September 2013
46. Amelie Baumann, OLD AIDS, NEW AIDS: A Study on the Effects of Antiretroviral Treatment on Non-Governmental Support Communities for HIV-Positive People in Germany, September 2013
47. Beatrice Maurin, "The Filipina is a fighter, a fighter for her rights, a fighter for her freedom to work and freedom to express herself": An anthropological study about the feminization of migration in the Philippines, June 2014
48. Birhanu Desta Woldegiorgis, A Blue Print or a Mirage: An Anthropological Study of agricultural and institutional practices, engagements and development discourse in Ethiopia, June 2014
49. Fabio Provenzano, "It is all about territory": A study of a segregated group of Roma in Rome, Italy, June 2014

Institutionen för kulturanthropologi och etnologi
Uppsala universitet
Box 631
SE-751 26

Tel. +46 (0) 18 471 22 85

Fax +46 (0) 18 471 70 29 ISSN 1653-2244

Available for download from DiVA Online Database: <http://uu.diva-portal.org>