NON-CITIZEN PORTRAYALS IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA: A SOCIO-POLITICAL DILEMMA

by

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my loving husband Frank, and my two wonderful children Franklin and Dante.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANSI ....Italian Association of Intercultural Media of the Region of Emilia-Romagna

CBP .... Common Basic Principles on Integration

CERD... Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

CNT... National Transitional Canal of Libya

CONSOB ....National Commission for the Company and Stock Exchange

COSPE..................................... Co-Operation for the Development of Emerging Countries

ECHR.. European Convention on Human Rights

ECRE ....European Council on Refugees and Exiles

EC Treaty...European Community Treaty

ENAR..European Network against Racism

EPIM .... European Program for Integration

EU .... European Union

FNSI.. Italian National Union of Journalists

GCR .... Global Corruption Report

GPID ....Guiding Principles on International Displacement

ICCPR.. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD.................. International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

ICS .... Italian Consortium of Solidarity

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (Contd.)

IDPs..Internationally Displaced Persons

IFJ ....International Federation of Journalists

IHL..International Human Rights Law

IOM..International Organization for Migration

MEDIVA..Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration

MIER............................Network of Intercultural Media of the Region of Emilia-Romagna

NGO...Non-Governmental Organization

NIP ....National Indicative Program

OHCR ....Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

ONPCSE ....Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion

OSCE .... Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe

PDL.. People of Freedom

UDHR ....Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN... United Nations

UNCAC...United Nations Convention against Corruption

UNHRC... United Nations Human Rights Council

UNHCR.. United Nations Refugee Agency

ABSTRACT

NON-CITIZEN PORTRAYALS IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA: A SOCIO-POLITICAL DILEMMA

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This thesis describes how immigration in Italy poses a broader socio-political problem regarding the treatment and representation of non-citizens of all kinds. Marginalization, conflict, and violence all interact with consistent negative stereotyping in the media. Combined, they can greatly slow the integration process. This study explores how the representation of non-citizens in the media is crucial to understanding the non-citizen perspective to providing possible solutions to existing social conflicts, and to developing future peaceful relationships among both established and new Italian communities.

For the purpose of this study I emphasize how immigrants, refugees (legal and undocumented), and even some people born in Italy are part of a larger group of non-citizens who remain outside of Italian society, and are so categorized in the media. I focus on the "convenient images" of non-citizens in the Italian media and how the

resulting stereotyping and misrepresentation are used in political discourse. On a more positive level, I also discuss the ongoing efforts of many organizations to provide a better representation of non-citizens.

The focus of my research is roughly the last two decades during which mass trans-Mediterranean migration flows have surged, especially from countries in conflict. The core documents used are from mainstream newspapers and independent ethnic media, a combination that helps reveal the differences and similarities in how mainstream and minority sources report on non-citizen issues, especially regarding refugees.

By contrasting how different Italian media generates narratives of identity both positive and negative, I will argue that not only has the Italian media the ethical obligation to construct spaces of representation among non-citizen minority groups and, to protect individual human rights, but that there are many positive examples from which to work to resolve these existing problems. This thesis may thus be a useful example for how, despite many problems, the media can represent non-citizens in a positive light and thus help promote more effective integration of non-citizens.
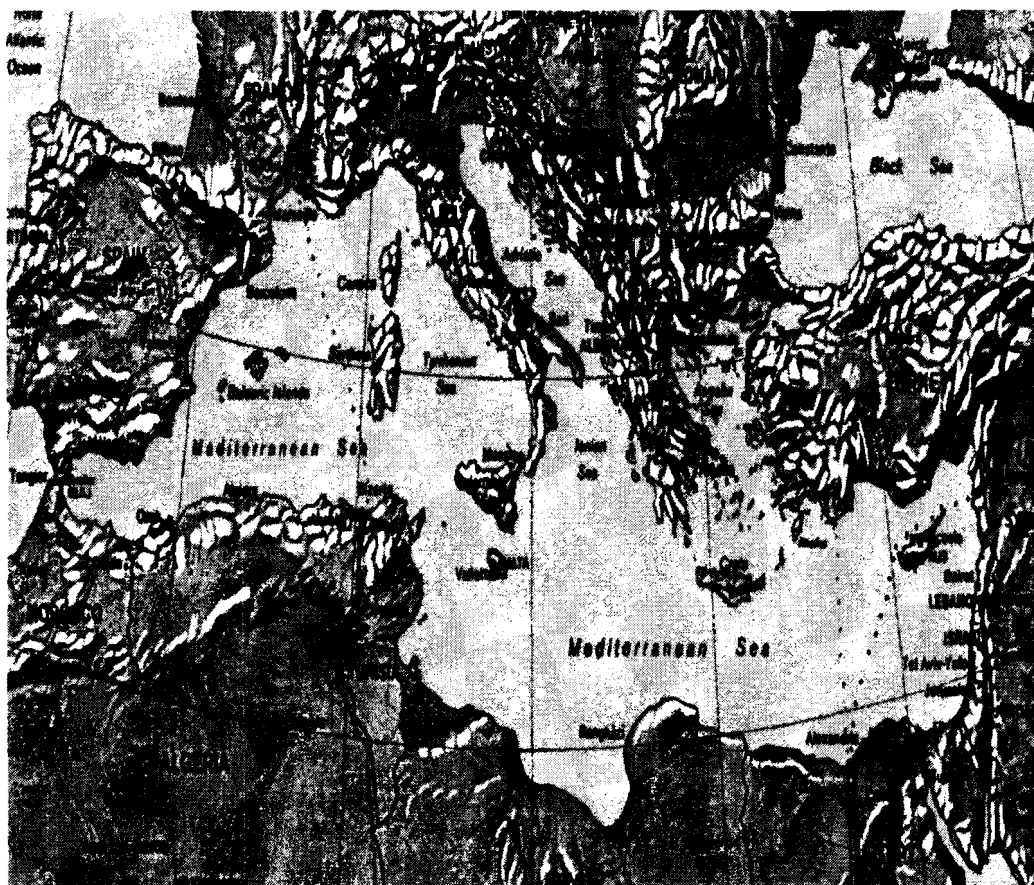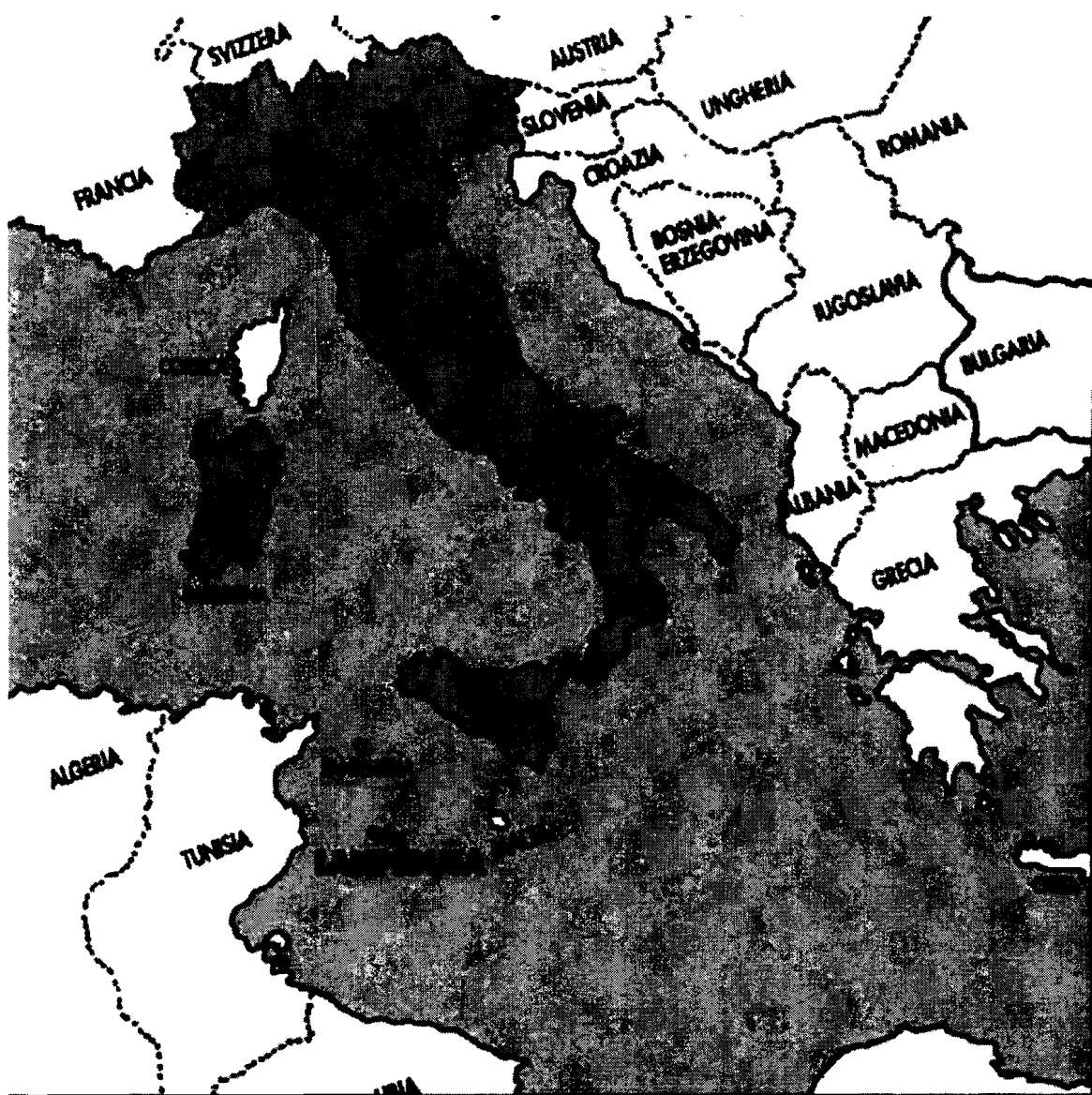
Figure 1 Map of Italy

Figure 2 Map of Lampedusa

**Figure 3 Italian Police Authorities
Searching newcomers**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Controversies about the increase of non-citizens in Europe occupy the center stage for society, politics and the media. In Italy, the integration and resettlement of newcomers into the economy and the social fabric could be considered to be a positive and important contribution.[1] Yet, Italian interaction with these newcomers often seem limited to relatively negative perspectives. Posters which read "We don't work with immigrants of color" (Calavita 2005: 1) provide an example of how negative the Italian reaction to newcomers can be.

For the past two decades, influxes of both legal and illegal newcomers have resided in Italy. New measures, for example, have been needed to accommodate refugees from other countries at the same time that more people fleeing from poor living conditions have sought new lives in Italy and Europe. The European Union (EU) stresses the need for integration of such new arrivals, at least the legal ones. For these "non-citizens," the EU emphasizes the importance of integration as "the process of becoming an accepted part of a foreign society and of accepting that society, based on principles of equality, human rights, diversity and inclusion" (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld 2005: xiv).

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[1] The term "newcomers" , "clandestino", "rifugiati (refugee)"or "extracomunitari" "illegals" refer to the non-citizens of ethnic minority groups known as refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented or irregular migrants, as well as Internationally Displaced Persons in Italy. Anyone who is not of Italian lineage is considered a "non-citizen" regardless of legal naturalization).

Yet, integration remains a problem in Italy. In the Italian case, the media can be viewed as part of this problem, manipulating images, particularly in the political arena that affect the way people think about certain ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, the media can create a label that can alter the representation and identity of non-citizen minority groups in a negative view, especially for the convenience of election campaigns. Italy is a country which exemplifies how the media becomes a political tool to transform the identity of non-citizens through "convenient images" in society (Zetter 2007:172).

Roger Zetter, as in detail in chapter four, offers a theory of refugee labeling. He sheds light on the impacts of institutional and bureaucratic power on non-citizens. In his article, he argues that "convenient images" of refugees labeled within a co-opting humanitarian discourse "have been displaced by a fractioning of the label which is driven by the need to manage globalized processes and patterns of migration and forced migration" (ibid). He uses the following three axioms: formation, transformation, and politicization when labeling a refugee. The first axiom refers to the complexity of patterns and causes of forced migration, which conflicts with similar labels in the past. The second is a response to the first axiom of transformation. Its complexity occurs when the label of the refugee is "transformed" by an institutional "fractioning" in order to control new migration. No longer are NGOs "transforming" labels, governments have the power through their own interests to label non-citizens. This transition of labeling power is the third axiom. The politicization of the refugee label occurs by the "reproduction of institutional fractioning" (ibid: 173). This establishes wider political discourse which intensifies further resistance to migrants and refugees.

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The Commissione Nazionale per le Societa e la Borsa (Italian Securities and Exchange Commission) (CONSOB) is the only public authority responsible for regulating the Italian securities market, and thus the organization to which all companies must report their official data. According to CONSOB, 80 percent of newspapers are owned by right-leaning organizations (Sabadin 2007: 160).[2] Most of the Italian media is owned by corporate businesses desiring political backing, causing industrial groups to press their interests through the media. Italian right-wing parties such as the Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance) and Lega Nord (Northern League) are among the worst examples of using the media as a device to promote anti-immigrant sentiments and to marginalize non-citizens. These "convenient images" create conflicts among local and minority communities. This type of misleading imagery feeds into xenophobia within Italian communities and can, in turn, produce hate crimes. The Italian media often exacerbates social tensions, which make it difficult for EU integration policies to be effective. This issue becomes problematic not only at the local level but at all levels, which is further explored in chapter four. The line between information and stereotypes become blurred, making it harder for Italian society to take responsibility for, and guarantee the civil and human rights of non-citizens.

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[2] Commissione Nazionale per le Societa e la Borsa (CONSOB) is the public authority responsible for regulating the Italian securities market. The organization's main objective is to protect the investing public. It ensures transparency and ethical behavior by security market participants, and, accuracy of the factual information. It complies with regulations by auditors in the Special Register, as well as conducts investigations with respect to insider dealing and market manipulation.

The Background of the Problem

The Arab Spring of 2011 brought a surge of new arrivals to Italy as those from Arab countries, especially Tunisia and Libya, fled to Italy because of conflict, violence, and persecution. This applied more pressure to Italy once again. Italy seemed intent on avoiding its "burden" of new refugees by marginalization and social exclusion of all non-citizens (Calavita 2005: 11).[3] The Italian government argued that Europe as a whole, should take care of Italy's immigration issue. It claimed it was Italy's misfortune to be Europe's most southern point and the closest major European destination for these new refugees. In April 2011, at the EU ministers' meeting in Luxemburg, former Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi stated, "It is not an Italy problem, but a European."[4] He even hinted at separating from the European Union if Italy was not assisted (ibid).

Such immigration issues have long played a significant role within the realm of Italian politics and election campaigns. Three main problems emerge. First, political discourse often links non-citizens to crime and insecurity. For example, in January 2010, Berlusconi announced that "reduction in foreigners [non-citizens] in Italy means fewer people to swell the ranks of criminals."[5] Second, public authorities appear to ignore hate crimes brought on by xenophobia. The Italian government itself denies discrimination and claims it is an issue of "cohabitation of numbers."[6] Media outlets report on crimes

[3] http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4dd12ad46.html "Working with the European Union" EU and UN mandates on Integration and Resettlement [accessed on 7/1/2011].
[4] http://www.thelocal.de/politics/20110411-34307.html "The Local" is a German newspaper translated into English [accessed on 5/1/2011].
[5] "Berlusconi accende lo scontro sugli immigrati," (Berlusconi turns the Battle to Immigrants) RaiNews24, January 28, 2012, http://www.rainews24.it/it/news.php?newsid=137351 [accessed May 27, 2011].
[6] http://euobserver.com/justice/32181 [accessed on 10/5/2011] "Barroso warns of extremism in immigration debate" (4/14/2011) Valentina Pop EU Observer. The Italian government claims they do not

committed by non-citizens but rarely on cases in which non-citizens are victims of criminal acts. Third, the Italian media tend to group immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers with economic migrants, thus-undermining those whose flight is fully justified on humanitarian grounds. This labeling of those in need of refuge as opportunity seekers and troublemakers further undermines public support. The result is further marginalization, even denial of access to those who go through the proper channels to reach Italy.

Given that background, after the influx of over 25,000 refugees who fled into southern Italy in January 2011, Italy requested financial assistance from the EU for transferring the bulk of its "burden" to other EU member states, specifically to France since the majority of Tunisians were already fluent in French (from being a former French colony) (Geddes: 149).[7] France did offer to help with the situation, but the efforts were limited and this pushed the "burden" back on Italian officials, increasing anti-migrant sentiments within Italy (ibid). With much of the Italian media promoting exclusion and marginalization of non-citizens, Italian communities often viewed these people as a potential burden to their social, economic, and cultural well-being.

The 2011 reaction was complicated by previous Italian actions toward migrants from northern Africa. In May 2009, for example, the government began to return "boat

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discriminate against non-citizens; however, they do have an issue with so many entering their borders and not going through the proper integration process. The cohabitation of numbers (what Italian media refers to as the residency of non-citizenship) is not accurate; therefore, the Italian government cannot offer aid to those outside the systems ("illegals").

[7] Italian colonization of Tunisia occurred when Benito Mussolini's fascist army seized it from France in1942-1943. It was added administratively to existing Northern Italian of Libya or the "Fourth Shore" as part of Mussolini's project for an Imperial Italy. In 1943, as part of the Western Desert Campaign, France regained control of Tunisian territory.

people" back to Libya in accordance with the Friendship Pact thus denying their right to

claim refugee status (Frelick 2009: 3). [8] Even the sick and wounded, pregnant women,

and unaccompanied children were denied refugee status. Despite the objections from the

international community, the government stood strongly in the defense of the Friendship

Pact and claimed it as a viable solution to Italy's refugee burden. Non-Governmental

Organizations (NGOs) declared these actions as violations against human rights.[9] In

reacting to new Libyan arrivals in 2011, the experience with the Friendship Pact was an

unfortunate precedent.

In the Tunisian case, as the 2011 political turmoil increased, many fled in

corroded boats across the Mediterranean Sea towards Italy's nearest territory: Lampedusa

(Schattle 2012: 121, 133)).[10] The four-day journey often came at a brutal cost. Many

lives were lost due to lack of water and food, as well as ships capsizing due to being over

capacity. Bodies were dumped overboard to get rid of the stench, avoid disease, and save

the traffickers from tedious government paperwork. Yet, Tunisians believed it was worth

the risk to reach safety.

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[8] Friendship Pact: In July 1998, the Italian governments offered a formal apology to Libya for Mussolini's tyranny and requested to revive their "friendship" under the terms of the 1947 peace treaty. In August 2008, the two nations signed a "treat of friendship" involving a sum of five billion dollars USD in goods and services, including construction projects on parts of the Cairo-Tunis highway.

[9] Human Rights Violations encompass prohibiting the right of anyone to leave any country (*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)*, Article 12) and the right of everyone to seek asylum (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 14). Italy's summary return of boat people to Libya also indicates that it may be reneging on its own obligations under international law not to return people to places where their lives or freedom would be threatened (Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, article 33) or where they would face inhuman and degrading treatment (Article 3 of the *European Convention on Human Rights*).

[10] Lampedusa is historically known as a maritime base for Greeks, Phoenicians, Romans, and Arabs. In 1972 it became a base for the Italian Coast Guard. During the 1980's, it experienced Libyan terrorist attacks. In recent years it has been a major a transit point for migrants from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

Italy had experience with Tunisian migrants, but they had generally been economic migrants. These new migrants of the Arab Spring, however, did not come in search of economic opportunity; they came to save their lives. This posed a problem for the Italian government because the refugees might be permanently settling. They made an agreement with the Tunisian government to return all migrants (whether refugees or not), but that put them out of compliance with the *1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees*, which specifically forbids returning refugees to the place from which they fled.[11]

There are several issues Italy had with allowing these individuals to enter its territory. The first problem was that, since the influx was potentially massive, it could stir up a sense that Italy was being "invaded," that it would be threatened. The second problem was that Italy has often been a transit country and not one of final resettlement. For instance, the true destination for many Tunisians was France. These individuals would presumably work for at least some time in Italy and save their money to spend elsewhere, therefore, not contributing to the Italian economy. The third problem was the existing xenophobia, marginalization, and social exclusion regarding other minority groups. For example, all "outsiders" (both illegal and legal non-citizens) are often seen n as potential terrorists who could threaten Italy's national security.

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[11] *1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees*: Article 33. - Prohibition of expulsion or return ("refoulement") 1. No Contracting State shall expel or return (" refouler ") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

Italy thus proposed a solution to rid itself of this overwhelming "burden" of newcomers. Under the *Schengen Agreement*, once Italy granted visas to these refugees, they were allowed to travel to the other signatory states.[12] This system would apply to the Tunisian situation in that most of the Tunisians would probably move on to France, which has a far more established Tunisian community. France, however, had objections. When France complained about the incoming Tunisians at their borders, and threatened to institute border controls to keep the Tunisians out, the Italian government then threatened to leave the EU and publicly accused it of abandoning Italy during its refugee crisis.

Meanwhile, Tunisian refugees who still resided on Lampedusa complained of poor living conditions. They lived in tents made out of plastic sheets, had shortages of water and food, as well as poor sanitation facilities. NGOs (Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) sided with the refugees and accused Italy of violating human rights. Italy then sought a different way to rid itself of the burden. It was what Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi believed to be the "only resolution" to the refugee crisis.[13] Many asylum-seekers were deported without legal due process. This was in violation of the *1951 Convention* and the *1990 Dublin Convention (EU Convention on Refugees)*, which states

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[12] *Schengen Agreement*: Agreement was first signed June 14, 1985 then took effect in 1995. Italy signed the agreements on November 27, 1990 to abolish checks at both internal and external borders to allow free movement of individuals seeking asylum.

[13] http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/apr/06/italy-north-africa-refugees-lampedusa (04/06/2011)"Italy is Failing North Africa's Refugees" by Simon McMahon [Accessed on 09/18/2011]

those who apply for asylum must be processed, whether or not they have intentions of staying in the host country.[14]

It is useful to compare this recent experience with Libyans and Tunisians with that of the Albanian Spring 20 years earlier in 1991(Campani 1992: 7). As with the Arab Spring, there was a mass exodus following the fall of the government, Albanians also traveled by decrepit boats, although across the Adriatic Sea rather than the Mediterranean. The exodus was even more condensed in time; the Albanians came by the thousands within a six-day period (ibid). Although Albanians, Tunisians, and Libyans fled political chaos and arrived by the same method of transport, Albanians had a much better initial reception. After all, Albanians in Italy was not a new phenomenon.

Dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries, Albanians had immigrated to Italy. The Albanians, who settled in Italy, called the Arberesh, retained their heritage through the generations, but became part of the fabric of Italian society.[15] Many Italians viewed these new 1991refugees as plausible citizens of their society. With similar physical characteristics, "they were part of a common Adriatic culture" (King and Mai 2008: 27, 66). In Albania, many residents had been able to watch Italian television channels, giving them insight into Italian culture. This provided another commonality with Italians, not

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[14] Refers to the violation of Article 33 (1) of the *1951 UN Convention* (end note 14) and *1990 Dublin Convention or Dublin Regulation (Regulation 2003/343/CE)*. The latter is an EU law which mandates the member state to examine an application for those seeking protection under the Geneva Convention and the EU Qualification Directive within the EU. Italy has been a signatory member since September 1, 2007.

[15] Arberesh or Arbereshe: When Albania fell to the Turks in 1468, King of Aragon, Alfonso (of Naples and Sicily) and his successors offered refuge to thousands of Albanians. In the following decades, waves of refugees arrived on the shores of southern Italy, specifically in Calabria. In Sicily, Albanians founded several towns referred to "Abereshe communities", which still exist today.

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only in the past, but in the present as well. The Albanians were thus readily granted work permits and were placed throughout Italy as part of a program designed to integrate them.

Despite the commonality of being "children of the same sea," however, Italy's reception soon stretched thin and hospitality wore out (Dal Lago 2009: 197). Later – arriving Albanian refugees did not receive such a warm welcome. They were grouped together in the local Puglian stadium with no bathrooms –food air-dropped by helicopters (Kamali 2009:169).[16] Others were given 40 Euros, a new pair of clothes, and then deported back to Albania within a three-week timeframe.

These "special bonds" between the Italians and Albanians did not last long for several reasons. Despite the racial resemblances and a non-xenophobic attitude, Albanians were still considered a "backwards" society; an archaic culture. Furthermore, rumors began to spread on how Albanian refugees were recruited by the local Italian mafia, creating more crime, and threatening national security. There were also suggestions from the media that Albanians were not really refugees; they were not fleeing from persecution, but were actually economic migrants seeking financial gain. The initial welcoming reception quickly turned negative, including riots against the Albanians, resulting in some injuries.

The initial positive response to Albanian refugees thus contrasted with that for Tunisians and Libyans. In racial terms, Albanians were similar. They also had a historical

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[16] Puglian Stadium: In August of 1991, the cargo ship, Viora carries thousands of Albanians escaping from the fall of their communist regime; it landed on the Puglian coastline of Southern Italy. These Albanians were then rounded up and transferred to the Puglian football stadium in Bari. Due to dismal living conditions, violent protests erupted. Some members of the media and politicians characterized these individuals as undesirables increasing already simmering social tensions. Some political officials painted them as unruly and uncivilized and called for harsh laws to be enacted. This incident marked the turning point toward the exploitation of immigration issues for an exclusionist xenophobic sentiment.

connections and familial ties. Perhaps if not for the large overwhelming numbers, the Albanians would have been accepted and able to integrate successfully without Italian rejection. Compared to the initial positive response to Albanians, Tunisians and Libyans did not have a chance even at the beginning. Tunisians and Libyans have little cultural connection to Italians. Their physical characteristics are different and their overall way of life seemed to have little overlap with Italian assumptions of cultural and economic superiority.

Despite those differences between Albanians and Libyans/Tunisians twenty years later, both groups ultimately met with a negative reception. Albanians came to be viewed as a hindrance and a danger to the Italian way of life just as were the Tunisians and Libyans. They were in the way of Italian progress; at best they were nuisances to Italian society.

The Roma or *Zingari* provide another example of the Italian response to newcomers and minorites.[17] The *Zingari* are the largest minority group in Europe, and account for an estimated 52 percent of the non-citizen population in Italy, as of 2008 (Caritas Italiana).[18] The *Zingari* are without doubt the most reviled immigrants in Italy. Advocates for them have appealed for action to the European Parliament Council of the European Union, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), and the Office of the

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[17] Roma are a subgroup of the *Romani* people or "gypsies" who lived mainly in central and Eastern Europe, Balkans as well as Western Anatolia. *Zingari* is from the Italian *gli zingari* meaning the Gypsies. For the purpose of this case study, I am referring to the *Roma* as *Zingari* because that is what they are called in Italian communities.

[18] Caritas Italiana *is* an *NGO* monitor established in 1987. Caritas is a confederation of 162 Catholic relief, development and social service organizations working to build a better way of life for the poor and oppressed in over 200 countries, and to make NGOs accountable to ensure relief is effective and unbiased wherever it is needed.

High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). Yet, no formal resolutions have been made or social integration programs attempted to aid them. Both the right and far-right Italian political parties resist any policies that would aid non-citizens. In the absence of any positive efforts, negative actions prevailed in Italy. These included the discharge of refugee camps without alternative solutions, leaving many homeless, causing an outbreak of social tensions within communities. Other issues were harassment and persecution from police authorities, an increase of violence and hostility from xenophobic groups such as Lega Nord, especially from the media as well as the outbreak of hate crimes.[19]

Press accounts encouraged the spread of negative attitudes towards *Zingari*. The results have included the exodus of migrants to surrounding countries or repatriation. Many deaths have occurred due to illness, malnutrition, and violence resulting in hate crimes. Children have also been affected by being removed from their biological parents to ensure "decent living conditions." *Zingari* parents were claimed unfit for parenthood thereby providing justification for the Italian government to intercede and take away their children.[20]

Because of such problems, an estimated 45,000 *Zingari* received assistance in 2007 for help in settling into communities as well as in schooling programs managed by human rights organizations. These projects were, however, short-lived as they were

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[19] Romano Prodi was the Italian Prime Minister in 1996 and 1998, *Decreto espulsion No. 181* (deportation decree no. 181) was initiated giving authorization to deport European citizens who posed a threat to public security. This decree seemed to target the *Zingari* and allowed police to deport entire groups of *Zingari* based on public security issues.

[20] http://www.errc.org/article/forced-removal-of-romani-children-from-the-care-of-their-families/2290 "Forced Removal of Romani Children from the Care of their Families" by Jolie Chai 7/21/2005 [Accessed on 8/7/2011].

eventually taken over by police authorities from NGOs. Despite the unjust treatment by police of the *Zingari*, local citizens were encouraged to support their actions by the Italian government. Insufficient training of law enforcement personnel added to the issue. Brutal policies were enforced, which included acts of inhumane behavior such as random body pat-downs, questioning, and searches of personal items, forcing many to flee, which left an estimated 3,000 living in Italy in poor unsanitary conditions. Many *Zingari* who remain in Italy still desire to flee to neighboring EU member states, particularly Spain and France, but others still believe it would be better to stay in Italy with hopes of a better life later on.

In these cases –Albanians, Libyans/Tunisians, and *Zingari* – instead of reporting hate crimes and resisting negative labeling by media outlets, non-citizens have tended to tolerate their own marginalization and victimization. Their human rights are not protected and there is no political representation. Anti-immigrant sentiment is exploited by extremist groups. Social conflicts and crime fuel media outlets, which can contribute to negative attitudes as well as promote xenophobic stereotypes with hate crimes as a byproduct. These actions can persuade Italian citizens to believe that, since most non-citizens are foreign-born, they consider themselves outside Italian law and do not have to obey it, therefore it is their own fault for being social excluded and marginalized because they choose to be and remain different.

One result is an increase in hate crimes and also a tolerance of them by the government and the general population. As migrants are labeled as outsiders and as criminals, there has developed an "environment of tolerance;" in which aggressions

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towards non-citizens is simply accepted as a part of everyday life in Italy (Hermann: March 28, 2011). Hate crimes are rarely prosecuted and officials downplay racially-motivated problems and lack the action to effectively condemn these attacks. There is insufficient training of law enforcement and judiciary officials as well as incomplete reports of hate crimes, which make the problem even more complicated.

The Political Problem

The frequent animosity towards non-citizens is in some ways surprising because the Italian government officially portrays Italy as an equal and just country that gladly supports the rights it its own constitution, in the conventions of the UN and of the EU, and in the more general global condemnation of discrimination. Yet, the Italian media and the Italian government often seem to take a position against those seeking either refuge or simply a better life. Italy may have a superficial image as an enforcer of human rights, yet violates those rights through its tacit acceptance of exploitation and dehumanization of non-citizens.

One fundamental reason for the problem is the strength of right and center/right political parties in Italy. In 2008, a resurgent Silvio Berlusconi established a coalition with the anti-immigrant Northern League (Lega Nord). Together they announced publicly the need to enact "emergency" procedures to handle non-citizens. Legislation was passed making undocumented or "illegal" entrance into Italy a crime. Harsher penalties were enforced for undocumented individuals committing crimes. In January 2010, Berlusconi added that "a reduction of migrants would mean a reduction in crime."

While in power as Italian Prime Minister, Berlusconi authorized many decrees that violated human rights: for instance, the enactment of night-watch vigilante groups paroling the streets for suspicious activity among minority communities.[21] Through this decree, the Italian government encouraged discriminatory acts of violence on non-European citizens, thereby making hate crimes acceptable within Italian society. His other decrees encompassed these night-watch vigilante groups to report to police authorities providing a budget increase of 100 million (Euros) from the funds of the ministry of interior. Berlusconi's reasoning was that this would prevent native Italians from taking the law into their own hands. With the aid of media reports in newspapers and news television vilifying "foreigners," the government maintained its justification of Berlusconi's anti-immigrant legal orders.

Berlusconi made xenophobia his central theme in his 2008 campaign, and followed through when he became prime minister. He depicted non-citizens as the main root of Italy's socio-economic problems. Police raids and negative labeling of non-citizens subjected these individuals to harassment, arrest, and attacks. Many were taken into custody by police authorities charged with "illegal" entry into Italian territories, while others were moved to Italian borders and eventually deported. Berlusconi declared an "asylum-seeker crisis" as the numbers in refugee camps doubled. Since illegal entry

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[21] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1193111/Italy-revives-Blackshirt-vigilantes-fears-Fascism-sparks-investigation.html "Italy Revives Mussolini's 'Blackshirt' Vigilantes as fears of Fascism sparks Invesitgation, by Nick Pisa, 6/15/2009 [Accessed on 7/9/2011].

was not a "crime" detainees were to be confined for up to 18 months without legal assistance or due process.[22]

This anti-immigrant stance was a long-standing one for the coalition partner, the Lega Nord. As migration increased in Italy during the last decades of the twentieth century, immigration issues became a key focus of Italian politics and a useful hot topic during election campaigns. The Lega Nord profited from this concern and promoted anti-immigrant policies along with its core attacks on southern Italy. With the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, they encouraged the stereotype of Muslims as advocates of violence and potential terrorists. Lega Nord labeled these attacks as a threat to Italy's Christian identity bringing attention to the ties between social and religious issues on the one hand, and crime and terrorism on the other. This created rifts in the social fabric of Italian society.

The Lega Nord per l'independenza della Padania (Northern League for the independence of Padania) is a right-wing coalition whose foundation is based on federal autonomy. Aside from promoting anti-immigration initiatives, it also advocated independence for northern Italy. The party declares its superiority to the inferior "global south" of Italy.[23] With most of Italy's industry within the northern region, Lega Nord maintains most of its support from northern Italy's most populous regions. Italy has

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[22] *Pacchetto Sicurezza* (Security Package) or (Ddl 733) derived from the *EU Directive 2008/115 of the European Parliament* (Articles 15 and 16) which establishes the procedure by which member states may return illegally-staying "third country nationals". The Italian government interpreted this decree as license to punish those committing the act of illegally staying in Italy.

[23] "Global South" is a term I found frequently used in the media to describe the southern region of Italy where the majority of non-citizens reside. But I cannot be sure of the exact way in which it was derived from its more general international usage.

remained polarized between the industrial north and the agrarian south and has been since the beginning of the modern Italian nation-state (Lucht 2012: 25).

Despite being considered a minor party, Lega Nord managed to influence the unstable Italian parliament, and reflected the pervasive politicization of Italy's economic divide. Their core objective is to make northern Italy an autonomous nation. The party compares its fight for independence to that of the United States of America, claiming Thomas Jefferson's natural right of self-determination by using this slogan *"Diritto Naturale di Autodeterminazione"*(Natural Law of Self-Determination)in their campaigns(Llewellyn 2009: 506). Lega Nord views the agrarian south as a burden, claiming that this region prevents the prosperity of the modern industrial north.

Lega Nord further downgrades southern Italy due to the mass migration of African refugees (Black 2012: 44). These *"extracomunitari"* (exiles) provide the bulk of the southern agricultural labor force (ibid). Lega Nord portrays a convenient image of southern Italy as the impoverished part of Italy composed of poor farming communities and a "3-D" non-citizen workforce, which provides the cultural basis for antipathy towards the south (Lucht 2012: 26 & 54).[24] This creates an implicit form of "ethnic segregation," which can amplify the economic polarization between the north and south (ibid: 25). For example, certain sectors of the labor market are largely composed of non-citizens who are willing to take "dirty jobs." These occupations usually involve low-wages and sometimes strenuous physical labor with little to no advancement in the workforce. Labor seems to no longer be based on level of skill, but on completion of the

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[24] 3-D jobs are the "dirty, difficult, and dangerous ' ones that are undesirable and sometimes degrading such as cleaning services, street vendors, farm labor, small factory textiles, and prostitution.

work. This is crucial because it means that labor does not function as a "collective identificatory framework" and "social coagulant" that guarantees political equality in a community, therefore jeopardizing equal rights (Muehlebach 2011: 64). This form of acceptance makes these individuals susceptible to not only exploitation, but as people in an inferior position threatening their human rights. This is the platform which Lega Nord promotes in their campaigns (Mole 2012: 4 &9).

The combination of anti-south and anti-immigrant sentiments has been an effective one for them. They had a major success in 2002 with the *Legge Bossi-Fini* (Bossi-Fini Act). The act requires the state to grant visas only to those with a "pre-existing" contract to be employed in Italy.[25] The act thus excluded any irregular migrant automatically excluding refugees and states in paragraph 14, "foreign citizens living without any justified reason in the state territory, in violation to (paragraph 5) are to be arrested-minimum six months up to a year detention" (Huysmans, Dobson, and Prokhovnik 2006: 79).

Lega Nord's xenophobic actions fueled Italy's anxiety in dealing with the multi-cultural impact of non-European immigration in southern Italy. This discrimination allows the northern Italian population to attribute to the south's economic dependency the same factors attributed to minority groups, whether-North Africans, Albanians, or Zingari. Lega Nord encourages northerners to put refugees, asylum seekers, labor

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[25] *Legge Bossi-Fini* July 30, 2002 (no. 189), The Act was originally a legislative decree no. 286 and involves the provisions governing immigration and the status of foreigners. It is named after the leader of the *Alleanza Nazionale* (National Alliance) Gianfranco Fini and the *Lega Nord* (Northern League), Umberto Bossi, but with full support of the Berlusconi government.

migrants, and ethnic minorities together with southern Italians in one single, negative category.

Having southern Italians and all minority groups in one category allows social exclusion to thrive within Italian society. Southern Italy's image as a third-world culture in a first-world industrial society provides a nesting ground for what Amartya Sen (as discussed later in Chapter four) refers to as a "quiet acceptance" which permits hate crimes and other acts of violence to thrive and become a tolerant part of everyday life. Governments quietly accept the lack of human rights protection and the comprehensive absence of opportunities for non-citizens such as in the workforce. For example, many non-citizens are willing to accept any kind of working conditions in the "unorganized labor force" of the Italian labor market (Lucht 2012: 25). These consistent deprivations gives rise to a new form of racial consciousness which provides parties such as the Lega Nord the propaganda needed to promote their "nativist" views of pure Italian self-identity (Virno and Hardt 1996:258). The party's racial motives cast a divide between the Germanic, northern European ancestry of the north of Italy and the Mediterranean and African ancestry of the south of Italy.

The Lega Nord did not, of course, function alone. The Popolo della Liberta (The People of Freedom) (PDL) is the more implicit anti-immigrant center-right party launched by Silvio Berlusconi in 2007.[26] With the backing of both Lega Nord and his party PDL, Berlusconi became prime minister for the fourth time in April 2008. In his

[26] PDL or sometimes called People of the Liberty Party remains one of the major parties of the Italian party system. It was formed then *Forza Italia* (Italian Force) and Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance) merged with Silvio Berlusconi as its founder, and which later formed an alliance with Lega Nord launching numerous anti-immigrants campaigns throughout Italy.

campaign, he focused on security and immigration as well as linking immigrants with criminal activity. His administration quickly established "emergency decrees" to criminalize entry and settlement in Italy without documents, and tried to impose harsher penalties for crimes committed by non-citizens.

With support from the public, the government targeted non-citizens (both legal and illegal status). As noted earlier, being undocumented became a crime punishable by a fine of up to 13, 000 USD. This law forced many employment-based residents to lose their right to legally stay in Italy. Many would succumb to expulsion if they were not hired within a six-month timeframe. The Italian government further subjected non-citizens to prison sentences longer than those of regular Italian citizenry who committed the same crime. Berlusconi boasted publicly that less of "them" meant fewer crimes.[27] The Constitutional Court of Italy ordered that this was a violation of the constitutional "principle of equality before the law," making the fines invalid, therefore, null and void.[28]

The Governmental Problem

While much of the negative attitudes and actions against non-citizens reflect right wing politics in Italy, there is also a more pervasive problem that involves the Italian government overall. Non-citizens face serious problems in Italy. Many are vilified, unemployed, and rejected from schools in some cases. Activists claim these individuals'

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[27] http://www.theafricanews.com/component/content/article/34-italy/227-berlusconi-less-illegal-immigrants-means-less-crimes.html "Berlusconi: less illegal immigrants means less crimes". (01/29/2010) [Accessed on 8/12/2011]

[28] "Equality before the Law" is a human right to equal protection of the laws. It is any basic right or freedom to which all human beings are entitled and in whose exercise a government may not interfere (including rights to life and liberty as well as freedom of though and expression and equality before the law) as well as *Article 3* of the Italian Constitution.

rights are violated and, by doing so, the activists themselves are harassed by police. Not surprisingly, non-citizens are incarcerated in Italian prisons at a high relative rate and are often not offered legal protection or representation. Asking for charity is illegal in many cities according to local laws, allowing police authorities to arrest those who beg throughout Italy.

The Italian government appears not to make a priority of preventing and prosecuting those who commit xenophobic violence (Bordeau 2009: 38). Non-citizens of Italy are often victims of attacks and the lack of action by the Italian government seems to suggest that they are. Officials seem to ignore these incidents, which encourages these issues to escalate. The political rhetoric of government policies on the non-citizens fuels an environment of tolerance for potential hate crimes. Accusations of injustice by non-citizens are rare, due to government officials making the issue seem less important.

The government publicly blames its social and economic problems on non-citizens (whether in both legal and illegal status) instead of preventing further violence on these non-citizens. Authorities documented some hate crimes from 2010 to 2011, but Human Rights Watch (NGO) documented almost twice as many crimes within the same timeframe. Brutal beatings and even deaths were recorded along with cases of law enforcement abuses during camp evictions.[29]

The problem is not with the law itself. According to Italian law established in 2002, increased prison sentences apply to those convicted of racial hate crimes. But this

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[29] http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/31/world/europe/31italy.html?_r=0 by Rachel Donadio, The New York Times 03/30/2011 [Accessed on 8/26/2011].

law has had little effect.[30] The reason is that many court officials apply the law only to crimes is which race is the only reason for the crime committed. If hate crimes are motivated by sexual orientation, gender identity, or factors other than racism, these cases are simply ignored or dismissed.[31]

The lack of effort made by Italian officials on hate crimes provided the lead for the media to let the public believe that hate crimes were a rare occurrence. The media rarely reported authentic hate crimes. Police and government authorities use this lack of knowledge to their advantage. They defend their lack of efforts for non-citizens who are victimized by declaring hate crimes are a rare event in society (Sunderland 2011: 61-65). This is a significant problem because there is a lack of specialized training in investigating and prosecuting hate crimes. Many minority groups are exposed to victimization or even may succumb to death. Abuses are not thoroughly investigated, leaving many non-citizens with little to no faith in the justice system as well as public institutions. They wind up fearing and mistrusting the authorities that are supposed to protect them. Building trust between non-citizen communities and Italian authorities becomes a difficult task, which ultimately prevents successful integration and resettlement.

These problems with hate crimes reflect broader problems with the Italian legal system. The legal system and the socio-political context violate universally recognized human rights. When the judicial system is corrupt, protection of these rights is weakened,

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[30] Article 43 Law 189/2002 http://legislationline.org/documents/action/popup/id/5114

[31] *La Legge Foschi* (Law Foschi) (943/1986) : this legislation was placed as collateral for non-citizens to ensure adequate living conditions to a place in society. *La Legge Foschi*, is an Italian law that came into fruition in 1986, which promised equal opportunity in employment for all legal immigrants and their families, and guaranteed the right to retain their cultural identity.

hence "transforming" it into a mechanism of oppression by the government. It is mostly

minority groups who suffer from this corruption due to marginalization and the denial of

representation (Gounev and Ruggiero 2012: 87). Corrupt judiciaries "fracture" and divide

communities by legitimizing unjust treatment (Zetter 2007: 174). Judicial corruption

ensures social segregation as well as violates human rights by abuse and denial of due

process.

Corruption can occur at every level of the legal system. It can range from

politicization within the legal system to government agencies. Impacts of this

politicization can be revealed in delays of court hearings and cases, removal of law

officials by government authorities, and bribery.[32] By these actions, the message is clear

– corruption is tolerated.

When the integrity of the legal system is compromised, protection is not

guaranteed and the accused is left at the mercy of the state. Trust is then compromised

between the non-citizen groups and the institution they depend on for the security and

safety of their basic human rights. The right to fair trial, for example, is a fundamental

and inalienable entitlement which also includes: right to a hearing in a timely manner;

right to a qualified lawyer; and right to an impartial judge. When the right to a fair trial is

not enforced, efforts to battle corruption and receive just treatment remain difficult.[33]

One major problem is that law officials are protected by legal immunities in order

to avoid outside influence. This "judicial immunity" can be abused by judiciaries,

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[32] http://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/10/world/bribery-as-a-way-of-life-in-italy.html "Bribery as a Way of Life in Italy" by Celestine Bohlen (12/10/1995) [Accessed on 9/12/2011].
[33]No. 448 Decree of the President of the Republic on the Approval of the Criminal Procedure Involving Juvenile Defendants (adopted on September 22, 1988).

exempting them from accountability for their actions (*Global Corruption Report* 2007). It becomes difficult to reprimand law officials even if there is clear evidence of corruption. The absence of a fair trial undermines all other fundamental rights, reaffirming mistrust among communities.

Over the past two decades, these legal problems in Italy have remained unresolved. Efforts to correct the problems seem misdirected, causing the problems within the system to be ignored rather than resolved. State funding has been provided for non-citizen legal assistance, but with few clear expectations judicial integrity. Instead funding has focused on reduction of court workloads and case management. Such inadequacies undermine efforts to protect and secure the rights of non-citizens already in Italy or of those seeking to enter Italy whether for safety or employment. Existing funding mechanisms contribute to mal-distribution through short funding cycles.

The lack of accountability and misdirection of funding maintains judicial corruption. Without an outside independent institution responsible for enforcing justice, a culture of human rights cannot succeed. While it is pointless to prioritize fundamental rights by rank of significance due to the fact that rights are "mutually enforcing", the right to just and legal due process can be viewed as vital because it is the mechanism which secures other rights (ibid).

The negative effect of a corrupt legal system can also hinder the ability of the international community to address transnational crime and terrorism; it diminishes trade, economic growth, and human development as well as denies non-citizens fair treatment when settling disputes with neighbors and police authorities. Corruption within the legal

system prevents humanitarian aid from assisting those who need just and fair treatment. Its effects are likely to be the most severe for non-citizens in Italy and for those who seek safety and opportunity.

The Problem with International Law

As a case study, the Italian government's unfair treatment of non-citizens violates a number of articles under the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (*UDHR*) and it is a human rights obligation of not just Italy, but of any government to investigate, prosecute, educate against, and eliminate hate crimes. These issues of protection are especially acute with refugees. Human rights legal and institutional frameworks can offer insight to the problems with the Italian situation. Italian as well as international human rights groups detect political bias through negative rhetoric and violence against certain non-citizen groups. Links between criminal activity and non-citizens are publicized creating an environment of prejudice. Under International Human Rights Law, Italy is obligated to take preventive measures when it comes to hate crimes involving racism and xenophobia.[34] Italy is also mandated to provide solutions to end violence and prevent further abuses.

The obligation of the state, in this case Italy, to provide protection to non-citizens is not always clear and the role of the international community is limited. Once registered with the UNHCR, many non-citizens may seek resettlement. Yet, refugees do not have a right to be resettled, and states such as Italy are not mandated under the *1951 Refugee*

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[34] http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/Pages/InternationalLaw.aspx

Convention or any other instrument to accept refugees for resettlement.[35] It is a "voluntary scheme" coordinated by the UNHCR to facilitate "burden-sharing" among signatory states under the *1951 Convention*. The host country can easily use the method of *refoulement* or relocate refugees to other countries that are willing to accept them, despite the inability of some to provide for the massive numbers under this broad definition.[36]

Not all non-citizens are protected under the *1951 Convention*. Exclusion clauses apply to individuals who violate human rights and criminals. This includes individuals who commit crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and non-political crimes.[37] When non-citizens are in another territory, they are entitled to the rights as refugees under the *1951 Refugee Convention*. One of the fundamental human rights includes access to legal courts which is "accorded to the citizens of the state hosting the refugee."[38] Those recognized in a host country and who reside legally are ensured some kinds of public aid. The rights to employment, property, education, and housing must be equivalent to those of a citizen; "no less favorable" and may not be applied in a biased form based on race, religion, or country of origin.[39] Under EU Law, Article 48 of the *EC Treaty* (*European Community Treaty*: Art. 48(2); Council Regulation No 1612/68 Art. 7(2)), a country in which asylum seekers enter must deal with their refugee applications and their temporary residence while their claims to asylum are being assessed.

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[35] http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?docid=438c6d972
[36] http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?docid=437b6db64
[37] http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/43f48c0b4.pdf
[38] http://www.unhcr.org/4ec262df9.pdf
[39] (Ibid)

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) require all

state parties to make sure certain fundamental rights are given to all persons regardless of

race, language, and religion. The *International Convention on the Elimination of Racial*

Discrimination (ICERD) requires states to provide to all persons rights "without

distinction as to race, color, or national or ethnic origin." It also guarantees security and

protection against violent acts by individuals, groups and governments.

The *European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR)* supports the equal

"enjoyment" of all Convention rights irrespective of race, religion, national and social

groups as well as establishes measures to prevent and punish violations of human rights.

It also demands the protection of persons from attacks or "positive obligations" (Kalin

and Kunzil: 372).[40] These positive obligations are reinforced by the *ECHR* to examine all

potential racial motives. It is crucial that inquiries are pursued with great effort and

neutrality. This systematic approach provides the confidence and trust of minorities. This

approach allows authorities to protect to minorities from hate crimes and xenophobic

violence (Edel 2010: 73).

The European Union (EU) also tackles issues of discrimination and xenophobia

with the *European Union Council Framework Decision* (2008) within the framework of

criminal law (Craig and De Burca 2008: 252). It mandates all EU states (Italy included)

to punish those guilty of hate crimes. This legal tool ensures that crimes that are racially

motivated are punishable by national law. Italy is also required by the Organization for

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[40] *Positive obligations:* In human rights law denote the State's obligations to engage in an activity to
secure the effective enjoyment of a fundamental right, as opposed to negative obligations to abstain from
human rights obligations. For example, in order to secure an individual's right to family life, the state may
not be mandated to refrain from interfering, but "positively" to facilitate family reunions or parents
accessing their children.

Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to take action against hate crimes in order to address the problem such as bringing awareness within communities, helping victims, and providing legal aid.

According to International Human Rights Law (IHL), the states have obligations to prevent "racist and xenophobic violence (the duty to protect) as well as inquire and prosecute perpetrators." Article 20 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)* states that any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence shall be prohibited by law. Instead Italian authorities seem to ignore violence against immigrants, allowing xenophobia to grow. A rise in attacks on Africans and other non-citizen minority groups was hardly reported on news media outlets. The Italian Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni claimed these violent incidents against these groups are random; they are "episodes that remain completely marginal and are rejected by society" (*Human Rights Watch*). Unfortunately, The National Office against Racial Discrimination only recently began to document these incidents in September 2010.

Despite mass migration flows and those seeking asylum through proper channels, Italy is the only EU member state that does not have a law that grant rights to asylum and humanitarian protection. Instead in 2001, the Ministry of Interior established the *National Program for Asylum*. This program describes the preparation for refugees and asylum seekers to successfully integrate and adapt to Italian culture and society. It distributes aid, education, and shelter. It also provides arrangements for those seeking voluntary repatriation and reintegration in their home country. Yet, despite all efforts to compensate

their lack of initiative, Italy is still the only EU member state without its own immigration laws to providing asylum.

The social exclusion of non-citizens has not been the center of EU debate (Hynes 2011: 26). They are becoming part of the system of structural violence. It becomes a socially inherited trait which passes down from generation to generation making even children disliked throughout their lives. Neighboring EU member states such as France and Spain are adopting the Italian model of strict police control and negative press accounts. Non-citizen minority groups are kept at a distance becoming outcasts of civil society. In employment they are confined to low level jobs with little to no opportunity outside the field. This form of a caste system encourages the next generations to succumb to the same treatment and way of life that the parents endured. It legitimizes a vicious cycle of poverty and hopelessness, which make up structural violence in a society (Farmer 2005: 40).

European nations develop restrictive policies based on the protection of refugees. Prior to the 1990s, although these states did not conduct *refoulement*, they provided only minimal rights. In order to enforce restrictions, beginning in 1994, the EU was the first to establish rapid asylum procedures. This process began at airports as an "accelerated determination system" as a form of expedited processing (Mertus & Shoenholtz 2006: 424). This system was a quick fix to the massive flow of non-citizens during this period. They also vested in "complementary or subsidiary protection" as a positive approach despite limitations in dealing with the mass influx of Yugoslavian refugees during the 1990s.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at the time

Sadako Ogata (1991-2001), called on the international community to grant temporary

protection. UNHCR and certain European nations seemed hesitant and made the

assumption that the conflicts would resolve without the need for action, fearing that any

access to permanent asylum would further exacerbate ethnic cleansing by oppressors. As

a result, those who did cross borders within European states experienced different levels

of treatments and rights. Access to asylum was denied, and continues to be today.

When a nation willingly resorts to *refoulement*, it is clear that the state desires

asylum seekers to go elsewhere. Denied access seems to be the preferred method of

disposal of these individuals who add to the Italian "burden." Visa requirements, carrier

sanctions, delayed filing deadlines and detention exclude them from proper reception,

and prevent successful integration and resettlement. Challenges include the absence of a

secure environment without protection as well. The lack of response by Italy weakens the

first step to asylum, which intensifies a chain reaction of xenophobia, social exclusion,

and structural violence.

Both the *Dublin Convention* and the *Schengen Implementation Treaty,* both

identify the country responsible for making a determination to accept or deny refugee

status.[41] Once the decision is made, all other signatories must then pledge to respect that

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[41] *Dublin Convention or Dublin II Regulation*: Council Regulation *(EC)* No. 343/2003 of 02/18/2003 establishes the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining asylum applications lodged of the Member States by the applicant.
Schengen Implementation Treaty or Schengen Agreement: is aimed at creating an extended area of free movement over all signatory member states territories at the same time maintaining a high level of security for local citizenry. Italy became of member 10/26/1997 agreeing to all conditions of the treaty.

determination. Yet, the assumption is that all EU countries are safe and those granted asylum and the individuals should have no further problems once resettled.

Although there are many mandates imposed by international law, Italy does have several immigration laws concerning the protection of human rights for non-citizens. In Italian law, Article Three of the Italian Constitution ensures the "equal dignity" of all citizens "without distinction based on sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, or personal and social conditions"(Giubboni and Inston 2003 : 217). The Italian Court reiterates that this article applies to not just citizens, but to all who reside on the Italian territories both domestic and foreign. What is more significant is the law which prosecutes crimes involving violence associated with racism. The Law no. *205* or *Mancino Law* (1993) permits judiciaries to increase sentencing for crimes "with the purpose of discrimination or hatred based on ethnicity, nationality, race, religion"(Thiel 2009: 214). Unfortunately, the *Mancino Law* does not specifically use the phrase hate crimes, however, it does state any crime which provokes violent acts motivated by racism, and ethnicity, nationality, or religion can be sentenced ranging from six months to four years of imprisonment or up to 8,000 USD in fines.

Detention of non-citizens can be viewed as another deliberate method of intimidating new arrivals and the potential cause of violence and hate crimes. Detention is an important issue because it is a practice which can erode the ability for detainees to receive appropriate representation. Linguistic and cultural barriers as well as the complexity of asylum laws can threaten legal and the self-representation of non-citizens within a community because it can jeopardize a legitimate right to protection; "Asylum

seekers are 4-6 times more likely to be granted asylum if they are [properly] represented"
(Schoenholtz and Jacobs 2003: 74).

The most developed international and regional protection for forced migration applies to officially recognized refugees, specifically individuals who cross international borders (Council of Europe: Parliamentary Assembly 2005: 27). Only recently has the topic of non-citizens been a focal point as one of the issues involving the prevention of protection and security in the topic of migration.

The protection of non-citizens is an issue of concern because governments such as Italy take priority in protecting their citizens first, regardless of international law obligations (Ruzza and Fella 2009: 93, 75). Unlike refugee circumstances where UNHCR is clear, there are no mandates for the protections and safety of non-citizens. The lack of aid, protection and unchanging policies are major debilitating factor in providing for individuals who need it the most. This can be due in part to offending states being powerful members of the UN Security Council. For example, certain permanent members (China, France, United Kingdom, and U.S.A.) have the power to veto of the international community from supplying protection and aid to those internationally displaced such as the case was with the situation with Russian Federation and China being members of the UN Security Council preventing aid to Chechnya and Tibet (Rimanelli 2009: 640).

Despite all laws provided for the protection of non-citizens ranging from international agreements, EU laws and Italian laws, assistance is still limited. *Refoulement* seems to be a temporary solution to a permanent problem. Access to legal due process is vague and awareness to public aid may be available, yet many are unaware

of its benefits. Racist based crimes against non-citizens are punishable by laws, yet due to problems in the definition of hate crimes, many reports are not taken into consideration. Violence-induced by racism appears to be hardly noticed by both police authorities and the media. There are still laws needed to be not only initiated, but enforced to ensure humanitarian protection.

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA: NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE

The Italian media has a strong influential power in shaping the public's image of the world and thus have a great responsibility. If they fail to carry out this responsibility, xenophobia can spread, contributing to the social exclusion of minority groups and undercutting their basic human rights. Anti-immigrant and anti-minority language and labeling used by the media can increase the problem. In Italy this is often the case. There is an overwhelming amount of print and television media that produce derogatory images and this increases prejudice among the Italian public. Sensationalized storytelling in the media can make life difficult for those attempting a new future in Italy because it portrays a vision of non-citizens attempting to ruin society instead of strengthening it.

Italy is known for its media censorship and its media bias that favors particular political interests. This problem is not just about Silvio Berlusconi owning a majority of Italian media outlets. There are several media groups and news organizations such as *RCS, L'Espresso Editorial group, Fininves,* and *Caltagirone Editore* that influence the Italian public with their own interests and opinions.[42]

Italian journalism never fully regained its independence since the days of Mussolini. Felice Froio sheds light on how one Spanish journalist, Juan Arias, fled from

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[42] *RCS MediaGroup* formerly *Rizzoli-Corriere della Sera* in Milan is considered to be an international multimedia publishing group that works operates daily newspapers, magazines , books, as well as radio broadcasting .

Franco's Spain to Italy only to find that "the intertwining between politics and journalism is one of the cancers of Italian journalism" (Froio 2000:179). He further noted that Italian journalism is bonded to power: "every journalist was accepted because they were recommended by politicians." Froio emphasizes the lack of independence in Italian journalism. Politicians like Berlusconi control newspapers and popular magazines, which are filled with their own politicized interests. Other newspapers are official proponents of political parties L'Unita, for example, which leans towards the left Democratic Party, although it at least admits to its bias –unlike many others.[43]

In *Morte e Resurrezione dei Giornali*, (The Death and Resurrection of Newspapers) Enrico Pedemonte discusses the resulting conflicts of interests. Newspapers such as *Il Corriere della Serra* (The Evening Courier) and *La Repubblica* (The Republic) are directly controlled by corporate industrial interests. Industrial controlled media cannot be completely independent, "journalists know that industrialist editors are first of all industrialists, then editors" (Froio: 194).

Italian newspapers also seem to pay little attention to "transparency," which is essential to a free press. This makes it difficult to create an effective "watchdog" role, such as that provided by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the United States. There is only one newspaper that appears to understand "transparency" and that is the independent, *Il Fatto Quotidiano* (The Daily Fact). It is currently the only major Italian newspaper that does not receive state funding and thereby declares its

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[43] L'Unita is an Italian newspaper founded by Antonio Gramsci in 1924, 2007 was a part of coalition with Lega Nord.

independence. It has openly criticized Berlusconi, but also opposed both policies of the left and the right.

Negative, Reporting, Labeling and Stereotyping

In Italian newspapers, there is a great deal of sensationalism, exploitation and expression of xenophobic sentiment. There are several articles that are discussed in the following this section which reveal common themes that ecompass negative connotations of corruption, drugs, violence, prostitution and religious extremism. Improper grammar is used to describe several minority groups from Albania, Morocco, Nigeria, and regions of South America. Non-citizens, especially newcomers, are depicted as either delinquent or "ghetto" individualswho will contribute nothing to society. For example, the choice of words, such as "Clandestino" and "Mangos" are used to describe undocumented individuals instead of a general reference such as gender (i.e. male or female). Even a more neutral term, like *Sudamericano* (South American), serves to stereotype very diverse populations. Both the actual slurs and the seemingly more neutral terms help create misunderstanding and conflict that undermine attempts to coexist in a multicultural environment.

One article discusses the controversy over the son of the founder of Lega Nord (Northern League). Renzo Bossi received a degree from the University of Tirana in Albania dated September 29, 2010.[44] Lega Nord (discussed earlier) is currently one of the

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[44] Article of 5/5/2012 by Servgio Copper in *Il Giornale (The Journal)* "Laurea in Albania avvocato Renzo Bossi Illegale? Non e mai venuto a Tirana" (Degree in Albania attorney: Renzo Bossi illegal? It never occurred to Tirana).

larger political parties in Italy and strongly advocates anti-immigration policies. Critics

dubbed his academic degree as "clandestino" (illegal) which is an unofficial reference

used to clump together a wide range of people, ranging from labor migrants to refugees

and asylum seekers. The problem of which the article focuses on is not how Renzo Bossi

received his business management degree without a translator or whether he actually

attended class on campus, but why his Albanian degree would carry the stigma of

"clandestino" if it is from an academic institution.

"Clandestino" is an urban definition of those of "illegal status" in a country not of

their origin, but it is used within the Italian language to describe anyone who is

undocumented, who is without proper paperwork to be in the country. "Clandestino" is

not a positive word; it carries a stigma which refers to illegal status in a country, which is

equivalent to "wet backs" in the United States. By using "clandestino" and Bossi's degree

in the same sentence creates the assumption that his degree is not valid, especially from a

country from which so many "clandestinos" migrants come.

A copy of Bossi's degree is displayed in the article, with a caption stating police

authorities were involved in the case-as though a crime was committed:

The police know that there is no trace of travel of the son of Senator in Albania,

so then how did he graduate from the University of Tirana? (La polizia a sapere che non

ce traccia del passaggio del figlio dell Senatur in Albania: come ha fatto quindi a

laurearsi di Tirana?)

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Italian nationalists, particularly Lega Nord members themselves, were offended

that someone affiliated with their political party had an education outside of Italy,

especially from a country from which Italy has an abundance of "clandestini" inhabiting

their communities. The article further reports that the Rossoneri Alliance, a group of

young nationalists even protested in front of the Albanian Ministry of Education and

demanded the resignation of the Minister. The Minister of Education, Myqerem Tafaj

stated,

Il nostro sistema di educazione estato costruito sulla corruzione. Adesso

dobbiamo vergognarci anche perche fabbrichiamo false lauree. (Our education system is

built on corruption. Now be ashamed because we manufacture false degrees.)

This comment further exacerbated the issue, yet, the University of Tirana

maintained its innocence. The University provided documents stating Renzo Bossi did

attend class and released a statement:

L'iscrizione de Renzo Bossi-ha siegato; avvenuta in base alla documentzione

presentata all' amminitrazione in rispetto alla legislazione in vigore(The registration of

Renzo Bossi was carried out according to the documents submitted to the authorities in

compliance with the legislation in force).

What this article reminded readers was that Albanians already had a negative

reputation as drug and human traffickers, not to mention the massive influx of refugees

arriving on the shores of Italy from the Albanian Spring two decades earlier. It then

effectively pointed out that Albania as a country remains corrupt, even its education. Yet,

Albanians are not the only people to be considered morally corrupt. Other non-citizens in

the following articles are represented as being unsuitable, even mentally unstable to live

within Italian communities.

In 2012, an article reported that a nameless 27-year-old Moroccan Marocchino

(Moroccan) strangled himself with a blanket tied to the cords of the security camera in

his jail cell at the police headquarters in Florence. It described how police and medical

authorities attempted to "soccorrere" (rescue) but could not resuscitate him.[45] Two hours

prior to his death, the Moroccan had been removed from the Santa Maria Nuova (New)

Hospital for his drunken "escandescenza" (outburst). Police were notified by hospital

officials and went to the hospital. The Moroccan assaulted one of the policemen, and was

then arrested and taken to the Florence jail. The article identifies him as a young male

Moroccan, yet fails to provide a name. The article concludes by noting, "l'autorita

giudizaria ha disposto la rimozione della salma" (the courts ordered the removal of his

corpse).

Why is this strange? He was arrested with no identification and remained

nameless throughout the entire article. All that was acknowledged was his age and his

nationality, but how did police authorities really know he was Moroccan? There was no

indication that the victim had identification (work permit, immigration papers, etc…). It

only describes the negative actions of the individual and provides an image to its readers,

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[45] Article of 1/28/2012 in *La Cronaca (The Chronicle)* "Firenze: Arrestato, Si uccide in Questra"(Florence: Arrested, Kills himself in Police Station).

of Moroccan young males as belligerent, defiant of the law, the police, as well as disruptors of the peace. Worse yet, they are menaces even in a medical setting and perhaps no more than vagrants, as suggested by the quick removal of his body, apparently unclaimed by family or friends. Yet, if he had been a native Italian without identification, would the same circumstances have occurred? Would he have remained nameless and disposed of so easily? Yet, there are other examples of nameless non-citizens who are represented by only their ethnicity as well.

Another article it described how the region of North Genoa was being overrun with South Americans (Sudamericani) and their "bodeguitas" (Latin convenience stores).[46] Zunino, the author, depicts the "South American" inhabited streets of Sampierdarena as "a parade of hanging fruit and pan dulce" (sweet bread from Ecuador) with night clubs packed with "Mangos" a misnomer given to "Latinos" "approdate in einsediate nell" (who landed in and settled in the district). Within the same paragraph, Zunino also pointed out that before "il cambiamento di un quartiere special della citta" (the change in the neighborhood), Sampierdarena was a "una storica enclave" (historic enclave) as though to emphasize that it was once a place of historical relevance, but it is no longer the case. Then he continued to say where the "pedestrian precinct of Via Carlo Rolando" once was, was now inhabited by "fra I palazzi dell' isola pedonale di via Carlo Rolando...un gruppo di tatuati Latin Kings, sono tozzi e abbondati" (a group of tattooed Latin Kings who are stocky and heavy).

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[46] Article of 11/25/2011 by Corrado Zunino in *La Repubblica (The Republic)* "Le Baby-Gang dei Latinos terrorizzano il Nord"(The Latin Baby-Gangs terrorize the North).

The article uses a particularly broad set of misconceptions and stereotypes. By using references such as "Sudamericani" and "Mangos," it quickly leads the reader to assume individuals who speak Spanish are the issue. He further narrows the type of Spanish person when referring to "bodeguitas" and "pan dulce" from Ecuador which clearly distinguishes Old World European Spanish individuals from the "Mangos", and "Latin Kings" of New World Spanish (Caribbean, Central and South America). Various places in the Western Hemisphere are included in the discussion, including Quito and Guayaquil Ecuador, Peru, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Medellin (Columbia), Dominican Republic, and (Zapata) Mexico. Again is the creation of a vast and undifferentiated "Sudamerica."

Multiple gangs are also mentioned, perhaps to embellish the "contagio" (contagion) of the "gang nazione" (gang nation) spreading from Genoa to Milan and the surrounding areas of Northern Italy. For example, the article mentions how these "South American" gangs (Nietas, Latin Kings, Diamantes, Commandos, Vatos Locos, and Latin Dangerz) ruined the streets of Chicago (USA) during the 1940s and now are doing the same in Italy. With "plenty of foreigners" (and the majority coming from Ecuador) Zunino describes it as the "il ceppo straniero piu importante della citta" (most important strain on the city). With words and phrases such as "cocaine," "rites of initiation," "rapes of women forced to join," "deaths," "criminals," "murders," the article helps create a stereotype of danger from any Latin American migrant walking the streets of Italy.

In stereotyping *Sudamericani*, the article implicitly "terrorizes" its readers into assuming *Sudamericani* are nothing but trouble, and would only "bring their [bad] habits

to the city." So there is danger from newcomers, Furthermore, the article implies there is no countervailing good. A young student from Ecuador, the article reports, "does not have much to offer." Use of misnomers and again downgrading by use of urban or "ghetto" terminology portray non-citizens to be inferior to the Italian public and can potentially lead many to believe that all foreign-born non-citizens are menaces to society and nothing good can come from them.

Another article in 2012 blatantly stated "South Americans are dumb."[47] The incident reported involved three supposed South Americans who were pulled over by police authorities as suspects in a bank (Cariparma Guidobono) theft which occurred three days prior. The article also never states specifically if they were "clandestino" (illegals), and refugees; just simply as South Americans with presumed legal status. The article never concludes if the suspects were guilty of the crime, only that they eventually were interrogated and remained silent. The assumption that they were caught three days after their bank heist portrays them to be without intelligence. It states explicitly that South Americans are "dumb" may imply the potential for all Italians to become prejudice against South Americans. This would downgrade the chances for many of South American origin in Italy to achieve integration and resettlement. This potentially instills the belief that "South Americans are dumb" based on only three individuals that perhaps were South Americans, but who knows from where. Representing non-citizens as "dumb" seems to symbolize their lack of competence leading the public to suspect that

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[47] Article of 08/18/2012 by Caludio Vimercati in *La Stampa (The Print)* "Colpo Cariparma: I Sudamericani fanno Scena Muta"(Hit in Cariparma: The South Americans are Dumb).

perhaps that is why there are problem with integration into Italian society (Cavanaugh 2009: 184).The implication is that a very broad category of people are all fundamentally different from, and lesser than, Italians.

Two recent articles are especially revealing about gender stereotypes. These reports provide images of women as morally corrupt and cleverly deceptive who negatively influence Italian society.

The first article describes how abortion is handled within the medical system of South America, specifically Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Latin America.[48] The article briefly states that the Argentine mayor of his Italian origin and he "would not take a position" on the topic of abortion. Yet, the article goes on to describe the "tricks" of women from Brazil in order to get abortions performed, stating:

Un escamotage a cui molte donne ricorso e quello di denunciare una violenza sessuale presso un commissariato di polizia. (A trick that many women use is to report a sexual assault at a police station)

Italy is composed of 95 percent Catholics. How would many Italians, taking into account this article feel about non-citizen females from South America? The effect, then, is to suggest fundamental differences between South Americans and Italians.

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[48] Article of 10/18/2012 by Emilia Guanella in *La Stampa (The Print)* "Aborto, Come funzione in Sudamerica"(Abortion, How it works in South America).

Another problem in this article is the categorization of a wide range of countries as equally "Sudamerica" (South America) whether Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Chile, El Salvador or the Dominican Republic. The article does note that these countries made abortion legal at different times. The problem, however, is the assumption that using the Spanish language somehow makes these entire countries equivalent culturally. Perhaps the biggest leap is the inclusion of Puerto Rico, which is not a country, but a United States commonwealth territory. The majority of Puerto Ricans do not consider themselves as part of Latin America, much less "Sudamerica."(South America). Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic are Caribbean and may be Latin America, but again not "Sudamerica." Nicaragua and El Salvador analogously are part of Central America not "Sudamerica." The article, however, suggests that all these women are somehow the same and together constitute a challenge to how Italian Catholics approach issues like abortion. Combining and mislabeling of these nationalities thus helps exacerbate social stereotypes.

The second article which continues the theme of mislabeling and stereotyping women discusses is human trafficking and the prostitution "business" in Italy.[49] The journalists begin by reporting that a variety of "raggazze" (girls) or "lucciole" (fireflies) are "addestrate" (trained) at the prostitution "scuole" (schools) in Cyprus and, Serbia, coming there from multiple countries such as the "Estremo Oriente" (Far East), "Unione Sovietica" (Soviet Union), Thailand, China, Nigeria, Romania, and "trans Sudamerica"

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[49] Article of 2/16/2012 by Enrico Bellavia and Vladimiro Polchi in *La Repubblica (The Republic)*"La Fabbrica delle Lucciole: Schiave dell Sesso, un Business da Cinque Miliardi di Euro L'anno"(The Factory of Fireflies: Sex Slaves, a Business from Five Billion Euros a Year).

(trans South America) as well as "Africa" (unspecified region) into Italy. These

"transcrimes" are a five billion-euro industry and pose a potential security disaster

because it is "piu controllabile" (out of control). The "business" provides revenue for the

mafia and potentially increases other criminal activities, including the use of violence.

Origins of the women are sporadically provided throughout the article. The focus

seems to be mainly on the origins that mirror those from which other migrants come to

Italy, whether for work or refuge. The article never mentions native Italian prostitution or

if it contributes to the five billion euro estimated revenue. It is also noted that these

"fireflies" can be seen everywhere, from the streets to nightclubs, massage centers and

even bingo halls, although mainly on the streets of Italy.

The most destructive part of the article in terms on non-citizens is certainly its

description of prostitution, and the crime related to prostitution, as fundamentally foreign.

But the repetitive nature of this article in its emphasis on nationality creates additional

problems, implying that the foreign problem is not limited to a few origin countries, but

virtually all origin countries. Thus a prostitute walking the streets is a foreigner, and

conversely a foreigner walking the streets may be a prostitute. The result is to put female

non-citizenry in danger. The article uses broad terminology describing the regions from

where the "fireflies" originate. This can lead readers to assume if a woman of that

background is seen late at night walking the streets, she may be a prostitute. This

assumption can put women at risk and subject to violence, abuse, and even death, not

only from Italian communities but within their own communities as well.

An example of this assumption can be further seen in another article which reported an incident which occurred between a Muslim and his Ukrainian girlfriend.[50] It notes how the "Muslim" felt guilty about having sex before marriage and how he was full of "fervore religioso" (religious fervor) when the police arrested him. The article is filled with religious references such as "purify," Muslim," "Koran," and even claims the incident was (inspired by the sacrifice of Isaac [when God] asked Abraham) "E,ispirandosi al sacrificio di Isacco chiesto ad Abramo" (inspired by the sacrifice of Isaac [when God] asked Abraham).

All individuals involved in the incident remained nameless throughout the entire article making their age, religion and nationality the only description of their identities. The "Muslim" is later described as a 30 year old Moroccan who was arrested for attempted murder and would be psychologically monitored. The victim was a 45 year old Ukrainian caregiver who would likely be paralyzed.

The negative image is immediately portrayed in the title. When referring to the perpetrator as Muslim it reduces his behavior to an act of religious extremism, even terrorism. Yet, the crime would be considered extreme even if it was not committed by a person of the Muslim faith and violence against women is hardly unknown in Italy. Despite the available explanation of violence against women in Italy, the journalist seems to want to make a point about how the parties involved were a Muslim from Morocco and

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[50] Article of 2/21/2012 in *La Repubblica (The Republic)*"Bologna, musulmano cera di sgozzare la fidanzata sesso senza essere sposati, mi sentivo impuro"(Bologna, Muslim tries to cut the throat of his girlfriend [because he had] sex without being married, I felt unclean).

his girlfriend from Ukraine, countries from which Italy receives large numbers of migrants.

Readers of this article are thus presented with both religious and national stereotypes. By reading this article patrons may assume the worst from both parties. The stronger implication is that Muslims are extremists and can be dangerous based on what their religion dictates. Furthermore, the occupation of the man is not mentioned, leaving the possibility that this individual was a non-contributor to society, thus an unproductive migrant. Secondary implications are that perhaps people of different backgrounds cannot coexist. The article, for example, never mentions whether the Ukrainian girlfriend might be a Muslim, though presumably not. The net implication is certainly that multiculturalism, integration, and resettlement are not very feasible in Italy.

The article begins by stating a percentage (no citation) to support his claim that immigration is at an overwhelming pervasive level:

"Nel nostro paese, il 99% extracomunitari arrivati in questi ultimo anni sono islamici, dall'albanese al nigeriano, dal marocchino al pakistano ecc". (In our country, 99% of immigrants that arrived in recent years are Muslim, Albanian to Nigerian from Moroccan to Pakistan and so on). [51]

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[51] Article on 7/27/2010 in *La Padania (Regional Newspaper)* "Basta Immigrazione: Infinite Ragioni per Dire Basta Immigrazione. L'Italia e' Piena" (Enough Immigration: Endless Reasons to say Enough Immigration. Italy is Full) (Published by the newspaper by an unknown reader). La Padania is the official newspaper of Lega Nord founded by its leader, Umberto Bossi, in 1996 and is based in Milan. The purpose of the political journal is to spread the ideas of the Lega Nord party to the public. This article was found in the community section of the newspaper and explicitly expresses discontent for Italian immigration issues. La Padania is an alternative name for the Po Valley in Northern Italy. It also symbolizes the autonomy of Northern Italy. Originally *Padano* derived from the Latin name *Padus* for the Po River. Padania is

The writer further exacerbates the issue with claims that terrorist plans were found recently in one of the boats of the "disperati" (desperate) refugees arriving on the shores of Italy at an undisclosed location. The article turns into full-scale rant of accusations, stereotypes, and great hostility. Words used in this article are very discriminatory toward foreigners, but perhaps sharpest in hostility to Muslims. An extended quotation shows the extent of the hostility:

Yes, that's right, we are accepting people who hate the West, hate our land, hates women who have rights here, they hate us all. Do you think not? Quran and everyday life are the same for them. The Quran is the law and those who try to observe are not sentenced to death. Their religion is above all, they are Nigerians, are not Indians, they are Albanians, first of all are Muslims. And theirs is a religion of conquest. Where they become the majority they impose Islamic law. It also happened here near us. Kosovo, on the border between Serbia and Albania, was almost wholly inhabited by Serbs (Orthodox Christians), until 20 years ago, then the Albanian immigration has turned the situation then became majority (thanks to 10 children at a time…It does not matter that they were starving, but if they made less would have given a more dignified life for their children) and their intention was to impose Islamic law. Not everyone knows that in Islamic countries such as Nigeria takes place periodically "To Catch a Christian," in which the masses burn the houses and kill all Christians including children and the elderly. They are

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dominated by Legal Nord declaring itself as an independent and sovereign territory composed of 14 nations (Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, Tuscany, Emilia, Liguria, Marche, Romagna, Umbria, Friuli, Trentino, South Tyrol, Venezia Giulia, and Aosta Valley).

educated or ignorant nothing changes, they hate us. This was demonstrated on 11 September 2001. The suicide bombers were regarded by all as people integrated. They knew our civilization, they found friendly people, and they thanked us so.

This article is obviously politically biased and xenophobic. Yet, even more basic are the common themes of negative stereotypes, misnomers, deviancy, prostitution, drugs, and moral corruption throughout the articles. The logic of the position, however, deserves more careful consideration. One element is that different nationalities are noted but still all categorized primarily as Muslims, despite those different nationalities. For example, the articles seem to suggest that non-citizens from Nigeria are inevitably Muslim when that is not the case. All non-citizens seem to be grouped together even when it does nott make much sense.

The frequent reference to "they hate us" proposes the idea that the fault for lack of integration lies with the newcomers, and that there is also a direct threat to Italians. Security measures are needed for the self-preservation of native Italians. The article portrays Nigerians as "ignorant" and almost inhuman, burning houses, killing "all Christians including children and the elderly." These statements create an image of a monolithic Islamic threat, and do so to the point of all Muslims, of all different races and nationalities, are similar; they are Christian-killers and have the same religious motive of "conquest." Newcomers and non-citizens more generally, thus represent a breach of security. The writer claims that if many Muslims congregate and accumulate on Italian soil, the country and the people will be lost. This article is more explicit than other

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articles written about non-citizens, but the negative sentiment remains clear. Whether

mainstream or independent, the underlining themes are apparent, merging individual

cultures into one category with a negative imagery of non-citizens who represent hostility

and danger to Italian society and way of life.

Attempts at More Positive Media

While much of Italian media coverage of non-citizens is indeed negative and

virulent at times, there are also more positive efforts at more appreciative and informed

views. Some examples follow, with emphasis on media outlets that escape the restrictions

of the largely business-owned and right-wing oriented printed press. There are some

media outlets that have embraced this cultural phenomenon. Through communication,

these media outlets have broken the language barrier, which has denied many non-

citizens who do not speak Italian potential opportunities in Italian communities. The non-

citizen perspective is presented as a contribution that can be crucial in achieving

integration and a multicultural community.

To view the other side of the media spectrum, Radio Popolare (Radio Pop) is a

radio Station founded in Milan in 1976 as one of the first socialist radio stations in Italy.

Its goal was to encourage the public to communicate outside the regular Italian channels

of communication; to break mono-language and mono-culture barriers. It developed its

own professional journalists and aimed for mass broadcasting that would eventually span

by satellite over Europe, the Middle East and Africa. It was openly criticized by the left

because it "interpreted reality for the rest of us" with a subjective point of view (Downing

2001: 277). The staff was a composed of young people and students who knew the use of language was crucial. Before the launch of Radio Shabi in 1980, Radio Pop was the only radio station that offered a significant voice to refugee minority groups. It not only broadcast multicultural music, but also offered a voice to non-citizens in Italy.

In 1991, Radio Pop began confronting the way crime and immigration were linked in the media. It organized a festival with Italian songs performed by non-citizens. The festival was noted favorably, even by NATO. This act marked the call for a social reconstruction of historical, political, and cultural change. It represented and spoke on behalf of thousands of listeners (an estimated 8,000 at the time). Within the year, Radio Pop was recognized as the best radio program by the Italian Art Director's Club.

In 2000, Radio Pop finally had coverage across Europe and North Africa via satellite. It became an independent source of news, announcing the victory of Berlusconi during the 2001 elections, the attack on American soil September 11, 2001, as well as the subsequent Afghanistan and Middle Eastern conflicts. It even stayed on the air waves live 24 hours and seven days a week covering the early parts of what they called the "Anglo-American War against Iraq." Despite criticism from the left and right, Radio Pop received awards such as the *Mosaic of Solidarity* and *Gold Medal of Civic Merit* for its continuous "free and independent voice of information." Radio Pop ensured itself as a place open to the exchange of ideas.

In 2005, Radio Pop organized an international conference and proclaimed itself to be *La Radio: Un Mass Media Democratico* (The Radio: A Media Democracy). It continues to make efforts to have expanded coverage not only throughout Italy, but

Europe, Africa, and the Middle East as well. The city of Rome actually presented a major obstacle; it was not until 2010 that they finally reached the airwaves there.

Another important radio show has been Radio Shabi. Established in 1980, this Arab-language station did not have an easy transition into the world of Italian news media, despite having no altercations with mainstream media. At the time, Arabic was rarely used on the airwaves. It premiered as one of the programs on Radio Pop with its content focusing on immigration, specifically integration within Italian communities. With Radio Shabi, Radio Pop was able to connect with the Arab community in Milan, who constituted the majority of refugees to Italy during the 1980s. Although integration issues were the main focus, other topics included Arab culture, music, and cuisine making it an innovative program. By discussing the problems with immigration, issuing press releases, playing music, and providing recipes from Arab culture, *Radio Shabi* became the most popular radio show in Italy among Arabs. Not only did the radio program become a heated topic in political discourse, it pioneered multiculturalism in Italy.

Nonsolonero (Not Only Black) (1988-1994) was the only early Italian television program to not only represent the non-citizen community, but also discuss the cultural challenges of immigration. It was a special segment on *RAI* 2 channel and first aired in 1988 on Sundays when Italian families would traditionally get together. It was then moved to Thursdays, which impacted the popularity of the program (Ghirelli, 2003).

Political changes within the Italian government during the 1990s eventually became the program's demise (Ghirelli, 2003; De Lourdes, 2003). The Berlusconi

Government along with Lega Nord sought to end programs that would potentially change the socio-cultural fabric of Italian society. The main focus of *Nonsolonero* was on the relationship between developed and developing countries as well as themes of racism and immigration. It attempted to bring awareness to large audiences and educate newly arrived refugees. It also shed light on the growing presence of non-citizens in Italy and promoted multiculturalism (Frachan & Vargaftig 1995).

Nonsolonero was also the first television program to have a black host, a young woman from Cape Verde. The point in having a black host was intentional because it was supposed to represent the host as cultural mediator between refugee minority groups and Italian communities. A former employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Massimo Ghirelli created this program in hopes of promoting multiculturalism and communication between communities.

According to Ghirelli having a black host was a deliberate move on his part so it could provide awareness to immigration challenges in Italy. During the 1980s, many Italians were not exposed to refugee groups. Most refugee minority groups were settled into urban areas of Milan, Rome, and Naples. Yet, many of the Italian public were only intrigued by the exotic features of the host and could not look deeper into the immigration issues she presented (De Lourdes 2003).

The program represented the image of a newly settled newcomer in Italy. The goal was to bring awareness of how it would to be a non-citizen in Italy and the challenges one would have to encounter before successful integration. Involvement within the community, EU and Italian immigration laws were also crucial in the adaption

to Italian communities, which would ultimately contribute to the understanding of what it is like to be a newcomer in Italian society. The aim was for Italians to fully comprehend what it is to be a refugee and successfully integrate and resettle. The program would always end with a human rights theme. One of the topics discussed during the life of the program were racism among Italians (March 24, 1994), but by this time, immigration seemed less interesting to Italians.

Nonsolonero introduced immigration as a new phenomenon, but did not break the existing opinion Italians had about their non-citizen counterparts. Yet, from 1988 to 1994, *Nonsolonero* was crucial in reflecting the Italian and newcomer divide among communities. Although it brought awareness to immigration issues, non-citizens were only viewed as an addition to Italian society and not a multicultural transformative of national identity. Non-citizens would be socially excluded from Italian communities because they were not of the same culture, despite the program's efforts to shed light on the refugee perspective.

Another television program was introduced called *Un Mondo a Colouri (A World in Colors)* (1998-2003). In a way it seemed to continue the theme of representing non-citizens discussing topics of immigration and incorporating diversity by providing a variety of segments on cuisine, art, and music from minority groups. From 1994 to 1998 programs on Italian television were often themed with issues of race and ethnicity. Images on news media outlets (*RAI* 2, 3) presented scenes of "illegal" individuals deriving from Lega Nord's view of the "global South." During the 1990's, immigration became the main topic of public conversation among Italians. Thanks to *Nonsolonero,*

many citizens became more aware of immigration problems. *Un Mondo a Colouri* targeted this public discourse on *RAI* 2 from Tuesdays to Fridays; however, the main theme of the program was not immigration itself, but how Italians and non-citizen communities interacted with one another.

One of the journalists of the program, Congolese Leonard Touadi, was a strong advocate of integration among non-citizens into Italian territories. Through *Un Mondo a Colouri*, he was able to promote positive images of refugees countering what the majority of Italian media projected. Touadi's pursuits became symbolic of the attempt to persuade Italians of the importance of integration and multiculturalism within Italian society.

Like *Nonsolonero*, *Un Mondo a Colouri* dealt explicitly with immigration issues. An October 29, 2002 episode, for example, concerned an Albanian mechanic residing in the city of Puglia receiving a car as thanks from his Italian customers. This is a more positive view of non-citizens as opposed to other news media outlets that emphasized outbreaks of violence in the region of Padua between Italian and refugee communities. Another aspect of the program was to interview the representative of the Slow Food Association with food reviews of Japanese, Moroccan, and Kurdish cuisines. This was a small effort to juxtapose the potential of multiculturalism in food with a broader integration of non-citizens. This multi-ethnic mix within the culinary world symbolized that coexistence of cultures and displays possibilities for a cultural connection between Italians and non-citizens (Black 2012: 11, 130, &170). *Un Mondo a Colouri* also showcased the Senegalese musician, Papa Kanoute, and his Italian band as the closing part of the program in attempts to explore multiculturalism in music.

In 2003, *Un Mondo a Colouri* hosted a special program featuring Galileo Galilei High School in Rome. This school became an interest of the program for its high concentration of non-citizens and the hope to attract a teen audience. The program highlighted everyday issues of young students and what they would have encounter as an ethnic minority, such as discrimination, different family tradition, Italian culture, drugs, dating, and music.

Despite all of its efforts to represent the non-citizen perspective and shed light on the "Other" experience, *Nonsolonero* and *Un Mondo a Colouri* were both cancelled due to low-ratings. Yet, it was not the content of the programs that resulted in cancellation; it was the time slots and time span. At the 9:15am time slot, many people were at work and could not view the programs. Instead the audience consisted of unemployed individuals and housewives, of whom few were exposed to non-citizens and few therefore had much, interests in the programs. Furthermore the 15-minute time span of both programs was not enough to cover all issues, hence not able to provide a deeper understanding of immigration issues. The content was also focused on the future and may have made progress seem a distant vision and not an issue for current action.

Unlike previous television programs discussed, *Shukran* (Thanks a.k.a. Counter Information) appeared to attempt to gain levity and notoriety in mainstream Italian media by airing on television newscast channel *RAI* 3 (1999-Present). This program's content involved integration issues, how integration affected Italian society, how the majority of news media projected negative images of non-citizens, including associating these individuals with crime, prostitution, and illegality (CENSIS, 2002). While this

terminology was used on other shows, with discriminatory undertones such as *extracomunitario* (non-communitarian) simply defined non-citizens as outsiders of the European community, *Shukran* used proper terminology. The term was used only to describe individuals from developing countries. Eventually, this adjective would have become a negative connotation in the Italian language.

Shukran was viewed by its creators as a program to address the negative labeling in Italian media and counteract them with positive images and stories of non-citizens. It premiered in 1999 as a program that would dispel stereotypes and negative images in Italian mainstream media. It derived its segments from homes, schools, and employment facilities that would counter xenophobia in Italian society. For example, journalists were sent to the homes of non-citizens to show the Italian public their lifestyle and reduce the fear many citizens had developed from the invasion syndrome of the 1980s-1990s. *Shukran* also revealed the conflicts about integration as well as social tensions among Italian and ethnic communities.

On November 20, 2002, for example, *Shukran* featured a 20-minute special focused on the integration of non-citizens and the bureaucracy involved in the process. Opinions of both sides were revealed with one part of the segment in particular. A non-citizen (with immigrant status) from the northern industrial region reported how he was forced to pay twice for the legitimacy of thelegal status he already received. The conclusion of the program was an open-call for stories from their audience.

Shukran not only contains the most content on migration and minority issues, it also provides an in-depth analysis of the issues that plagues ethnic communities and limit

efforts for a more multicultural Italy. It provides transparency on the challenges that arise when it comes to integration and resettlement of non-citizens. The shortcomings of *Shukran* are its pre-recorded status, thus limiting live dialogue, and its noon time slot. It is also on the least popular *RAI* channel. Shukran was not the only program to attempt to tack le the reality of immigration issues in mainstream media.

RAI Med (2001-Present) first aired in April 2001. This satellite channel was the first bilingual Italian-Arabic channel in Europe aimed at both communities. Arabic is the most widely spoken immigrant language in Italy. With its *Italo-Arabic* language base, the program attempted to close the cultural gap between the two communities. It used an hourly format with two newscasts, weather forecasts, and two magazines. The topics covered economy, finance, technology, science, and culture. The Arabic portion was from 9pm to midnight with voiceovers in Arabic and the entertainment portions subtitled.

The channel aimed at all audiences around the Mediterranean and sought to expose viewers to Italian culture as well as inform its audience about Arab events both local and abroad. With an estimated 200 million viewers from Europe, the Middle, East and North Africa, it targets primarily Arab families with residence or interests in Italy (*RAI Med*: Le Voci del Mediterraneo, 2002, p. 7).

Despite *RAI Med's* main focus to strengthen the relationship between Italian and Arab communities, it has had a select audience to which it has appealed: well-educated and more financially stable communities. It implicitly excludes audiences who are poor newcomers, who financially struggle within Italian borders, as well as non-Arab speaking minority groups (Caridi, and Giordana, 2002).

Another more religiously-based publication provides a different kind of example.

Although originally aimed towards Africans, *Nigrizia* (magazine) (1883-Present) is an

Italian monthly magazine published in the Italian language based in Verona. The more

accessible magazine promotes human rights for non-citizens, which is a founding

principle of the Comboni Missionaries who publish it. It is dedicated not to just

Africanism, but to Africans worldwide. Founded in 1883, it was the first major Italian

source to emphasize African contributions to other cultures. From 1965 to 1978, the

magazine focused on not just African but overall non-citizen social movements, which

eventually changed the theme of the magazine from general events to a human rights

focus, largely through interreligious dialogue. It aims to document and publish social,

political, and cultural issues involving Africans. Since 2008, it has promoted

multicultural images and artworks that reflect positive solidarity. With themes of "share

your knowledge" and encouragements of multicultural ideology, *Nigrizia's* ultimate goal

is to implement successful integration among Italian society for all newcomers. The

magazine's accessibility and diverse topics makes it a popular magazine among all non-

citizens who might not be so fortunate as to have access to other forms of media such as

the television *RAI* channels and is financially stable through its religious support. There

are other magazines with similar goals that are not religiously based.

StranieriinItalia (Foreigners in Italy) (1972- Present) is a publishing group based

in Germany. Founded in 1972, this group is a conglomerate of all kinds of media

discussed in this section because it not only publishes a practical guide in several

languages translating immigration laws, forum polls, and Italian and EU procedures, it

also provides employment information through radio, newspapers and the World Wide Web. It is meant to aid foreigners in Italy and claims to be Il Portale dei Nuovi Cittadini (The Portal of New Citizens). It specializes in ethnic publishing and circulates 22 ethnic newspapers through affiliations with *ForeignersUK.co.uk* and *My Own Media*. In 2000, *StranieriinItalia* established *RomeRadio,* as its news broadcast along with its television program called *Babzine Babel Sky*. Both are in several languages with updated guides for non-citizens in Italy. It is used as a tool for support and provides knowledge about new rules, laws, permits for living and working, health, education, citizenship, as well service guidance on issues regarding property ownership.

Both *Nigrizia* and *StranieriinItalia* provide avenue for change and progress through their programs, whether in print or other media. These programs are for non-citizens, and often by non-citizens, and aim to make the transition from newcomer to citizen easier. The aid they provide suggests a more positive view of the integration process. Some of the pioneering programs discussed may have been cut short, but the message was carried through other innovative forms of media that have shed more light on the issues of immigration.

CHAPTER 3: NGOS: ITALIAN AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have become aware of and grown concerned with this pervasive problem of the Italian reaction to non-citizens. It must be noted that these organizations do not lack conviction to tackle this problem. They lack the resources to effectively challenge the media, the government, and corporate interests that control most of the media. NGOs understand it is important to keep immigration issues relevant to prevent future conflicts. In 2009, for example, Italian immigration laws added fines of undocumented individuals and granted authority to detain these persons for up to six months without charge (*Law 39/1990 Legge Martelli*). Human rights groups raised questions and claimed that the new law undermines the rights of asylum seekers. This law also permits the formation of unarmed patrol groups to "assist" police authorities in maintaining order and incarcerate those who would harbor undocumented individuals. The severity of the laws was matched by the negativity of the portrayal of non-citizens in the media. In March 2010, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay visited Italy and was shocked to learn that the majority of news stories broadcasted by the Italian television media portray immigrants as criminals. To make matters worse, television was the main source of news for 80 percent of Italian population (UNHRC March 12, 2010).

There are many *NGOs* that work in local programs for non-citizens. Some of them are the Italian Consortium of Solidarity (ICS), Lunaria Comunita di Dant' Egidio, ASGI, Cartias, the Italian Council for Refugees, and Centre Astalli (Italian branch of the Jesuit Refugee Service). Yet, only a few of these efforts receive funding from the Italian Ministry of Interior or Ministry of Welfare and Social Affairs.

There are multiple non-governmental organizations which provide information and options that would benefit non-citizens. For example, there are organizations that focus mainly on legal guidance concerning the integration process as well as voluntary repatriation while other organizations enforce proper procedures to ensure non-citizens are assisted effectively. There are NGOs that provide education, employment opportunities and training through publications to provide assurance to non-citizens with awareness of their civil rights and access to health care, labor, and shelter.

The following NGOs directly serve non-citizens in their efforts to provide the basic knowledge in resettlement. The Italian Consortium of Solidarity (ICS) began in 1993 during the Bosnian and Herzegovinan conflicts. It is a private secular non-profit organization that works to protect refugees and other persons needing protection in the provinces of Trieste and Friuli Venezia Giulia.[52] ICS also hosts welcoming receptions for integration in north eastern region of Italy. The organization focuses on individuals who

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[52] Trieste is a city and seaport in northeastern Italy. It is situated towards the end of a narrow strip of land lying between the Adriatic Sea and Italy's border with Slovenia, which lies almost immediately south and east of the city. Trieste is located at the head of the Gulf of Trieste and throughout history it has been influenced by its location at the crossroads of Germanic, Latin and Slavic cultures. In 2009, it had a population of about 205,000and it is the capital of the autonomous region Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trieste Province.Friuli-Venezia Giulia is Italy's most North-eastern region. It covers an area of 7 856 km2 and is the fifth smallest region of the country. It borders Austria to the North and Slovenia to the East; to the South it faces the Adriatic Sea.

are in dire situations, particularly victims of hate crimes who suffer from anxiety, fear, and uncertainty about their futures. ICS promotes awareness and supports multicultural education, training and protection of fundamental rights for all non-citizens.

ICS recognizes the lack of effort by the Italian government; therefore it constantly reminds the government of the gaps the Italian Constitution regarding noncitizens. By law Article 10 Section 3, Italy is still the only European country not to have a comprehensive law on asylum. The protection of non-citizens is almost non-existent Law 39/90 and Law 390/1992.

Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione (Association for Legal Studies on Immigration) (ASGI) is an association consisting of lawyers, university professors, and legal professionals who specialize in immigration issues and promote research and training.

In 2005, ASGI became a member of the Committee for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. It was one of the first agencies to endorse activities supporting non-citizens in Italy. The association is committed to providing publications *Diritto Immigrazione e Cittadinanza* (Immigration and Citizenship Law) to spread awareness through projects at both the local and European level to oppose xenophobia.

Consiglio Italiano per i Rifugiati (Italian Council for Refugees) overall objective is to protect human rights by bringing national and EU policies together, based particularly on the obligations on human rights set out by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg in the Hirsi case which focused on unlawful interdiction at sea. It collects and analyzes legislation and practices of neighboring countries (Germany,

Greece, Hungary, Malta, Spain, and Portugal) regarding borders and, accessibility to asylum when at the border It publishes research and monitors human rights and law mandates, including a report on policy proposals and recommendations based on media and consultations at the local national, and EU levels.

Lunaria Comunita di Dant' Egidio (Lunaria Community of Dant' Egidio) (Religious-Based NGO) is a religious-based community that believes prayer is the "first work of the Community." With its main headquarters based in Rome, the members gather together as a "missionary brotherhood" spreading the word of Jesus Christ. Well publicized in the media, they provide several types of assistance such as tutoring in their "People's School" to any poor children of Rome. Since 1987, they have also focused on survivors of conflicts in other countries, providing humanitarian aid to them in Italy. Many from this organization serve as interpreters or mediators for non-citizens arranging meetings to foster grass-roots movements for a more multicultural society. Sant' Egidio encourages friendship among people of different nations and cultures; in "a community without borders."

Centre Astralli (Association Center of the Italian Branch of the Jesuit Refugee Service) was established in 1981 by P. Pedro Arrupe then Superior General of the Jesuits. The organization serves and defends the rights of "refugees and displaced persons" around the world. It has different regional sites based in Rome, Vicenza, Catania, and Palermo. Their focus is the initial welcoming reception for newcomers which then facilitate access to services such as employment and provide support for the integration process in Italian society. It also is a participant in the National Table Asylum which aids

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the coordination of the main organizations involved in the protection of asylum seekers and refugees.

The Platform for International Co-operation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) began as a grassroots movement in Belgium, Netherlands, and Germany in 1999. Its goal was to provide non-citizens with basic human needs (healthcare, labor rights, education, and housing).It is an NGO that advocates the respect of the human rights of non-citizens in Europe. It also searches for opportunities for organizations and networks with common concerns to find solutions together on an international level. The organization fights for basic social rights of non-citizens in order for them to receive health care, shelter, education, family assistance, and the overall rights to moral and physical integrity and equality in the labor market.

The organization also monitors and reports actions both negative and positive to influence policies that promote human rights for all non-citizens. PICUM strongly believes in order to make solutions the key is to develop and contribute to an international dialogue on global migration among both governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as local communities. Combined with the development of the European Union's Common Integration Program and the 1999 *Tampere Agreement*, PICUM became unofficial the 'watch dog' to ensure national compliance with EU directives.

The European Network against Racism (ENAR) is one of the NGO*s* concerned about the increase in hate crimes in Italy. For instance, in 2010, the region of Calabria in Rosarno had an incident involving two non-citizens who were injured by an unknown

shooter. ENAR recognized this act of violence as the beginning of long-term xenophobic and anti-immigrant hostilities tacitly encouraged by the Italian government and media outlets. The rise in hate crimes is reflects the tensions between locals and non-citizens preventing integration or mutual accommodations.

Most non-citizens employed in Italy live in dismal conditions. The NGO, Medecins san Frontieres reported on the living conditions for seasonal migrant workers in 2008.[53] The report supported ENAR's claims of human rights violations in Italy. The results revealed 90 percent of undocumented individuals interviewed did not have a contract as a seasonal worker, despite their temporary permits. They were given low wages and were treated unequally and given more physical labor compared to native Italian workers by employers.

ENAR believes the focus should not be on what leader of Lega Nord and then Minister of Interior, Roberto Maroni claimed to be the problems of overwhelming numbers of undocumented individuals. Instead the focus should be on the hate crimes, a corrupted economy, exploitation and xenophobia. These problems should not be tolerated and human rights should be actively enforced. The Italian government has the obligation to uphold its duty to ensure that every person, whether citizen or non-citizen, should enjoy basic human rights to health, shelter, and work, regardless of ethnicity or nationality.

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[53] Medecins san Frontiers (Doctors without Borders) (MSF): established in 1971 by French doctors who believed that individuals have the right to medical care regardless of race, religion or political affiliation, that the needs of the people need surpass the laws of national borders.

In particular, by breaching the principle of *non- refoulement* of refugees, Italy violates established human rights to flee persecution. The influx of refugees from the Arab Spring to saturate the Italian coastlines met government lacking both the will and knowledge to do right thing. By looking at the situation in Italy, EU could find appropriate measures in facing other refugee crises in other member states. Europe should not deny those seeking asylum, especially those are unable to return home. For example, treaties such as the Friendship Pact should be suspended and /or revised in order to improve human rights and living conditions as well. Italy's actions with Libya alerted not only NGOs, but EU as well. The *National Indicative Program (NIP)* is a watchdog program which stays constantly vigilant and maintains cooperation with Libya on human rights issues. However, in 2010, Human Rights Watch pointed out discrepancies regarding the Italian financed interim camp of *Mistrata*.[54] The organization reported 245 Eritrean refugees were severely abused and were on the verge of deportation by Italian authorities, which is a clear human rights violation. Although UNHCR recognizes the problem no actions were taken to reprimand Italy.

Aside from NGOs, EU needs to adhere to the obligations of the *1951 Refugee Convention, UDHR* to support human rights. Perhaps the need to reassess migration policies is necessary to handle future migration flows and prevent the mishaps in Italy.

Italy's rhetorical recognition and verbal appreciation of *UDHR* as well as being an EU member state is not enough to tackle mass migration flows of past, present, and future. Actions of accurately categorizing non-citizens need to be put into motion. As the

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[54] http://www.hrw.org/africa/eritrea

migration problem gradually increases through time, progress can as well, but it needs to begin somewhere.

The organizations discussed previously are crucial in the process of integration, but there are other NGOs that focus on the Media which is also needed because it combats the negative images and stereotypes which can prevent successful resettlement among communities. Such NGOs as the Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration (MEDIVA) was organized by the Robert Shuman Center for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence in collaboration with the Tuscany province of Italy. This organization conducts research and workshops on the Italian media, particularly newspapers and television channels. Their analysis measures the content of the media that addresses diversity and non-citizen representation within the media. For example, one of the major newspapers, *La Repubblica* contains content that may slander or portray non-citizens in a negative light either by direct defamation of character or through stereotypes (i.e. "The Baby Gang Latinos Terrorizes the North").

In order to combat these negative portrayals and stereotypes, MEDIVA has four main approaches. The first approach is to address how media promotes multiculturalism and successful integration, with a particular focus on the representations and images of non-citizens and how information on immigration issues is presented. MEDIVA also monitors employment policies, including recruitment and training in diversity. Both domestic and international journalists provide input and propose particular projects that can show how non-citizens are portrayed in. For example, in 2008, Albanian-born Tuscan journalist, Aleksandra Caci proposed a project to assess imagery and content in the

Tuscan regional newspaper, *Il Tirreno*. The project lasted three-years (2008-2011) and

revealed a contrast between the news output of *Il Tirreno* and another local newspaper,

La *Cronaca Nera* (The Black Chronicle). The results led *Il Tirreno* to offer training to

non-citizens on a voluntary basis. The training consisted of gathering, preparing and

editing of news information. Although the project began to gather momentum in the right

direction of proper information and positive portrayals of non-citizens in the media, the

project ended due to lack of funding.

The second approach is turning the temporary position of projects into a

permanent presence. The focus is to change the negative stereotypes and xenophobia

within the content of media outlets. There seems to be a trend in which many integrated

media projects within the last decade do not have permanence in society. However,

during the last 20 years, multicultural journalism is gradually presenting a different

"face" of non-citizens in Italy. The third approach is a direct call for more positive

portrayal in media where negative labeling dominates. MEDIVA journalists call for the

empowerment of positive media because it supports successful integration and

contributes to the revival ethical journalism.

Yet, there are still many challenges for non-citizen journalists as well as college

students who are foreign-born. For example, these individuals must face obstacles when

attempting to register with professional associations (i.e. Region Association of

Journalists). In order to work as a professional journalist, each individual is required to

enroll in such an association before they can practice their craft. Another issue is the

xenophobic language used in media outlets. It is not sanctioned and is not noticed

preventing complaints on both sides (domestic and non-citizen communities) to be ignored. In the current age of technological advances the use of social media needs to be implemented so young audiences have a voice.

European Program for Integration (EPIM) is a panel of advocates located in Brussels who promote positive integration in European countries. EPIM recognizes that effective strategies are needed to promote integration at both the national and European levels. The organization believes that media outlets are essential in providing the foundation for integration by portraying non-citizens positive contributors to society and not a burden to it.

EPIM emphasizes, in particular, the positive impact of non-citizens in the European labor market. This organization believes that immigration is essential to achieve EU social model that combines economic growth with high living standards and good working conditions.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) is the largest journalist association in Europe. This organization advocates ethical journalism and implements professional standards in the highest forms. It places priority on informative journalism and recognizes what it calls the "phase of deep crisis" within the world of journalism. This crisis pertains to the dilemma of how to confront the ways the media are exploited manipulated by political influences. Information via internet can pose a potential threat because of how easy it is to disseminate "news" without any editorial control.

Other problems which pose a threat to ethical journalism are commercialism, political discourse and moral corruption. The drive of media outlets is no longer abiding by the rules of ethical journalism, but financial incentive to survive. When "quality" journalism is superseded by the drive of commercial gain it can be particularly damaging to non-citizens. In the case of Italy, sensationalism can create fear-mongering (i.e. invasion syndrome) by distributing misleading information which can most likely lead to social tensions, conflicts, and ultimately hate crimes among domestic and non-citizen communities. Ethical journalism must not succumb to this type of misinformation and IFJ believes there should be some form of accountability by which journalists are constrained to keep their audiences informed with quality writing. In particular, human rights should not be violated for the sake of commercial gain.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) aims to promote more orderly migration and a better understanding of migration. This organization has many projects which contribute to awareness and better understanding of immigration issues and the integration process. Issues of media professionalism are covered, including, internet, television, and print. IOM provides training and seminars, for media professionals from different national origins, and student journalists as well. It sponsors conferences international dialogue among professionals in the media. It also sponsors contests for student papers on an immigration issue as well as providing internships for college students.

Despite the assertive programs that are supposed to aid non-citizens, the prospective beneficiaries of the programs are denied asylum. Those who are of illegal or

undocumented status are without any possibility of integration in Italy. The International

Organization for Migration (IOM) is a global organization which assists in activities,

involving the integration and resettlement of refugee minority groups. IOM can be

considered as part of a coalition with the Italian government in regards to returns or

voluntary repatriation. The Italian NGOs and IOM are concerned with voluntary

repatriation, data collection of all activities which include: reintegration, resettlement, as

well as data collection of all welcoming reception activities positive or negative,

particularly, hate crimes.

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) represents the 70 non-

government organizations which provide refugees with aid. This organization recognizes

how media can foster integration instead of undermining it. ECRE believes in order for

successful integration to be viewed as a positive contribution to society, a reciprocal

relationship has to be established between journalists and those within the integration

system. The media can promote the development of a positive (welcoming) reception

which would ultimately lead to better overall European integration. One way journalists

can show migration as a contribution to societies is by using appropriate terminology, for

example, not referring to non-citizens as "illegals," or asylum seekers as "bogus asylum

seekers." Migrants should not be portrayed simply as dangerous males, but there should

be a more concentrated view on women and children because they are part of the

integration system as well. Furthermore, ECRE emphasizes a historical perspective that

helps show how, over time; immigrants are less of a burden and more a major contributor

to European societies and a valuable asset to local communities. The media can accomplish much because of their direct and massive access to the public.

The media may be able to help governments build support and pinpoint the policies that impair or contribute to the integration process. ECRE has thus developed policy positions on non-citizen integration and created links with press officers to disseminate information of better policy options and the research that underlies those options.

ECRE has also addressed more practical problems in the integration process. For example, within the *Dublin Convention*, there were delays in the immigration examination process, making individuals wait extended periods of time, sometimes for several years. This dilemma left non-citizens with an unknown legal status in the country. Some non-citizens were then transferred to host countries with limited rights, discouraging individuals to take the appropriate steps in integration protocol. This causes many to disregard the rules and remain undocumented or even provide false claims of having ties within the host country (i.e. family ties or a sponsor). This determent fortifies social exclusion by self-isolation (disconnect from society based on fear). Many are left alone to fend for themselves in the unfamiliar territory with no money, food, shelter or education of the host culture or language.

One of the ECRE projects in the works hoping to eliminate this issue is the *Let Them Work* campaign which raises awareness about non-citizen employment. Under the 2008 *Reception Conditions Directive (COM (2011) 320 Final)*, individuals who seek asylum are granted residence and are allowed to work after one year. The ECRE *Let*

Them Work project proposes the mandate be cut in half to six months. Their claim is that the 12-month wait can lead to marginalization which makes life difficult for migrants in the short-term and also delays the overall integration process. These obstacles could also greatly impact the use of cheap labor within European countries. With positive media, journalists could influence the public to view the integration process and individual involved as a contribution to society and not a 'burden'. Immigration policies concentrated on integration should provide a more positive outlook. ECRE believes tackling the terminology describing non-citizens is vital. For example, multiple terms used to define illegal status (illegals, ex-communicated, undocumented should be restricted, instead to use one word to describe individuals such as "irregular migrants" (ibid). By limiting the word usage, journalists are forced to use one terminology, providing transparency and clarity for the public.[55]

The Italian Association of Intercultural Press (ANSI) was formed by a group of non-citizen journalists who worked in both mainstream and multicultural media in Turin, Italy. In association with the Italian National Union of Journalists (FNSI) and the *Ordine* dei Giornalisti (Order of the Journalists) they promote immigration issues and multiculturalism in society as part mainstream media. Currently ANSI is an active participant in the *Carta di Roma (Charter of Rome)* (2008 by FNSI) which is a code of conduct for journalists when they write about non-citizens.

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[55] www.ecre.org/component/downloads/downloads/193.html "Promote the Inclusion of Refugee s and Asylum Seekers into the Labour Market", European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), 2010, [Accessed on 8/12/2012]. Tackling the failure of multiculturalism among states and communities is another major challenge that *ECRE* recognizes as an issue. The organization reiterates the importance of the *Common Basic Principles on Integration (CBPs)*.

ANSI is a local organization, not national. Yet, its 15 professional journalists participate in public events and debates on both the national and international levels, as well as on the local and regional ones. It is currently establishing a mass membership program, which will sponsor youth programs, awards, scholarships and internships through promoting diversity in the media. The purpose of this project is to strengthen relationships with European networks and EU institutions such as the EU Commission.

Cooperazione per Lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti (The Cooperation for Development of Emerging Countries) (COSPE) established in Florence in 1983, is a non-profit organization operating in the field of cooperation and solidarity. The organization combats poverty at the international levels by its deep involvement with Italian educational programs to defend basic rights, extinguish xenophobia, and promote multiculturalism. In an effort to accomplish this goal, COSPE conducts bilingual workshops for both citizen and non-citizen students. It is recognized as an NGO by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the EU. COSPE plans and implements programs, encompassing the protection of human rights, as well as providing assistance to victims of conflict. It also conducts anti-xenophobic training, equal opportunity policy awareness to Italian non-citizens in order to promote rights to education and a multicultural environment. Most importantly, COSPE holds campaigns to inform public opinion on topics of international interests. COSPE, like ANSI , believes that diversity in both the media profession and its content is the proposed solution to battling social exclusion and the fruition of multiculturalism.

With Berlusconi's resignation as prime minister, on November 12, 2011, it might seem that the efforts of organizations like COSPE and other described in this chapter might have been at least partly rewarded. Yet that was not the case, not even in the relatively well-regulated areas of refugees. Italian Economist, Mario Monti was now obligated to deal with the Italian refugee dilemma. Prime Minister Monti made a trip to Tripoli to meet with Libyan CNT as well as met with Amnesty International regarding the numerous reports of torture, hate crimes, illegal activity within the criminal justice system, as well as discussing the ratification of the *1951 Refugee Convention*. With requests from NGOs to correct illegal practices controlling migration and to conduct proper sea rescue operations, Monti publicly stated he was aware of the multiple immigration issues, but the economic welfare of Italy took precedence.

The problem is not the lack of NGO's or the lack of effort by NGOs, it is just that humanitarian groups are too small to challenge the larger bureaucratic structures both of the government itself and of the media and the business-oriented interests that own and control the media. Despite effective strategies and solutions to aid non-citizens, these NGO's must ultimately rely on the willingness of larger UN and EU agencies to force improvements. Despite the role of humanitarian aid providing neutral and impartial assistance to individuals in need, a resolution for migration issues is crucial in order to prevent conflicts causing displacement.

CHAPTER 4: VICTIMIZATION AND EXCLUSION

There is a spectrum of non-citizens in Italy who share commonalities in their situations. Sometimes they have been forced to flee their home of origin from persecution, human rights violations, repression, conflict as well as natural or man-made disasters. Yet others come from a combination of motives or simply to join family and friends already in Italy. All face a difficult and often hostile reception in Italy. That reception is generally made worse by the media, and by its intersection with conservative political interests. This chapter provides an analysis of possible solutions attempting to resolve the problems discussed by using information from chapters two and three.

Refugees are an important subset of those coming to Italy in recent years, and deserve additional comment. While "refugee" is a general term for people forced to flee., it is also has a more precise definition in international law and more specific requirements on governments to aid and protect those designated as refugees or those, usually termed asylum-seekers, who seek the status of refugee. Following the *1951 UN Convention* and the *1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*) the UNHCR is obligated to protect and aid refugees. According to the Convention, a refugee is an individual outside of his or her country of origin. That person must have a "well-founded fear" of being persecuted. The UN refugee definition is technical and in many ways limited; it does not

cover general circumstances of armed conflict, generalized violence, or forced aggression if they do not involve actual persecution by the government, or aided by the government.

The number of refugees fleeing their home of origin has been lower in recent years (Martin and Schoenholtz 2003: 80) although events in Iraq and Syria have begun to push the numbers back up. The reason for the reduction has not been because of reduced conflict, but because opportunities to flee have been reduced. Many who would otherwise be classified as refugees, and thus be protected under international law, are simply not able to leave their country of origin and thus end up in the grey status of being "Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)" with far fewer rights. During the late 1990s, the Norwegian Refugee Council's *Global IDP Project* estimated that were 25 million refugees but the UNHCR only considered five million of those to be refugees under the *1951 Refugee Convention*. There is nothing within the UN convention made for IDPs; however, the UN advocates and provides some assistance to IDPs. The *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* is an inclusive framework for such action. Under the *GPID* guidelines, IDPs are defined as "persons or groups who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters, but who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border."

The reduced number of refugees reveals a second phenomenon. Refugees are being repatriated back to their home countries. In the 1990s, many were returned to Africa, specifically Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Rwanda. Another country of repatriation was Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some cases were based on the fact that actual

sustainable peace and development were established making it safe and secure for many to return. In other cases, however, refugees were returned back to conflict situations within their home countries. This forced repatriation was due to host countries being hesitant in providing asylum. Many refugees were subjected to *refoulement*. Even when repatriation is voluntary, problems still occur, Attempts to reclaim property, for example, were often difficult.

Italy, of course became a major factor in such returns, perhaps most severely through the Friendship Pact with Libya. But there were also problems for refugees and asylum-seekers who did reach Italy. Like other non-citizens, they suffered the consequences of having fewer rights than citizens.

There are an estimated 50 million migrants living outside their home communities. They are forced to flee in order to have some sort of safety or security. Forced migration is a pervasive outcome of conflict, to which is an "ethnic conflict" (Martin & Schoenholtz 1984: 408). When minorities are 'mistrusted' within a hosting country, in this case Italy, they suffer inequity are vulnerable to violence as well as repression. This causes a potential mass exodus to other surrounding countries as in Italy.

Statelessness is a result of forced migration where refugees lose their citizenship from their home country, but also do not qualify under a new nationality. Children born to forced migrants are jeopardized due to denial of citizenship from both countries.

Those affected by environmental and man-made disasters are another category of forced migration except they do not need protection from persecution or violence. What

these "climate refugees", refugees, and IDPs share the inability to repatriate due to "uninhabitable conditions" (ibid). Many 'climate refugees' move within borders, while others relocate to more sustainable living conditions or find new potential dwellings temporarily, but some do manage to cross borders.

Another contributing factor to forced migration flows, are development policies and projects or *development induced migration*. Many are forced to move due to building projects, such as highways, power plants, as well as agriculture. This form of migration reveals serious concerns for human rights because governments attempt to relocate these migrants to overpopulated and under populated areas at time by force. This category experiences similarities with IDPs and refugees in the sense that assistance is denied based on their nationality, race, religion, or political opinion. Sometimes the chosen location is "deliberate" with implicit political motives to in order to weaken the opposing parties or to suppress certain groups. Although situations may differ, the structure of displacement is prevalent, which ultimately leads to structural violence. The media exacerbates political-induced social tensions by its negative mislabeling and sensationalism of situations involving non-citizens.

Roger Zetter's concept of refugee labeling offers insights into the impacts of institutional and bureaucratic power on the lives of refugee minority groups in a globalized era of transnational, social transformations, mixed migration flows, and the continuing presence of large scale migration.

Zetter's main focus is the topic of identity has expanded refugee studies for the past 20 years. He elaborates on how the concept of labeling became institutionalized and

examines the dynamic between the social world, reality of refugees, and the public policy practices of NGOs, and governments within the field of humanitarianism. In order to understand how the label of refugee isdefined, bureaucratic interests and procedures of humanitarian agencies must be scrutinized. Labels not only describe the world, but it also constructs "convenient images" (ibid).

By correlating between structure and agency, labeling is able to provide a concept to explain why refugees do not conform to "convenient images" constructed by humanitarian agencies. It also helps in better understanding how patterns of social life and cultural norms under the pressure of forced displacement are mediated affected and controlled, as well as reformulated by an institutional agency. The way in which labels are created and applied must be analyzed. In order to reveal how the concept of labeling by politicization has "such disempowering and controlling consequences," one must examine "who you are in relation to others." This offers a way of understanding the disproportion between policy agendas and the way people conceive subjects of policy into "convenient images" (Wood 1985:1).

Zetter uses the term "label" because it "recognizes both a process of identification and a mark of identity; implies something which can be chosen and amended; has a tangible and real world meaning, but is also metaphorical and symbolic" (Zetter: 173). In previous refugee studies, the word label is utilized as a concept. For example in 2003, the research conducted in Sigona, Italy on the Roma refugees, demonstrates the power of labeling through three axioms of formation, transformation, and politicization of identity, and remains unchanged within the "refugee regime," despite contemporary scholarly

advances (ibid: 174). "Globalized processes, patterns of forced migration and mixed migration flows" develop a fundamental reformulation of the "refugee regime," hence re-establishing the refugee label (ibid). This particular problem of refugees, and refugee labeling provides an especially sharp reflection on difficulties faced by other non-citizens in Italy. Not only do non-citizens have to deal with starting over in a country relatively unknown to them, but most are without families. They become socially isolated from any comforts of home they have left. They must learn a new language, adapt to a new way of life. It is difficult enough having to be accepted into a foreign community with the media distributing negative images and stereotypes.

Victimization

Italy violates the human rights of those who are in need of assistance. In order to effectively analyze this case study, defining exactly what a hate crime is crucial in order to understand the problem at the basic level and how it applies to both Italian and international laws. To prove violations of human rights by the Italian government, these laws must then be thoroughly scrutinized to provide a broader understanding of how Italy's rhetorical recognition of human rights is overshadowed by its lack of action to uphold it.

A hate crime by definition is a criminal offense that is motivated by hatred against certain persons or groups (Conde 2004: 105). It is characterized by the use of force or threat to cause harm, intimidation, oppression, or damage to persons or their property and is based on race, color, religion, ancestry, and/or national origin. Hate crimes are acts of

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discrimination and abuse of the victim's human equality and dignity. These crimes can be committed by an individual, group, as well as agents of a government. There are also more subtle and pervasive ways in which non-citizens are victimized. These are often described as "structural violence."

Gatlung for example, states that "if insight and/ or resources are monopolized by a group or class or as used for other purposes, then the actual level falls below the potential level and violence is present in the system" (Gatlung :169). Those who suffer from structural violence do not have to experience personal violence. However, there may be law makers who support or enact legislation confirming or worsening the well-being of refugee minority groups. Structural violence persists, regardless of changes in residency status. Judiciaries follow rules of the system, which are systemic rather than personal (ibid: 178). Since the rules are systematic and not personal, the individual's identity becomes insignificant within the system.

Inequality and injustice are constructed into a system's basic laws. Individuals are not viewed objectively which leads to unequal treatment of refugee minority groups (ibid: 171). Gatlung emphasizes how the power of decision is controlled by a small elite group who breaks down power because the opposition cannot reach the "stage of effective articulation" (ibid). In this case, political parties disperse their influence through the media to impose their anti-immigrant sentiments, which allows for these individuals to succumb to an indirect repressive system of structural violence where rights are limited (Cavanaugh 2009: 183).

Gatlung further elaborates on the issue of exploitation being the core of structural violence (Gatlung 1999:293). In a system where the ebb and flow within the structure is unevenly distributed, the "underdog" refugee minority groups are excluded in a "permanent unwanted state of misery" (ibid). They are susceptible to poverty, disease, injustice including hate crimes, among other afflictions within society. Many of these "underdogs" in Italy are marginalized and are vulnerable to "unnecessary suffering" and could possibly die from poor living conditions *(UDHR)*. He also stresses that "all this happens within complex structures and at the end of long, highly ramified causal chains and cycles," in this case, during campaign elections (Gatlung 1999: 293).

Psychological structural violence has fear at its core. Its definition covers deception, threats, and forms of psychological trauma which can encompass hate crimes, xenophobia, and stereotyping by the Italian media. It also, "serves to decrease mental potentialities" (Gatlung 1969:169). Jean-Pierre Derriennic interprets psychological structural violence as "what people are frightened of" (Derriennic 1972: 369). This form of structural violence can be considered a violation of human rights.

The production of fear is a core condition of structural violence used in political power and control. Katherine Ho examines the concept of structural violence and how it violates human rights. Both Paul Farmer and Ho believe structural violence does not occur by accident, "It is not the consequence, direct or indirect of human agency" (Farmer 2005:40, in Ho 2007: 4). Farmer further asserts that human rights violations through structural violence are "symptoms of deeper pathologies of power", which also contribute to the inequity of socio-economic conditions (ibid). "Deeper pathologies of

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power" produce a control of resources which is explicit in systems that have structural violence.

The "underdogs" are constrained while the "top dogs" (elite groups who control structural violence) remain in control; these constraints of the system violate human rights. When constrained, basic human needs cannot be acquired, hence, "structural violence becomes a violation of human rights" (Ho: 2007:15). Gatlung, Derriennic, Farmer and Ho provide clarity on the construct of the system of structural violence. The "underdog" group is excluded from representation and participation in society causing marginalization and mistrust between citizens and refugee minority groups. Structural violence is objectively constructed within the law and society.

Exclusion

Even if there is neither overt violence nor structural violence, non-citizens are often simply excluded and that exclusion usually results in lower and more limited access to resources. According to Lloyd A. Fallers, the approach to social stratification is intrinsically "a hierarchy of pansocietal horizontal layers" (Fallers 1973:5). Who or what constructs these layers depends on how the context is analyzed. It also includes any part of a section within a society covering the working class, unemployed, citizens, and non-citizens. Social stratification relies on the notion of need and power. It reveals itself when there is an authoritative distribution based on power. Social stratification also divides by an "objective attribute "such as income or education (Fallers: ibid).

Erick Allardt points out that those in power "possess or control a portion of the goods and services produced by the society" (Allardt 1968: 16). Those who control the power in a society have the ability to allot and distribute resources and benefits, yet Allardt argues that however the distributive process is constructed, equality is necessary, "everybody should get rewards in proportion to his needs" (ibid: 21). Social exclusion is identified with social stratification, within the sections of a society, the underdog or lower class or strata is subjected to social exclusion.

Amartya Sen explains social exclusion as "to be excluded from common facilities or benefits that others have and can certainly be a significant handicap that impoverishes the lives that individuals can enjoy"(Sen 2000: 44). Sen describes social exclusion as having two forms: active and passive. The first form is a "deliberate policy to exclude some people from some opportunities" (Ibid: 15). The second form is unintentional; it comes through as a process where there is "no deliberate attempt to exclude" individuals (Ibid). Active social exclusion can be considered a mechanism for discriminating against a specified demographic. Since it is an unintended action, passive social exclusion identified with inadvertent side of structural violence.

Gerry Rodgers follows Sen's theme that social rights as well as material deprivation are forms of social exclusion: "It encompasses not only the lack of access to goods and services...but also exclusion from security, from justice, from representation and from citizenship" (Rodgers 1995:255).Both Sen and Rodgers define social exclusion as any kind of deprivation. Rodgers further argues that social exclusion is "a central idea,

it is that exclusion which has much to do with inequality in many dimensions –

economic, social, political, and cultural" (ibid: 260).

In the realm of social exclusion, citizenship is significant because it is an "outline

of a relationship between individuals and the state as well as between the society and the

individual" (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1994: 10-11, Rodgers 1995: 6-7). This concept claims

that social exclusion is a mechanism of social disintegration because it is a continuous

"fracture" between the individual and society (Rodgers: 2).

Citizenship can be defined as a "social contract based on the possession of equal

rights by all individuals" (ibid). Citizens are entitled to equal rights according to their

status (Marshall and Bottmore 1992: 18). When there is inequity within the distribution

system of rights in citizenship, social exclusion applies.

The Observatory on Natural Policies to Combat Social Exclusion (ONPCSE)

terms social exclusion as an impact on the "social rights of citizens to a certain basic

standard of living and to participation in the major social and occupational opportunities

of the society" (Room: 1999:167, Marshall & Bottomore 1992: 2), in other words, social

exclusion is a 'fracture of citizenship which supports the structural violence within a

society. ONPCSE relates social rights to basic living conditions. These rights also include

housing, employment, health care, as well as anything that involves the well-being and

overall livelihood if an individual. This organization also believes "citizens are unable to

secure their social rights, they will tend to suffer processes of generalized and persisting

disadvantages and their social occupational participation will be undermined" (ibid).

In theories of social stratification and social exclusion, all of the scholars mentioned as well as ONPCSE portray situations that would indicate that these concepts are contemporary issues in society. Social stratification is fundamentally a layered society divided by population based on seemingly "objective attributes." Stratification goes hand in hand with structural violence because it involves control of power and resources by one elite group at the cost of another (i.e. lower strata aka underdog refugee minority groups). The socially excluded are groups deprived of security, justice, representation human and civil rights as well as physical resources (water, food, shelter). Any "fracture" in the social contract between society and the individual can qualify associal exclusion. It can be an active system, being purposely enforced or a passive system even unintended.

The Legal Framework

In Italy's case, the victimization and exclusion of non-citizens is not simply a social problem or even simply a national problem. Italy is also subject to international legal guidelines and, even more importantly, to very strong EU commitments to basic human rights. The protection of forced migrants or illegal refugees can be considered within refugee conventions as well as in International Humanitarian Law. The *UDHR* is the first contemporary document that provides an approach to domestic and international rights as well as state responsibilities. For example, Article 13 stipulates the individual right to move within one's own country. It also asserts the right to leave and return to that country. Article 14 declares only a "right to seek and enjoy other country's asylum from

persecution," this is not an obligation due to the issue of an individual having the ability to leave their country, but must enter another, making the right to asylum a choice for the state to consider.

During the Cold War, the *1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* and its *1967 protocol* became a topic of concern. In the European framework, the issue had risen when millions were displaced during World War II. It provided protection for those refugees based on a "well-founded fear of persecution based on their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership or a particular social group."

"Conflict is both a cause and consequence of forced migration and the efforts to address it," (Martin & Schoenholtz 1984: 412). Many refugees flee conflict. Migration can also cause conflict and instability resulting additional in migration flows ranging from large to less populated areas. Forced migrants have the potential to add to the conflict as well. Conflicts of forced migration may also impact neighboring countries. Martin and Schoenholtz argue that many believe that providing aid and forced migrants support conflicts that otherwise would not exist.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Increased immigration to Europe in the past two decades has created many social and political problems. These include victimization and marginalization, both exacerbated by frequent xenophobia and negative labeling in the Italian media. The effects are felt by a wide range of non-citizens from newly arriving refugees and asylum seekers to ethnic minority groups' long-resident in Italian. This thesis has focused on the representation of non-citizens in Italian media, and how it has damaged the situation of non-citizens over all and how it might be changed to bring about a better understanding of non-citizens and more peaceful relationships between minorities and Italian communities. I have used such concepts as labeling, social exclusion, and structural violence to highlight the effects of the Italian media, while also noting the extent to which political and corporate interests intrude into the media.

The harsh reality is that general social xenophobia is being fostered by government policies and practices and by negative portrayals of non-citizens in the media. Strong ethical journalism needs to be established in order for non-citizens to be represented properly in the media and to have the opportunity to properly represent themselves as well. The Italian media tends to collapse all these issues together. Non-citizens will need both courage and the backing of local and international communities to act as journalists, activists, and/or media owners to create spaces of representation by

non-citizens and more positive portrayals of non-citizens. Once these spaces can be embedded among media outlets, perhaps then can the negative images, sentiments of xenophobia and stereotypes can be diminished as multiculturalism takes hold and true integration moves forward.

Better non-citizen representation in the media would not only minimize social tensions, but could possibly establish a movement for better understanding of other cultures. When both host individuals and communities come to a common mutual appreciation, violations of human rights are likely to decrease. The protection of an individual's rights and preservation of personal dignity will become less of a burden and more of an opportunity. The portrayal of non-citizens in the media is crucial because it provides the information needed to understand the non-citizen perspectives, culture and struggles; the media can also shed light on how host citizens create false images for non-citizens and how they can begin to moderate their views.

How non-citizens themselves can create a representational space in the Italian news media is crucial in the transformation of Italian society, and Europe more broadly. It is important to acknowledge how creating spaces for representation is part of a larger movement in order to attain a better understanding of culture in heterogeneous societies. Understanding the importance of representation is not only crucial in understanding how non-citizens can participate in creating positive images, but also how the narratives of identity develop. For identity overall, non-citizen self-representation may be the effective strategy to promote effective integration.

The Press

The role of the press is crucial in providing a more balanced view of non-citizens. *Fatto Quotidiano* can be viewed as an example of a positive approach to the identity of non-citizens. It appears to be appreciated by the Italian public because of its free and independent status. The newspaper's popularity reveals the potential outlook to free information. The broader solution to resolving the "crisis" of the Italian press could be severing its ties with corporate, economic, and politicized interests, thus promoting independence of the press. The empowerment of the media 'watch dog' is needed to promote transparency in general, but could also help and eliminate further marginalization of non-citizens, including opportunities for representation by non-citizens themselves. That, in turn might reduce the current tendency to stigmatize all non-citizens (refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants) for the acts of a few.

Migration

Italy's actions have wider international implications. Action in humanitarian crises involving the influx of refugees to Italy is vital in maintaining international security, peacekeeping in war-torn communities, advocating progressive development, and respecting human rights. Failure to properly manage migration jeopardizes the chances of those fleeing from persecution and those in hopes of reuniting with their families in European hosting countries. "The impact of forced migration must be taken into account" (Martin & Schoenholtz: 414).

Realistic frameworks for resolving displacement must include strategies for integration and resettlement of refugees. The impact of displacement as well as different situations must be scrutinized for a better outcome. Finding a legitimate resolution to forced migration involves solutions to conflict, repression, and instability because the consequences are directly linked to why many flee. Political changes cannot be the only answer to end a conflict; however they are a start. Both legal and illegal non-citizens must be allowed to exercise their human rights in order to maintain safety and prevent further abuse. In this area, there is a foundation in EU law and practice regarding human rights, migration in general, and refugees in particular. Further Italian commitment to fully meeting those EU guidelines may in itself improve the climate toward migrants in Italy.

NGOs

The misrepresentation and undermining of non-citizens in the media is recognized by both non-governmental and international organizations and is viewed as a problem. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) can provide assistance by bringing awareness and enable individuals to participate in public processes, which can help prevent negative portrayals of non-citizens in the media. This is one way to support ethical journalism. Lack of access to the media, perhaps especially the internet, can act as an obstacle for quality journalism, marginalization in the media, perhaps especially among journalists, the merging of security issues with immigration and sensationalism. These are just some of the challenges NGOs are facing in order to ensure positive integration is attainable.

NGOs are attempting to provide non-citizens with "quality" information about their surroundings. Through positive media, NGOs hope to provide non-citizens with job opportunities, support services and potentially overcome marginalization, misrepresentation and create a construct within non-citizens communities that present integration as a positive contribution to any society. Clearly, NGOs have helped provide more accurate and positive images on non-citizens. Greater support for them, including by the government would be a step forward.

Ethical Journalism

Misrepresentation or the undermining of non-citizens can be viewed as contributors to the crisis in journalism. The manipulation of images and stereotyping of non-citizens are widely accepted as accurate news information. Commercialism seems to have a strong influence on the media because it brings revenue to the newspaper industry. Hence, in order to meet demands for entertainment purposes and both sensationalist and populist journalism replaces quality journalism.Another dilemma is the image of non-citizenry is sometimes manipulated for political purposes. The tabloid version of the news is more appealing than actual journalism. This trend encompasses not only tabloids but major newspaper as well.

Non-citizens can potentially contribute to not only the Italian economy, but to the EU economy as well. When labor markets increase in numbers due to non-citizens participation, EU has the economic competitiveness. The negative portrayals of non-citizens in the media can potentially damage this positive economic gain. The media has

to be responsible for the images and wording used in their news reporting. It is imperative

to correct the terminology and not use stereotypical language such as "illegals" when

referring to non-citizens in the media. That avoidance of stereotypes and negative labels

may well be the single most important way to improve the conditions of non-citizens in

Italy.

Training

The Italian government seems to overlook social injustice against non-citizens.

This produces complacency among non-citizens as well as citizens and makes them feel

helpless and hopeless about doing anything to improve their living conditions and well-

being. Human Rights Watch suggests the Italian government should more actively

condemn xenophobic acts. Mandated training for police authorities and prosecutors

should be provided to prevent confusion, wrongful arrests, and unjust acts of aggression

on non-citizens. Publication and documentation of arrests, fines, and other official police

reports of hate crimes should be enhanced. Otherwise, anti-immigrant sentiment will

grow and be exploited by extremist groups such as the Lega Nord.

This process is difficult, however, because of the corruption of the media, which

is a major concern among journalists worldwide, and a particularly difficult problem in

Italy. Human rights advocates must continue to be committed to provide ethical

journalism. NGOs and public authorities are already working to provide accurate

information and awareness which would enable people to integrate more effectively in

Italy, but there is much more work to be done. Further study of multicultural efforts

among non-citizens and Italians would provide insight to both perspectives in how communities themselves confront the socio-political dilemmas presented. It would be of interest, for example, to attempt to view how the music, cuisine, and overall intercultural merging could contribute to an effective multicultural society overall.

Legal System and Judicial Reform

Not only do the Italian media have a legal and ethical responsibility to construct spaces of self-representation, but both ethnic and international communities hold the same accountability to protect their human and civil rights. The Italian government needs to explicitly prohibit xenophobic acts of violence and by reforming criminal law. Proper training must be provided to Italian authorities; both judiciary and law enforcement to prevent further confusion and degradation on ethnic minority groups. Peace Education and Human Rights Education need to be distributed by humanitarian agencies, the Italian government, and EU to prevent further violation of human rights and promote ethnic and racial equality. Ethical journalism is needed to prohibit the negative xenophobic stereotypes the media feeds the public through "transparency." Both human and civil rights need to be enforced by the EU, the Italian government, and humanitarian agencies in order to promote a better way of life for those seeking asylum and overall well-being. Judicial reform is also necessary. The creation of "transparency" within the legal system will hold the government more accountable in general and in prevention of human rights abuses. Access to a fair trial will be improved by the removal of corrupt judiciaries, as well as proper training within the legal system. Such an independent legal system is

recognized throughout all major human rights conventions. In the *UDHR*, Article seven states, "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law." The same entitlement is defined within the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)*. With regards to the corruption within legal system, the *Untied Nations Convetion against Corruption (UNCAC 2003)* acknowledges the damage corruption can cause within the legal system. The Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct is another independent sanction that holds most countries accountable for judicial abuses. It is vital that transparency of the legal system be constantly re-analyzed when deficiencies are discovered in order to prevent further marginalization of minority groups.

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BIOGRAPHY

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