Title

Scavenging: Between precariousness, marginality and access to the city. The case of Roma people in Turin and Marseille

Authors

Elisabetta Rosa
(CREAT-LOCI), Université catholique de Louvain

Claudia Cirelli
(UMR CITERES), Université de Tours, FR

Corresponding author
Elisabetta Rosa, Université catholique de Louvain
Email : ellina.guendalina@gmail.com

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank our colleagues Antonio Castagna, Michele Lancione and Patrice Melé for their valuable comments and advice, which enabled us to improve the text. Moreover, we would like to thank the anonymous referees for their precious insights and Prof. Trevor Barnes for his generosity and carefulness. All errors remain, of course, the sole responsibility of the authors.

Funding statement

This work has been realized in the framework of the Laboratoire d'excellence LabexMed – Les sciences humaines et sociales au cœur de l'interdisciplinarité pour la Méditerranée, with the reference number 10-LABX-0090. This work has received financial support from

the State managed by the Agence Nationale de la recherche, Investissement d'Avenir project A*MIDEX, with the reference number ANR-11-IDEX-0001-02.

Abstract

Waste picking is an old practice, whereby profit is gained by recovering recyclable materials from discarded objects and reintroducing them into the formal and informal economic circuits. Recycling and recovery of waste in urban centres in the Global South has been the subject of a number of studies. However, this activity also exists in more affluent cities. Based on research carried out in Turin (Italy) and Marseille (France), in this paper we analyse waste picking by Roma communities, showing that this activity not only provide them with an income from the sale of recycled objects and materials, but also allows them to assemble their access to the city and its multiple resources –people, objects, spaces. Only the recognition of the Roma as workers and citizens beyond any imposed normalisation can bring about a change in the way their being-in-the-city is considered both at a social, economic and political level.

Keywords

Waste, scavenging, marginality, urban practices, access to the city, Roma people, Marseille, Turin.

Introduction

Waste picking is an old practice, whereby profit is gained by recovering recyclable materials from discarded objects and reintroducing them into the formal and informal economic circuits (Melosi 1981, Scheinberg *et al.* 2011). The *waste picker*, the modern counterpart of the 19th century rag-and-bone man, is more or less visible and more or less part of urban functioning, depending on the period and the socio-economic context (Gutberlet 2015). As pointed out by Corbin, "waste picking too has its history" (2011: 10); hence, the waste picker changes and adapts to changes in the world of waste (Paulian 1896; Compagnon 2017). And yet, even though waste recovery transmutes waste into a resource through reuse and the extraction of recyclable material, the women and men involved have not always had a positive image. Contact with cast-off substances turns waste pickers into dubious figures, operating between invisibility and denial (Gutberlet 2010). This ambiguity can be found in connection with so-called "Roma" groups in European cities living in precarious conditions, for whom salvaging waste is a common activity (Carabellese 2008; Olivera, 2015).

According to some anthropological analyses, the Roma are people who are at the spatial, social and economic margins of the dominant systems, which is the *sine qua non* of maintaining their own order and identity. In this respect, Piasere (2004: 93) presents the Roma as "*i signori delle sfasature*" (masters of the border), to emphasise that Roma identity is based on a counterposition to the society in which they live; the world around them is composed of non-Roma individuals – the *gadje* – who are and remain the Other (Williams 1993). Thus, from the margins - of the city, of power, of social and legal norms - and from the asymmetries and discontinuities of the power structures, the Roma form a world within a world (Piasere 2004). This offers them the possibility of continuing to exist, while maintaining their freedom to act, to be, and to connect. In spite of the interest and value of this approach, we feel that there is a risk that it simplifies the complexity of the urban integration of these people, essentialising a Roma way of being in the city that is seemingly incompatible with other "non-Roma" ways. By approaching the issue from the

urban space and its resources[1], notably waste, the originality of our article is that it shows how waste-related activities can offer the Roma a way of accessing and integrating the town. Our aim here is to resituate the Roma within a broader urban and social dynamic, rather than enclosing them in ethnic, disciplinary or economic categories. This will enable us to avoid restrictive oppositions – Roma vs non-Roma, stigma vs inclusion, or scavengers vs recyclers – and to show the links between these multiple dimensions. It will also enable us to analyse the different methods and phases of waste-picking activities, which sometimes combine and sometimes separate scavenging and recycling activities, depending on the needs of the Roma in the city and the opportunities that arise.

From research carried out in Turin (Italy) and Marseille (France) with Roma families from Romania[2], this paper analyses their waste picking activity in order to understand its effects on the interactions of these people with the city. The data discussed here are based on field surveys conducted in Turin with families living in two informal settlements on the banks of the river Stura, and in Marseille by closely following the situation of a family living in the Belle de Mai district[3].

In the following pages, we will address the following questions: In contemporary European cities, to what extent do waste-related activities provide a way for Roma people to access the city and its resources? To what extent are these activities a resource enabling the Roma to find their place within urban and economic space? Taking a pragmatist and a "ground level" perspective (Lussault and Stock, 2010), "access to the city" is understood here as the way marginalised groups and individuals negotiate being part of the city *in practice*, i.e. the set of practices they develop, adopt and use to be in and move around the city and live their lives (Berry-Chikhaoui, 2009; Lussault and Signoles, 1996; Dorier-Apprill and Gervais-

[1] This refers to an approach that Stewart (2013) defines as culturalist, found particularly in Franco-Italian anthropology, and which differs notably from the structuralist approach that characterises the Anglophone school of thought.

[2] It involved groups who have arrived in Western European cities since the end of the 2000s (Revelli, 1999; Sarcinelli, 2011). We use the ethnonym "Roma", although it does not reflect the complexity of the identities/ethnic minorities present in the different situations studied. In any event, this is the way they are described in the representations and views expressed about the "Roma question" (see below).

3 The field data are from surveys carried out by the author between 2013 and 2016. For details of the informal character of these settlements, see Author…. Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with representatives of organizations working for/with Roma, local inhabitants, and representatives of public institutions. The analysis was completed with secondary data (press reviews, media, etc.), photographs and field notes.

Lambony, 2007). What is important here is that we use the notion of access to the city in terms of access to its resources (cf. below) and not in the sense of the right to the city as defined by H. Lefebvre, which involves above all a political dimension, notably the citizens' demands to participate in the construction of the space in which they live (Lefebvre, 1968). This notion has been used to analyse resistance to expulsion and socio-spatial inequalities, as well as to demand improved living conditions in run-down districts and to develop a critical view of urban development. In the case of the Roma we have met, however, they do not mobilise themselves collectively to claim access to urban resources (housing, infrastructures, work, health services, etc.).

After presenting the specific contexts of the study, in the second part of the text we examine the major issues linked to waste picking and recycling in current urban contexts, in order to show that this activity is not a specific feature of the Roma. On the contrary, it is above all an economic activity of commodity extraction, transformation and transaction; as such, it provides a livelihood for millions of people worldwide. Our analysis thus focuses on the dual nature of waste, as a bearer of stigma and a resource. The third part is devoted to the analysis of the places, methods, times and interactions that are involved for the Roma. Finally, we show that waste picking enables the Roma people to have access to urban resources, both material and immaterial, but that this activity, unlike other experiences in low- and middle-income countries, remains a complementary economic activity that does not involve collective claims or a demand for political and social recognition, as is the case for other urban waste collectors.[4]

Data, context and methodology

In order to understand the practices and interactions arising from the waste picking activities, we adopted an ethnographic approach. This involved participant and nonparticipant observation of the Roma we met during their daily activities, and non-structured interviews to gain further insight into their practices and views. In Turin, this

4 See for instance the worldwide network WIEGO (http://wiego.org) or the French AMELIOR (http://amelior.canalblog.com).

investigation was carried out during two distinct periods, from July to September 2013 and from March to October 2014. We met 26 people, 22 women and four men. Ten of these people (two men and eight women) carried out waste picking on a more-or-less regular basis, often in addition to other activities, notably begging or domestic work (the latter involving mainly women). Our fieldwork in Marseille was carried out between March 2015 and June 2016. Here, we followed closely the life of a group of 20 people who had been living in a small squat since September 2014. This group consisted of an extended family comprising eight family nuclei, of whom five lived in the squat (the others lived in London and Scotland). The waste picking activity was not the main source of income for any of the members of this group; some had regular jobs in agriculture, others made a living by begging. However, most of them were involved in waste picking. In both Turin and Marseille, we met and observed the Roma as they moved around the city by bus, bicycle and on foot – at the flea market, in the waiting rooms of the municipal baths, at crossroads, in front of shops, at street corners.

The Roma we met in Turin occupy two informal settlements, approximately two kilometres apart, on the north-eastern periphery of the city, on the banks of the River Stura. This is the zone where the city set up the activities it wished to remove from the centre: the waste disposal site, the municipal dog pound, together with three of the four authorised "campi nomadi"[5]. Other informal activities then moved in: fly tipping, unauthorised vegetable gardens, and informal settlements where the Roma families live. The largest, called "Lungo Stura", housed approximately 800 people until 2015 when it was evacuated and completely destroyed by order of the public authorities. Some of the inhabitants moved into the second site, called "Germagnano", which still houses about 600 people (Genta, 2016)[6]. The first groups moved in about 2005-2006.

The "Belle de Mai" is a former working-class district of Marseille located between the city centre and the northern districts. Its history is linked to the extension of the railway and to

5 These are settlements destined for Roma communities, first set up by Italian public institutions in the 1980s (Author …). They are roughly comparable to the "villages d'insertion de Roms" (Roma integration villages) in France, though they each have specific characteristics (see for example Legros, 2009).

6 There are few estimations and regular surveys of the population occupying these informal settlements. The city of Turin produced an estimation in 2013, and to the best of our knowledge, there have been none since (Città di Torino, 2013).

the tobacco and soap factories (early 20th century). The effects of the crisis following factory closures (in the 1990s) and recent renewal operations[7] resulted in a large number of abandoned buildings and extensive wasteland, constituting what Benach and Tello (2014) called "reserve spaces" for urban transformation. Several Roma families have moved in to these marginal spaces, which have thus become both transit and settlement areas (Author…).

With regard to the contexts studied, two elements must be highlighted. First, the existence of multiple resources, including public transport, proximity to sources of drinking water, shopping centres where residents can shop and beg, and voluntary organisations offering various services. Spaces that are both contested and shared, where multiple urban/socio-spatial dimensions meet, interact, clash or simply coexist. Secondly, both the construction of shacks in the informal settlements and the improvement of the living spaces in the squat occur incrementally, using recycled materials from the city – which is thus both mined and recycled (McFarlane, 2011).

Waste picking activity and waste pickers: Towards a recognition?

While scrap picking and recycling in the past were left exclusively to marginal groups searching for resources to ensure their livelihood, environmental protection policies in the last twenty years have made the economic potential of waste a major issue for many private and public stakeholders (Bertolini, 1989; Strasser 1998). Global scarcity of raw materials and the demand for secondary materials have boosted this new interest in waste. In this context, waste is mainly reintroduced into formal economic circuits – now controlled almost exclusively by public institutions and private companies – thanks to the operations and selective sorting and recycling facilities that extract and utilize recoverable material. For their part, citizens are asked to participate in this recycling procedure by sorting their rubbish.

7 La Belle de Mai lies partly within the perimeter of the Euro-Méditerranée project. Consequently, some spaces have already been converted, notably the buildings of the former tobacco factory.

Waste picking activities proliferate in cities of the Global South that lack basic public services. They provide a livelihood for people at the margins of the job market and sometimes of society. Studies in this field show that waste pickers sometimes play an essential role in extracting and recycling material (Assaad 1988; Fahmi 2005; Gutberlet 2015; Medina 2007; Neamatalla 1998; Sicular 1992), although they do not replace municipal departments because they are only interested in material with an interesting economic value (metals, cardboard, plastic, paper).

However, these studies also show the difficulty of understanding these hybrid management systems, which are both a public service and a trading activity (Cavé 2015). Other authors have described how waste pickers can be enlisted in conventional services, leading to systems that have been defined as "composite" (Durand 2010; Debout 2012; Fahmi 2005; Scheinberg and Anschütz 2006), "alternative" (Coutard, 2010) or "modernized mixtures" (Scheinberg *et al.* 2011). This linkage between "formal" and "informal" sectors, already identified in the first studies carried out in this domain, seems to be typical of waste regulation (Birkbeck 1978; Furedy 1984; Mukherjee and Singh 1981) and even today to characterize management in these types of urban context.

Research by Raoulx (1999) and Tremblay *et al.* (2009) on the *binners*[8] of Vancouver shows how, in cities where waste management is more controlled and less open to non-institutional players, one can also find, to a different extent, a waste picking activity that plays a role not only in waste regulation policies, but also in improving the conditions of people living in economically and socially marginal situations (Tremblay *et al.,* 2009)[9]. Finally, in European cities, where the waste picker seemed to have become a rare or inconspicuous figure, the arrival of groups of immigrants, or the impoverishment of certain socio-economic groups seeking to survive through odd jobs such as selling second-hand goods or recycled material, "has once again revealed poverty that was thought to be

8 In English-speaking Canada, particularly in Vancouver, a "*binner*" is a person, often homeless, who retrieves cans and bottles from rubbish bins.

9 In the framework of civil society and the social economy, a large number of non-profit organisations and cooperatives have taken the waste disposal issue as a basis for implementing economic and social development projects on a local scale (e.g. helping individuals in difficulty find employment in recycling and repairing damaged or discarded objects). For the case of Turin, see Dansero et al. 2015.

marginal and regulated" (Milliot, 2010: 18; Scheinberg *et al.* 2016). This is the context of the waste picking activity of the Roma who we encountered during our research.

Waste picking activities involve a chain of small jobs (Silguy, 2009) and socio-spatial organisation (Author…) in order to collect, sort, transport, extract, process, and sell the recoverable material. While it is not our purpose here to present the many debates on the links between formal and informal systems (Hart 1973; de Soto 1986; Lautier, 2004; Santos, 1975; Calafate–Faria, 2015; McFarlane, 2012; Roy 2009; Yerochewski and Noiseux, 2015) in which waste-related trade and practices partly occur, it is nonetheless important to highlight a number of elements connected to the functioning of this activity. The groups and individuals engaged in waste picking use simple techniques (for collection, material extraction, etc.) and have a low level of (formal) education. Their activity is small-scale, as they usually have limited storage capacity, and their social relationships are often non-professional (apart from those who do several jobs at the same time). It involves collecting scrap, often illegally as waste formally belongs to the waste disposal company once it is in the bins, and extracting the reusable material. This is sold to intermediaries, who are not always in the formal system and who in turn are in contact with purchasers, such as formal wholesalers, whose business develops on a more industrial scale and often at an international level. Whether it involves a strategy to reduce production costs (particularly wages) or an inability to absorb informal activities, waste picking is closely linked to the formal waste management sector[10].

Research carried out in this field (Author…; Gutberlet, 2016; Medina, 2007) shows that waste picking activities remain fragile in several respects: the often substandard work conditions and sites, the negative externalities associated with the extraction of materials, which expose the waste pickers, and often their families, to serious health and environmental risks, and finally competition from private companies specialized in the environment and which have major interests in the recycling market. Moreover, the negative image of waste pickers, due to their proximity to waste, makes this work situation even more insecure. Associated with dirt, impure and perishable matter, even with death,

10 For different examples, see Medina, 2007, or more recently Cavé, 2015.

waste is an indicator of society's relationship with the world, as it represents the boundary between social order and disorder (Dagognet, 1997; Douglas, 1966; Jeanjean, 2006; Zonabend, 1999).

Waste picking is thus marked by a paradox: on the one hand, it reintroduces waste into the urban system through reuse and recycling, and on the other it contaminates the person engaged in the activity, who tends to be confused with the object of his/her work (Lhuilier and Cochin, 1999). This identification between matter and the person handling it lies at the heart of the socially demeaning view of the work, making it particularly difficult to carry out (Corteel and Le Lay, 2011: 25).

While the working conditions of waste pickers seem to have improved in some places, thanks to recognition of their role in the urban waste management system and their integration in the system for keeping the city clean (Gutberlet 2010; Scheinberg *et al* 2016), in other contexts, notably in cities in the Western world, they seem to be treated with the same suspicion as before (Milliot 2010).

Between marginalisation and precariousness: the Roma within the city. The wrong question?

Frequently represented as the ultimate example of socio-spatial marginalisation, Roma migrants and the places where they live are analysed above all in terms of the precarious conditions that characterise them (Marušiakova and Popov, 2008; Picker and Roccheggiani, 2013; Olivera, 2015; Sigona 2002).

Although the number of Romanian Roma is relatively small in France and in Italy – between 15,000 and 20,000 in the former and approximately 60,000 in the latter (Legros and Vitale 2011) – their presence and activities in the urban space underlie the "Roma issue", called in France the "*question rom*" and in Italy the "*problema nomadi*"[11] (Cousin,

11 In Italy, the "*problema nomadi"* erupted towards the end of 2007. Following several repeated periods of tension – including fires in informal settlements, violent and retaliatory episodes by local residents etc. – the central government declared a state of emergency in relation to nomads. The cities concerned, i.e. those with Roma communities, were supposed to set up a *Piano nomadi* (plan for nomads). A special administrator responsible for implementing this plan was appointed in order to carry out identity checks, renovate the authorised *campi*, and evacuate the informal sites. In 2011,

2012; Sigona, 2005). Specific policies have been drawn up in both countries to deal with the issue, often based on rejectionism, with public actions that lead to eviction orders, justified by the insalubrity and demeaning nature of the squats and other makeshift settlements where they live. The violent impact of these *modi administrandi* is undeniable, in particular the forced displacement following eviction. At the same time, the continuing presence of Roma people within the city needs to be seen from a different perspective, notably how they assemble their access to the city (Legros and Olivera, 2014; Manzoni 2016; Vitale 2009). Taking this view, we can see the Roma not as passive objects of public action – a view that scholarly studies have at least partly contributed to – but in terms of their capacity for action and the resources they make use of (Author…).

As discussed above, waste picking adds value to discarded materials by putting them into the economic circuits. As we will show, this helps sustain the livelihoods of the people involved. With this in mind, and following the approach of scholars who argue that the Roma economy is integrated within the market economy (Okely 1983; Brazzabeni *et al.*, 2015), we examine the waste picking activity of Roma people in an attempt to reverse the view that the Roma and their economic practices are "marginal in essence" (Brazzabeni et al., 2015: 9). Roma scavenging activity can also be understood in light of the concept of "niche", that some scholars have introduced to explain how Gipsy insert into the majority economy "within which they covered recognizable variously stable, economic specializations" (Brazzabeni et al., 2015: 7). Roma people adapt to the surrounding society by finding, occupying, covering and exploiting such "niches" and develop consistent skills take advantage of "a broad range of opportunities" (ibid.).

Taking this approach, salvaging waste can be seen above all as an economic activity involving the extraction, transformation and trading of commodities, providing the Roma with extra income. However, waste is not only a resource in the economic sense. In this article, we consider resources as a potential that can be activated by the people involved; namely, knowledge, skills and ideas that can be put to specific use. Resources are socially

---

the Council of State declared that this policy was constitutionally illegitimate. For the historical background of the political "creation" of this category of "nomads", see Picker and Roccheggiani, 2013.

constructed, in that they do not exist in isolation and without the action of the individuals who make use of them (Khan 2007). Taking this view, all objects, both material and immaterial, are potentially resources, and are therefore relative in character (Corrado 2007), depending on the user's intentions and on the spatial, temporal, social and cultural context of their use. As Moroni puts it, "Resources depend on human desires, perceptions, knowledge and technological skills. Strictly speaking, they are not so much discovered as invented. Resources are therefore not absolute, but relative; not natural, but created" (2011, 345).

Waste is a good example of this relativity, as it becomes a resource from the moment the recyclers or waste management system make use of it. The recovery processes involved today (recycling, reuse, etc.) are part of a paradigm shift in environmental policies, whereby waste is now seen first and foremost as a resource that must be reintegrated into a circular economy system[12].

At the same time, different forms of marginalisation are involved in the waste picking/recycling process, and new forms produced. Some studies have shown that waste picking accentuates the stigmatisation of the Roma people involved, who are already perceived as being in a precarious situation and working at the edge of informality (Marcaletti, 2013) and sometimes identified as human scrap (Rogozinski, Surya et al., 2011). This stereotype is linked to representations of these people as a minority (cultural, social, economic), impoverished, unproductive and under-consuming, an underclass often perceived as a threat, whose cost to the rest of society must be controlled and restricted (Bauman, 2004)[13]. Waste as a resource is also unevenly distributed among and between waste pickers and other formal actors involved in recycling.

12 In this context, recycling facilities only take waste material that can be processed.

[13] This is illustrated for example in the images circulated by local and national media of the way local people react to the way Roma deal with waste: *Hostages of the Roma and no one helps us': the rage of the current residents of corso Vercelli blows up once again. Journey into the neighborhood the day after the riot against the smoke coming from the camps* (LaStampa Torino, 2/6/2017 - http://www.lastampa.it/2017/06/02/cronaca/ostaggi-dei-rom-e-nessuno-ci-aiuta-riesplode-la-rabbia-dei-residenti-in-corso-vercelli-2ulfsffL8YH5qpIeLXTSSN/pagina.html); "*Lungo Stura: Two kilometers of stakes and dumps, here is the land of poisoning that besieges Turin*" (LaStampa Torino, 9/2/2017 -

Our analysis focuses specifically on this dual aspect of waste (picking).

Waste picking as a practice-based resource. Methods, places, times and interactions

The Roma families we met in Turin and Marseille diversify their economic activities in order to meet the material needs of the family, both on site and in their home country. Waste picking is thus combined with other economic activities, including paid work (mainly in agriculture or the building trade), begging, childcare, and for some, car dealing. This enables them not only to diversify their sources of income, but also to come into contact with different socio-professional systems requiring a variety of skills, affecting the ability of individuals to fit into different aspects of the city.

"*Fare i bidoni*" in Italian and "*faire les poubelles*" in French, literally "to do the dustbins" are terms used to describe scavenging and waste picking activities that may exist in isolation or combined; personal use, selling, specialised sales (salvaging materials for specific sectors) or reuse. The activity can also be individual or family based, but, unlike waste picking in other parts of the world, it is not organised collectively (workers cooperatives).

The people we met have various ways of salvaging waste: clearing premises, clearing cellars and attics, gifts, scavenging in dustbins, and intercepting objects at waste disposal sites. In this way, the Roma we met, like other waste pickers around the world, take possession of a large quantity of discarded objects, which they then channel towards reuse. The salvaged objects are very varied: metal objects (kitchen utensils, household goods, bicycle spare parts, etc.), clothes and shoes, food, antiques and collector items that are sold in informal or authorised markets (flea markets, etc.). Over time, some groups have specialised in specific items and products. This specialisation results both from customer demand and (more often) the interaction with materials and substances (Calafate-Faria, 2015). For example, Marius, a 29-year-old man who left his family in Romania and arrived

http://www.lastampa.it/2017/02/09/cronaca/la-terra-dei-veleni-che-assedia-torino-yxeyUBVke7nQyBpbTNhCOI/pagina.html).

in Lungo Stura in 2013 told us, “I’m not interested in clothes, it’s rather accessories or pieces of furniture that I look for. Shoes are OK, but not clothes, they have to be properly cleaned before you can sell them, and that’s not for me”[14].

Some specialisations are gender-related; among the people we met, salvaging scrap metal is mainly carried out by men, although women sometimes deal with sorting; for example, in Lungo Stura, Mariana spent time removing plastic from copper wire. By contrast, it is mainly the women who scavenge for food. For example, Eugenia, her sister Anna and sister-in-law Maria Mona often go scavenging together, taking their children with them[15]. This accounts for a collective activity where both work and caring is shared.

Not all the objects salvaged are sold; some are reused by the waste pickers themselves and their families. This is particularly the case for clothes and items of furniture. In July 2015 Florian and his family were allocated a social housing flat in the Belle de Mai district. He has a paid job in agriculture, speaks good French, and his two children go to school, factors that the French authorities consider as showing willingness to integrate and as constituting minimum conditions for access to social housing. They could at last leave the squat where they had lived for almost a year. When the time came to move, Florian explained that they didn’t need a truck, as they would not be taking the furniture from the squat because it was full of cockroaches. However, since the new apartment was not furnished, they would find furniture for the living room, the kitchen and the bedroom over the following weeks. But again, they have to take precautions: “What you find in the street, you have to check it properly, furniture is often full of insects, you’ll find your flat invaded by cockroaches if you’re not careful”.[16]

Depending on their skills and know-how, or their “market intelligence” (Wilson, Costas and Cheeseman, 2006: 802), they sell the retrieved objects directly, repair them, or transfer damaged items to other individuals who can repair them and put them back into the circuit.

Scavenging in dustbins is carried out on foot (Marseille and Turin) or on bicycle (Turin), using shopping bags or pushchairs; organisation of the activity thus requires a fairly

14 Turin, July 2014.
15 E., 25 years old, A, 35, M.M. 27; Turin, July 2014.
16 Florian, Marseille, September 2015.

detailed knowledge of the city, its various spaces and temporalities. The places are chosen on criteria of proximity to the living area, interactions with the residents and shopkeepers of specific neighbourhoods (see below), and "competition" with other waste pickers, as the Roma are not the only group involved in this activity.

For some of them, such as Marius (Turin), waste picking is a very routine-based activity, with its own rhythm repeated several times a day: crossing the Colletta park and then the river Dora to get to Vanchiglietta (a fairly central working and middle-class neighbourhood), spending one or two hours walking up and down its streets and particularly around the main square where there is a daily market, then back home (i.e. Lungo Stura) for lunch and a siesta, then back to Vanchiglietta until evening. The only exception is on Saturdays when he goes to the main flea market of the city to sell his wares. For others, the daily routine is much less planned and covers different neighbourhoods. For example, Mariana explained that: "I take the bus to Porta Nuova [the main railway station of the city], then have a quick look round, and if I see that someone else has already been, I take the bus and go further, then further again, and so on[17]". Sometimes she gets lost because her attention is entirely focused on scavenging. The bus network is her safety net in this case; she has learnt the bus numbers she has to get by heart and repeats them like a refrain to the bus driver or other people she comes across until she finds the right way back.

Based on these elements, waste picking is more productive, in terms of quality and quantity, in certain neighbourhoods, which are not necessarily the wealthiest. Looking for the "best place", the waste pickers work far beyond the administrative limits of the city. Mariana told us that she often goes to visit her sister in Voghera, a municipality in the metropolitan area of Turin, which gives her the opportunity to scavenge: "with my husband, we go there by car and at the end of the day there are plenty of things, we find tons of things, you know, there are not many people who do this work over there, it's not like here [in Turin], here everybody does that and finally it's very difficult to find interesting things"[18].

[17] M, Turin, July 2014.

18 Turin, September, 2014.

Storage capacity for the scavenged objects depends on where the pickers live. The Roma who live in Lungo Stura can use the area surrounding their settlement to store different materials, whereas in Marseille, living in a flat or squat restricts storage to material that can be passed on rapidly. As shown in the literature for other urban waste pickers (Gutberlet, 2008; Medina, 2007; Raoulx, 1999), this way of working yields lower gains.

Waste pickers need to know the schedule of the official waste collection trucks so that they can arrive before the dustbins are emptied. They also need to know what time the supermarkets, shops and markets close, in order to collect the leftovers discarded by the shopkeepers and stallholders. This activity enables the Roma to move around the city and benefit from what different places offer at different times of the day. They work at night or early in the morning to retrieve waste before the regular collection, they wait for markets and shops to close, and they enter shopping centres through the back entrance where waste is normally stocked.

As already mentioned, for some of the Roma people we met, waste picking is a "complementary" activity, i.e. not the main source of earnings. For example, Florian works as an agricultural employee in Marseille, earning around 1000-1200 euros, which he supplements with what he makes from selling recovered metals: "We're going to sell it, it weighs about 5 or 6 kilos [he shows us steel pipes], that's about 11 euros…. It's 2 euros 50 the kilo…. No, the guy doesn't live in the district, I call him and he comes to fetch it…Not bad, eh? In that way I'll have earned 11 euros more".[19] Therefore, whenever he goes about the city to go to work, the market, or elsewhere, he always keeps an eye on the dustbins so as not to miss anything of interest.

The interactions arising from waste picking activities are numerous and are not restricted to the economic domain. They can also be analysed as a form of social transaction, as defined by Remy (1992), who used this approach to examine social interactions that are potentially contentious and that carry symbolic meaning for those involved. These transactions are a way of managing close relationships between individuals occupying very different and apparently irreconcilable social and cultural positions. All the people involved in these

19 Florian, January 2016, Marseille.

interactions (residents, shopkeepers, waste disposal operators and waste pickers) seem to be engaged in a sort of process of learning to live together (Blanc, 1998) through the waste picking activities. As they move across the city rummaging through the dustbins every day, the Roma build up interactions with the local residents who eventually recognize them. In this way, some types of object that would otherwise have been thrown away (clothes, electronic items, etc.) are sometimes given directly to the Roma. Our neighbour in Marseille told us she met a Roma going through the dustbin by the main door: "You know that washing machine that was lying in the stairwell for months? Well, the time has come to get rid of it; I offered it to that Roma guy"[20]. Some local residents we met told us how they put unwanted clothes or objects in a bag and then leave the bag outside their house, knowing that "the Roma guy I see from my window will come across it during the morning, probably between 10 and 11 o'clock"[21].

Relationships also develop with some shopkeepers, who give the Roma leftovers or unsold items instead of throwing them out at the end of the day. For example, at the food market of Porta Palazzo, we observed groups of young Roma women behind the butcher's at closing time, choosing their "products" – what was left over from the day's sales – from a container that the butcher keeps for that purpose. In Marseille, Florian often comes home after work with 6 or 7 *baguettes* (French bread) that the local baker has kept for him instead of throwing them out[22].

In Turin, the market square is probably the most important place on account of the many interactions that develop there; not only due to the collection of waste, but particularly during the sale of objects at the flea market, usually on Saturdays. This is where the waste recovery operators – Roma and non-Roma, migrants from other countries, as well as the people of Turin – come to sell their goods, reintegrating them into the formal economic circuits. Balôn is an authorised flea market, managed by a non-profit organisation (ViviBalôn), created in 2001 following the uncontrolled growth of illicit hawkers, in order to protect the original spirit of the market, not only as a place of free trade for second-hand

20 Catherine, Marseille, July 2016.
21 S., 34-year-old Italian woman, resident in Turin, interviewed in September, 2014.
22 F., Marseille, January, 2016.

dealers, but also as a place where different cultures meet. In this way, Balôn is a "market of products and identities, where differences are reconciled" (Milliot, 2010: 39). At the same time, flea markets can also involve marginalisation. For example, Emilia, Florian's wife, only goes to shop at Porte d'Aix market in Marseille at the end of the day, when remaining objects are sold at cut prices or even given away. In that way, with just €1.50 she manages to buy two pots and two bunches of artificial flowers to decorate her flat, and a pair of shoes[23].

In both the cases of Turin and Marseille, the economic activities related to waste seem to open up access to certain parts of the city, notably the Balôn market in Turin and the market of La Porte d'Aix in Marseille, where the Roma are able to carve out a place for themselves and which seem to constitute "places of social links" (Meissonnier, 2006). Likewise, their activity enables the Roma to build up relationships with the inhabitants (residents and shopkeepers) who see them as the beneficiaries of objects that they want to get rid of, acknowledging in some way their presence and activity in the city.

Waste picking is a multi-faceted activity using various resources, both material and immaterial, which enables the Roma to interact with the urban system, while making them "more real, more credible, more viable" (Gibson-Graham 2008: 8).

The Roma within the city. Marginalisation *in practice*

The Roma waste pickers move around the city in search of goods for their livelihood. As described by Marié (1993) for other migrants who came to French cities in the 1970s in search of a livelihood, this movement is not only a question of getting from one place to another, but also a way of establishing roots. By moving between the outskirts and central areas, both material and symbolic, by roaming through shopping and residential districts, by building up a detailed knowledge of how, where and when waste can be found and collected, and by making contact with other city dwellers, the Roma map the geography of waste, anchoring them in the urban space.

23 Marseille, March 2016.

In spite of these interactions and the economic interest of scavenging, the waste-related activity continues to be a stigmatising factor for the Roma that is difficult to overcome, in the eyes of both the *gadje* and public institutions. This can be explained not only by the image of Roma scavenging through dustbins, but also by the piles of waste around their living areas, which define the border between them and the rest of the city (Lungo Stura and Germagnano).

Waste picking is a sensitive issue with the Roma we met; it is not like other activities, and rummaging through dustbins is experienced as demeaning on the one hand, and as an illicit act on the other. Their silence about the activity seems to be a reflection of the negative value of contact with waste matter. This contact is seen as particularly shocking and unseemly in that their work is not supervised or standardised because it is conducted outside the official waste management and recycling system, unlike the situation in cities of the Global South (Scheinberg *et al.* 2011; Author…). The waste picking activity of the Roma slips under the radar of these institutional systems, and, as shown in other contexts (Fahmi 2005; Cavé 2016; Scheinberg *et al.* 2016), is in competition with that of the formal system. Perception of the stigma attached to this work is shown in a number of ways. For example, when we first met Nicolina (16 years old), she told us that her mother, Veronica, had gone shopping, but when her mother arrived a short time later, her basket was full of scavenged objects. She told us that "Nicolina only came with me once to go through the dustbins… she was afraid of meeting her friends, she was ashamed… she's never been with me since… and when I finish work and get the bus, everyone avoids me… I hear people talking about me"[24]. Or again, when we met Dario in the street going through the dustbins, he was careful to take off his gloves before shaking our hands[25]. By contrast, Florian works without gloves and offered us his elbow to shake. This perception of a stigmatising activity is demonstrated by other Romanians (non-Roma): a Romanian car park attendant we met at

[24] Veronica, fieldwork notes, Turin, April 2014.

[25] Sur la relation anthropologique entre pureté et impureté chez les Roms, voir par exemple Gay y Blasco 1999; Okely 1983.

Porta Palazzo said "[waste picking] is dirty work, I don't like it…. [showing us his hands] look, look how clean they are".[26]

Furthermore, the accumulation of unused objects and materials at the edges of the settlement (Lungo Stura and Germagnano) or in the courtyard of the squat (Belle de Mai) is often used by the media and the public authorities to qualify the living areas as unhealthy and unhygienic. However, this image does not match the interiors of the dwelling places, which the women always keep clean and tidy. On more than one occasion, we noticed how our unexpected arrival could be a source of embarrassment. This was particularly the case of Narcisa, who lived in the squat in Marseille, who was very anxious to welcome us "properly" ("*propremen*t", literally "cleanly"). Likewise, she was embarrassed by the behaviour of the French teacher who comes to the squat and refuses to sit on her sofa during the lessons, demonstrating her view of them as "dirty" people[27].

The sorting and recycling activity can indeed have a negative impact on the places where the people live and work. Not only can the accumulation of waste material be unsightly, smelly, and polluting (contamination of the soil or water with heavy metals and other chemical products in batteries and electronic equipment, etc., air pollution from burning electric wires), it can also be a health hazard, increasing the vulnerability of the people living in these areas.

The local residents view these sites as an illegitimate appropriation of space. The Roma, with their rubbish, undermine public order, a "post-hygienist" order (Kokoreff, 1991) composed of norms of cleanliness and safety, which do not tolerate the accumulation of illicit waste (Milliot, 2010). In particular, this waste matter produced by "foreign" individuals throws into question the legitimacy of the latter to remain in the area. These precarious settlements, like the Roma scavengers themselves, become the expression of a "landscape of poverty" (Gervais-Lambony, 1994); at their centre lies a precariousness thought to be marginal and invisible (or scarcely visible), but which is in fact deeply rooted in the urban area. Over and above these representations, which confuse precarious living

26 P., 30 years old, Turin, April 2014.
27 Narcisa, 27 years old, Marseille, January 2016.

conditions and dirt (Jolé, 1991: 35), the presence of waste around the informal settlement or in the courtyard of the squat, while it is produced by the sorting activity, can also be analysed as an indicator of the partial appropriation of these spaces by their inhabitants due to the uncertainty and precariousness of their housing situation.

Furthermore, the institutions contribute to the persistence of the stigma, notably by setting up programmes aimed at eliminating the Roma's precarious housing (Città di Torino, 2013). In Turin, several strategies have been set up, notably giving priority treatment to families who deserve to be rehoused, based on selection criteria determined by their participation in operations to clean up and renovate sites before their eviction. This rehousing programme is part of a project called "The possible city" (*La città possible*), implemented by the Municipal council between 2013 and 2015, with the aim of finding solutions to reduce the precarious housing of the Roma. The point of interest here is that the document explaining the actions of the programme states that "waste on the site will be collected in order to facilitate the cleaning operations […]. Waste collection on the site should involve the Roma living there. The cleaning activity should allow identification of the families who share the aim of a social inclusion project" (Città di Torino, 2013: 13)[28]. Here, the cleaning act is a sort of rite of passage giving these people access to housing, and more broadly to the city[29]. However, paradoxically, while this activity enables them to develop a specific practice and involvement in the city, it also delimits where and when they can carry it out.

Conclusions

The Roma, far from being "marginal in essence", use the resources available to them as much as they can. The experiences of the individuals involved in our study show how waste

28 "Si prevede un intervento di raccolta dei rifiuti del sito per favorire un'eventuale successiva rimozione dei medesimi. […] La raccolta dei rifiuti presenti nell'area dovrà coinvolgere i Rom che vivono nell'area stessa. L'attività di pulizia consentirà l'individuazione di famiglie che dimostrino di condividere le finalità di un progetto di inclusione sociale. La raccolta rifiuti non comprenderà la rimozione, il conferimento e la bonifica dell'area", our translation. For a more detailed analysis of the programme, see Author….

29 The main point here is that the Roma families who have access to the housing programmes continue to carry out their waste-picking activity, but with the obligation of carrying out the transformation and accumulation processes in enclosed spaces.

picking is part of a process of integration in the urban economy. In other words, their activity comes within the framework of a market system and participates in its reproduction, even if it is carried out under conditions that are sometimes seen as informal and illegal (burning toxic waste, accumulating waste in the settlement). While waste picking provides the Roma with an income from the sale of recycled objects and materials, it also provides them with a means of interacting with other residents of the city, of moving around the city on a daily basis within the perimeters of their collection activity, enabling them to gain knowledge of the city. The access of Roma migrants to the city is thus seen here in terms of access to urban resources (people, objects, spaces). The places where they conduct their work are also where they socialize and develop relationships (Dupont-Houssay, 2001). As Faria-Calafate points out, "the unfulfilled promises of waste materiality still hold hope for these marginalised populations" (Faria-Calafate, 2015: 165).

Their activity varies between scavenging and recycling depending on the opportunities that the city offers them. Although the Roma do not claim to be recyclers, in contrast to other contexts where claims and demands are made for the recognition of this activity and better working conditions, nonetheless, by recovering abandoned objects, they participate in a process of urban recycling. The means whereby the Roma in our study have access to the city depend not only on the conditions under which they carry out their waste picking activity and their connection with resource people and places, but also on a form of allocation restricting their experience to certain interstitial spaces. In the face of policies that continuously seek to relocate them, they are under constant pressure to demonstrate their capacity to be and to remain in the city.

A new perspective thus seems to be required, and our article aims to contribute to a move in this direction. Analysis of waste picking as a means of gaining access to the city and its resources, and not only as an activity that reinforces the precariousness and marginality of Roma people, casts them in a new light, as stakeholders of urban economy.

References

Assaad R (1988) L'informel structuré. Les zabbâlin du Caire. *Peuples Méditerranéens* 41-42: 181-192.

Bauman Z (2004) *Identities: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*. Cambridg UK: Polity Press.

Benach N and Tello R (eds.) (2014) Des espaces-réserve versus des espaces de résistance ? In: Semmoud N, Florin B, Legros O and Troin F (eds) *Marges urbaines et néolibéralisme en Méditerranée*. Tours: Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, pp 43-57.

Berry-Chikhaoui I (2009) Les notions de citadinité et d'urbanité dans l'analyse des villes du Monde Arabe. *Les Cahiers d'EMAM* 18: 9-20.

Bertolini G (1989) *Le marché des ordures. Économie et gestion des déchets ménagers*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Birkbeck C (1978) Self-Employed Proletarians in an Informal Factory: The Case of Cali's Garbage Dump. *World Development*, 6 (S/10): 1173-1185.

Blanc M (1998) La transaction, un processus de production et d'apprentissage du vivre ensemble. In : Freynet MF, Blanc M and Pireau G. *Les transactions aux frontières du social*. Lyon : Chronique sociale, pp 210-239.

Brazzabeni M., Cunha I, Fotta M. (eds.) (2015) *Gypsy Economy: Romani Livelihoods and Notions of Worth in the 21st Century*, New York, Berghahn.

Calafate–Faria F (2015) Marginal attachment and countercycling in the age of recycling. In Lancione M. (ed), Rethinking Life at the Margins, London: Routledge, pp 153-168.

Carabellese M. (2008) Frammenti di territorialità Rom. Il caso dei raccoglitori informali di rifiuti a Roma, *Bolletino della società geografica italiana,* Roma - Serie XIII, vol. VI (2013), pp. 279-292.

Cavé J (2015) *La ruée vers l'ordure*. Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes.

Cirelli C., Florin B. (2015) *Sociétés Urbaines et Déchets. Éclairages internationaux*. Tours: Presses Universitaires François Rabelais.

Cirelli C, Rosa E (2014) Le travail de récupération des déchets comme rapport à la ville: entre marginalité et intégration. In *14th Journées internationales de sociologie du travail* (JIST 2014). Lille 17-19 juin 2014.

Città di Torino (2013) Capitolato speciale d'appalto per la gestione di iniziative a favore della popolazione rom. Periodo novembre 2013-ottobre 2015.

Compagnon A. 2017, *Les chiffonniers de Paris*, Collection Bibliothèque des Histoires, Paris, Gallimard.

Corbin A (2011) Préface. In: Corteel D and Le Lay S (eds) *Les travailleurs des déchets*. Toulouse : Éditions Ères, pp 5-13.

Corrado F (2007) Le traitement des ressources dans la politique du développement local : le cas de la ville de Caserta. In *the 43rd conference of ASRDLF* : *Les dynamiques territoriales débats et enjeux entre les différentes approches pluridisciplinaire*, Grenoble-Chambéry, 11-13 juillet 2007.

Corteel D and Le Lay S (eds) (2011) *Les travailleurs des déchets*. Toulouse: Éditions Ères.

Cousin G (2012) L'émergence en Italie d'une 'politique tsigane' face aux mobilités roumaines à la fin des années 2000. *Études Tsiganes* 46: 28-45.

Coutard O (2010) Services urbains : la fin des grands réseaux ? In Coutard O and J.P. Lévy (eds) *Écologies Urbaines*. Paris: Économica, pp 102-129.

Dagognet F (1997) *Des détritus, des déchets, de l'abject. Une philosophie écologique*. Le Plessis-Robinson: Institut Synthélabo pour le progrès de la connaissance.

Dansero E, Mela S, Perna R and Puttilli M (2015) Gestion des déchets et rôle de la société civile à Turin (Italie) et Ouidah (Benin). In Cirelli C and Florin B (eds) *Sociétés urbaines et déchets. Éclairages internationaux*. Tours: Presse Universitaire François Rabelais

De Soto H (1986) *El otro sendero, La revolución informal*. Lima: Editorial El Barranco.

Debout L (2012) *Gouvernements urbains en régime autoritaire. Le cas de la gestion des déchets en Égypte*. PhD Thesis, University Lumière of Lyon 2.

Dorier-Apprill E and P. Gervais-Lambony (eds) (2007) *Vies citadines*. Paris: Belin.

Douglas M (1966) *Purity and Danger, an analysis of conception of pollution and taboo*. London, New York: Routledge.

Dupont V and Houssay-Holzschuch M (2001) Fragmentation et accès à la ville: une perspective comparative entre le Cap et Delhi. In Gervais-Lambony P, Landy F and Oldfield S *Espace arc-en-ciel: identités et territoires en Afrique du Sud et en Inde*. Paris: Karthala, pp 271-304.

Durand M (2010) *Gestion des déchets et inégalités environnementales et écologiques à Lima (Pérou): entre vulnérabilité et durabilité*. PhD Thesis, University of Rennes 2.

Fahmi WS (2005) The impact of privatization of solid waste management on the Zabaleen garbage collectors of Cairo, *Environmental and Urbanization* 17 (2): 155-170, October 2005.

Furedy C (1984) Survival Strategies of Urban Poor. Scavenging and Recuperation in Calcutta. *GeoJournal*, 8 (2): 129-136.

Gervais-Lambony P (1994) *De Lomé à Harare: le fait citadin. Images et pratiques des villes africaines*. Paris, Nairobi: Karthala, IFRA.

Gibson-Graham J.K. (2008) Diverse Economies: Performative Practices for 'Other Worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35 (2): 613-632.

Gutberlet J (2008) Recovering resources, recycling citizenship. Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company. Recovering resources - recycling citizenship: Urban poverty reduction in Latin America

Gutberlet J (2010) Waste, poverty and recycling, Editorial, *Waste Management* 30 (2010) 171-173.

Gutberlet J (2015) Cooperative urban mining in Brazil: Collective practices in selective household waste collection and recycling. *Waste Management* 45: 22-31.

Gutberlet J (2016) *Urban recycling cooperatives: building resilient communities.* London and New York: Routledge.

Jeanjean, A (2006) *Basses œuvres: une ethnologie du travail des égouts.* Paris: Editions du CTHS.

Jolé M (1991) Gérer ses résidus en public. *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 53: 33-40.

Hart K (1973) Informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11: 61-89.

Kahn R (2007) Une approche pluridisciplinaire de la dimension culturelle du développement territorial. In X*LIII conference of ASRDLF Les dynamiques territoriales débats et enjeux entre les différentes approches pluridisciplinaire.* Grenoble-Chambéry, 11-13 juillet 2007.

Kokoreff M (1991) La propreté du métropolitain. Vers un ordre post-hygiéniste?, *Les Annales de la Recherche urbaine*, 53: 92-102.

Gay y Blasco P (1999) *Gypsies in Madrid: Sex, Gender and the Performance of Identity*. Oxford, UK: Berg.

Genta F (2016) Via Germagnano, lo sgombero difficile. *La Stampa, La Stampa Torino*, 23 January 2016.

Lautier B (2004) *L'économie informelle dans le tiers-monde*. Paris: La Découverte.

Legros O (2009) Les pouvoirs publics et la 'question rom' en Europe aujourd'hui. Perspectives de recherche pour une approche comparative. *Études tsiganes*, 39-40: 42-55.

Legros, O and Olivera M (2014) La gouvernance métropolitaine à l'épreuve de la mobilité contrainte des «Roms migrants» en région parisienne. EspacesTemps.net <http://www.espacestemps.net/articles/la-gouvernance-metropolitaine-a-lepreuve-de-la-mobilite-contrainte-des-roms-migrants-en-region-parisienne/>

Legros O and Vitale T (2011) Les migrants roms dans les villes françaises et italiennes: mobilités, régulations et marginalités. *Géocarrefour*, 86(1): 3-14.

Lhuilier D and Cochin Y (1999) *Des déchets et des hommes*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.

Lussault M and P. Signoles (eds) (1996) *La citadinité en questions*. Tours: URBAMA, Fascicule de Recherches, 29, MSV, Sciences de la ville (13).

Lussault M and Stock M (2010) Doing with space": towards a pragmatics of space. *Social Geography*, 5, 11-19.

Manzoni C (2016) Should I stay or should I go? Why Roma migrants leave or remain in nomad camps. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Marcaletti F (2013) Lavoro e occupazione nelle popolazioni rom e sinte. Una discussione dei concetti di riferimento. *Quaderni di informazione Rom e Sinti*, 5-6: 20-26.

Marié M (1993) Territoire, centre et marge, identité et altérité. *Flux* 13/14: 41-46.

Marusiakova E and Popov V (2008) Les migrations des Roms balkaniques en Europe occidentale : mobilités passés et présentes. *Balkanologie*, 11(2).

McFarlane C (2011) Assemblage and critical urbanism. *City*, 15(2): 204-244.

McFarlane C (2012) Rethinking Informality: Politics, Crisis, and the City. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(1): 89-108.

Medina M (2007) *The World's Scavengers. Salvaging for Sustainable Consumption and Production, Globalization and the Environment*. Lanham: Altamira Press.

Meissonnier J (2006) Territoires commerciaux des vendeurs ambulants à Istanbul. *Espaces et Sociétés*, 4(127): 145-163.

Melosi, M. (1981) *Garbage in the cities, refuse, reform and environment*, 1880-1980; College Station, Texas (USA): Texas A&M Press

Milliot V (2010) La ville informelle ou le travail des marges. In Milliot V and Tastevin YP *Les archipels de la goutte d'or. Analyse anthropologique d'une "métropolisation par le bas*. *Cultures et territoires en Ile-de-France*. Report: 7-59.

Moroni S (2011) Land-use regulation for the creative city. In Andersson DE, Andersson AE and Mellander C (eds) *Handbook of Creative Cities*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mukherjee S, Singh AM (1981) Hierarchical and symbiotic relationships among the urban poor: a report on pavement dwellers in Calcutta. In *The residential circumstances of the urban poor in developing countries*. New York: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Praeger, pp. 135-163.

Neamatalla M (1998) *Zabbaleen Environment & Development Program*. The mega-cities project, Cairo, Egypt: Publication MCP-018D.

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

Olivera M (2015) Insupportables pollueurs ou recycleurs de génie? Quelques réflexions sur les « Roms » et les paradoxes de l'urbanité libérale. *Ethnologie Française*, July 2015, XLV (03/2015): 499-509.

Paulian L. 1896 *La hotte du chiffonnier*, 3e édition (2016), Hachette, BNF.

Piasere, L. (2004) *I rom d'Europa. Una storia moderna*, Laterza, Roma-Bari.

Picker G and Roccheggiani G (2013) Abnormalising minorities. The state and expert knowledge addressing the Roma in Italy. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 21(2): 17.

Raoulx B (1999) La pratique de l'espace urbain des populations marginales: l'exemple des « binners » de Vancouver. Espace, populations, sociétés, 17 (2): 353-357.

Rémy J (1992) La vie quotidienne et les transactions sociales: perspectives micro ou macro-sociologiques. In Blanc M *Pour une sociologie de la transaction sociale*. Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 83-111.

Revelli M (1999) *Fuori luogo. Cronache di un campo rom*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Rogozinski J, Surya M et al. (2011) Le rebut humain. L'exemple des roms : Les roms, pour l'exemple. *Lignes*, 35, juin 2011.

Roy A (2009) Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgence and the idiom of urbanization. *Planning Theory*, nº 8, p. 76-87. DOI : 10.1177/1473095208099299

Rosa E (2015) Aménagement urbain et marginalisation socio-spatiale. L'exemple des migrants roms à Turin. *Les Cahiers d'EMAM,* 27, URL : http://emam.revues.org/1101.

Rosa E (2016a) Marginality as Resource? From Roma People Territorial Practices, a Different Perspective on Urban Marginality. In Lancione M (ed) *Rethinking Life at the Margins. The Assemblage of Contexts, Subjects and Politics*, London and new York: Routledge, pp 182-197.

Rosa E (2016b) Les marges et l'entre-deux. Petite histoire d'une porte et de migrants « roms » en condition précaire. In Mésini B, Canepari E, Mourlane S (eds), *Mobil Hom(m)es, formes d'habitats et modes d'habiter la mobilité*. La Tour d'Aigues: Ed. de l'Aube, pp 93-101.

Santos M (1975) *L'espace partagé : les deux circuits de l'économie urbaine des pays sous-développés.* Paris : M. Th. Génin.

Sarcinelli SA (2011) Ce que tolérer veut dire. Une "quasi-enclave" habitée par des Roms aux portes de Milan (Italie). *Géocarrefour*, 86(1): 35-41.

Scheinberg, A, Anschütz J. (2006) Slim pickin's: Supporting waste pickers in the ecological modernization of urban waste management systems, in : *International Journal of Technology Management & Sustainable Development.* 2006, Vol. 5 Issue 3, p257-270. 14p

Scheinberg, A, Spies S, Simpson Michael H, Mol A, 2011, Assessing urban recycling in low- and middle-income countries: building on modernized mixtures, in *Habitat International*, 35(2011° 188-198.

Scheinberg, Anne, J. Nesic, R.A. Savain, P.M. Sinnott, P. Luppi, F. Petean, and F.Pop (2016) "From Collision to Collaboration: Integrating Informal Recyclers and Re-Use Operators in Europe, A Review. " Waste Management & Research 2016, Vol. 34(9) 820-839.

Sicular DT (1992) *Scavengers, recyclers and solution for solid waste management in Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California.

Sigona, N (2002) *Figli del ghetto. Gli italiani, i campi nomadi e l'invenzione degli "zingari"*. Civezzano: Nonluoghi Libere Edizioni.

Sigona N (2005) Locating 'The Gipsy Problem'. The Roma in Italy: Stereotyping, Labelling and 'Nomad Camps'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(4): 741-756.

Silguy C (2009) *Histoire des hommes et de leurs ordures du Moyen Âge à nos jours*. Paris: Le Cherche-Midi.

Stewart M (2013) Roma and Gipsy « Ethnicity » as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry. *The Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 : 415-32.

Strasser S (1998) *Waste and want. A social history of trash*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Tremblay C, Gutberlet J, Peredo AM (2009) United We Can: Resource Recovery, Place and Social Enterprise, *Resources Conservation & Recycling* (2008), doi:10.1016/j.resconrec.2009.09.006

Vitale T (2009) Comuni (in)differenti: i 'nomadi' come 'problema pubblico' nelle città italiane. In Cerchi R and Loy G. (eds), *Rom e sinti in Italia. Tra stereotipi e diritti negati*. Roma: Ediesse, pp 215-242.

Williams P. (1993) *Les Vivants et les Morts Chez les Manouches*. Paris, Ed. Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Wilson D, Costas V and Cheeseman C (2006) Role of informal sector recycling in waste management in developing countries. *Habitat international* 30: 797-808.

Zonabend F (1999) L'innommable et l'innommé. In Beaune JB *Le déchet, le rebut, le rien*. Seyssel : Éditions Champ Vallon, pp 90-98.

Yerochewski C and Noiseux Y (2015) Travail et informalité : nouvelles figures de l'exploitation et des mobilisations au nord et au sud. *Sociologie et sociétés,* 47(1) Springs 2015: 275-298.