

The Italian media's latest scapegoat: youth and urban insecurity, especially in Siena and Catania

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## **ABSTRACT**

Erika C. Grunnet: The Italian media's latest scapegoat: youth and urban insecurity,  
especially in Siena and Catania  
(Under the direction of Liesbet Hooghe, John D. Stephens, and Milada Vachudova)

This thesis examines recent appeals to 'community' which aim to improve crime prevention and urban quality of life. What follows is a comparison of the quality of life in Siena and Catania, the first and last-ranked cities in the 2006 *Il Sole 24 Ore* study. The media's role in advancing the 'fear of crime' and the 'blaming' of the Italian youth minority are of particular interest. Sensationalistic criminality coverage, coupled with the low birth rate, nourishes a unique youth perspective on 'fear of crime.' Juvenile crime levels remain relatively constant and the birth rate continues to drop. A higher *percentage* of the youth population is involved in crime. The *percentages* are misleading and, when emphasized by the media, reinforce the youth's 'urban insecurity.' It is improbable that Italian youth, having been bombarded by the media's propaganda, will arrive at the opposite conclusion supported by this thesis.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Censis      *Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali*  
(Center for Social Investments Research)

Istat        *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica*  
(National Institute of Statistics)

Rai          *Radio e televisione di Stato italiana*  
(Italian State radio and television)

### **Introduction: increasing sense of insecurity in urban areas**

Crime, and especially fear of crime, has always played a major role in the history of cities. However, several contemporary observers argue that crime, or at least fear of crime, has increased in our cities. Is this increase based on an objective increase in the incidence or severity of city crime, or is this increase mostly one in the minds of city dwellers—perhaps fed and sustained by sensational media?

One perspective, represented by Body-Gendrot, highlights the *objective* sources of an increase in city crime, and fear of crime. She argues that this is so because of a series of issues that local governments have failed to address adequately. Furthermore, the ever larger scale of public spaces has alienated individuals from the *res publica*, even in times of economic stability. This *objective* change has fed a growing social precariousness even among the socially integrated, who enjoy economic and political power. Other aspects include a lack of mobility in some neighborhoods, the ‘flight to the suburbs,’ interethnic tensions, and racism (916).

Crime has always been presumed to be primarily a phenomenon of the inner-city, and this is also reflected in research on crime. There is much documentation of crime and victimization risks in cities, but little about their incidence in rural areas, which are often erroneously assumed to be ‘lower risk.’

Yet globalization seems to have exacerbated city problems. Bauman (2005) argues that, ‘cities have become the dumping grounds for the problems of globalization’ (19).

Others, namely urbanists like Soja, disagree, stating that the reverse is true. It is the constant

drive to reorganize current spatial and urban planning that furthers globalization (Soja, 278). It is clear that both urban dwellers and globalization are mutually involved in the transformation of today's postmodern metropolis throughout the globe. Whether the '*city-chicken*' laid the '*globalization-egg*' or vice versa is less important to the discussion on juvenile crime than the '*omelette*' of problems that their interactions have made commonplace. Soja notes also that the simple dualism of the city center versus the suburbs has been replaced by a complicated, multi-centered, networked, globalized, and information-based 'Global City-Region' and has been essentially 'turned inside out' (279). The urbanization of the suburbs has been accompanied by a movement back into the center. These trends now make the integration of the many migrants, from what was once called the 'Third World,' a real challenge. The 'cities' of today are the most culturally heterogeneous to date, struggling to deal with intense social polarization and inequalities of wealth and power. García Canclini agrees that the increasing wealth gap between rich and poor, simultaneous need for belonging on an international and local level, and the creation of discriminatory hierarchies are hallmarks of the current era of urban restructuring (751). This seemingly permanent addition of the global element to urban design is most troubling to Bauman. He focuses on how local solutions are being sought after in order to solve global problems. This is an entirely impossible task for local governments to undertake alone, but there is no better option at this time (2002:84).

While some observers argue that harsher circumstances in contemporary cities are responsible for an apparent increase in (fear of) city crime, others are not so sure. They claim that the increased fear of city crime is primarily *subjective*. These scholars make a sharp distinction between the actual risk of crime and the psychological fear of crime. They

argue that fear and actual –*objective*– risk are often weakly related. Proponents of this view tend to use definitions that highlight the *subjective* character of fear of crime. Consider Ferraro who includes ‘anxiety’ in his definition of fear of crime: ‘an emotional reaction of dread or anxiety to crime or symbols that a person associates with crime.’ (Hollway, 256).

Why might contemporary city dwellers be more prone to a *subjective* fear of city crime than, say, their parents or grandparents? Bauman highlights the following four factors responsible for this ‘society of uncertainty,’: 1) the new global disorder, 2) market liberalism’s increasing of social inequality, 3) the dismantling of social protection networks, including the family, which were previously able to psychologically rebuild their members after they had experienced disenchanting encounters outside the network, and 4) the effect of the media in reinforcing present feelings of weakness or uncertainty. All of these factors underline a ‘subduing of the differences between reality, simulation, truth and representation, normal and abnormal, expected and unexpected, ordinary and bizarre...familiar and strange, ‘we’ and the foreigners’ (Bauman, 1999:62-66).

This significant power imbalance, defined as ‘the new global disorder,’ has basically eliminated the ‘Second World,’ according to Bauman. He continues to say that it serves both the countries interested in world-domination (those in the ‘First World’) and those struggling to survive against the global economic and power flow (those in the ‘Third World’). The perpetuation of this ‘global disorder’ is something on which all countries seem to agree, even though it effectively eliminates the possibility of ‘equitable, universally binding and democratically controlled global order’ (Bauman 2002:87). Wealth and poverty are concentrated in certain areas, but so is crime; it has a spatial dimension (Crawford,



1999:520). All of the above *objective* data and changes in the contemporary city are often exaggerated by the mass media and by politicians, increasing the *subjective* fear of crime.

Bauman's discussion on uncertainty is a crucial starting point when investigating 'fear of urban crime.' In this thesis, I will focus primarily on the last factor mentioned by Bauman: the mass media's involvement in both blaming and furthering the 'fear of crime.' But, contrary to Bauman, I will show that the media artificially exacerbate present fears, and therefore help augment a general fear of city crime. While the media could simply report the *objective* level of crime in a city, this does not appear to be the case. As Bauman argues, the media seem to feed and sustain a general sense of uncertainty and fear. Therefore, I do not expect to find great differences in reporting and in fear perceptions of crime between cities with low and high crime levels.

I will begin with a general discussion of city strategies to address negative public sentiment and situate Italian practices within. Next, I will discuss the role of the media in Italy with respect to crime reporting, and in particular with respect to youth criminality. I will then focus on a double case study: Siena and Catania. The former city was the first-ranked in the 2006 *Il Sole 24 Ore* quality of life study, and crime levels are objectively low. The latter was last-ranked and it has high objective levels of crime. If realists are correct, there should be less fear of crime in Siena than in Catania; if constructivists are correct, there should not be a great difference. I find that there is little difference in perception of fear in both cities relative to actual crime levels, and I ask why this is so. I point out the role of the media, but I also discuss efforts in both cities, especially in Siena, to improve the city climate and reduce the fear of crime. I conclude by reflecting on what these local experiences tell us

about the relative usefulness of different city strategies in addressing negative public sentiment.

## **I. TWO STRATEGIES: CRIME PREVENTION, COMMUNITY SAFETY**

### **1.1 Crime prevention and community safety**

The literature examines two basic tactics for addressing negative public sentiment: crime prevention and community safety, based on Anglo-American and French models, respectively. The choice of tactic tends to depend on the political leanings of the country or city, historical tendencies, and cultural practices.

Body-Gendrot compares the cultural differences surrounding the word ‘governance’ in the United States, France and the United Kingdom. In the US, many private and third-sector actors are heavily involved along side the public actors in crime prevention, which is primarily repressive and short-term. France exemplifies the more long-term community safety approach, in which public actors may meet with other public actors to obtain ‘good governance.’ In the UK, post-Thatcher and Major, ‘governance’ has evolved to include multiple actors and changes in the modes of coordination and cooperation, among other aspects of this hybrid version. It falls somewhere between the French social policies and the US repressive ones, which are mostly focused on crime prevention (Body-Gendrot, 915).

What is meant by prevention though? Freeman (1992), cited in Walklate, states that prevention is generally considered ‘good’ in juxtaposition with the ‘bad’ social problems. There are two strategies that must be implemented in order to prevent crime. It is necessary to predict an outcome and then effectively intervene, or alter the outcome. The assumptions that the cause of crime can be identified and redirected are key points of discussion and constant debate (Walklate, 930).

In sum, crime prevention strategies are reactive and centered around the State, the police, and the criminal justice system. When crime levels rise, despite the increased presence of law enforcement, the citizens are recruited to help police their neighborhoods. The installment of the 'Neighborhood Watch' in the UK, as a response to Thatcher's unsatisfactory 'prison works' campaign, is a prime example (Body-Gendrot, 923). The variance of repressive methods implemented in the US makes it impossible to list generalized tactics. Many decisions are left up to the states and, consequently, there is penal inconsistency throughout the nation as a whole. However, generally speaking, crime repression is very politically rewarding in the US, so many political actors are involved (*ibid.*, 925-6). The basic premise behind crime prevention strategies is that the criminal is to blame; the situation represents a behaviorist discourse. Other causes behind the criminal's actions are not sought after. Although the political world is aware of the inadequacies of repression and reactive crime prevention, this policy is still politically advantageous in the US and UK contexts (*ibid.*, 925-7).

The concept of community safety, on the other hand, is an invention of policy makers, practitioners, academics and other experts. It is also meant to be a response to crime. However, and more importantly, it attempts to deal with the insecurity that accompanies crime. Community safety programs should be designed in a way that ensures their ability to deal with the 'failure' of the criminal justice system in resolving the aforementioned issues. Therefore, in theory, they would be less legalistic in nature. Another main feature is that community safety is essentially 'normative,' in that it focuses on the building up of social networks to create a good, well-ordered society from the bottom-up. The fourth trait of community safety is a shift from the sole responsibility of the State towards a distribution of

responsibility among a partnership of public, private, criminal justice and social policy, as a new way to solve old problems. Lastly, community safety is to be creative and eclectic, approaching the problem of urban crime in a holistic way, incorporating situational crime prevention, social crime prevention, crime and disorder reduction, fear and insecurity reduction, and working with both victims and offenders (potential and actual). The basic assertion behind the concept of community safety is that local solutions need to be developed for local problems (Gilling, 383-385). However, the general public is not involved. In France, strategies like 'Neighborhood Watch' schemes are viewed with suspicion. They recall 'denunciation' practices during World War II when citizens would be arrested based on their neighborly informant's 'gossiping' at the police station. In France, it is strongly believed that the State should control and administer its society and that responsibility given to the citizens would take away from this administration (Body-Gendrot, 927).

Overall, it can be said that community safety practices are more preventive in nature. While they involve the State, the criminal justice system, and counseling organizations, the public is to be nurtured and protected. They tend to be more uniform, but this has more to do with the existence of a national crime policy in the countries in which they are employed. Community safety strategies attempt to address issues leading to the criminal activity. The assumption is that the contemporary crime problem is due to the decline of community as a foundation of social organization (Crawford, 1999:511). Therefore, the criminal is part of the problem, but is actually a victim of the criminality environment as well (*ibid.*, 512). These tend to be long-term programs, as opposed to those of crime prevention which strive for more immediate results. Despite its holistic contribution to the literature, community safety policies do have some limitations as well. By building the sense of community and

attempting to protect it from outsiders, it is illogical to conclude that the criminals could be part of the community. Therefore, it is safe to say the community safety strategies falter when addressing domestic violence, child abuse, etc. (Crawford, 1999:516). It is important to consider these strategies when analyzing the media's role in promoting urban insecurity.

## **II. MASS MEDIA AND CRIME REPORTING**

### **2.1 Some general remarks on the mass media**

Several scholars argue that the influence of the media has been paramount in supporting the exponential growth of urban insecurity in recent years. Bauman refers to what he calls 'fear capital,' which is regularly being turned into both political and commercial profit (2005:44). In the race against other media competitors, reporting urban insecurity issues has now become the key to retaining the most viewers or listeners (*ibid.*).

In addition to the economic and commercial aspects, it is important to investigate the veracity of Bauman's statement given the media's considerable power over public opinion. The influence of the modern media needs to be analyzed in the economic, social and cultural context in which it operates (Wolf, 89). Wolf, in describing the contemporary relationship between the mass media and its audience, cites the following four structural elements coined by Schulz. While one used to speak of *asymmetrical communicative processes, directed toward the individual*, with *intentional messages* meant to elicit specific responses, and very *episodic and isolated communicative exchanges*, today's relationship is considered indirect. The cumulative influence of all the media sources is not necessarily intended to bring about a particular response from the audience. However, it effectively shapes the way in which the receiver perceives and organizes his surrounding world (Wolf, 137-8).

The media provides an interpretative frame through which the public can categorize daily news events. Sorrentino argues that, despite an increased emphasis on online media and the immediacy of information distribution, the importance of journalism in today's

globalized societies is only growing. He states that what is requested of journalism today is not just reporting, but an outlining of the significance of current events for the audience (Sorrentino, 38). Reflecting on journalism, its transformations, and its role in contemporary society is a useful exercise for those in and out of the profession (*ibid.*, 39).

Italian journalism can no longer be analyzed as an isolated entity. Its vices and virtues are not culture-specific. However, evidence of Italian history, culture and traditions can still be found in its development. Certain striking characteristics remain. The prominence of Silvio Berlusconi in the Italian media seems destined to continue, if not increase. Also, national television networks are still the main source of daily news; daily newspapers are purchased less and less, as is the case worldwide (Bechelloni, 54). However, the rise in advertisements in all sectors of the media, the newfound popularity of free newspapers, and the recovery in the sales of local newspapers are all normative trends supported by the Italian case (*ibid.*).

Another characteristic of the Italian media is the clear political leanings of each source, whether printed or audiovisual (Bechelloni, 54). The media are known for Berlusconi's conflict of interests, a consequent lack of media pluralism, a strong regionalism in the press industry, and continuous reforms in reaction to the divvying up of the Rai networks by the main three political parties in the late 70s. The '*lottizzazione* Act' of 1975 left Raiuno (RaiOne) in the hands of the Christian Democrats, Raidue (RaiTwo) under the control of the Socialists, and lead to Raitre (RaiThree) being relegated to the Communist Party upon the network's birth in 1979 (Hibberd, 882-885). The 'Wild west of broadcasting systems' still suffers from a lack of regulation, even though the exact system set up by *lottizzazione* has been changed. Political control is still prevalent, but takes a different form.



It affects the administration more than the programming, which has been somewhat standardized across the board (Hibberd, 897-898). There are very strong ties between politicians and the local broadcasting system as well (Barca, 112-113). Mazzoleni notes that Italy was the only European country that did not regulate the major recent changes within the broadcasting system and is now suffering the consequences (159). The anti-trust measures have been insufficient to guarantee access to the national market on the part of more political parties and the lack of media pluralism has become one of the most serious political consequences (*ibid.*, 161). In 2003, Italy joined the list of countries rated as ‘partly free’ in the Freedom House study on the state of press freedom. It was the first time since 1988 that an EU member state’s media have been rated so poorly. The 2005 rating was ‘partly free’ yet again (Hibberd, 896). Changes are necessary, as ‘politicization of the media’ has been called a ‘constant feature of post-war of Italian life’ (*ibid.*, 897). The political parties are closely tied to newspapers and public service broadcasting and, through clientelism, have a strong influence on commercial media as well. This politicization has affected the quality of programs and hindered the growth of the media sector. If the impetus to reform the system does not come from Italy itself, it will most likely arrive, in the form of a mandate from the European Union.

Some people, such as Pannocchia, also claim that the drive for more shock value in headlines, the increased amount of time and space dedicated to news, and the tendency to emphasize negative events as Italian traits. These appear to be general characteristics, all with the explicit purpose of ‘selling more news,’ common not only to European journalism, but to the North American version as well.

Another characteristic of the Italian mass media, and central to our account here, is an apparent tendency to sensationalize news events. A defining moment in Italian news television history, which was instrumental in establishing the tendency towards sensationalism, was the coverage of Alfredino Rampi's struggle for survival trapped inside an artesian well. The events at Vermicino, a town near Rome, have been etched in the memory of all Italians old enough to remember those intense days spent in front of the television. On the evening of June 10, 1981, Alfredino's parents found their lost little boy trapped inside a well. What followed was one of those unique events, filled with much emotion, that change the history of a nation.

The recent reform had made each television channel independent, therefore they were each in competition with one another for viewers. The political élites were struggling to maintain the support of their constituents, in a country walking a fine line between modernity and post-war difficulties. The longest news broadcast in Italian history, occupying all three national networks, served many purposes (Gamba, 218). Despite all of the criticism because of the supersaturation of unedited images and sounds from Vermicino and the lack of other viewing options, the media responded effectively to their audience. Most of the potential viewers wanted to know how the rescue efforts were going at Vermicino (*ibid.*, 124). Seen through the eyes of foreign journalists, however, it reflected many aspects of Italian culture. It served as yet another example of chaos, disorganization, and avoidable mistakes mixed with incredible ingenuity, sporadic yet intense national unity, and hope for the future, all distinctive of Italy in the early 1980s (*ibid.*, 104). It was known that transmitting the 'raw' images and sounds to the public would have affected the viewers. However, given the end result and the length of the broadcasts, the effects were stronger than any of the producers

could have expected (Gamba, 46). All of the viewers were hoping for the cliché happy ending. With all of the technology available, it was unimaginable that the boy would not have been rescued. It was just a ‘matter of time.’ Despite all of the well-wishes and creative rescue efforts, the failed attempt to save Alfredino was the first television experience shared on such a grand scale and with such a high level of emotion involved. Capturing the attention of the Italian audience has required the use of sensationalism ever since.

The media’s power and persuasiveness change in a cyclical pattern. Wolf claims that the pattern is presently at a high point (139). He also comments on the role of the media in assisting the receiver to create a ‘second-hand reality’ because of three main traits. *Repetition*, the accumulation of coverage regarding a certain topic, makes it become relevant. Secondly, all of the production processes contain more similarities than differences. Because of this high level of *consonance*, the messages that arrive, despite being from different sources, are rather parallel. Lastly, the seeming *omnipresence* of the media, not only because of the quantity of diffusion, but also because of the way the public knowledge equates their stance with truth, increases the level of trust in the ‘reality’ being portrayed (*ibid.*, 141-2). Combined with the tendency towards sensationalism, the high-level persuasiveness of the Italian media makes their agenda-setting very effective at shaping public opinion.

## **2.2 Italian mass media and youth delinquency**

The media’s sensationalism has affected today’s adolescents in that youth criminal involvement is being overemphasized. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is being observed worldwide, not just in Italy (Allen, 1). Perhaps it is surprising to *also* find it in Italy, a place where a culture of mutual generational respect, quite different from the Anglo-Saxon generational relationship, is practiced. Italian teachers are also concerned that the trend they

are witnessing might be caused by the influence of foreign television (Sandford, 1). There has been an increase in brutality and a change in the types of crimes committed by today's youth (Allen, 2), but the overwhelming increase in actual crime levels perceived by the public can neither be supported by the *Istat* data nor by that recorded by Censis. The increased media attention does not reflect an increase in actual youth crime figures. The level of reporting of youth crimes to the police, number of convictions, and numbers of juveniles in criminal procedures has remained about the same. The statistics presented in Appendices C and D attest to the fact that the percentage of criminals among the total youth population is rising slightly, but the number of criminals is not increasing substantially. Even though there is a fair amount of fluctuation in the statistics, the total number of minors charged criminally in Siena in 2000 was 105, representing 67.06% of the youth population. In 2004, the number actually dropped to 101. The percentage had risen significantly previously, but in 2004 remained at 62.84%. The total number of minors charged in 2000 in Catania was 1265, a number greater than the Catanese youth population by 7.84%. In 2004, the percentage had risen to 111.74%, but the number of denounced minors was recorded at 1237. 28 less youth had been charged that year. I will elaborate upon these results in section III, which is devoted to the two case studies.

The latest 'agenda' set by the Italian media has been an attempt to find a scapegoat for the increase in urban insecurity. Their constant emphasizing of the problems relating to youth participation in crime has helped the public to create a corresponding interpretative frame through which understanding and acceptance of a biased societal order is re-established (Wolf, 144).

Pezzoli purports that this contagious sensationalism has been passed onto the experts in the field as well. She claims that they are no longer able to paint a true picture of the social reality around them and cites three examples of youth criminality in the media to support this thesis: the never-ending saga of Erika and Omar at Novi Ligure, the complicated tragedy surrounding Desirée at Leno, and the forgotten suicide of Rivoli (219). Each case was given a different amount of coverage by the media, depending on its shock value and ability to attract an audience, but all highlight the propensity of today's youth towards destructive violence. Looking through the news articles written about youth, one finds countless examples of criminal activity in which youth are oftentimes both the victims and the perpetrators. It is only in the cinema, theater, and music sections that a positive connection with their world can be established (Pezzoli, 220).

When it came time to understand what had happened at Novi Ligure and explain it to the audience, the Italian media, as well as their child psychology experts, found themselves at a loss for words. Erika had blamed the immigrants, claiming that they had violently ended the lives of her mother and brother. However, when it was clear that she and her boyfriend had committed the crime, the audience was even more intrigued. How did two teenagers from 'good homes,' without any history of delinquency, come up with this scheme and, more importantly, carry it out? What does it mean to come from a 'good home?'

During the Erika and Omar investigation, reporters began the frequent use of terms like 'monsters,' 'massacre,' 'blood,' 'ferocity,' 'cruelty,' 'agony,' etc. to describe youth and the crimes they commit (*ibid.*, 223). The media were blamed as well, because of their inability to 'frame' what had happened for the public. The responses from other youth are noteworthy as well. They were asking for an 'exemplary punishment,' even though they

underscore that their parents do not listen to them and that open dialogue is lacking at school (Pezzoli, 225).

The killing of Desirée at Leno brought up other issues. It was found, towards the end of the investigation, that an adult was also involved. The television was listed as a culprit yet again, but, this time, because it harms parents as well. ‘Couch potato parents’ are not the best of examples for today’s youth. The cultural exclusion portrayed on television, destiny of those who are not dating someone or who are not surrounded by countless friends, might be too strong of a message for today’s teenagers to handle, especially without sufficient instruction in proper social conduct. Possible involvement with drugs and the inability of today’s adults to pass on traditional values were also mentioned as possible causes (Pezzoli, 227-9). The suicide of an adolescent at Rivoli, because his girlfriend was denied the right to an abortion unless her parents were notified of the pregnancy, reflects the desperation, sense of powerlessness, and lack of social tools being transmitted to these youth, making it impossible for them to address complex social situations in a healthy and successful way (*ibid.*, 229).

Unfortunately, the suicide almost went unnoticed by the media. This was probably because of the timing, as most international attention was centered on Iraq, but also because it failed to create that same climate of terror, did not promote the ‘fear of crime,’ and it was less macabre than the aforementioned two incidents (*ibid.*, 230).

Another trait common to today’s youth is their use of computers and the internet. Fortunato Di Noto’s association, which works towards the protection of children, studied 1,800 Sicilian middle and high school students from four difference provinces (Siracusa, Ragusa, Catania, and Messina) regarding their computer use. The middle school students are

said to have a very ‘personal relationship’ with the computer as 56.4% have one in their bedrooms. 70% of these students admit that they have never spoken to their parents about their online friendships and 42.55% have never surfed the internet together with their parents. The high school students, as could be expected, have an even more confidential relationship with the computer. 88.9% surf the internet, 91.7% know what a ‘chat’ is and 74.5% have already ‘chatted.’ Only 46% of the high schoolers have a computer in their bedrooms though.

Today’s youth are ‘citizens of cyberspace.’ Adolescents consider the internet a tool they can use to satisfy their curiosity and desire to discover new things, characteristic of that developmental stage. 23.6% feel euphoric while in front of the computer and 21.3% claim that it is easier to start friendships online than in person (LaSicilia.it, 1).

Bauman (2005) refers to ‘citizens of cyberspace’ as well, but he focuses on the adult version. They have a certain disinterest in their local communities as they prefer their global, ‘cyber community’ (15). They find themselves in a particular physical location, but have no emotional attachment to it. Even the corporations, whose office buildings are equipped with all modernity has invented in order to protect those inside from the ‘community’ outside, send a message which Bauman calls intolerable and unacceptable. I would have to agree. The employees in these corporations work in fortresses that are not accessible to the ‘community’ in which they were physically built. The insiders are in and, conversely, the outsiders are out. All that is requested of the surrounding community is ‘to be left alone,’ so the inhabitants of these fortresses can fraternize with their virtual friends and neighbors. Given that they request little of the ‘community,’ they tend to offer just as little in terms of

interaction (Bauman, 2000:52). The youth are part of what is called the ‘Nintendo generation,’ (Pratellesi, 159), but where did they learn all of these ‘anti-interaction codes?’

As a response to these moves away from the physically present society and towards cyberspace, online news media were created and continue to grow in popularity. Online Italian newspapers appear to be a way to connect with the youth because they follow the Anglo-Saxon model more closely than the Italian one, giving preference to theater, sports, news, and the environment and leaving little room for politics. Because of the electronic format and the topics covered, online news media are preferred by today’s youth (Pratellesi, 159). Printed forms of news media seem unable to create even the slightest bond with the youth. Today’s adolescents do not identify with the myopic image being portrayed and promoted. Oftentimes the references to their generation are reduced to a reaction towards one singular event which features protagonists very different from them and their peers. It is difficult to imagine that a young person would enjoy reading chapter after chapter of a diary which rarely features him as the main character. When it claims to do so, he finds that the protagonist is a person with whom he, most likely, has very little in common. In either case, it is the fault of this protagonist that he is defined as emotionally illiterate, illogical, a continuous threat against the safety of his family and friends, and, finally, guilty of participating in the generation without direction. It seems obvious why he would prefer to flip through his parents’ newspaper, skim the sections on entertainment and sports, and return the copy to them (Pezzoli, 232). Online newspapers would be more to his liking for a great number of reasons.

Youth online newspapers, in which future journalists and photographers can gain practice and discuss issues of interest, are another way to reach out to the youth community,



attract youth to the profession, and create a bond between adults and youth, extending the 'community' and sense of belonging to the younger citizens.

Major newspapers, in cooperation with the local schools, have been offering these opportunities to middle and high school students. *La Fragola*, 'the Strawberry,' is an online publication of the Galileo Galilei high school in Siena. In it, Mazzini wrote that today's adolescents are struggling to deal with the malaise of modern society. She mentioned how the media are quick to suggest the causes and remedies, but that these only last until the next episode of teenage violence takes center stage. She continues by saying that adolescents are often reprimanded for living superficially, 'in' and 'for the moment,' and for not having any plans for the future. Society requires that these youth take on roles contrasting with their own personalities and values in order to 'define or create space for themselves' in this social reality. Superficial relationships with their peers are a direct result and the consequences can be tragic when an adolescent, disappointed by his peers at a time of great need, is not able to find support elsewhere (Mazzini, 1).

NewspaperGame is a project open to fourth and fifth year elementary through high school students and their teachers in the regions of Puglia and Basilicata. The purpose is to get the newspaper into the schools, encourage students to read it, give them journalistic experience, and get the schools, and whatever topics interest the students, on the first page. The schools independently produce their pages, which are then published by the major newspaper in the area. In the end, the hope is that the teachers will be able to use the newspaper as another pedagogical tool and encourage their students to reflect upon, debate, and discuss current events (NewspaperGame, 1).

There are many supporting examples regarding Italian youth, crime and the media, given by the youth themselves, and I will only discuss a few here. Lemma and Sabato acknowledge that some of their peers fit the description given by the media; some of them are drug addicts and criminals. Others, contrary to public opinion, have values, but they may just be different from those of the adults in the community. Lastly, there are youth that show they have values by their actions. They are working to make the world a better place, meeting regularly to discuss current events, participating in sporting tournaments, and are always ready to help those in need (Lemma and Sabato, 1). Cataldo, De Tommaso, and Mesto discuss the emergence of violence in today's urban youth. They describe it as a mask. This mask is used by youth, especially those who lack strong adult influences in their lives, in an attempt to create an identity for themselves in a world dominated by appearances and power. They question whether the power of love and dialogue will be enough to save 'violent' young people and construct a society in which conflicts are resolved peacefully (1). Catalano discusses the omnipresence of gangs and their complete control over her city, Bari. She describes how the youth are following these negative examples and how modern society has lost the ability to distinguish between right and wrong. The youth are oftentimes more ferocious than the adults, being only children, after all. Catalano denounces modern society and the situation in general, saying that there have already been too many deaths of both criminals and those innocently in the wrong place at the wrong time (1).

Other aspects of concern regarding Italian adolescents is that they do not regard their schools as safe places, according to the Conferescenti – People SWG study on youth and criminality, and that only 0.5% believe that their peers are neither victims nor perpetrators of criminal activity (2). The introductory commentary and summary of the results of the study

have been included in Appendix A. Caroselli presents more statistics on how there are more adolescents than elementary school children in the schools (1). The figures she presented reflect an increase of interest in a high school education, but also the extremely low birth rate in Italy. As the youth minority becomes a smaller and smaller percentage of the overall population, the percentage of classmates involved in crime will be higher, even though the actual participation rates have not increased significantly. Therefore, the 'fear of crime' in the youth population and its distorted picture of the levels of juvenile delinquency may only become more acute in this youngest generation of Italians.

In addition to providing ten rules for repairing the relationship with today's youth, Roberts concurs that what modern society is expecting of its teenagers is too much for them to handle effectively. The youth of today need to have frequent reminders and examples of whom they would like to become given by the adults with whom they interact on a regular basis. They can not be given so much power and freedom and remain under strict control. The dialogue needs to be kept open, censorship needs to be limited, and the adults need to make it a priority to educate these young adults, enabling them to make intelligent decisions that coincide with their tastes, not those of their parents or teachers (Roberts, 2). Contrary to a premise of the Sandford article, strict rules for interaction are easily observable in Italian society. The Italian cultural variant of Goffman's interaction regulations regarding greetings, invitations, compliments, and small favors need to continue to be taught to the latest generation of Italians (Goffman, 77-79). In this way they will learn how to participate fully in the 'community.' In addition, the 'community' needs to reduce the imbalance between the aspirations of its youngest members and the possibilities that they might actually attain them (Barbagli, 43).

### 2.3 Italian mass media and the victimization of the male youth

Those most affected by social exclusion are the male youth. The main problem is not so much a restrictive social control, as in small communities where everyone knows everyone else, but it is based on a pattern of social marginalization combined with a lack of political empowerment, allowing others to present the political situation of these youth for them, if it gets any attention at all (Body-Gendrot, 920).

Again, the natural organization into communities, in an attempt to create a sense of belonging, is a commonplace practice. This organization imposes distinctions, forcing the definition of 'us' and 'them.' Like these 'organizational cultures,' the consequent identities that evolve out of them, are to be considered fragmented units that can be created, evoked, changed, or destroyed with every decision *of* or *within* these organizations (Lippens, 328).

These communities are capable of meeting the needs of members in ways that governments are unable to do because their members, not outsiders, have essential information about other members' behaviors, capacities, preferences, and needs. The reinforcement from the community is usually expressed in a multilateral, instead of centralized, way. 'A raised eyebrow, a kind word, an admonishment, gossip or ridicule' can all be much more salient than any outsider's observation because of the personal connection with the critic and a history of belonging with 'us' rather than with 'them' (Bowles, F423).

Hollway presents a supportive case of Joe who, having always felt a sense of belonging to his neighborhood, a crime-ridden estate, approaches his fear of crime differently than others who lack his geographical and personal history with the area (264). While he has witnessed a significant amount of crime on the estate, he has not been personally affected by it, and therefore does not expect to become a victim, even though he has taken some

precautions, in that he parks his car off the estate and has installed security lights. Other factors that influence his feelings of security are his large family, knowing and being known, being active in the community, having a sense of ‘respect’ from his neighbors, and knowing that all the youth know him by name. The importance of the family as a social protection network, Bauman’s third factor, is evidenced in this case study. Another noteworthy factor is the fact that Joe’s familiarity with at-risk groups in the neighborhood effectively crosses the line between ‘us’ and ‘them.’ Oftentimes, the groups with tendencies towards delinquency or crime also adhere to the same rules of belonging, so Joe may really be lessening the probability of his victimization by community involvement.

Despite the appearance of disorganization in any given community, the residents feel safer if they share some of these same attributes that help Joe. Siena’s organization into *contrade* is another case study of interest. The organization of the ‘*contrada year*’ and the publication of the *Rituale Contradaio*, or the official statement of the regulations governing *contrada* life, are two concrete examples of bottom-up social organization. The subtlety of the relationship between a ‘civil religion,’ centered on the *contrade* and the *Palio*, and the ‘official religion,’ Catholicism, is a way in which the individual Sienese resident gains a sense of belonging and respect while learning the rules for interaction within the collective urban environment (Parsons, 64).

### **III. FIGHTING NEGATIVE SENTIMENT IN SIENA AND CATANIA**

The choice to compare Catania and Siena was based on annual urban quality of life studies done by IPR Marketing and published by *Il Sole 24 Ore*. Siena was ranked first and Catania last in 2006. Although they might not rank absolute first and last every year, they consistently occupy opposing ends of the spectrum. Two noteworthy similarities between them are their investments in future generations, i.e. the importance given to education, and the performance in the urban security category of the survey, relative to each city's respective overall rating. Both cities have strong university settings and positive results where their university programs are concerned, yet Catania has a very high level of juvenile delinquency (Scarafia, 74). Therefore, the Catanese feelings of insecurity are justified. Siena's citizens, on the other hand, still feel unsafe even though they actually experience relatively low levels of crime (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 2006:8). A table listing the top ten cities and their quality of life, perceived urban security, and overall rating in the criminality category can be found in Appendix B. It shows that Catania is no worse off regarding actual criminality statistics than several of Italy's larger cities which, however, usually rank close to the top of the list. A comparison of the amount of criminality perceived is also striking. The Catanese recognize that the city is quite crime-ridden, but they feel less insecure than the actual crime levels would suggest. The Sienese perceptions of criminality and feelings of insecurity are significantly higher than the actual crime levels. The comparison of these two cities is meant to examine the effectiveness of local governance and environment when addressing perceived urban insecurity. It also considers that dichotomy between

North-Central and Southern Italy. Finally, the premise that the general public's *perceived* risk of crime is not necessarily correlated to the actual criminality data is questioned.

Looking to Bauman for a possible answer, he states that the urban environment is quite ambivalent; the larger a city is, the more it can offer its residents, both good and bad (Bauman, 1999:32-33). In 2006, *Istat* recorded 261,894 total residents in the province of Siena, only 54,147 of which lived in the city itself, and 1,075,657 in the province of Catania, with 304,144 living in the city ([http://demo.istat.it/bil2006/index\\_e.html](http://demo.istat.it/bil2006/index_e.html)). Finding the proper balance between opportunity and chaos in a city the size of Catania is decidedly more challenging. Given the high levels of crime in Catania, small improvements in the area of criminality would, in theory, be easier for the public to notice and appreciate.

Lun, Holzer, Tappeiner, and Tappeiner warn that the results of the *Il Sole 24 Ore* study should be treated with care. It does not represent a precise measurement tool (323). Small changes in the weighting or index architecture could dramatically alter the rankings. At the very most, they claim, it is possible to create a few general groupings of the provinces with low or high quality of life. Changes in the quality of life are of great interest to local politics and decision making, but studies such as this, as Michael Freudenberg said, 'should be identified for what they are – simplistic presentations and comparisons of...performance in given areas to be used as starting points for further analysis' (*ibid.*, 324).

### **3.1 Effects, both positive and negative, of the *contrade* in Siena**

The first historical records about Siena's division into *contrade* are traceable to 1265, but the present organization of 17 *contrade* is derived from the design of Princess Violante Beatrice of Bavaria in 1729, the then governor of Siena (Vienna, *et. al.*, citing Cecchini and Falassi, 522).

The translation for the word *contrada* given in most dictionaries, including Garzanti linguistica online, leaves much to be desired in the Sienese case. A Sienese *contrada* is more than just a ‘quarter, town district or neighborhood.’ These subdivisions are emotionally shared at all social and cultural levels by the population of the city, and the feeling of belonging to their own *contrada* is strong in all Sienese people; the organization of the *contrada* is a unique social structure (Vienna, *et. al.*, citing Cecchini and Falassi, 522.). The individual communities inspire independent allegiance and pride in these ‘cities within the city’ in an attempt to follow the good governance model, both real and idealized, of the ancient city-states of Tuscany (Parsons, citing Dundes, Falassi and Hook, 52).

Could these divisions, and the strong allegiances to them, play a role in Siena’s consistent placement in or close to the top ten of Italian cities regarding quality of life? (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 2006:1-2). These statistics are divided into six categories of which only one has to do with urban security. Of note, however, is that some of the data on the 103 cities/provinces is based on public opinion. Siena’s excellent ranking might then reflect a general idea among the Sienese population that the risk of crime is low, regardless of how widespread actual criminality is. However, a closer look at the data revealed that the perceived amount of urban security is low (64<sup>th</sup> out of 103) even in Siena, the place with the highest quality of life. Ignoring the subjective sentiment, Siena was also objectively far from the top (21<sup>st</sup>) in the subcategories having to do with urban security and crime, categories that, simply because of its smaller size, further underscore the difficulties larger cities have in dealing with crime (*ibid.*, 8-9).

Regardless of the results of the 2006 study, Parsons notes a strong sense of belonging and a well-defined significance of public space being designated by the various *contrade*.



The *contrade* are the institutions above all other organizations in Siena from which the Sienese gain their most intense feelings of belonging and identity (Parsons, 64). He also mentions the direction, guidance, and meaning given to Sienese youth, and a 'religious' connection with the *Palio* (pride in the city's cultural and sport traditions) and Sienese Republic history. The *contrade* are considered 'guardians of traditions,' both civic and religious, with their pageantry and devotion to the Virgin (*ibid.*, 52-53).

Without being baptized into a *contrada*, however, all residents in Siena cannot share in this sense of belonging. Even though these baptisms can take place in childhood or adulthood, they serve as forms of both inclusion and exclusion. The sense of belonging created appears to be sufficient to deter vandalism and, evidently, outweighs and discourages contemporary examples of violence directed towards a rival *contrada*.

The youth criminality statistics included in Appendix C show that the numbers of youth participation are steady, or in slight decline. While the total number of youth criminals is the same, there has been an increase in participation percentages (see Appendix D).

To conclude, national politics do matter with regards to urban crime and social inclusion. However, as is evidenced in the case of Siena, city governance is much more effective in raising the level of positive public opinion (Body-Gendrot, 920). This bottom-up protection network must be willing to cooperate with the top-down network of the State. If it does so without sacrificing the 'insider' knowledge, thereby maintaining the community-wide trust, it will be more successful. In addition, the threats of informal punishments by respected community members prove to be credible and effective. Community governance complements the contributions made by the justice system (including the police, courts, and the prisons) to prevent crime (Barbagli, 83).

### 3.2 Catania, a diamond in the rough of the ‘*Mezzogiorno*’

Barbagli, echoing Gilling, emphasizes how important a local response really is in order to resolve criminality issues. He lists *Città sicure* (an experimental project started in 1994 in Emilia-Romagna) and Forum italiano per la sicurezza urbana (Italian Forum for Urban Security) as promising endeavors (Barbagli, 48-52). However, the same solution that is effective in Siena may not work at all in Catania.

Barbagli, citing Luigi Barzini, observes that the separate police corps in Italy have been rivals throughout history. There is much work to be done to put the rivalry behind them, working towards full cooperation and improved efficiency (111).

This suspicion is certainly shared by many residents of Catania. However, the security pacts, specific to each city and signed by representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and local government officials, are one of the latest responses by the Italian government to the crisis of urban insecurity. They are part of the initiatives meant to prove to the population that ‘the left’ can also provide security throughout the national territory, including the *Mezzogiorno* (Repubblica.it, 2). The security pact for Catania begins with the following, literally translated, statement:

“Considering that the right to security and urban quality of life is a priority and, in the face of complex problems, it requires joint and synergistic action of varied levels of governance, within the range of their respective responsibilities, as well as the promotion, even if only in a subsidiary way, of interrelations with the purpose of drawing the prevention systems closer and closer to the perception of the citizens...” (Ministro dell’Interno, 2).

Catania was often called the ‘Milan of the *Mezzogiorno*,’ in the 1960s-80s (Scarafia, 78) because it had the most vibrant and promising economy of all of the Southern Italian cities in the late twentieth century. However, the government of Catania must address some of the same issues as other southern cities regarding urban crime and insecurity as it is highly segregated and boasts of very little social mobility (Vazzana, 2).

Nonetheless, Catania has been praised for the improvements made in recent years, particularly in the repair and reclaiming of urban voids and public space, turning them into meeting places for young and old alike (Cirelli, Mercatanti, and Porto, 16).

The youth criminality statistics included in Appendix C show that, despite being part of a region which suffers from higher crime participation than Tuscany, the numbers of youth involved have not changed significantly since 2000. The regional comparison has been included in Appendix E. Even though the total number of youth criminals has not grown, there has been a slight, overall increase in the percentages (see Appendix D), similar to the Siena case. These increases and decreases are slightly more salient in the Catania case.

Catania's participation in the European Commission's Urban Programme, and the prominence of the University of Catania in the process have brought about positive results. The project aims to reclaim some of the unused or poorly planned urban areas and to 'jump start' the San Cristoforo neighborhood (Cirelli et. al., 5-6). Other problems to be addressed by the Urban Programme include the lack of work opportunities, low income levels, poor living conditions, and social marginalization (*ibid.*, 17).

An analysis of youth involvement in criminality, urban insecurity and Catania must make a reference to the death of Police Inspector Filippo Raciti early this year. After all of the positive changes that have taken place in Catania, the killing of Raciti by a seventeen-year old came as quite a shock. Inspector Raciti was on duty at the soccer stadium February 2<sup>nd</sup>, the night of a derby between Palermo and Catania, when a violent riot broke out (Comune di Catania, 1). The stereotypical images of Sicily, Catania, and the 'irrepressible Italian soccer fans' were revived. Many messages of disbelief and solidarity for the family, the city of Catania, and for the police were published on the *Polizia dello Stato* website by

Italians and Italianists worldwide (*Polizia dello Stato*, 1-4). The historic solidarity shown to the police force, youth showing at the march to honor Raciti, and the serious and responsible reaction of the University of Catania students were all signs of the Catanese will to reclaim their city and image.

#### IV. CONCLUSION(S)

Siena represents a positive model for the quality of urban life in Italy and, in agreement with Wolfgang Drechsler's "The *contrade*, the *Palio*, and the *ben commune*: lessons from Siena," it offers many opportunities for lesson-drawing for other communities. Siena does, however, present a very particular example, given the level of personal and emotional involvement with the *Palio*, and it does not present a 'one-size-fits-all solution' for other cities to emulate (Walklate, 937).

Although they still have a strong influence on the local population, the importance of the *contrade* has diminished from its last post-war period level (Vienna, *et. al.*, 528). In addition, the fact that there is a low level of crime does not effectively counteract the overarching 'fear of crime' that is generally found in all urban areas in the industrialized world. The communication of crime data serve many differing interests. They need to be considered alongside surveys of victimization (Body-Gendrot, 919).

A strange paradox presents itself, in that the ever-expanding 'fear of crime' discourse might actually serve to reassure members of a community. It can focus attention away from other risks that are too threatening or overwhelming with which to cope. In determining a scapegoat, the society is able to make one of its fears tangible and carve out a plan with which to address it (Hollway, 263-264). If the present adult generation and the media were to take an honest look at today's youth, they would see that these isolated, sensationalized events do not represent the majority who are nonetheless struggling to find their identity and personal space in modern society. Without a scapegoat, however, another tool will have to

be used to make urban crime and insecurity seem controllable and actionable unless, of course, another sensationalized social problem directs the media's attention away.

The effect of the sensationalism of the Italian media is seen the most in Siena, with a high level of urban insecurity relative to actual crime levels. It appears that this mediocre performance regarding *subjective* urban security does not adversely affect the overall quality of life of its residents.

The accomplishments thus far of the Catanese are noteworthy, especially considering the city's history with criminal activity. Regardless of whether the improvement is recognized by IPR Marketing/*Il Sole 24 Ore* or not, the quality of life will continue to improve as neighborhoods are rebuilt, public spaces are beautified and reopened, and the Catanese youth continue to have positive social outlets in which to reconnect with their physical neighbors. The fact that there is less urban insecurity, relative to the actual crime level, is a sign that recent improvements are appreciated by the general public.

The realists are correct; there is less fear of crime in Siena than in Catania. However, the *objective* crime levels in Siena are much lower as well. The exaggeration of the *objective* data and changes in urban development by the mass media and by politicians is becoming all too commonplace, increasing the *subjective* fear of crime. In addition, the particular organization into *contrade* and *Palio* traditions of Siena play a significant role in deterring crime. They serve to increase the sense of ownership and value of public places and provide responsible role models for the Sienese youth. However, the media seem to have less of an effect on Catania, as the improvements of recent years are felt by the general population and are reflected in the declining urban insecurity rankings. The crime reporting is closer to reality than overly sensationalistic. It is important to note that it should be easier to convince

the public of any improvements in the area of criminality in Catania, like in other cities with comparable criminality problems. The situation in Siena is more stable and, therefore, makes it more difficult to notice small improvements in urban security. It is clear that the local government is the key to combating urban insecurity. Creative measures are needed in areas where crime is relatively low and the public is more susceptible to media sensationalization.

## Appendix A: Conferescenti – People Swg Study

Criminality: alcohol and drugs, schools are among the most dangerous places. Youth point the finger at their classmates. Venturi, “what is important is an increased commitment to the culture of legality.”

Over 320,000 students, between 15 and 19 years of age have been victims of crimes between 2000 and 2001. The very same students are the ones reporting it, indicating that the street, the discos, the stadiums, but also the schools are the places where they are most at risk. They are, above all, pointing the finger at their classmates who are frequently the perpetrators of these crimes, mostly (drug) dealing, theft, and violence and, just as often, abusers of narcotics or alcohol.

It is this, in extreme synthesis, the situation which emerges from the **Conferescenti – People Swg Study** on youth and criminality.

Almost one of every two of those surveyed indicated violence as the type of crime from which he/she most often suffers, followed by theft (36.4% of the sample), sexual violence (27.2%), incitement and exploitation of prostitution (25.2%), sexual harassment (22.7%), and extortion (22.4%). With regards to the perpetrators of these crimes, the majority of the sample (74.8%) believes that their classmates are the drug dealers, while 46.4% claim their classmates could be blamed for the larceny and 31.4% for the bag-snatching that occurs.

The street is considered to be the most dangerous place (53.6% of the sample), followed by discos (49.6%) and by stadiums (34.2%). However, the youth do not feel safe even at school, at least according to the 22.7% of those interviewed who claim some knowledge of violent episodes occurring in their schools. In the case of schools, physical violence, threats and theft are at the top of the list of the crimes suffered most often. 44.4% of the students, estimated at around 300 youth, claim to also have knowledge of drug dealing occurring inside the schools.

What worsens the sense of insecurity, mostly due to bullying and the illegal actions taken by some of their classmates, is the ease with which strangers can enter and leave the school grounds. This is a problem for many youth (56.9%) because this means that these outsiders can easily participate in illegal activities, often tied (according to 21.9% of the sample) to the dealing of narcotics.

Just as alarming, when found in the scholastic environment, is the use by one of every three students (which would mean an average of seven students per class) of alcoholic beverages including those containing hard liquor, particularly when occurring on school-sponsored trips (24.9%).

“It is this last statistic that is particularly serious and, up to now, unknown or underestimated,” underlines the President of Conferescenti, Marco Venturi, “and that, combined with the diffusion of drugs and violence inside the school, should lead us to rethink



its role and organization. More attention needs to be dedicated to this problem by the scholastic institutions. Additionally, more family involvement is required in the education of today's youth, especially in regards to legality education. For this reason," concludes Venturi, "I will ask to meet with the Minister of Public Education to clarify the role that our organization has carried out thus far in the fight against crime. Most importantly, I aim to collaborate with the Minister in designing a common action plan able to develop a stronger culture of legality amongst the citizens, starting with the youth."

Rome, March 11, 2002

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#### Synthesis of the Study

PeopleSWG, the research partner

Confesercenti Themes: Center of Studies and Research

"Youth and criminality"

One out of ten youth asked has been the victim of a crime in the last two years – a higher number relative to the average data for all residents of large cities.

#### **In your opinion, youth are prevalently:**

Victims of crime	42.9%
Perpetrators of crime	39.2%
Victims and perpetrators	16.2%
Neither victims nor perpetrators	0.5%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	1.2%

Respondents [base]: 400

#### **From your point of view, which one of the following crimes is most frequently suffered by youth? And which one is most frequently committed by youth?**

	Suffer	Commit
Drug dealing	--	74.8%
Violence	49.4%	25.2%
Theft	36.4%	46.4%
Sexual violence	27.2%	5.5%
Incitement and exploitation of prostitution	25.2%	3.0%
Sexual harassment	22.7%	4.0%
Extortion	22.4%	10.7%
Bag-snatching	17.0%	31.4%
Robbery	13.7%	16.2%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	2.0%	1.2%

Respondents [base]: 400

**In your opinion, which place could be the most dangerous for a young adult?**

Street	53.6%
Disco, local hangout	49.6%
Stadium	34.2%
Home	1.5%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	0.2%

Respondents [base]: 400 – summary of all of the responses given

**Do you know or have you heard of occurrences of violence in your school? If yes, what type?**

Yes	22.7%
Violence and threats	12.7%
Repeated thefts	7.5%
Use of narcotics	5.7%
Sexual harassment	3.5%
Sexual violence	2.0%
Regular requests for money	1.5%
Riots	1.0%
Drug dealing	0.2%
No	76.3%
Prefer not to respond	1.0%

Respondents [base]: 400 – summary of the responses given

**Would you say that it is easy to enter and leave your school during class and recreation time?**

Yes	56.9%
No	42.4%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	0.7%

Respondents [base]: 400

**Let's now talk about the school. In your class, how many of your classmates drink alcohol or hard liquor?**

No one	13.7%
Between 1-3 students	15.5%
Between 4-6 students	15.2%
Between 7-10 students	18.5%
Between 11-15 students	12.0%
More than 15 students	16.0%

Do not know/prefer not to respond 9.1%

Respondents [base]: 400

**In your opinion, during which activities/on which occasions do your classmates drink more frequently?**

At the disco	77.3%
On school-sponsored trips	24.9%
At parties	14.2%
At the pub, bar, local hangout	12.5%
At home	4.0%
With friends	2.2%
Saturday night	1.5%
At school	0.7%
At the park	0.5%

Respondents [base]: 400 – summary of the responses given

**Do you know or have you heard of occurrences of drug dealing in your school?**

Yes	44.4%
Only soft drugs	34.2%
Soft and heavy drugs	10.0%
Heavy drugs	0.2%
No	55.1%
Prefer not to respond	0.5%

Respondents [base]: 400

**In your opinion, who could be the “dealers” in a scholastic environment?**

Certain students	70.1%
People with no connection to the school	21.9%
School staff	4.3%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	3.7%

Respondents [base]: 400

**Among the options that I will list for you, how do you think we can avoid having crimes committed on school grounds?**

With more surveillance by school authorities	57.6%
More discussion amongst the students/ Isolating the violent ones	31.4%
Installing video surveillance systems	27.7%

Use of police/security guards	22.9%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	2.2%

Respondents [base]: 400 – summary of the responses given

**What do you think of the proposal to equip schools with video surveillance systems?**

It is a good system	40.4%
Useless and harmful	22.4%
Useful, but not very efficient	35.9%
Do not know/prefer not to respond	1.3%

Respondents [base]: 400

Mailbox to: [temi@confesercenti.it](mailto:temi@confesercenti.it)

[http://www.temiricerche.it/ricerche/giovani\\_criminalita.htm](http://www.temiricerche.it/ricerche/giovani_criminalita.htm)

## Appendix B: *Il Sole 24 Ore*, the first 10 provinces (2004-06)

The first 10 provinces (2004 - 2006) in alphabetical order: results support the Center-North model  
 \*rankings out of 103 total provinces

**Quality of life overall – bold**    Perceived urban security – underlined    *Overall results in criminality – italics*

<b>Città</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>
Aosta [Valle D'Aosta]	<b>8</b> / <u>5</u> / 27	<b>4</b> / <u>9</u> / 61	<b>15</b> / <u>2</u> / 61
Belluno [Veneto]	<b>19</b> / <u>1</u> / 5	<b>3</b> / <u>2</u> / 3	<b>9</b> / <u>33</u> / 5
Bologna [Emilia-Romagna]	<b>1</b> / <u>75</u> / 102	<b>7</b> / <u>94</u> / 103	<b>5</b> / <u>96</u> / 103
Bolzano [Trentino-Alto Adige]	<b>10</b> / <u>22</u> / 10	<b>8</b> / <u>4</u> / 18	<b>3</b> / <u>1</u> / 12
Firenze [Toscana]	<b>5</b> / <u>30</u> / 87	<b>23</b> / <u>46</u> / 90	<b>8</b> / <u>91</u> / 99
Forlì (Cesena) [Emilia-Romagna]	<b>4</b> / <u>39</u> / 31	<b>15</b> / <u>86</u> / 71	<b>12</b> / <u>53</u> / 74
Gorizia [Friuli-Venezia Giulia]	<b>9</b> / <u>8</u> / 8	<b>2</b> / <u>19</u> / 11	<b>21</b> / <u>6</u> / 25
Grosseto [Toscana]	<b>26</b> / <u>5</u> / 29	<b>18</b> / <u>31</u> / 56	<b>10</b> / <u>4</u> / 54
Milano [Lombardia]	<b>2</b> / <u>83</u> / 85	<b>4</b> / <u>66</u> / 99	<b>6</b> / <u>80</u> / 102
Ravenna [Emilia-Romagna]	<b>22</b> / <u>49</u> / 84	<b>4</b> / <u>53</u> / 91	<b>7</b> / <u>71</u> / 94
Reggio Emilia [Emilia-Romagna]	<b>24</b> / <u>66</u> / 73	<b>10</b> / <u>89</u> / 71	<b>13</b> / <u>99</u> / 76
Siena [Toscana]	<b>7</b> / <u>30</u> / 16	<b>11</b> / <u>67</u> / 39	<b>1</b> / <u>64</u> / 21
Trento [Trentino-Alto Adige]	<b>3</b> / <u>7</u> / 9	<b>8</b> / <u>17</u> / 24	<b>4</b> / <u>23</u> / 17
Trieste [Friuli-Venezia Giulia]	<b>6</b> / <u>33</u> / 44	<b>1</b> / <u>23</u> / 59	<b>2</b> / <u>10</u> / 65

Catania [Sicilia]	<b>95</b> / <u>89</u> / 86	<b>99</b> / <u>87</u> / 80	<b>103</b> / <u>93</u> / 91
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Regional overview of top 10 cities –

Emilia-Romagna: 4 – Bologna, Forlì (Cesena), Ravenna, Reggio Emilia  
 Toscana: 3 – Firenze, Grosseto, Siena  
 Friuli-Venezia Giulia: 2 – Gorizia, Trieste  
 Trentino-Alto Adige: 2 – Bolzano, Trento  
 Lombardia: 1 – Milano, Valle D'Aosta: 1 – Aosta, Veneto: 1 – Belluno

Appendix C: Number of minors reported, Siena and Catania (2000-04)

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2000</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	14	3	-	39	56	28	-	8	-	4	2	42

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2001</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	10	7	1	22	40	22	1	13	2	3	2	43

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2002</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	16	5	1	19	41	36	2	7	-	3	1	49

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2003</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	21	12	1	30	64	48	4	28	-	6	4	90

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2004</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	14	7	2	18	41	27	-	5	1	6	2	41

A – intentional homicides  
 B – culpable injuries  
 C – criminal coercion, threats, etc.  
 D – rapes  
 E – other crimes against the person  
F – Total

G – thefts  
 H – robberies  
 I – damage to things, animals, etc.  
 J – defraudation, etc.  
 K – receiving of stolen goods, etc.  
 L – other crimes against property  
M – Total

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2000</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	78	45	6	171	301	350	113	87	-	73	13	636

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2001</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	77	60	20	97	255	312	91	61	8	106	17	595

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2002</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
8	69	57	10	146	290	221	85	137	2	75	14	534

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2003</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
4	61	63	13	111	252	306	91	93	2	80	16	588

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2004</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
2	86	44	11	114	257	302	71	89	4	106	17	589

A – intentional homicides  
 B – culpable injuries  
 C – criminal coercion, threats, etc.  
 D – rapes  
 E – other crimes against the person  
F – Total

G – thefts  
 H – robberies  
 I – damage to things, animals, etc.  
 J – defraudation, etc.  
 K – receiving of stolen goods, etc.  
 L – other crimes against property  
M – Total

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2000</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
1	2	1	4	-	-	2	2	-	1	105

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2001</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
2	5	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	93

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2002</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
8	7	11	26	-	-	2	2	-	3	121

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2003</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
10	3	8	21	1	-	1	2	-	2	179

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Siena <b>2004</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
11	-	4	15	2	-	1	3	-	1	101

N – drug production and dealing

O – false impersonation and falseness in acts

P – other crimes against safety, economy and public faith

Q – Total

R – violence, resistance, etc. of a Public Officer

S – criminal association and mafia criminal association

T – other crimes against the State, other social institutions, and public order

U – Total

V – smuggling

W – other crimes

X - Total



Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2000</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
184	33	14	231	34	6	27	67	1	29	1265

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2001</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
89	41	20	150	30	8	21	59	-	16	1075

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2002</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
84	21	10	115	80	-	21	101	-	25	1065

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2003</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
256	14	8	278	25	1	15	41	-	30	1189

Minors reported for criminal activity, 10-17 years of age, divided by type, Catania <b>2004</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
290	25	10	325	15	2	20	37	-	29	1237

N – drug production and dealing

O – false impersonation and falseness in acts

P – other crimes against safety, economy and public faith

Q – Total

R – violence, resistance, etc. of a Public Officer

S – criminal association and mafia criminal association

T – other crimes against the State, other social institutions, and public order

U – Total

V – smuggling

W – other crimes

X - Total

<http://giustiziaincifre.istat.it/Nemesis/jsp/Introduzione.jsp?id=4A127A&ct=254>

Appendix D: Percentages of minors reported, Siena and Catania (2000-04)

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2000</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	89.4	19.2	-	249.1	357.6	178.8	-	51.1	-	25.5	12.8	268.2

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2001</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	64.4	45.1	6.4	141.6	257.5	141.6	6.4	83.7	12.9	19.3	12.9	276.8

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2002</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	102.2	31.9	6.4	121.3	261.8	229.8	12.8	44.7	-	19.2	6.4	312.8

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2003</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	132.1	75.5	6.3	188.7	402.5	301.8	25.2	176.1	-	37.7	25.2	566

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2004</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
-	87.1	43.6	12.4	112	255.1	168	-	31.1	6.2	37.3	12.4	255.1

A – intentional homicides

B – culpable injuries

C – criminal coercion, threats, etc.

D – rapes

E – other crimes against the person

F – Total

G – thefts

H – robberies

I – damage to things, animals, etc.

J – defraudation, etc.

K – receiving of stolen goods, etc.

L – other crimes against property

M – Total

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2000</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
0.9	66.5	38.4	5.1	145.8	256.6	298.3	96.3	74.2	-	62.2	11.1	542.1

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2001</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
0.9	68.9	53.7	17.9	86.9	228.3	279.4	81.5	54.6	7.2	94.9	15.2	532.8

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2002</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
7.2	61.7	51	8.9	130.6	259.5	197.7	76.1	122.6	1.8	67.1	12.5	477.8

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2003</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
3.6	54.8	56.6	11.7	99.7	226.4	274.9	81.8	83.6	1.8	71.9	14.4	528.3

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2004</b>												
Against the Person						Against Property						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1.8	77.7	39.7	9.9	103	232.1	272.8	64.1	80.4	3.6	95.7	15.4	532

A – intentional homicides  
 B – culpable injuries  
 C – criminal coercion, threats, etc.  
 D – rapes  
 E – other crimes against the person  
F – Total

G – thefts  
 H – robberies  
 I – damage to things, animals, etc.  
 J – defraudation, etc.  
 K – receiving of stolen goods, etc.  
 L – other crimes against property  
M – Total

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2000</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
6.4	12.8	6.4	25.5	-	-	12.8	12.8	-	6.4	670.6

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2001</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
12.9	32.2	19.3	64.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	598.7

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2002</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
51.1	44.7	70.2	166	-	-	12.8	12.8	-	19.2	772.5

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2003</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
62.9	18.9	50.3	132.1	6.3	-	6.3	12.6	-	12.6	1125.6

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Siena <b>2004</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
68.4	-	24.9	93.3	12.4	-	6.2	18.7	-	6.2	628.4

N – drug production and dealing

O – false impersonation and falseness in acts

P – other crimes against safety, economy and public faith

Q – Total

R – violence, resistance, etc. of a Public Officer

S – criminal association and mafia criminal association

T – other crimes against the State, other social institutions, and public order

U – Total

V – smuggling

W – other crimes

X - Total

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2000</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
156.8	28.1	11.9	196.9	29	5.1	23	57.1	0.9	24.7	1078.3

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2001</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
79.7	36.7	17.9	134.3	26.9	7.2	18.8	52.8	-	14.3	962.6

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2002</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
75.2	18.8	8.9	102.9	71.6	-	18.8	90.4	-	22.4	952.9

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2003</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
230	12.6	7.2	249.8	22.5	0.9	13.5	36.8	-	27	1068.2

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by type (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Catania <b>2004</b>										
Against Safety, economy, public faith				Against the State, social institutions, public order				Other crimes		
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
262	22.6	9	293.6	13.5	1.8	18.1	33.4	-	26.2	1117.4

N – drug production and dealing

O – false impersonation and falseness in acts

P – other crimes against safety, economy and public faith

Q – Total

R – violence, resistance, etc. of a Public Officer

S – criminal association and mafia criminal association

T – other crimes against the State, other social institutions, and public order

U – Total

V – smuggling

W – other crimes

X - Total

<http://giustiziaincifre.istat.it/Nemesis/jsp/dawinci.jsp?q=pl12-0030094300&an=2000&ig=1&ct=255&id=4A127A>

## Appendix E: Regional percentages, Tuscany and Sicily (2000-04)

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in this age bracket), Year <b>2000</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
TUSCANY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Massa-Carrara	699.4	106.4	190.1	60.8	460.8	95.3	158.9	47.7
Lucca	627	175.1	199.5	105.9	302	142.6	201.4	134.2
Pistoia	451.2	28.2	191.8	28.2	69.8	-	34.9	-
Firenze	2267.1	440.4	1269.8	332.4	1098	412.6	786.8	367.2
Prato	528.3	6.1	282.6	-	253.4	-	177.3	-
Livorno	981.1	245.3	387.5	215.8	503.6	322.3	372.6	302.1
Pisa	459.6	11.9	317	7.9	365.3	16.2	308.5	16.2
Arezzo	453.7	17.8	164.6	17.8	271.2	-	180.8	-
Siena	664.2	102.2	172.4	38.3	357.2	-	158.8	-
Grosseto	721.4	168.8	214.9	92.1	478.2	159.4	255.1	127.5
Total	1036.2	182.9	505.1	132.7	531.5	167.5	361.3	148.5

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2001</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
TUSCANY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Massa-Carrara	602.2	154.4	169.8	77.2	290.6	113	129.1	48.4
Lucca	539.7	53.6	177.2	41.2	287.7	50.8	135.4	42.3
Pistoia	329.1	170.2	198.6	124.8	258.7	152.9	199.9	152.9
Firenze	854.5	177.5	436.8	128.8	340.3	124.1	191.4	113.4
Prato	370.2	141.9	197.5	111.1	291.2	227.9	240.6	202.6
Livorno	871	105.1	310.4	50.1	614.7	122.9	297.1	71.7
Pisa	507.4	225.5	277.9	177.2	433.6	266.8	333.6	241.8
Arezzo	311.4	80.1	89	44.5	163.3	99.8	99.8	72.6
Siena	537.9	103	96.6	32.2	200.1	40	40	26.7
Grosseto	863.2	225.5	311.1	116.6	256.1	64	80	32
Total	616	146.3	262.7	97.2	324.4	129.2	185.1	107.2

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2002</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
TUSCANY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Massa-Carrara	1169.7	227.7	298.3	117.8	557.7	196.9	229.7	131.2
Lucca	702.2	86.2	197.1	57.5	286	67.3	126.2	58.9
Pistoia	634.2	101.9	322.8	79.3	267.3	69.7	162.7	58.1
Firenze	881.8	82.7	447.8	39.6	292	49.3	140.7	31.7
Prato	941.3	189.5	574.5	146.7	400.5	162.7	225.3	125.1
Livorno	975.5	94.1	188.2	39.6	488.1	122	193.2	71.2
Pisa	1346.1	199.1	497.8	151.3	1422.1	221.9	641.2	197.3
Arezzo	486.9	84.1	137.2	13.3	90.5	27.2	36.2	27.2
Siena	683.1	89.4	166	12.8	251.1	-	52.9	-
Grosseto	503.3	61.9	116.1	7.7	222.7	15.9	63.6	-
Total	848.7	113.9	324.4	62.9	427.6	87.3	191.1	66.4

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2003</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
TUSCANY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Massa-Carrara	920.1	196.6	440.4	102.2	510.9	115.4	214.2	49.4
Lucca	1278.6	135.2	450.8	69.7	623.8	92.7	286.6	75.9
Pistoia	1280	135.9	543.7	96.3	395.1	81.3	174.3	81.3
Firenze	1530.6	108.2	911.6	60.9	627.8	45.1	461.3	34.7
Prato	1269.5	128.8	766.6	67.5	325.4	75.1	200.2	50.1
Livorno	1359.2	293.8	468	189.2	795.2	214.1	428.2	183.5
Pisa	1343.2	217.9	824.2	138.7	1105.7	212.9	909.1	196.6
Arezzo	1157.5	124.2	345.9	48.8	438.5	54.8	201	45.7
Siena	874.1	81.8	157.2	25.2	312	65	65	26
Grosseto	1291.5	160.5	259.8	38.2	437.8	78.2	156.4	46.9
Total	1298.3	151.1	601.2	82.4	596.9	96.9	363.2	77

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2004</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
TUSCANY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Massa-Carrara	1058.3	133.3	525.2	101.9	521.2	146.6	211.7	97.7
Lucca	679.4	60.7	254.8	24.3	332.3	41.5	149.6	8.3
Pistoia	704.8	101.5	355.2	50.7	279	11.6	127.9	11.6
Firenze	1087.7	115.1	669	56.7	521.1	48	373.7	37.7
Prato	607.2	79.7	282.1	42.9	213.9	75.5	100.7	37.8
Livorno	816.6	123	206.6	34.4	362.9	30.2	151.2	20.2
Pisa	735.3	98.8	375.6	59.3	385.3	82	237.7	73.8
Arezzo	745.2	92.6	269	35.3	282.6	54.7	127.6	27.3
Siena	535.1	56	80.9	6.2	166.8	25.7	38.5	-
Grosseto	994.7	128.1	271.3	22.6	417.1	30.9	108.1	30.9
Total	837.1	100	387.1	45	376.6	52.1	204	34.2

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2000</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
SICILY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Trapani	801.9	87.8	73.5	4.7	202.1	38.5	24.1	4.8
Palermo	664.9	99.7	38.5	11.3	144.9	21.8	23.4	4.7
Messina	1209.7	204.2	135.1	78.6	264.8	93.7	109.8	67.8
Agrigento	1032.6	123.1	45.9	6.3	489.2	55.3	12.8	-
Caltanissetta	1654.9	126.8	83.4	20	400.1	74.6	81.4	27.1
Enna	891.4	212	87	16.3	165	99	33	22
Catania	945.3	126.2	66.5	30.7	102.9	12.2	15.7	1.7
Ragusa	794.6	87.2	70.4	16.8	143.5	-	20.5	-
Siracusa	1175.9	176.9	54.8	29.9	143.8	46.2	36	15.4
Total	950.9	130.3	67.5	25.3	201.8	39.3	35.7	13.7

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2001</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
SICILY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Trapani	758.3	94.5	22.4	2.5	181.4	25.2	15.1	-
Palermo	824.9	114.5	23.4	7.8	205.2	24	14.4	6.4
Messina	1241.8	131.4	24	6.4	245.9	45.9	9.8	6.6
Agrigento	763.8	62.2	20	-	163.8	-	4.5	-
Caltanissetta	1699	237.7	76.9	14	314	57.1	64.2	14.3
Enna	635.9	95.7	45	-	91	22.8	34.1	-
Catania	797.8	72.5	26	6.3	69.5	7.3	12.8	3.7
Ragusa	734.2	69.3	38.1	6.9	119.9	21.2	-	-
Siracusa	1433.9	203.7	20.6	5.2	218.3	26.6	10.6	-
Total	944.9	111.6	28.1	6	172.6	22.8	15.1	4.1

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2002</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
SICILY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Trapani	852.7	114.7	57.3	15	192.4	25.3	15.2	5.1
Palermo	825.5	112.5	28.1	14.8	190.6	19.2	6.4	6.4
Messina	1279.7	111.8	64.8	21.1	212.4	33.2	26.5	13.3
Agrigento	579.3	44.2	42	2.2	126.9	9.1	4.5	-
Caltanissetta	1407.3	136.9	35.1	17.5	280.1	57.5	7.2	-
Enna	1018.3	244.6	45.5	-	183.7	45.9	-	-
Catania	747.1	78.7	10.7	4.5	124.5	11	3.7	1.8
Ragusa	519	31.1	10.4	-	120.3	14.2	-	-
Siracusa	1274.8	116.8	23.4	5.2	236.1	42.9	21.5	5.4
Total	900.7	100.5	32	10.2	177.2	23.3	9.4	4.5



Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2003</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
SICILY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Trapani	822.7	87.5	35	-	244	45.8	-	-
Palermo	719.6	97.6	14.2	2.4	122.7	16.1	11.3	1.6
Messina	1335.3	86.9	70.5	13.1	87.5	3.4	13.5	3.4
Agrigento	677.7	70.6	88.3	8.8	118.3	18.2	4.5	-
Caltanissetta	1445	202	41.8	7	185	35.6	-	-
Enna	790.6	98.1	23.1	5.8	188.7	47.2	23.6	11.8
Catania	907.4	91.6	24.3	9	108.7	12.9	5.5	5.5
Ragusa	643.7	54.2	13.6	3.4	139.5	7	-	-
Siracusa	1840.7	136.5	13.1	-	238.1	10.8	5.4	-
Total	966.9	98.2	33.5	5.8	140.4	17.7	7.4	2.5

Minors denounced, 10-17 years of age, divided by gender, origin and age (ratios per 100,000 residents in the age bracket), Year <b>2004</b>								
REGION	Males and females				Females			
SICILY	Total		Foreigners		Total		Foreigners	
	Total	< 14 yrs	Total	< 14 years	Total	< 14 years	Total	<14 years
Trapani	769.7	86.9	32.3	-	206.9	20.2	-	-
Palermo	874.8	115.1	16.7	2.4	161.3	21.2	3.3	-
Messina	1574.5	147.1	132	23.4	130.3	27.4	10.3	3.4
Agrigento	736.1	80.5	13.4	-	189.3	18.5	4.6	-
Caltanissetta	1372.2	105.3	56.2	-	221.7	7.2	-	-
Enna	1181.1	208.8	83.5	6	266	48.4	48.4	-
Catania	969.2	105.7	39.7	11.7	105.3	20.3	16.6	5.5
Ragusa	836.6	54.4	74.8	6.8	91.7	7.1	-	-
Siracusa	1518.3	112.1	48	8	143.2	16.5	27.5	5.5
Total	1045.3	110.2	47.2	7.3	152.9	20.4	10	2.1

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