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Immigrants as Victims of Ordinary Crime in Caserta
and Naples:
An Exploratory Study

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Table of contents

<u>Introduction and organization of the thesis</u>	7
Chapter One	
1. <u>THE “CRIME-IMMIGRATION” NEXUS AND ITS ONE-DIRECTIONAL DIMENSION: TOWARDS A TENTATIVE TYPOLOGY OF THE CRIMES SUFFERED BY IMMIGRANTS</u>	9
1.1 <u>Why is it so hard to view immigrants as victims?</u>	9
1.2 <u>Jarring voices on immigrants and their sufferings</u>	13
1.3 <u>Victimological models of vulnerability</u>	15
1.4 <u>A tentative typology of crimes suffered by immigrants</u>	17
1.4.1 <u>The non-emergent issue of immigrants as victims of ordinary crime</u>	18
Chapter Two	
2. <u>AN EXAMINATION OF EXISTING SOURCES ON IMMIGRANTS AS VICTIMS OF CRIME</u>	22
2.1 <u>Limitations of existing official statistics on immigrants as victims of crime</u>	22
2.1.1 <u>What is the situation in Italy?</u>	27
2.2 <u>Are victimization surveys useful to assess immigrant victimization?</u>	34
2.2.1 <u>How about Italy?</u>	45
2.3 <u>Comparative experiences</u>	46
2.3.1 <u>The International Crime Victims Surveys (ICVSs) and the European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS)</u>	46
2.3.2 <u>Eu-Midis (Discrimination and Victimization in EU Member States: Experiences and Attitudes of Immigrants and Other Minorities)</u>	48
2.4 <u>Concluding remarks on victimization surveys</u>	53
2.5 <u>Body reports and journalistic accounts as alternative sources</u>	54
2.5.1 <u>Body reports</u>	54
2.5.2 <u>Journalistic accounts</u>	59
2.6 <u>Limitations of body reports and journalistic accounts</u>	60
2.7 <u>Summary</u>	60
Chapter Three	
3. <u>METHODOLOGICAL STEPS OF THE PROJECT</u>	63
3.1 <u>Goals of the research</u>	63
3.2 <u>Rationale for choosing Campania as the setting of the research</u>	63
3.3 <u>Definition of the target group</u>	67
3.4 <u>Type of crimes included in the study</u>	68
3.5 <u>A qualitative approach to studying immigrants as victims of crime</u>	69
3.6 <u>Which data collection technique?</u>	71

3.6.1	Contents of semi-structured interview with immigrants	72
3.6.2	Contents of semi-structured interview with key informants	76
3.7	A new strategy to approach the target group	78
3.8	Details of the research	79
3.8.1	Profile of immigrant respondents	81
3.8.2	Profile of key informants	82
3.8.3	Difficulties encountered during the research	82

Chapter Four

4.	RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANTS AS VICTIMS OF ORDINARY CRIME IN CASERTA AND NAPLES	86
4.1	Macro-area 1: Crimes suffered by immigrants in Caserta and Naples	87
4.1.1	Crimes suffered at the workplace or while looking for a job	87
4.1.2	Housing	98
4.1.3	Personal crimes	101
4.1.3.1	Beatings and assaults	101
4.1.3.2	September 18 2008: a digression	108
4.1.3.3	Sex harassment and gender violence	110
4.1.4	Property crimes	114
4.1.4.1	Robberies, pickpocketing, bag-snatching, burglaries	115
4.1.4.2	Acts of vandalism	119
4.1.4.3	Frauds	121
4.1.4.3.1	A special type of fraud: people passing themselves off as law-enforcement agents	123
4.1.5	Police behavior and abuse of power	125
4.1.6	Who victimizes immigrants?	
	Victims and perpetrators in immigrant victimization	134
4.1.7	Are hate crimes committed against immigrants living in Caserta and Naples?	138
4.2	Macro-area 2: Safety	140
4.2.1	Safety perception and avoidance behaviors	140
4.2.2	Do immigrants living in Caserta and Naples trust Italian institutions?	146
4.3	Macro-area 3: Reporting behavior	149
4.3.1	Immigrants' attitude towards reporting and encounters with law-enforcement agents	150
4.3.2	Are immigrants living in Caserta and Naples aware of their rights?	162
4.4	Summary of the findings of the research	165

Chapter Five	
5. CONCLUSIONS	169
5.1 Towards a vulnerability profile of immigrant victims in Caserta and Naples	169
5.2 Victimological models, vulnerability profile and immigrant victims in Caserta and Naples: a discussion	173
5.3 Suggestions for future research	177
5.4 Policy implications	183
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 189
 ANNEXES	 215
Annex 1 Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with immigrants	216
Annex 2 Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with key informants	218
Annex 3 List of respondents by demographics	219
Annex 4 Respondents' demographic summary	224
Annex 5 List of key informants	225
Annex 6 List of organizations contacted for interviews by province	226
Annex 7 Immigrant Victimization Survey Questionnaire	227

Introduction and organization of the thesis

The present thesis is the result of research conducted in a fringe area in criminology: immigrants as victims of ordinary crime. This topic has only recently begun to draw some interest at an international level, and promises to become a mainstream issue in contemporary society in view of the growing meaning large-scale migrations are acquiring. This work is exploratory in nature and focuses on a limited geographical area in Italy: the Campania region, in particular the town of Caserta and the city of Naples. The main goal is to explore the crimes suffered by immigrants in the above mentioned area.

The work is organized into five chapters.

The first and the second present a review of the existing literature on the subject and offer an explanation as to why it is still a marginal topic of study in contemporary criminology, while at the same time discussing the limitations of the current statistics and studies available on the subject.

The third chapter describes the methodological steps and the strategy employed to carry out the research.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the research.

Finally, chapter five sketches out a vulnerability profile and proposes suggestions for further research and policy implications.

A bibliography and a few annexes make it possible for any researcher to study the issue in depth and to have a starting point for further research.

1. The “crime-immigration” nexus and its one-directional dimension: towards a tentative typology of the crimes suffered by immigrants

The linkage between immigration and crime is one of the most contentious topics in contemporary society¹. The involvement of the “foreign-born” individual in criminal activities has received great emphasis both by scholars and laypeople (including mass media) since the very inception of large-scale migrations². For historical reasons, this link has been mostly one-directional – do immigrants commit crimes? If so, what kind of crimes? Do they commit more crimes than nationals? – and has affected the most part of lay and scholarly thinking on the subject.

1.1 WHY IS IT SO HARD TO SEE IMMIGRANTS AS VICTIMS?

At the turn of 19th century, the rationale for construing the “crime-immigration” nexus the way it is still mostly construed today lied in three main concerns.

The first was fostered by the natural suspicion arising every time “different” people enter a new country. This attitude is condensed by anthropologists in the word “ethnocentrism” (Sumner, 1906): people tend to consider other people depending on the group they belong to and to judge more favourably the people who belong to their own group (in-group) as opposed to those who belong to other groups (out-group). Accordingly, the more removed habits, norms and values are from one’s own group’s, the more negatively they are judged. Contacts with “strange” and “foreign” people induce anxiety. Anxiety can inspire suspicion and suspicion makes natives wary to the point of prejudice and discrimination. This, in turn, sets off questions on how reliable and honest “those people” are. Besides, foreigners deal with rules, values, behaviors that do not belong to them, are distant and “strange”. For all practical purposes, the foreigner is not only foreign, but “strange” and “estranged”. His life is suspended; his roots cut off (Cotesta, 2008⁴: 12). The foundation for a biased and fearful attitude is thus laid.

¹ Barbagli, 2002; Barbagli, 2008; Hagan and Palloni, 1999; McDonald, 2003; Martinez and Lee 2000; Martinez and Valenzuela, 2006; National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931; Sellin, 1938; Tonry, 1997; Rumbaut, Gonzales, Komaie and Morgan 2006; Sampson, 2006; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007.

² Abbott, 1915; Beynon, 1935; Ferracuti, 1970; Hacker, 1929; Hentig von, 1945; Hentig von, 1948; Kephart, 1954; Ross, 1937; Speranza, 1911; Sutherland and Cressey, 1996; Taft, 1933; Taft, 1936; Van Vechten, 1941; Young, 1936.

From this, only one concern may arise: are “they” willing to accept our rules and values, or will “they” flout them? Given this attitude, the concern may only be one-directional.

The second concern, strictly linked to the first, was motivated by anti-immigrant, xenophobic sentiments, premised on the assumption that immigrants engaged in more criminal activity than non-immigrants, and, «more generally, that they caused a whole host of social problems, such as depleting welfare resources, increasing native-born unemployment and housing shortages, overwhelming school and health systems, and undermining the existing social order» (Mears, 2001: 2).

The third concern rested on the ostensibly reasonable assumption that some social and cultural factors seemed to warrant the belief that immigrants should be involved in crime to a greater degree than natives. «For example, immigrants face acculturation and assimilation problems that most natives do not, and immigrants tend to settle in disorganized neighbourhoods characterized by structural characteristics often associated with crime, such as widespread poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, and a preponderance of young males» (Martinez and Lee, 2000: 485-486).

These three concerns combined help explain why, since the very beginning of large-scale migrations, immigrants have been mostly perceived as (potential) authors of crime rather than (potential) victims of crime.

But were these concerns warranted?

The United States, which, at the turn of the century, was the favourite destination of many European emigrants, was probably the first country to confront the issue in a systematic way, setting up three commissions on the subject.

In spite of popular belief, the first commission, the Industrial Commission of 1901, which published a “Special Report on General Statistics of Immigration and the Foreign Born Population”, observed that foreign-born white immigrants were less criminal than their native counterparts but their children very often ended up in jail, which posed a disturbing issue to both the public at large and the politicians (Industrial Commission, 1901).

In 1911, the second commission, the Immigration Commission, issued an important report on the immigration-crime nexus which, although based on scant evidence, reached the same conclusion as the first commission: «No satisfactory evidence has yet been produced to show that immigration has resulted in an increase in crime disproportionate to the increase in adult population» (Tonry, 1997: 21). Once again, though, second-generation immigrants were found to be more crime-prone than the children of national citizens (Immigration Commission, 1911).

Finally, in 1931, a new commission, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, drawing on extensive data from arrest and crime statistics, convictions, and prison commitments, was able to debunk the popular myth according to which immigrants committed more crimes than natives. The ‘alien’ was not responsible for the number of offenses ascribed to him by public opinion. There was

– the commission confirmed – an immigrant crime problem, but this was largely due to the immigrants’ children (National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931).

Many scholars also contributed to the discussion.

Kate Claghorn (Claghorn, 1918), studying 608 cases of immigrants, concluded that the native-born seemed to have a greater tendency to come into conflict with the law than did the foreign-born, and that they showed a much higher percentage of recidivism than the foreigners. The foreigner was a more “accidental” offender, in that he was not so prone to recidivism as the native-born.

Donald Taft (Taft, 1933), in an article entitled “Does Immigration Increase Crime?”, observed that, even though immigrants share a number of criminogenic factors, they do not appear in crime statistics as would naturally be expected. So, even if immigrants were mostly young, male, city-based, poor, maladjusting to cities, retained their cultural roots, ignored the law and joined national gangs, they still did not commit the same amount of crimes as natives.

Edwin Sutherland, tapping wide-ranging data, concluded that immigrant crime rates were generally lower than native crime rates, but the figures very much depended on such variables as sex, age, country of origin, period of stay, tradition, type of crime (Sutherland and Cressey, 1996: 207-216).

In short, all these studies, and more³, concurred to assert that first-generation immigrants were, in general, more law-abiding than their children who probably suffered assimilation problems. Results did vary by city and there were exceptions, but the main conclusion spoke to the less involvement of foreigners in criminal activities.

In time, the interest in the “immigration and crime” issue declined in the U.S, also because large immigration flows were stopped. It revived, though, in Europe as a result of the migration of large numbers of people from the South to the North of Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. Once again, the nexus was interpreted one-directionally since questions only focused on the potential crime-proneness of immigrants. Contemporary research has shown that, in this period, the “American model” held true for Europe as well. For instance, «earlier Swiss research showed that Italian Labor migrants in the 1950s and 1960s had lower crime (conviction) rates than native Swiss males of comparable ages» (Tonry, 1997: 22). Italian immigrants were particularly feared by public opinion, but most research showed that they did not commit as many crimes as the natives or other immigrant groups (Barbagli, 1998: 24-25).

The situation changed in 1973, when supply-based immigration substituted for demand-based immigration, also in the wake of the oil crisis and the more restrictive

³ For instance, Abbott, 1915; Beynon, 1935; Ellwood, 1912; Hacker, 1929; Hart, 1896; Hourwitch, 1912; Kelsey, 1926; Ogburn, 1935; Ross, 1937; Speranza, 1911; Stofflet, 1941; Taft, 1936; Van Vechten, 1941; von Hentig, 1945; Young, 1936.

policies of the European governments. A transformation set in related to the way in which the world-wide capitalist system reacted to the crisis of the 1970s. This time, countries that, until the 1970s, had been sending countries, started becoming receiving countries. Entering a European country became increasingly difficult, and irregular (i.e., without documents) immigrants became more and more numerous. All this played a major part in aiding a perception of the immigrant as a threat and not as an asset, just when, paradoxically, immigrants faced up to more and more difficult risks that would, as likely as not, pose serious hurdles for them and therefore amplify their chances of being victimized. From then on, as Barbagli points out, the percentage of foreigners charged with crime, reported and convicted in Europe kept increasing dramatically in all major countries, although with local differences. This was probably due to the fact that integration was now more difficult, there were more irregular immigrants, immigrants confronted more economic disadvantages than their older counterparts, and were usually destined to unstable, dirty jobs. Focusing on Italy, Barbagli maintains that «in the last 20 years in Italy, the proportion of all foreigners charged with crime increased by factors of three to six times for six offenses» (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 70). The same trend is apparent «for the proportion of foreigners among those charged with drug crimes» (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 70) with irregular foreigners consistently more involved in crime than regulars. Of course, data vary by nationality.

Barbagli's conclusions have not gone without challenge by some scholars. For instance, Salvatore Palidda argues that

the higher crime rate among immigrants (as well as among black people) is affected by the social classification of such people as criminals (self-criminalization and criminalization practiced by police and judicial policies and measures, together with their interaction with the media, the actors of securitism and the local leaders). Of course, such social construction is eased by migration prohibitionism, perfectly combined with the ethnocentric and racist character typical of rich countries (Palidda, 2009²: 315-316).

So, the issue is far from being settled once and for all. However, whatever the interpretation afforded by these rates, the very existence of such a dispute helps understand why the mere idea of immigrants as victims has not met with mainstream acceptance.

In the United States the new wave of immigration (largely Latino, Asian, and Afro-Caribbean) generated «renewed interest in the topic, in part because the arrival of these immigrants coincided with the rise in crime rates in this country during the late 1960s and 1970s» (Martinez and Lee, 2000: 498). Contrary to popular belief, though, Martinez and Lee found that immigration did not increase crime in the States and that sometimes even seemed to suppress it. For instance,

the 1994 U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform compared crime in cities along the U.S.-Mexico border with nonborder cities in order to assess the impact of Mexican immigrants on crime rates.

The Commission concluded that crime rates in border cities such as El Paso, Texas, were generally lower (in some cases much lower) than rates in nonborder cities (Martinez and Lee, 2000: 499).

A number of studies that examined homicide among several ethnic groups in American towns also reached the same conclusion (Martinez and Lee, 2000: 500). In 2008, Sampson, somewhat surprisingly, argued that «cities of concentrated immigration are some of the safest places around» (Lee and Martinez, 2009: 9). What is even more amazing, according to Lee and Martinez, is that «rapid immigration may not create disorganized communities but may instead stabilize neighbourhoods through the creation of new social and economic institutions» (Martinez and Lee, 2000: 501). Based on a new series of studies conducted in a more sophisticated way in terms of analytical methods, including multivariate modelling and statistically grounded mapping techniques, the authors support the so-called “immigration revitalization perspective”, which maintains that: «social control would be enhanced by the strong familial and neighbourhood institutions that immigrants brought with them, as well as the enhanced job opportunities associated with enclave economies» (Lee and Martinez, 2009: 5). In short, the view about immigration as a major cause of crime in the United States is challenged by Lee and Martinez, who, along with other scholars⁴, remark that there is now a “growing consensus” that immigration is not necessarily conducive to crime and, as in the U.S., may even revitalize local economies.

Despite this growing academic consensus, popular belief still holds immigrants responsible for a lot of crimes that are committed against and around locals. The fact that even academic knowledge has historically developed as a response to fears inspired in people by the presence of foreign people has made it extremely difficult even for experts to examine the “immigration-crime” link in a different light. The questions simply were not there. No wonder, then, that, especially at the early stages of the immigration era, very few scholars attempted to focus on immigrants as victims rather than as perpetrators. But occasional differences did emerge.

1.2 JARRING VOICES ON IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR SUFFERINGS

Despite most lay and scholarly efforts have focused one-sidedly on the “immigration-crime” nexus, discordant voices have cried out for a redress.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle, in the *Rhetoric*, was probably the first to point out that

⁴ See for instance Yeager, 1997; Hagan and Palloni, 1999; Mears, 2001; Healy, 2004; Sampson and Bartusch, 2006; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007; Bianchi, Buonanno and Pinotti, 2008; Pittau and Trasatti, 2009.

one commits an injustice against those who do not have the advantage of being able to lose time waiting for a ruling or compensation – foreigners for example, or those who must work – if a matter could easily come to a compromise, and put an end to a contention (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 86).

This meant that the weak immigrant was more likely than the strong native to suffer crimes.

Moving ahead in a giant leap, in 1926, Carl Kelsey observed that «the immigrant appears to us as a convenient scapegoat and we have not neglected the opportunity» (Kelsey, 1926: 171).

In 1948, pioneer victimologist Hans von Hentig listed “the immigrant” as one of thirteen categories in his typology of victims, thus marking the particular vulnerability of this sociological category. In his words,

an artificial disadvantage is imposed on the immigrant, the minority race, and the large class of what the psychological testers call the “dull normals”. This handicap extends from the social sphere to everyday conflicts. All are easily and frequently victimized (Hentig von, 1948: 414).

Von Hentig explained also why immigrants were easily victimized:

There is a tendency all over the world to make the foreigner bear blame for others. Their different appearance, their poverty, the life in the slums, the disturbed balance of sexes, their competitive efficiency, all render them suspect. [...] Immigration means more than a change of country or continent. It is a temporary reduction to an extreme degree of helplessness in vital human relations. Leaving aside the linguistic difficulties, all psychological ties have to be predisposed which connect the human being with other men and protect him from them (Hentig von, 1948: 414-415).

Thus, concluded von Hentig, «the inexperienced, poor, sometimes dull immigrant is an easy prey to all kind of swindlers» (Hentig von, 1948: 415).

Victimologist Ezzat Fattah (Fattah, 1991) further explains that immigrants share a certain range of demographic characteristics that make them particularly prone to victimization: they are often male, young, unmarried, not steadily employed, belonging to minority races or ethnicities, living in low-income neighbourhoods or skid-rows. All these factors make immigrants more vulnerable, even not taking into account other cultural and social variables.

To this, other vulnerability-conducive factors might be added. These include: communication barriers, fear of reporting crimes, cash-only employment, naiveté or newness to a new country. In addition, immigrants’ search for work in public spaces that are high-crime areas and in communities where feelings run high against immigrants increases the probability that violence will occur against them.

Another important factor in immigrant victimization is the variable “documented/undocumented”. Having legal documents to enter a country makes all the difference in terms of victimization. As Sang Hea Kil and Cecilia Menjivar contend:

Undocumented immigrants are vulnerable to deportation, confined to low-wage jobs, and denied basic human rights, such as access to decent housing, education and health care. Placing them outside the legal order in a realm of lawlessness supports extreme actions against them and exempts authorities from obligations toward them; thus the rights of those who are legally nonexistent are ambiguous (Kil and Menjivar, 2006: 172).

Stephen Schafer, elaborating on von Hentig's typology, includes immigrants in what he calls "socially weak victims", that is to say, victims

who are usually not regarded by the larger society as full-fledged members of the community. Immigrants, those affiliated with certain religions, ethnic minorities, and others who are in a socially weak position are often exploited by the criminal element. Socially weak victims are almost always blameless, and the responsibility ought to be heavily shared by both the criminal and the society that is responsible for the prejudice against them (Schafer, 1977: 47).

Other scholars, ranged among such diverse disciplines as psychology and philosophy, have also drawn attention to the fact that, historically, immigrants have been often considered disposable/expendable, worthless and deserving victims by the public at large (Fattah, 1991: 100-101) or scapegoats/suitable enemies responsible for any sort of social problem or society's ills⁵, especially in times of crisis. When this happens, as Fattah remarks, «nobody feels sorry for the victim. There is no outcry of indignation and little, if anything, is done to pursue those responsible for the victimization or to bring them to justice» (Fattah, 1991: 100).

The above voices, however heartfelt, have been sporadic and excessively leaning on extreme empiricism or vague remarks. Besides, none of them endeavours to account for immigrants' vulnerability in theoretical terms. A few such attempts have been put forward by criminology and victimology. They are here outlined for the sake of thoroughness. The following models have not been specifically meant to address the issue of "immigrants as victims", but are occasionally quoted to explain why some marginal groups tend to be victimized.

1.3 VICTIMOLOGICAL MODELS OF VULNERABILITY

Criminology and victimology propose three models that attempt to explain why such social categories as immigrants are prone to be vulnerable targets.

The first – the Lifestyle Exposure Theory – maintains that peoples' vulnerability is contingent upon how they spend their time, go to work, do the things they do and play the roles they play in social life (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978). For

⁵ Allport, 1973; Girard, 1999; European Commission, 2003; Goodey, 2009: 148.

instance, teenagers who pursue certain forms of night entertainment (cruising around, partying with strangers) may be more likely to be victimized. Likewise, immigrants may lead lifestyles that place them in jeopardy: working without a contract and without observing safety measures, walking around a lot or riding on public means of transportation for lack of a private vehicle, spending time in the street or consorting with dangerous people in search of a job, living in seamy houses, are all activities that expose them to victimization to a greater degree than locals. Derived from lifestyle theory are the principle of “homogamy”, which states that «persons are more likely to be victimized when they disproportionately associate with, or come into contact with, members of demographic groups that contain a disproportionate share of offenders» and the principle of “proximity”, by which «propinquity to residences of high-rate offender groups will increase one’s risk of victimization» (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997: 323). These two principles would explain immigrant victimization in that immigrants tend to consort with other immigrants who are prone to committing crimes or live in the vicinity of offenders. These hypotheses do not always hold true, but help explain a part of immigrant victimization (Lee and Martinez, 2009).

The second model – the Routine Activity Approach – attempts to explain immigrant victimization focusing on three elements: the presence of a motivated offender (such as a small-time criminal desperate for cash), a suitable target, and the absence of capable guardians (police, alarms) (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Immigrants make ideal targets for the routine activity approach: they are visible and can be easily spotted; they may live in marginal or degraded, unprotected areas and store merchandise and hide cash in their homes, totally or partially unguarded. They may represent easy preys for unscrupulous, desperate people trying to make easy money, but also for fraudsters and organized crime.

The third model – the Equivalent Group Explanation – maintains that people are more likely to be victimized by victimizers who share their interests, activities, and belong to the same lifestyle group.

Offenders selected their victims from their own circles of adversaries, acquaintances, and even former friends. Adherence to and participation in the norms of certain deviant subcultures can sharply raise the chances of becoming a casualty. Victims might have been viewed as “fair game” or “easy prey” because their own involvement in criminal behavior discourages them from turning to the authorities for help (Karmen, 2001: 90).

Fattah further argues:

Because crimes of violence are, to a large extent, intraracial, Races and ethnic groups with high violent crime and delinquency rates, such as the blacks and those who are Hispanics in the United States, also have high violent victimization rates (Fattah, 1991: 121-122 and 179-180).

This might also explain why, according to certain scholars (Barbagli, 1998), many crimes are suffered by immigrants at the hands of other immigrants. The equivalent group explanation is not unchallenged, but is worth mentioning for its recurrence in literature.

These three models aside, is it possible to map out the crimes immigrants tend to suffer most? Do they suffer the same crimes as natives, or do they suffer specific types of crimes?

1.4 A TENTATIVE TYPOLOGY OF CRIMES SUFFERED BY IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants suffer several kinds of crimes, which set them off as a particular vulnerable category: because of their status, they are robbed, raped, killed; abandoned in deserts or tossed overboard at sea under hot pursuit; forced to work in sweatshops or prostitution rings to pay off the cost of the trip; preyed upon during their journeys; victims to debt bondage; targeted by hate crimes; prejudiced or discriminated against (McDonald, 1997)⁶.

Some of the crimes suffered by immigrants are non specific and ordinary, that is to say, they are suffered by both immigrants and non-immigrants. Examples range from theft and burglary to physical assault. Others are more specific because they concern immigrants as such. Examples range from human smuggling and trafficking to bias and hate crimes (Goodey, 2009: 150). It is not always easy to determine whether a crime is specific or not. For instance, a crime perceived by an immigrant as a “hate crime” might really be just an ordinary crime and, vice versa, a seemingly ordinary crime may be committed with the intent of striking a particular category of people.

By and large, piecing together a variety of literary sources⁷, crimes against immigrants may be broken down into at least four categories:

1. bias and hate crimes due to status, state of origin, skin colour;
2. racial discrimination and xenophobia;
3. ordinary/routine victimization;
4. organized crimes (smuggling, trafficking, slavery, forced labour, debt bondage).

While some of these crimes (organized crimes, especially, but also discriminations, bias and hate crimes) have been under international scholars’ focus for

⁶ See also Becucci and Massari, 2003; Becucci, 2003.

⁷ Research Perspectives on Migration, 1997: 1; Becucci and Massari, 2003; Becucci, 2003; McDonald, 1997; McDonald, 2008; Savona, Belli, Curtol, Decarli and Di Nicola, 2003.

quite some time and are currently central themes in most political agendas across countries⁸, immigrants are less likely to be perceived as victims of ordinary crimes. So much so that, as will be seen further ahead, official data often find it hard to account for this kind of victimization. But why is this?

1.4.1 THE NON-EMERGENT ISSUE OF IMMIGRANTS AS VICTIMS OF ORDINARY CRIME

There are at least four reasons why it is hard to conceive of immigrants as victims of ordinary crime. These four reasons are nowhere explicitly stated, but become apparent through an analysis of both mainstream and unconventional literature on immigrants:

1) Ordinary crimes suffered by immigrants are less “visible”, less newsworthy and so receive less attention by media and public opinion than crimes committed by immigrants⁹: for instance, in Italy, while Rumanians are currently depicted as crime-prone, especially after the heinous murder of a woman, Giovanna Reggiani, in Rome (October 2007), they are among the first to be subject to fatal accidents at the workplace, due to lack of safety measures, and, as regards women, among the first to be sexually harassed while working as domestic help or tenders to elderly people (Caritas/Migrantes, 2008: 42). Italian media tend to often highlight the role of immigrants in committing crimes while playing down their identity when they are victims of crime. In a study conducted in 1993, Marcello Maneri found that foreigners who commit crimes are almost always (99,9% of cases examined) associated with some sort of ethnic label, while the same does not hold (72% of cases examined) when they are victims (Maneri, 2009¹: 34; Maneri, 2009²: 69). Talking of “ethnic labels”, Giuseppe Faso remarks that, even on the same page of the same newspaper (Corriere della Sera, Milan edition, april 4 2004) on the same day, it is possible to find instances of this journalistic trend:

- a. “Two women robbed. Man from Morocco apprehended”
- b. “Bus driver stands up for elderly man. Beat up” (the driver was from Ecuador) (Faso, 2009: 22).

⁸ To quote but two examples, smuggling and trafficking of immigrants are dealt with in two specific UN protocols. See *Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, Doc. A/45/49 (Vol. I) (2001) and *Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime*, Doc. A/45/49 (Vol. I) (2001)

⁹ Dal Lago, 1999²; Maneri, 1998; Calavita, 2005; Rumbaut, Gonzales, Komaie and Morgan 2006; Faso, 2009; Maneri, 2009²: 69.

Sometimes, instead, foreigners are associated with criminal acts even when they are not responsible for anything. For instance, on July 27 2010, TG1 – the main public Italian newscast - showed images of an Italian caretaker mistreating her elderly patient followed by an interview with a foreign representative of caretakers. The newscaster, though, did not reveal the nationality of the offender, thus leaving the impression in the viewer that she was foreign¹⁰!

2) Immigrant victims (with exceptions¹¹) have a more difficult time than other victims in reporting the crimes suffered and dealing with the police and the courts because of differences in languages, expectations, cultural diversity. A special case is that of illegal aliens who will not report to the police lest they should be sent back to their countries. Hence, official statistics underestimate the problem¹². With regard to the United States, Horowitz points out that there are several reasons why immigrants do not report the crimes suffered, often at the hands of other immigrants:

- a. Certain immigrant cultures view family crime as a “family matter”, and hence not something that should concern the police;
- b. many victims fear that contacting local police could result in deportation;
- c. foreign-born criminals in the United States are well connected to crime rings abroad and can rely on the help of their compatriots to escape detection;
- d. criminals from Mexico, the country of origin for the largest number of immigrants to the United States, regularly “commute” across the border (Kubrin and Ousey, 2009: 19).

3) Ordinary crimes suffered by immigrants often fall under such disparate headings as bias and hate crimes, racial and ethnic discrimination, religious persecutions, thus making it difficult to grasp an overall view of the phenomenon¹³. For instance, in Italy, many ordinary crimes are recorded as episodes of discrimination by UNAR (Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali), an Italian institution established at the Ministry of the Interior that issues an annual report on incidents of racism and discrimination, or recorded as incidents of racism in such reports as RAXEN annual reports, ENAR (European Network Against Racism) Shadow Reports, COSPE (Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti) and NAGA (Associazione Volontaria di Assistenza Socio-Sanitaria e per i Diritti di Stranieri e Nomadi) reports (Naletto, 2009: 99).

¹⁰ The incident has been noticed by other viewers as is apparent from *La Repubblica*, July 29 2010, p. 26.

¹¹ This point is very much debated in the existing literature: the available evidence is rather conflicting (Tonry, 1997).

¹² Albrecht H.-J., 1997; Hoyle and Zedner, 2007; Ministero dell’Interno, 2007¹; McDonald, 2008.

¹³ Dal Lago, 1999²; Green, McFalls and Smith, 2001; McDonald, 2008.

4) Immigrants as victims of ordinary crimes do not generally figure in most western countries political agendas, unless the crimes fall under alarm-stirring issues. While crime has always attracted considerable attention, its prominence and degree of 'politicization' over the past decades is probably unprecedented. As a consequence, in order for a problem to attract political consideration, it needs to be brought to public and political attention and made a topic politically worth dealing with. If this does not happen, the problem will simply not be perceived as such. This is what happened with immigrants as victims of crime. For instance, in Germany, as pointed out by Hans-Joerg Albrecht, an interest in immigrant victimization started developing in the early '90 as a consequence of four novel phenomena: xenophobic acts of violence against asylum-seekers and immigrants at the hands of right-wing extremists; honour killings; violence within immigrant (specifically Turkish) families generating more violence in the second generation; victims of the trafficking of human beings (Albrecht, 2009: 125). With regard to the European Union, Goodey further argues that

given the particular vulnerability of immigrants to certain types of crime, a preliminary overview of criminal justice data, policy interventions and criminological research on immigrants shows that interest rests with questions of their illegality and criminality. This situation partly reflects the general lack of emphasis that is given in much of the EU to criminal victimisation and victims, whether against majority or minority populations, in comparison with the central and traditional focus on offending and offenders [...] The lack of a victim-centred criminal justice focus is exacerbated in the case of immigrants and minorities who are vulnerable to particular crimes that do not impact on the majority population at all or to the same degree (Goodey, 2009: 151).

In sum, the topic of immigrants as victims of ordinary crime tends to be blurred or confused, at best, invisible at worst. This is also apparent from the examination of the existing sources on the topic.

2. An examination of existing sources on immigrants as victims of crime

Research and statistics from Western Europe, North America, and Australia present one unequivocal finding and that is that members of minority, ethnic, and foreign-born groups are currently over-represented in the criminal justice system, both as offenders and victims. This emerges from examination of primary and secondary sources on the topic: official statistics, victimization surveys, journalistic accounts and body reports. While for immigrant offenders data proliferate, allowing all sorts of speculations, the same does not hold for immigrant victims. Official statistics are often unreliable and tend to be marred by serious limitations; victimization surveys do not always sample immigrants, and have statistical and methodological limitations too; while journalistic accounts and body reports, however interesting and informative, are often impressionistic, partisan, non academic or, at worst, offer lurid thrills to the avid reader.

2.1 LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING OFFICIAL STATISTICS ON IMMIGRANTS AS VICTIMS OF CRIME

Examining official statistics, one finding is immediately apparent. As far as immigrants as victims of crime are concerned, reliable data are not always available for general (non specific) and specific reasons.

With regard to general (non specific) limitations, it is almost platitudinous to say that official statistics do not reflect reality, and that they offer a partial knowledge of the phenomenon they intend to portray. This is due to three key reasons. First, «legislation creates new criminal offences and redefines others, which can cause considerable problems» for the measurement of crime rates. Second, «the police inevitably retain considerable discretion as to which of the incidents observed by or reported to them are deemed to be crimes and recorded as such. How this discretion is exercised or constrained can be influenced by a wide variety of social, political, and institutional factors, and may change over time». Third, «the propensity of the public to report crimes to the police may be affected by a range of factors, including views of the seriousness of particular forms of behavior, faith in the police, and more pragmatic considerations such as the need to report offences to support insurance claims; again, such factors can change over time» (Maguire, 2007: 257-258). These three reasons make for the so called “dark figure of crime”, which tends to keep out of official

figures certain type of crimes. If the above breakdown is applied to immigrants as victims, this is especially apparent.

First, the legislation on immigrants has been changing dramatically over the past few years, thus yielding increasing categories of penal interest by which to interpret immigrant behavior. To quote but one example, Italy has recently¹⁴ punished immigrants' irregular stay as a crime per se, thus building a new category of criminal behavior. In time, this will undoubtedly impact on immigrant victimization rates, since immigrants will as likely as not be more liable to be taken advantage of.

Second, incidents involving immigrants as victims may not be recorded by the police as crimes to the same extent as incidents involving immigrants as perpetrators. This comes out of "immigrants as victims" generally failing to hit public and political agendas for various reasons. As Maguire remarks: «the chances of arrests can be increased or decreased by changes in policing policy and operational priorities, the extent and nature of patrolling, or pressures from the public or media to 'do something' about particular kinds of behavior» (Maguire, 2007: 261). "Immigrants as victims" is not currently something locals think something should be done about, as is apparent from section 1.4.

Third, immigrants on average do not have a high propensity to report the crimes they suffer. For instance in Germany, «minority victims of crime [...] seem to be slightly more reluctant to report an offense by an offender of the same national or ethnic background» (Albrecht, 1997: 69). In Italy, «a violent crime is less likely to be reported by a foreign woman than by an Italian woman» (Ministero dell'Interno, 2007¹: 373) especially when the foreign woman does not have a residence permit. The situation varies from country to country, though. In Great Britain, for instance, people from Asian, Black and Chinese or Other ethnic backgrounds are most likely to have high levels of confidence in the Criminal Justice System (Jansson, Budd, Lovbakke, Moley and Thorpe, 2007: 3). Immigrant underreporting makes official data somewhat dubious, even though the exact amount of immigrant reporting is still a contentious issue (Tonry, 1997).

In short, statistics' general (non specific) limitations impact on immigrants of crime in a way that should make anybody wary of using them at face value.

But there are important specific limitations to be considered too.

As William McDonald points out:

Research on immigrants involved in crime (as victims or offenders) and on hate crime faces serious challenges regarding available data. With few exceptions, government databases do not contain information about the immigrant status of crime victims or offenders (McDonald, 2009: 165-166).

¹⁴ Decree no. 92, 05/23/2008.

Joe Goodey also states that

what we currently know in Europe about the extent and nature of victimisation against immigrants is necessarily limited by the absence or inadequacy of existing criminal justice data collection mechanisms that are able to capture crimes against immigrants and other vulnerable groups. This situation varies from country to country, and is determined by a combination of factors including restrictions on data collection on ethnicity, and the role afforded to the police as gatekeepers in determining which crimes should be registered, and subsequently investigated (Goodey, 2009: 158).

But what are these restrictions? Data on such categories as race, ethnicity and nationality are often uncollectable because of ethical boundaries and historical reasons. For example, in many countries, maintenance of official data on race is forbidden. There are three reasons for this.

First, on ethical grounds, lawmakers in many countries have decided that such data should not be recorded. One rationale is that race is not a morally relevant difference between individuals and that recording such data is to treat it as if it were a relevant difference and thereby to tend to reify it into a relevant difference. Another is that recording such data, especially when minorities are overrepresented among offenders, may create or support stereotypes that are stigmatizing or otherwise damaging to members of minority group. Still another is that recording such data might make it easier for biased officials to discriminate against minority offenders (Tonry, 1997: 6-7).

Data collection on ethnicity is not accepted practice in the majority of European States (Goodey, 2008: 25; Goodey, 2009: 154-155) and, when it does exist, it tends to be inaccurate and deceptive. Nationality is often used as a proxy, but some countries do not use nationality identifiers, while others do (Tonry, 1997: 9). For example, Surinamese in the Netherlands, include Creoles, Hindustanis, and Asians. Turks may include ethnic Turks and ethnic Kurds. Yugoslavs may comprise Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, Slovenians, Montenegrins. In Italy, place of birth is preferred to nationality for data collection purposes.

Another important element is that statistical data on immigrants as victims of crime often tend to lump together such different categories as “immigrants”, “minorities”, “race”, “ethnicity”, “nationality” as if these were somehow similar or overlapping, which is hardly ever the case. In other words, groupings such as “blacks” are overaggregated and tend to put together very different types of people. For instance, a black man in the United States may be a four-generation American citizen as well as a freshly arrived immigrant from Nigeria. A Mexican may be an irregular immigrant as well as a regular one. A woman, whose facial features are Asiatic, may have never been to Asia. The son of an immigrant citizen in Italy will not be an Italian citizen till he comes of age.

In addition, as William McDonald points out:

Some “native born” are not “citizens” and some “citizens” are not “native born”. In the Netherlands, the Surinamese who migrated from the Dutch colony are immigrants and foreigners but are citizens by virtue of their colonial status. The children of the guest-workers who migrated to Germany in the 1960s and ‘70s were born and raised there. They were not truly “foreigners” ; but under the nation’s immigration policy they were not eligible for citizenship. They were “second generation immigrants” – an oxymoron. Some countries identify offenders by nation of birth (nativity). Others use citizenship (McDonald, 2003: 9).

Besides, French citizens born in Algeria, after the independence (1962), became “repatriates” and lost their Algerian citizenship. After the collapse of USSR, Russian citizens became suddenly foreigners in such countries as Estonia and were counted as such in prison statistics (Delgrande and Aebi, 2009: 22, 34).

A brief overview will be sufficient to outline existing limitations in official statistics on immigrants as victims of ordinary crime in some European and non-European countries.

In Great Britain, early ethnic data were collected by local authorities in order to meet immigrants’ needs for services. As of 1991, a question on ethnicity was included in the National census and then again in the 2001 census in a more elaborate form. Population was since divided up into 16 ethnic groups, under 5 major headings – Whites, Mixed, Asians, Blacks, Others. As of 1985, ethnic data were collected for inmates as well. In the mid-90s, law-enforcement agencies were asked to collect and keep ethnic data on limited matters, which, from 2003, were obtained asking subjects which group they felt they belonged to (FitzGerald, 2008: 93-96). At present, «there are no official statistics based on police records that show the race or ethnic group of the victim, or of the offender according to the victim, and none about persons arrested» (Smith, 1997: 114-115).

In the United States, neither the Uniform Crime Reports nor the National Incident-Based Reporting System collects information on the citizenship or immigration status of victims. Besides, findings are not often comparable and refer to different categories. FBI crime statistics categorize by race and ethnicity. Five categories have been created for race (White, Black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, and multiple races) and two for Ethnicity (Hispanic and other ethnicity/national origin). There is no category for immigrant or foreign born. As William McDonald remarks: «The two categories closest to representing “immigrants” are “ethnicity/national origin” and the subcategory, “race/Asian”» (McDonald, 2009¹: 169).

In Canada, data on the race or ethnicity of victims are not routinely collected (Roberts and Doob, 1997: 487) and most Canadian data only identify natives and non-natives. «Through the 1930s, U.S. and Canadian data often recorded nationality, but as

“crime and the foreign born” declined as a controversial political issue after large-scale immigration stopped in the mid-1920s, use of nationality identifiers stopped» (Tonry, 1997: 9-10).

In Australia, crime data are usually based on birthplace, a measure, some have argued, that

fails to capture ‘ethnicity’, which can encompass factors such as ancestry, language, religion and self-perception of ethnicity. There has also been sensitivity over asking individuals about their ethnic origins, and as a result, many of the administrative collections by police, courts and corrections contain limited information usually related only to birthplace» (Makkai and Taylor, 2009: 98).

Official data also contain the Aborigine/non-Aborigine distinction.

In Germany, the invidious ethnic and religious data used by the Nazi bureaucracy in concentration camps have left a tremendous moral mark on the whole country, thus forbidding the collection of similar data for present immigrants (Albrecht, 2009: 115). In recent times, as above mentioned, a new interest in immigrants as victims of crime has been stirred by emerging issues that have also made the political agenda: xenophobic violence, the comeback of extremist right-wing movements, honor killings and the smuggling and trafficking of human beings. As yet, though, no crimes are recorded by nationality of the victim, and very few researches on the subject have been carried out.

In France, the category “French” may be misleading because naturalized citizens are counted as French. For example,

persons born in Morocco or to Moroccan parents who are naturalized are counted in the French national data and rates while persons born in Morocco or to Moroccan parents who are legal residents but not naturalized are counted in the data and rates for foreigners (Tournier, 1997: 526).

In short, as Tonry summed up in 1997:

In Germany, many statistical systems record nationality data. For most purposes, French data distinguish only between French nationals (*citoyens*) and foreigners (*étrangers*). Similarly, although nationality is commonly recorded in official records in Switzerland, published Swiss crime statistics distinguish among Swiss nationals, resident foreigners, and non resident foreigners. Swedish official statistics also commonly distinguish among Swedish nationals, resident foreigners, and non-resident foreigners, and for some purposes report data for geographical regions (e.g., Africa, Nordic countries, South America). In the Netherlands, neither ethnicity nor nationality data is recorded in police or court records, but some use of national origin data is permitted in prison records (Tonry, 1997: 9).

This situation makes official data extremely unreliable and comparisons impossible or extremely difficult.

A final remark should be made on some major sources of International crime statistics: the Interpol International Crime Statistics (started by Interpol in 1950 and discontinued in 2004), the United Nations Surveys on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (whose goal it is to collect data on the incidence of reported crime and the operations of criminal justice systems with a view to improving the analysis and dissemination of that information globally), the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (established at the beginning of the Nineties by the Council of Europe in order to assess crime trends in crime and criminal justice in Europe), and the EUROSTAT database on Crime and Criminal Justice (an instrument recently established by the European Council in 2004 with the aim of collecting, analysing and comparing information on crime and victimization and their respective trends in Member States, using national statistics and other sources of information). Unfortunately, these sources only provide information on crime trends and criminal justice and none of them has anything to say on victims and their nationality¹⁵.

2.1.1 WHAT IS THE SITUATION IN ITALY?

According to FRA's Annual Report 2009 on fundamental rights (FRA, 2009), Italy, along with five other European States (Malta, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Spain) has no official criminal justice data available on racist violence and related crimes. In addition, no criminal records by nationality of victims is systematically available. Crime statistics ("Statistiche della criminalità" and "Statistiche della delittuosità") have recently been digitized and should theoretically provide information on crime victims (age, place of birth, residency), but this type of information is not compulsory and is often neglected. This makes it difficult to gather information on national victims, let alone immigrants as victims of crime¹⁶.

What is more, very few studies have been conducted on the victimization of immigrants. What little research is available usually comes from larger studies, where immigrants as victims of crime figures as a secondary section or chapter in the context of broader pieces of research devoted to more mainstream topics. The little research there is, however, suggests a growing victimization of immigrants by criminality.

As far back as 1995, a survey of homicide victims in Milan showed, for example, that the number of victims coming from developing countries or from non-European countries, had steadily risen from 8.6% in 1989 to 20.9% in 1992 (Merzagora, Zoja and Gigli 1995).

¹⁵ For more on this, see Vettori, 2010.

¹⁶ See Vettori, 2010: 36-42 on the shortcomings of Italian crime statistics.

EURES is a research institute which carries out important studies in the economic, cultural and social sectors. EURES is currently running a daily updated database on murders in Italy, which analyses more than 200 variables concerning the different sides of the phenomenon. The EURES-ANSA report on murders in Italy includes information from the archives of Police forces. According to the 2006 report, in 2005 111 foreign citizens were victims of murder, about 18.6% of all murder victims, with a decrease of 2.1% compared to 2004, even though the risk differential for foreigners remains higher than that for Italian citizens (respectively 4.6 and 0.8 every 100 inhabitants). This study also details the sectors in which the murders of non Italians took place (6.3% of all murders suffered by non Italians happened at the workplace or at the hands of colleagues, 3.6% among unknown persons, 2.7% at home or among neighbours) (EURES, ANSA, 2006)¹⁷.

According to the 2007 report (EURES, ANSA, 2007), in 2006 67,4% of all known murderers are Italian (304) compared to 31,7% foreigners (143, 31,2% more than in 2005). Foreigners killed 98 people, 25 of which Italian, 73 foreign, whereas the number of foreigners murdered by Italians amounts to 23. In the North of Italy, one third of all victims (37,3%) are foreign. 1 in 5 victims in Italy are foreign; 1 in 3 murderers are foreign. The number of foreign victims has risen by 20% while the number of foreign-born murderers has risen by 31%. 3 out of 4 murders of foreigners were by illegal immigrants: 30% by Romanians, 23% by people from Africa and 16% by Albanians. Finally, in 6 cases out of 10, foreigners killed other foreigners.

According to the 2009 report (EURES, ANSA, 2009), one fourth of all victims of murder for 2008 in Italy are foreign. In 2008, 147 foreigners were killed in Italy. Among these, it is worth mentioning the massacre of 6 African immigrants at the hands of camorra hit men. This is the highest number ever recorded in the preceding 15 years. The risk index of being killed for a foreigner has gone down from 15,1 victims every hundred thousand foreign residents in 1993 to 4,3 victims in 2008. This is only due to the massive increase in the immigrant population from 590 thousand people in 1993 to over 3,4 million in 2008. The risk of being killed for foreigners is still very high, though, and is about 5 times higher than for Italians (0,8 murders every hundred thousand residents). In the North and in the Centre of Italy, about 4 out of 10 victims of murder are foreign. Men (70%) are murdered more than women, but women murders are on a sharp increase (+51,7%, from 29 in 2007 to 44 in 2008). Foreign murderers are on a sharp decrease (16,4%). Only 12% of Italian victims are murdered by a foreigner, whereas the murderers are Italian for 87% of murders. 1 in 5 foreign victims are from Rumania (31 victims). Morocco (23) and Albania (14) also appear among the top victimized foreign countries.

¹⁷ This information is extracted from RAXEN, 2007: 22-23.

The yearly *Report on Criminality in Italy* (“Rapporto sulla criminalità in Italia”) by the Italian Ministry of the Interior contains data on criminal offences reported by the Police forces to the judicial authority and crimes recorded by the Police forces in the investigation systems database SDI. SDI includes fields on victims which, as above mentioned, are not always filled in, therefore allowing scant data on victims’ nationality and place of birth. In the latest 2007 issue, the Ministry of the Interior has offered, for the first time, data, albeit incomplete, on foreigners as victims of ordinary crimes (Ministero dell’Interno, 2007¹: 372-378). The major drawback is that the share of victims of unknown nationality among all victims is high and this impacts on the percentage of foreigners among the total victims. According to these data, however, the percentage of foreigners among the total victims is very high for four crimes (attempted homicides, completed homicides, sexual violence and assault); average for robbery and less than average (but higher than the share of foreigners among the population) for thefts. Foreign women are more victimized than foreign men for violent crimes. For 2004-2006, foreigners are 21% of all female attempted homicides; 23% of all completed homicides and 24% of all sexual violence victims. Table 1 provides a thorough breakdown on this. A note of caution should be added: foreign victims are less likely to report the crimes suffered, including violent crimes, whether regular or irregular. Besides, according to the Report, foreign homicides are more likely to be concealed, whereas this is hardly ever the case when the victim is Italian (Ministero dell’Interno, 2007¹: 373). Nowadays, foreign victims seem to be dramatically on the increase. One woman out of four homicide victims and one man out of five victims are foreigners.

Table 1. Report on Criminality in Italy. Victims of crime by sex: percentage of foreign victims, Italy, period 2004-2006

	<i>Non EU foreign men (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>Non EU foreign women (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>Non EU total foreigners (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>Number of men</i>	<i>Number of women</i>	<i>Total N.*</i>
Completed homicides	17.7	2.2	23.2	3.1	16	17.8	1,251	383	1,938
Attempted homicides	22	2.9	21.2	2.9	19.1	15.3	2,946	678	4,155
Sexual assaults	18.2	1.8	24	3.9	18.8	22.3	1,147	8,423	11,873
Bag-snatchings	6.8	7.4	7.6	8.2	5.7	29.6	8,518	38,669	61,721
Pickpocketings	9	7.9	7.3	8.7	6.2	28.1	102,922	193,361	378,023
Burglaries	14.1	6.2	17.4	8	12.3	26.1	2,469	1,867	5,466
Business robberies	5.6	7	5	7.3	4.5	22.1	9,245	5,312	17,387
Street robberies	10.9	4.4	14.5	7.1	10.2	19.3	37,974	15,257	62,608
Extortions	9.5	6.7	17.7	7	9.9	22	9,659	3,868	16,182

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

* Total numbers are different from the sum of men and women because of a few cases of disputed sex of victims

Data are different when analysed for the North, the South and the Centre of Italy. The share of foreign victims among the total victims increases as we move from the South to the North. For example, as shown in Table 2, 30% of attempted homicide victims in the Centre and in the North vs. 8% in the South and the islands and 28% of completed homicide victims in the Centre and in the North vs. 7% in the South and the islands are foreigners. The same disproportion is apparent for such crimes as sexual assaults (22% vs. 10%) and burglary (16% vs. 6%).

Table 2. Report on Criminality in Italy. Victims of crime by area: percentage of foreign victims, Italy, period 2004-2006

	<i>North-Center Italy Non EU foreigners (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>South-Islands Italy Non EU foreigners (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>Non EU total foreigners (EU 15)</i>	<i>Unknown country</i>	<i>Number of men</i>	<i>Number of women</i>	<i>Total N.*</i>
Completed homicides	27.6	20.7	7	15.4	16	17.8	1,251	383	1,938
Attempted homicides	29.9	15.8	8.2	14.7	19.1	15.3	2,946	678	4,155
Sexual assaults	22	21.9	9.6	23.4	18.8	22.3	1,147	8,423	11,873
Bag-snatchings	8.2	27.3			5.7	29.6	8,518	38,669	61,721
Pickpocketings	6.7	27.8			6.2	28.1	102,922	193,361	378,023
Burglaries	15.8	24.5	6.2	29.1	12.3	26.1	2,469	1,867	5,466
Business robberies	1.2	13.1	0	12.2	4.5	22.1	9,245	5,312	17,387
Street robberies	0	25.6	0	12.1	10.2	19.3	37,974	15,257	62,608
Extortions	7.8	20.2	1.6	23.8	9.9	22	9,659	3,868	16,182

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

* Total numbers are different from the sum of men and women because of a few cases of disputed sex of victims

As shown in Tables 3 through 6, data from the Ministry of the Interior also suggest that, for four crimes (attempted and completed homicides, sexual violence and street robberies), victims are more likely to be victimized by fellow-countrymen. This is in keeping with data from existing international literature and holds especially for violent crimes. For instance, over 90% of Italian victims are murdered by fellow-Italians vs. 8% of foreigners; whereas 74% of foreigners are murdered by fellow-nationals. In the North, the share of Italians who suffer crimes at the hands of foreigners is higher than in the South, while the share of foreigners who suffer crimes at the hands of Italians is lower.

Table 3. *Report on Criminality in Italy.* Nationality of authors of sexual violence by nationality of the victim; Italy, 2004/06

	Italian	Foreign	Italian and foreign	Total	N
Italian	75.4	22.7	1.8	100	4,213
Foreign	86.8	10.2	3	100	1,573

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

Table 4. *Report on Criminality in Italy.* Nationality of authors of completed homicides by nationality of the victim; Italy, 2004/06

	Italian	Foreign	Italian and foreign	Total	N
Italian	86.8	10.2	3	100	637
Foreign	24.7	74.5	0.9	100	235

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

Table 5. *Report on Criminality in Italy.* Nationality of authors of attempted homicides by nationality of the victim; Italy, 2004/06

	Italian	Foreign	Italian and foreign	Total	N
Italian	86.7	11.5	1.8	100	2,807
Foreign	19.3	79.1	1.5	100	652

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

Table 6. *Report on Criminality in Italy.* Nationality of authors of street robberies by nationality of the victim; Italy, 2004/06

	Italian	Foreign	Italian and foreign	Total	N
Italian	63.9	30.9	5.3	100	6,375
Foreign	24.6	71.8	3.6	100	2,483

Source: Elaboration on data by the Ministry of the Interior

As mentioned before, though, caveats should be taken into account when analysing these data because of their incompleteness.

The National Office Against Racial Discrimination, UNAR (Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali), was established in 2003 by the Ministry of the Interior in Italy to address the issues of racism and discrimination and provide statistics on cases related to racial or ethnic discrimination. Since 2005, it has been publishing data on discrimination cases that reach the office through a toll-free number. In 2007, for instance, 265 discrimination incidents have been reported compared to 282 in 2005

and to 218 in 2006. Calls came from Italian citizens (17.7%), North Africans (22.8%), Eastern Europe citizens (18.5%), Sub-Saharan Africans (15.6%), Latin Americans (14.4%). Most of the calls came from Northern Italy (60.7 %). 57.4% of reporters were men vs. 42.6% of women.

The database used by UNAR does not provide information on the nationality of the victims but only of the person who reported the case. The reported cases of discrimination were highest in the employment sector (23.8 %), housing (16.2 %); cases of abuse by public administration (10.9%), law enforcement agencies (5.7 %). Some of these incidents are very likely to be crimes in disguise. The breakdown analysis offered by UNAR for 2007 reveals incidents of beatings and abuses. For instance, a case is mentioned of two Moroccans beat up by four Italians in an undisclosed town in South Italy (UNAR, 2008). The main focus, though, is on racism and discrimination, not on crimes. Therefore UNAR data cannot be considered crime data, but, at best, makeshift or proxy data. It is not even possible to determine how many of the reported cases might be considered “crimes” since UNAR reports offer blanket figures and only cite exemplary incidents.

An important exception to the general dearth of data in Italy is offered by Marzio Barbagli’s studies on immigration and criminality. Barbagli¹⁸, using 1999 data from the Italian Ministry of the Interior, has described patterns of victimization in Italy for both foreigners and locals. He has distinguished between immigrants from developed vs. developing countries and calculated the risk of victimization for these two groupings compared to the risk for Italians. What comes out is that immigrants tend to have higher risks of victimization than native Italians for several crimes and that their victimization is mostly caused by fellow-countrymen rather than by Italian nationals. Breaking down figures in detail, the data show that

for six crimes (pickpocketing, purse snatching, robbery, aggravated assault, sexual assault, and homicide), immigrants from countries with strong migratory pressures are more frequently victimized than native Italians. In some cases, their disadvantage is very strong. Their risk of victimization is more than five times that of Italian for robberies and pickpocketing, and more than three times for aggravated assault, sexual assault and homicide. On the other hands, foreigners from highly developed countries are the victims of pickpocketing nine times more often than Italians and almost twice as often as immigrants from the poorest countries. Finally, Italians suffer more often than any other from auto thefts, burglaries, and shoplifting (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 84).

Another important finding is that «crime within the same national group is more frequent than that between different groups» (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 88).

¹⁸ Barbagli, 2002, chap. 5; Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 69-94.

Finally,

the crimes in which the offender is a foreigner and the victim an Italian are less frequent [...] as opposed to when the author is an Italian and the victim is a foreigner. So [...] if immigrants suffer [some crimes] more often than natives, it is because, for one thing, there is a strong tendency to commit within one's own group and, second, because a significant proportion of these crimes is committed by foreigners (Barbagli and Colombo, 2009: 88).

Barbagli's studies have attracted a lot of comments. They have been criticized because they rely too much on official data which might not just reflect reality, but be a social construction by law-enforcement agencies. For instance, according to social constructionists, immigrants tend to be more readily arrested and convicted than their Italian counterparts, which makes comparisons problematic. Besides, Barbagli only considers the type of crimes that are most visible and easily associated with immigrants. Finally, Barbagli does not take into account the fact that lots of immigrants (both regular and irregular) do not report the crimes they suffer, which leads to a gross undercount of them (Ferraris, 2008: 109-119).

In short, Italian official data on immigrants as victims of ordinary crime are unsystematic, inadequate and questionable, especially when discrimination and racism data are used as proxies for crime data. Besides, there is no systematic effort to tackle the issue from a broader and more specific perspective.

2.2 ARE VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS USEFUL TO ASSESS IMMIGRANT VICTIMIZATION?

One potentially valuable source of knowledge about immigrants as victims of ordinary crime are victimization surveys.

Nowadays victimization surveys are a helpful tool to estimate the crimes suffered by people. Victimization surveys originated from dissatisfaction with official record-keeping and were conceived as an alternative data-gathering strategy to overcome the so-called "dark figure" of crime, that is to say, unreported crime that escapes official statistics: victimization surveys involve questioning a representative sample of citizens about the crimes that may have been committed against them, a part of which may not have been reported to the police. Victimization surveys are now held periodically in most major countries all over the world both at a local and national level.

These surveys present interesting strengths.

They measure both reported and unreported crimes. They collect detailed information about victims and the characteristics of the victimization process such as «who the victims are, what their relationship is to the offender, whether the crime was

part of a series of crimes occurring over a [given] period, [...], what the victim was doing when victimized» (Hagan, 1997: 184). They also provide information on the distribution of risks and the levels of fear of crime among the general population. Most of these data would not be available from official crime statistics.

Victimization surveys present weaknesses too.

First, the reliability of the information obtained depends on the size and the representativeness of the sample. For instance, since interviews are usually carried out during the day, certain demographic brackets may be overrepresented (such as homemakers or pensioners) or underrepresented (such as executives or marginal people). Second, the surveys are usually conducted by mail questionnaires – which have a known low response rate – or, more frequently, by telephone – which exclude households that do not have phones. Third, respondents may underreport and overreport due to memory failures, untruthfulness, misrepresentation, miscoding, misinterpretation, misunderstanding, fear of reprisal, reluctance to get involved (Flowers, 1990: 33). Fourth, the questions are usually limited to a well-defined number of property and violent crimes (such as assault, larceny, thefts, burglaries), thus excluding white-collar crimes, homicides, drug-related crimes, organized crimes, kidnapping, swindling, blackmailing, extortion, usury, and many others.

All these weaknesses are compounded in the case of certain members of the population such as immigrants for a whole host of reasons.

In the first place, most victimization surveys are targeted at citizens, thus leaving out foreigners and immigrants. Even when foreigners and immigrants are included in the survey, particular ethnic or immigrant groups may constitute too small a proportion of the population for an adequate sampling, and tend to be undercounted. When the samples are too small, the results can hardly be generalized and turn out to be of limited value. Besides, most victimization surveys resort to such categories as “minority groups”, “foreigners”, “immigrants”, “aborigines/natives”, “race” and “ethnicity”, which, however different, tend to overlap and are occasionally used interchangeably, thus yielding definitional confusion. A person labelled “black” (race) may be either a “native” or an “immigrant”; either a “foreigner” or a person from the majority population. “Ethnicity” may refer both to people born outside their country of residence and people born and resident in their country. The term ‘foreigner’ or ‘foreign resident’ may apply to people who have taken up citizenship in the country of residence. Again, even when the birthplace is indicated, it does not necessarily equate with ethnicity or nationality: a person born in Malaysia, for example, might be of Chinese, Indian or Malaysian background. All these definitional hurdles make findings hard to interpret and comparisons virtually impossible. Illegal immigrants, finally, that is to say, immigrants whose numbers are not officially recorded, are left out of any sampling, even from booster sampling.

In the second place, methodologically, most victimization surveys are conducted over the telephone and tend to keep out marginal, immigrant or lower-class people (illegal and legal immigrants, Roma, homeless people, people with no landline phone), that is to say, the very people who are likely to be more victimized (Palidda, 2001¹; Palidda, 2009: 15). This results in immigrants being what is technically called a “hard-to-reach group”.

Third, even when immigrants do get reached, they may be suspicious, ignorant of the language, coming from remote cultural areas. Some questionnaires do not include questions in a language other than the national, and interviewers are not always instructed to deal with non-citizens.

Fourth, some of the crime questions included in the surveys pose serious problems to certain groups. For instance, in some areas, immigrants do not own cars, whereas surveys always have questions on auto thefts. In addition, specific crimes, such as hate crimes, are not systematically included because they do not concern the majority of the population. Questions assume that citizens and immigrants share the same lifestyles and social and cultural conditions, which is not always the case.

In order for a correct evaluation of strengths and weaknesses to be made, it is now necessary to overview the findings of some of the most important victimization surveys on immigrants conducted all over the world.

In general, immigrant groups tend to suffer a higher level of victimization than natives for several offences combined, but data vary from country to country and from group to group within the same country.

Great Britain

The British Home Office (Goodey, 2008; Mukherjee, 1999) currently funds the most comprehensive crime survey in the EU (started in 1982 and running to 51,000 respondents aged 16 and older), the British Crime Survey (BCS), which has, every year, in its various sweeps, incorporated a booster sample of ethnic minority and immigrant respondents, starting from 1988. In 2006-7, it was agreed that «the overall larger sample size meant this additional sample was no longer required. This decision is now reviewed yearly» (Walker, 2008: 125). Since 2004-2005, victims have been asked whether they think the crime was racially motivated, and since 2005-2006, whether they think it was religiously motivated (Goodey, 2009: 156). BCS currently includes questions on the ethnic group the respondent belongs to, his/her nationality, his/her country of birth. It is safe to say that the BCS is the European most complete and reliable victimization survey when it comes to surveying immigrant and minority victimization. One major setback, though, is that findings are always phrased in terms of “ethnic minorities” vs. “whites”, which is ambiguous, considering that, for instance, “blacks” and “Pakistanis” both figure as ethnic categories, whereas some overlapping is conceivable, while

“immigrant” vs. “nationals” comparisons are not to be found in official BCS bulletins. Methodological limitations obtain as well. Notwithstanding oversampling, some ethnic subjects are undercovered and undercounted, especially from areas of low ethnic density (Lynn and Elliot, 2000).

The British Home Office probably issued the first European (albeit local) immigrant and minority victim survey in 1981. This came from comparing a sample of whites with a sample of West Indians in the city of Manchester. The results showed that there were no substantial differences in white and West Indian criminal victimization or contact with the police. Neither were West Indians stopped and searched more often than whites, nor were their causes for personal complaint against the police more frequent than those of whites (Tuck and Southgate, 1981). But things eventually changed.

The 1988 BCS showed that victimization rates were higher among Afro-Caribbeans and South-Asians than among white people both for household crimes and personal crimes. As regards Afro-Caribbeans, the differences appeared rather stark for burglary, bicycle theft, assault, and robbery or theft from the person. South-Asians, instead, were more victimized for household vandalism, vehicle vandalism, threats, and robbery or theft from the person. The risk of victimization was also strongly associated with the areas where they lived. In addition, there were very few differences between ethnic groups in the proportion of victims who reported the crime to the police (Smith, 1997: 115; 120). Combining findings from 1988 and 1992 BCSs, Marian FitzGerald further argues in detail that, in Great Britain,

all ethnic minorities are significantly more likely to be victimized than whites for both household and personal offences. There are, however, some differences by offence group; and, the gap from whites is less pronounced for Indians in personal offences. Pakistanis are the most likely to be victimized in terms of both household and personal offences. Afro Caribbeans are slightly less likely than the Asian groups to suffer household crime but they are still significantly more so than whites and they are in fact the most vulnerable of all groups to burglary. Along with the Pakistanis, Afro Caribbeans also suffer very high levels of personal victimization (FitzGerald, 1997: 49).

The 1996 BCS confirmed that ethnic minorities suffered more crimes than whites in Great Britain. «During 1995, ethnic minorities had a statistically higher risk of victimization than white people. In particular, risks of almost all crimes were higher for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis» (Percy, 1998: 1). Their increased vulnerability was accounted for in terms of younger age, lower socio-economic conditions and living in high-risk areas. In addition, ethnic minorities seemed to be more fearful of crime than whites.

In more recent sweeps, the findings are similar, although with differences. For 2000,

ethnic minorities' risks of crime are generally greater than those of white people, largely reflecting the fact that the minority ethnic populations are concentrated in areas where risks are high regardless of ethnicity. The higher crime risks among minority ethnic groups may be thought of quite largely as a consequence of the economic disadvantage experienced by many minority groups. [Besides], victims from ethnic minorities frequently identify a racial motivation in incidents involving threats, insults or vandalism. [Finally], people from ethnic minorities express more anxiety about crime than white people [and] confidence in the police, and satisfaction with experience of the police, is consistently lower amongst minority ethnic groups (Clancy, Hough, Aust and Kershaw, 2001: 101-102).

For 2006-7, people from mixed ethnic backgrounds appear to have a higher risk of becoming a victim of any BCS crime compared with people from all other ethnic groups and are less confident in the police (Jansson, Budd, Lovbakke, Moley and Thorpe, 2007: 5).

Germany

In Germany, as Hans-Jörg Albrecht shows,

few studies have dealt with victimization [of immigrants], although there is some evidence that members of ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected by criminal victimization (including violence in the family) and other victimization, such as workplace accidents or traffic accidents (Albrecht H.-J. 1997: 47).

Most victimization and fear-of-crime surveys have been restricted to Germans. The few that have included foreigners have been flawed by either high nonresponse rates or by low base rates of foreigners in the population, not offset by oversampling, with the result of too few respondents for statistically meaningful analysis (Albrecht H.-J. 1997: 48). Albrecht assumes that, even controlling for nonethnic variables such as demographic and sociocultural backgrounds, routine activities, economic situation, «effects of victimization may be especially severe for some subgroups» (Albrecht H.-J. 1997: 48), but, in a country where criminologists still rely heavily on police and other official statistics and are more concerned with offenders than with victims, victimization surveys do not seem to be a favorite tool of research with experts. As a consequence, the few data available on immigrants as victims of crime cannot be fully relied on and need to be complemented by more adequate studies. As Albrecht concludes: «There should be more research on victimization among ethnic minorities. Victimization rates are higher in these groups, and effects of victimization are reinforced by their marginal position, which hinder adequate access to relevant institutions» (Albrecht H.-J. 1997: 105-106).

Sweden

In Sweden, immigrant victimization surveys, both at a local and national level, have been carried out, but they are few in numbers or part of larger surveys aimed at more general sections of the population (Martens, 1997). Some findings can be here reported. It seems that «there are almost no differences between native Swedish and various immigrant groups in victimization by property crimes (theft and malicious damage), if gender, family type, geographical region, and type of housing are held constant [...]» (von Hofer, Sarnecki and Tham, 1997: 69). With regard to violent crimes causing deaths, «Finns and North-Africans have the greatest victimization risk. Immigrants have also experienced threats of violence more often than the native Swedes. It appears that immigrants from non-European countries experience more threats than criminals from Europe» (Martens, 1997: 238). Immigrants, though, tend to report the crimes suffered more often than Swedish nationals, whereas second-generation immigrants run a higher risk (though not much higher) (1.3 times) of being subjected to violent crimes. There seems to be a high level of domestic violence within immigrant groups. Finally, the fear of crime among immigrants has risen to higher levels than among Swedish citizens.

The Netherlands

In the Netherlands, CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics) has been conducting victimization surveys ever since the 1980s. CBS victimization surveys ordinarily distinguish between Dutch citizens and foreigners, and usually show that «foreigners have considerably higher victimization rates than does the indigenous population» (Junger-Tas J. 1997: 284). These findings need to be qualified, though. First of all, the category “Dutch” includes most Surinamese since they are considered naturalized Dutch citizens. Second, the category “foreigners” includes mostly EU citizens and only some members of such minority groups as Turks and Moroccans. Third, most foreigners live in big cities where criminality is more widespread. Last, some foreigners usually have a lower socio-economic status than their Dutch counterparts (Junger-Tas J. 1997: 284). As a consequence, some variables should be controlled for when comparing victimization rates. Local victimization surveys have also been conducted. In 1992, 297 Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans were interviewed in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in a “first-impression” small-scale victimization survey. The findings showed that

the risk of becoming a victim of a property crime or a violent offense is much higher for members of minority groups than the average risk in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The risk of becoming a victim of violence and vandalism is particularly high. Victimization of Moroccans has an especially

violent character: this group suffers more from assault and violent purse snatching than from property offenses; among the Surinamese and Turks the pattern is reversed (Junger-Tas J. 1997: 285).

Combining several findings, Josine Junger-Tas concludes that

victimization rates of minorities are considerably higher than those of the average citizen. This is true for all types of offense but particularly so for violent offenses. However, controlling for neighbourhood makes most of the differences disappear. Victimization of minority members seems to be related to age and length of residence in Holland. Lifestyle and leisure behavior are also related to victimization risk, but this is similar for Dutch persons (Junger-Tas J. 1997: 288-289).

Finally, NGOs and other bodies have reported that racist and xenophobic assaults against immigrants are on the increase and tend to be highly undercounted, thus challenging the findings from victimization surveys (de Haan, 1997: 208-210).

Belgium

As of 1997, Belgium hasn't conducted national victimization surveys, but in 1989 and 1992 two very interesting small-scale victim surveys were carried out that are worth mentioning. In 1989, 120 Moroccan youngsters (both first- and second-generation immigrants) were surveyed for victimization, who lived in a suburban area of Antwerp with a high concentration of Moroccan immigrants. Nearly four out of five Moroccan youngsters had, during the last 15 months, been the victim of one or more of the events mentioned on the survey form. Victimization with a racist motive also occurred frequently. The sample not being representative, the data from the survey did not afford any comparison with Belgian youth.

In 1992 the Criminology Research Group of the University of Ghent conducted a representative survey among two groups of Turks in Ghent and one of native Belgians. The Belgian sample was somewhat different in composition from the two immigrant samples. The findings suggested that about one out of three Turkish respondents reported having been victimized at least once. Almost one out of two native-born respondents, however, also reported one or more victimizations. No clear and consistent pattern of victimization emerged. These two surveys have obviously very limited scope and are not generalizable to the entire population (Hebberecht, 1997).

France

In France, up until the early 1990s, no immigrant victimization surveys were available (Tournier, 1997: 526). Mucchielli and Nevanen, combining findings from several surveys starting from the late 1990s, show that Africans (with the exception of Maghrebis) are more likely to be assaulted than the average European and Maghrebi

citizens. Victimization rates may vary according to demographic factors or residence. Controlling for a host of variables, though, differences in victimization rates tend to disappear or diminish. By and large, immigrants do not seem to register a higher victimization rate than French citizens. The available data are flawed by the small percentage of foreigners interviewed (Mucchielli and Nevanen, 2009: 92-94).

Switzerland

Switzerland is one of the few European countries to have regularly conducted national crime victimization surveys for more than two decades. Originally, these covered minority groups only insufficiently, but in the survey sweeps of 1998, 2000, and 2005, foreigners have come to match Swiss respondents. The results available are somewhat challenging in that foreign residents do not seem to be particularly exposed to risks of victimization when compared to Swiss nationals. On the contrary, Swiss residents tend to be more often victimized than foreigners living in Switzerland. As Martin Killias explains, this may be due to the fact that «concentration in bad neighbourhoods is still less pronounced and that such neighbourhoods may continue being less ‘bad’ in relative terms than in other countries» (Killias, 2009: 39). Another interesting result is that foreign residents in Switzerland express more positive views about the Swiss police than Swiss residents. This might be due, as Killias again explains, to a well-known phenomenon in criminology, named “downgrading”, by virtue of which many immigrants, coming from areas where abusive, fraudulent law-enforcement is rampant, compare this to how the local police act towards them, thus getting a feeling that the latter are better (Killias, 2009: 39-49). Paradoxically, though, both foreign and Swiss respondents think that the police treat foreign citizens less fairly. However interesting these results, they need to be put in perspective in that they refer to foreign citizens as a whole, including not just immigrants from Heavy Immigration Pressure Countries, but EU citizens as well. The “immigrant” category overlaps the “foreigner” category, thus combining very different social and cultural elements.

Luxembourg

In Luxembourg, the results of the local component of the European Crime and Safety Survey (2005-2007) show that «the second generation of immigrants bears the greatest risks of becoming the victim of person crimes. In all person crimes taken together, their percentage of victimization is twice as high as for the non-immigrants or any of the other two groups» (Michels, 2005-2007: 10). Besides, «being an immigrant’s child seems to be a risk factor of becoming the victim of robberies» and «people with immigrated parents and people with immigrants in their family also show higher risks of victimization» (Michels, 2005-2007: 14-15). Finally, «young age is the most important

socio-demographical risk factor of the most categories of the assessed person crimes followed by being having immigrant parents» (Michels, 2005-2007: 19).

United States

The United States has been conducting National Crime Victimization Surveys (NCVS) since the 1960s. NCVSs are carried out every six months by the Bureau of Justice Statistics on large samples of the population, including minorities. However, NCVSs are biased in terms of the classifications employed to account for minorities' victimization. Classifications rest on two macro-categories: "race" and "ethnicity". Race includes: American Indians/Native Americans; African Americans/blacks; Asian Americans, and Caucasians/whites¹⁹. Ethnicity includes a gross dichotomy: Hispanic vs. Non-Hispanics. "Race" and "ethnicity" are not mutually exclusive categories, so a person may be black and Hispanic or white and Hispanic; another might be black and non-Hispanic or white and non-Hispanic. "Hispanics" may comprise people of Mexican heritage, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, people from South America. No information by nationality is available from NCVSs data. Therefore, findings from NCVSs should be treated with caution. Immigrants might fit in more than one category, but, as mentioned before, NCVSs do not afford the researcher to assess victimization rates for immigrants.

Generally speaking, some of the conclusions drawn by NCVSs are that African Americans/Blacks are disproportionately the victims of violent crime and are, six times to upwards, more likely to become victims of homicide. In addition, blacks report greater levels of robbery victimization than whites, while, with regard to assaults, there does not seem to be much of a difference between them. Racial differences do not seem to count much in the case of household crimes, for example, personal theft victimizations. Besides, crimes against black people cause greater injury than similar crimes against people from other races. NCVSs also show that street crime is largely intraracial: blacks choose blacks as their victims and whites choose whites as their victims. As regards ethnicity, Hispanics show higher rates of violent and household victimization than non-Hispanics through time (Bastian, 1990). Other minorities, such as Asians and Native Americans, have higher rates of theft victimization than blacks and Hispanics. (Flowers, 1990: 2-35; Sampson and Lauritsen, 1997: 319-324; Marshall, 1997¹: 2-14). These rates are reported as somewhat declining in the latest NCVSs. For instance, statistician Callie Marie Rennison (Rennison, 2002), elaborating on NCVS estimates from 1993 to 2000, asserts that «the rate of violent crime against Hispanics fell, regardless of gender, age, income, or where they lived» from 63 victimizations per

¹⁹ In the latest NCVSs, classification has been slightly altered: White; Black/African American; American Indian/Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander; Other. See for instance National Crime Victimization Survey – Basic Screen Questionnaire – 2006, available at <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/ncvs104.pdf>.

1,000 to 28. Besides, «Hispanics were as likely as whites, blacks, or persons of other races to report to the police that they had been a victim of a violent crime». As is apparent, findings are far from being immutable. In fact, they may fluctuate over the years.

Attempts at more targeted surveys on immigrants have been made. A piece of unpublished research by Bucher and Tarasawa surveyed 90 undocumented migrant workers using standard questions from the NCVS survey as well as added items concerning work, living arrangements, and victimization. The results suggested that undocumented immigrants face an increased risk of victimization and have few outlets for dealing with crime. Besides, undocumented migrant workers face an increased risk of being victimized due to opportunity (keeping large amounts of cash in their residence) and their distrust of anyone in the criminal justice system (Bucher and Tarasawa, 2007).

In 2007, a survey about criminal victimization among Hispanic and Asian immigrants in Houston, Texas, was conducted by the Crime Victims' Institute at the Sam Houston State University, which employed non-probability purposive sampling. 7,996 questionnaires were distributed to churches and community service centers, of which 907 (12%) valid surveys were returned. 3 key informants were interviewed as well. Among the findings worth mentioning are: 1) robbery (33%) was the most frequently reported crime against persons, and larceny (27%) was the most commonly reported crime against property; 2) carrying large amounts of cash was a significant factor contributing to respondents' victimization; 3) respondents who had resided in the United States for more than 10 years were more likely to report a crime (62.5%) than those who lived in the United States for less than 10 years (47.9%); 4) language barriers were an obstacle in reporting a crime to the police; 5) according to interviews with police officers, domestic violence might be underreported among Hispanic and Asian respondents (Kercher and Kuo, 2008)

Another interesting unpublished survey was conducted on undocumented immigrants living in the United States. Using Respondent-Driven Sampling, a method designed to provide statistically valid samples of hard-to-reach populations, a representative sample (n=200) of undocumented immigrants were recruited in Nassau County, NY, and interviewed about their victimization histories and a variety of other topics, including methods and perceptions of safety, employment and leisure, and health and social well-being. The analysis of the data have informed the creation of an intervention crafted by law enforcement, the courts, and local social service agencies to alleviate the problem (Bribiesca and Mora, 2008).

Canada

In Canada, in neither of the national victimization surveys conducted in 1988 and 1993 were race or ethnicity questions asked about the victims (Roberts and Doob, 1997: 487). As of 1999, though, the General Social Survey for victimization has adopted a different methodology. Both Aborigines and immigrants have been identified through the use of questions that allowed respondents to self-identify their cultural and racial background and to state their country of birth and the year of permanent arrival in Canada. There are several limitations to be considered. Small sample numbers prohibit a more detailed breakdown on immigrant groups. Comparisons between immigrant and non-immigrant groups are to be made considering the different age structures of the two populations. Only people capable of speaking English and French have been included in the survey. Finally, there are significant overlaps between the categories “immigrants” and “visible minorities” (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1999). The 2004 General Social Survey shows that immigrants have a lower rate of violent crime victimization (68 incidents per 1,000 population) than that of the Canadian-born population (116 incidents per 1,000 population) and express slightly higher levels of fear of crime than the Canadian-born population, with 11% compared to 8% of non-immigrants (Perreault, 2008).

Australia

In Australia, data do not generally distinguish between immigrants and non-immigrants (Collins, 2005; Mukherjee, 1999). One notable exception was the Australian component of the 2004 International Crime Victimization Survey, which oversampled immigrants who were born or whose parents were born in Vietnam or the Middle East in order to assess crime victimization within this population. A total of 400 Vietnamese immigrants and 601 from the Middle East were interviewed. Instead of using random direct dialing to survey immigrants, a surname-based approach was used which involves random selection across Australia of known Vietnamese or Middle Eastern surnames from the electronic White Pages of the telephone book. The selected immigrant and main community samples reported comparable rates of victimization overall, but lower rates of personal crime were reported by the immigrant sample. However, the immigrant samples were more likely to feel that assaults and threats perpetrated against them were racially-motivated, and were more likely to be worried about experiencing a racially-based attack in the future. Higher proportions of immigrants, particularly women, also felt unsafe walking alone in the local area alone after dark (Johnson, 2005¹; 2005²). This approach, however original, is flawed by the low level of precision in identifying Middle Eastern surnames, by the exclusion of female immigrants married into other ethnic groups or to Australians and of households with silent telephone numbers

(Johnson and Challice, 2005: 16). Another problem was that «about half of Arabic sounding surnames were actually Pakistani, Indian or another nationality» (Johnson, 2005¹: 59) leading to a response rate for the Middle East sample of only 36%. Moreover, the survey did not specifically investigate victims of race crime or hate crime, a category where immigrant minorities are generally the target.

In 2005, the national personal safety survey concluded that «migrants were no more or less likely to report having been the victim of physical abuse before age 15» (Makkai and Taylor, 2009: 100) than their Australian counterparts. Nor were they more likely to report being victims of robbery, assault, actual or attempted break-in during the 12 months prior to the survey. Immigrants, though, reported feeling less safe than the Australian born at home alone after dark. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the national personal safety survey only included a small samples of immigrants.

Combining these results with those from other more specific victimization surveys, Makkai and Taylor conclude:

Although the media and broader community perception is that immigrants are more likely to be associated with crime, particularly as offenders, this review has shown that overall immigrants do not consistently report higher levels of victimisation, and in some cases it may be lower. Whether this reflects actual differences in victimisation, or differences in the willingness of immigrants to report that they have been victimised, is unknown. However, the available evidence does suggest that immigrants are more likely to perceive that their experience of assault or threats is racially motivated and they have higher levels of fear of such crime. They are also slightly more likely to feel unsafe at home at night (Makkai and Taylor, 2009: 104).

2.2.1 HOW ABOUT ITALY?

In Italy, the first national victimization survey – Citizen’s Safety Survey – was carried out for the first time in 1997-1998 by ISTAT²⁰. The second in 2002. The types of crimes included are only the ones that can be objectively identified and where victims can easily be identified. The contents are very much in keeping with those of most national victimizations survey, i.e. property and violent crimes against household and individuals: bag-snatching, pickpocketing, larceny, robbery, physical assault and threats, burglary, unlawful entry, vandalism, motor vehicle/parts theft, sexual harassment and violence. No questions are included on hate crimes or on other crimes that might specifically concern immigrants. The third sweep was started in 2007 and is purported to investigate “new” crimes such as consumer and informatics fraud, credit card cloning, e-phishing and harassment at work, but still no immigrant-related crimes (Muratore and Tagliacozzo, 2008: 100).

²⁰ “Istituto Nazionale di Statistica”, the Italian National Institute of Statistics.

The latest survey whose findings are available includes two identical items on the nationality of the respondents (Section 1 and Section 18: Citizenship. Possible answers: 1) Italian; 2) Other (specify); 3) No nationality). Only 489 foreigners have been interviewed, though, with altogether non statistically significant results (ISTAT, 2004). So much so that no comments are available on the crimes suffered by foreigners. Besides, no interviews have been conducted in languages other than Italian.

In conclusion, it is warranted to say that immigrants and the crimes they suffer are so far virtually invisible in the Italian victimization survey.

2.3 COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCES

Given the reasons listed above, comparing data across Europe or worldwide has so far proven extremely frustrating.

At the level of comparative survey research, though, three experiences are worth mentioning: the “International Crime Victims Survey” (ICVS), the “European Crime and Safety Survey” and, above all, FRA’s “Discrimination and Victimization in EU Member States: Experiences and Attitudes of Immigrants and Other Minorities” victim survey (EU-MIDIS).

2.3.1 THE INTERNATIONAL CRIME VICTIMS SURVEYS (ICVSS) AND THE EUROPEAN CRIME AND SAFETY SURVEY (EU ICS)

The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) has been in existence since 1989, and has conducted various sweeps in some EU Member States and throughout the world. Its main objective is to seek advancement in international comparative criminological research beyond the constraints of officially recorded crime data. The following sweeps of the ICVS surveys took place in 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2005.

The European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS) is described as a “tool for measuring the volume and nature of crime in Europe” and its objective is to “build a sound knowledge base of European crime trends, and to provide tools for evidence-based policy research related to the basic security of European citizens”²¹. Only one sweep has been carried out in 2005 and its findings have been presented along with those of the 2005 sweep of the International Crime Victims Survey (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, Smit, Tilburg University, UNICRI and UNODC, 2007).

²¹ The definitions are drawn from the homepage of www.europeansafetyobservatory.eu, the site of the European Crime and Safety Survey.

As far as immigrants are concerned, the main limitation with ICVS is that

the survey is focused on majority population respondents and, with a sample size of around 1,000 respondents in each country, does not pick up sufficient number of immigrant and minority groups to be able to undertake a statistically meaningful analysis of results on the basis of ethnicity or immigrant status (Goodey, 2009: 156-157).

The same may be said of EU ICS in that «the survey's sample size does not allow for a meaningful breakdown of results by ethnicity or immigrant status» (Goodey, 2009: 157).

In the 2005 European Crime and Safety Survey, however, respondents were asked about any experiences with crimes motivated by hatred against minorities, with “hate crimes” falling under “non-conventional” crimes (Van Dijk, Manchin, Van Kesteren, Nevala and Hideg, 2005). The findings from the survey show that

on average, 3% of the European inhabitants have experienced hate crimes against themselves or their immediate families. The extent of hate crime per country shows great variation. Percentages of such victims are highest in France, Denmark, the United Kingdom and the Benelux countries. Lowest rates are found in Finland, Italy, Portugal, Greece and Austria. The level of ‘hate crimes’ is about average in Germany and Sweden (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, Smit, Tilburg University, UNICRI and UNODC, 2007: 94).

Although crimes may be caused by national, race or colour, religion- or sex-related hatred, «victimisation by hate crimes are strongly related to immigrant status. Of those indicating to be immigrants, 10% report to have fallen victim to ‘hate crimes’» (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, Smit, Tilburg University, UNICRI and UNODC, 2007: 94).

Countries with proportionally larger immigrant communities tend to show higher rates of “hate crimes”. Since prevalence rates of victimization of immigrants by hate crimes per country are based on very small numbers, comparisons are not so meaningful, but immigrants in Belgium, Greece, Spain and Denmark seem to perceive to be victimised by hate crimes most often. Immigrants in Finland, Portugal and Italy reported such crimes least often. In conclusion,

immigrant status enhances the risk of being criminally victimised [...], independent of other known risk factors such as young age and urban residence. The phenomenon of crimes motivated by racism seems a factor propelling levels of common crime, especially threats & assaults in some European countries (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, Smit, Tilburg University, UNICRI and UNODC, 2007: 94).

These findings must be treated with extreme caution. As said before, samples from ICVSs and EU ICS also include minority respondents according to their proportion in the population, but the number of these respondents is too small to allow for any conclusions to be made on the victimization of specific immigrant groups.

Finally, the definition of “hate crime” is too broad because it includes any type of “ideologically motivated personal violence” such as violence against nationality, race or colour, religious belief, sexual orientation. These types of violence may not always regard immigrants, even though the findings speak to immigrants being the major target of hate crimes.

2.3.2 EU-MIDIS (DISCRIMINATION AND VICTIMISATION IN EU MEMBER STATES: EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES OF IMMIGRANTS AND OTHER MINORITIES)

In order to address the lack of reliable and comparable criminal justice data on racist crime in the EU, and partly to overcome ICVSs limitations, in 2008, the European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) has launched a “Discrimination and Victimization in EU Member States: Experiences and Attitudes of Immigrants and Other Minorities” victim survey (EU-MIDIS).

EU-MIDIS (FRA, 2009¹) interviewed 23,500 people with an ethnic minority or immigrant background across the EU’s 27 Member States and surveyed between one and three immigrant, ethnic minority or national minority groups in each Member State of the EU, with a minimum of 500 people interviewed per group in each country. In Italy, for instance, three groups have been targeted – Albanians, North Africans and Romanians – from three cities: Milan, Rome, Bari with a total of 964 available households for interview and 1515 respondents who agreed to be interviewed. A random sample of majority population was also surveyed to compare results between majority and minority populations living in the same areas concerning the survey’s questions on experiences of police stops and customs/border control. In addition, majority population respondents were asked some questions about their background characteristics. The general sampling approach has been based on random route sampling and focussed enumeration.

The survey was based on face-to-face interviews covering not just racism and discrimination issues, but also such crime topics as property crimes, violent crime, harassment, and corruption; experiences of police treatment and stops, and experiences with customs and border control.

The findings (FRA, 2009³) so far available show that many minority groups are victims of discrimination and crime and are particularly vulnerable to racially motivated crime. The survey also reveals that rates of reporting to the police are very low among some groups. This finding is coupled with results indicating low levels of faith in the police’s ability to effectively respond to crime, as well as an absence of trust in the police among certain groups

More specifically, for discrimination, on average, the Roma were discriminated against because of their ethnic background more than other groups that were surveyed;

for example, in comparison with Sub-Saharan Africans or North Africans. Every second Roma respondent said that they were discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity at least once in the previous 12 months. The average Roma interviewee ran the risk of being discriminated against 4.6 times over a 12 month period. Looking at the results only for those who had been discriminated against, this average increased to 11 incidents over a 12 month period. The second highest rate of overall discrimination was against Sub-Saharan Africans: 41% were discriminated against because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background at least once in the last 12 months. This was followed by discrimination against North Africans (36%). In the fourth place were Turkish and Central and East European respondents: a quarter were discriminated against in the last 12 months (23%). The “top ten” minorities experiencing the highest levels of discrimination over a 12 month period were, in descending order: Roma in the Czech Republic (64%), Africans in Malta (63%), Roma in Hungary (62%), Roma in Poland (59%), Roma in Greece (55%), Sub-Saharan Africans in Ireland (54%), North Africans in Italy (52%), Somalis in Finland (47%), Somalis in Denmark (46%), and Brazilians in Portugal (44%). The two main areas of discrimination were employment and education. Discrimination, though, has also been found in housing, in healthcare and social services, in public places, in banks. An interesting finding was that, on average, across all groups surveyed, 82% of those who were discriminated against in the past 12 months did not report their most recent experience of discrimination either at the place where it occurred or to a competent authority. Non-reporting ranged from 79% amongst the Roma to 88% amongst Central and East Europeans. The most common reason given by all respondents for not reporting discrimination incidents was the belief that “nothing would happen” as a result of reporting, while another common reason for not reporting was lack of knowledge about how to go about reporting.

With regard to crimes, every fourth person from a minority group interviewed was a victim of crime at least once in the 12 months preceding the survey. On average, across all the crime types tested in the survey, the highest levels of overall victimization in the 12 months preceding the survey were experienced by Sub-Saharan Africans (33%), closely followed by the Roma (32%). Breaking down the data, minorities where more than 40% of respondents were victims of crime in the last 12 months included: Roma in Greece (54%), Somalis in Denmark (49%), Somalis in Finland (47%), Roma in the Czech Republic (46%), and Sub-Saharan Africans in Ireland (41%). Table 7 shows in detail the ten groups with the highest racist crime victimization rates in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Table 7. Eu-Midis. Ten groups with the highest racist crime victimization rates* in the 12 months prior to the survey

Group and country of residence	%
Roma in Czech Republic	35
Somalis in Finland	34
Somalis in Denmark	31
Africans in Malta	30
Sub-Saharan Africans in Ireland	29
Roma in Greece	29
Roma in Poland	29
North Africans in Italy	22
Roma in Hungary	21
Roma in Slovakia	17

Source: Elaboration on data from FRA, 2009¹

* Five crimes are considered: 1) theft of or from a vehicle; 2) burglary or attempted burglary; 3) theft of personal property not involving force or threat; 4) assault and threat; 5) harassment of a serious nature.

For property crimes, the results indicate that, on average, minorities are victims of personal theft, and assault or threat more often than the majority population. Roma respondents had the highest burglary victimization rate of all general groups surveyed, with 10% indicating they had been burgled at least once in the last 12 months. 10% of Central and East Europeans and North Africans, and 8% of Roma and Sub-Saharan Africans were victims of theft of personal property at least once in the last 12 months. Sub-Saharan Africans had the highest levels of vehicle-related criminal victimization of all aggregate groups surveyed, with 15% indicating they had been a victim at least once in the previous 12 months.

For personal crimes, the Roma (10%), Sub-Saharan Africans (9%) and North Africans (9%) were most likely to have been assaulted or threatened with violence at least once in the previous 12 months. Nearly every fifth person from the Roma and Sub-Saharan African groups that were surveyed said they had been a victim of serious harassment at least once in the last 12 months (18%). Besides, looking at all personal crimes of assault, threat or serious harassment, and among all respondents surveyed, 18% of Roma respondents and 18% of Sub-Saharan African respondents indicated that they had experienced at least one “racially motivated” incident in the last 12 months. In comparison, less than 10% of other general groups surveyed indicated that they were victims of racially motivated personal crime in the last 12 months. 73% of Roma victims and 70% of Sub-Saharan African victims of assault or threat in the last 12 months considered that the perpetrators of the last incident they experienced targeted

them because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background. Most incidents of assault or threat were not committed by members of right-wing extremist groups, though.

As for reporting behavior, for the different aggregate groups surveyed, between 57% and 74% of incidents of assault or threat were not reported to the police. At the same time, between 60% and 75% of these incidents were regarded by different aggregate respondent groups as ‘serious’. For example, 70% of Turkish respondents who were victims of assault or threat considered these incidents to be serious, but only 26% reported them to the police. For the various groups surveyed, on average between 75% and 90% of incidents of harassment were not reported to the police. However, between 50% and 61% of these incidents were regarded as “serious” by victims. The main reason given by respondents for not reporting personal victimization (assault and threat, and serious harassment) was because they were not confident the police would be able to do anything. Of those who reported their victimization to the police, high rates of dissatisfaction with how the police dealt with their complaint were recorded for the Roma: on average, 54% of them were dissatisfied in relation to cases of assault or threat, and 55% were dissatisfied in relation to reported cases of serious harassment.

Eu-Midis also shows how fear of crime affects minorities’ lifestyles: as illustrated in Table 8, many respondents resorted to avoidance behaviors for fear of being assaulted, threatened or seriously harassed because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Table 8. Eu-Midis. Ten groups with the highest percentage of respondents who avoid certain places for fear of being assaulted, threatened or seriously harassed because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background in the 12 months prior to the survey

Group and country of residence	%
Roma in Poland	53
Sub-Saharan Africans in Ireland	39
Roma in Greece	39
Somalis in Sweden	39
Roma in Slovakia	36
Roma in Czech Republic	36
Somalis in Finland	31
Roma in Hungary	27
Iraqis in Sweden	26
Africans in Malta	26

Source: Elaboration on data from FRA, 2009¹

As for policing, the survey found very high levels of police stops among many minority groups that were interviewed. On average, the proportion of those who were stopped by the police at least once in the 12 months prior to the survey interview was: 33% of all North Africans; 30% of Roma; 27% of Sub-Saharan Africans; 22% of both Central and East European and former Yugoslavian respondents; 21% of Turkish respondents; 20% of Russian respondents. In some countries minority respondents were stopped by the police significantly more often than the majority population in a 12 month period. Among all respondents, the following percentage considered that they were stopped specifically because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background: 19% of North Africans, 15% of Roma, 9% of Sub-Saharan Africans and Central and East Europeans, 5% of Turkish respondents, 1% of Ex-Yugoslavian respondents and 0% of respondents with a Russian background. When asked whether the police treated them respectfully during a stop, 33% of Roma respondents and 32% of North African respondents indicated that the police's behavior towards them, during their last stop, was fairly or very disrespectful. In comparison, 20% of Sub-Saharan Africans and 18% of Turkish respondents considered the police to be fairly or very disrespectful, while the rates for other groups were 12% or lower. High rates (30% or over) of fairly or very disrespectful police treatment were indicated by the Roma in Greece (51%), Roma in Poland (45%), North Africans in Italy (41%), Sub-Saharan Africans in France (36%), North Africans in Belgium and Sub-Saharan Africans in Portugal (both 35%), North Africans in the Netherlands (34%), North Africans in France (32%), and Roma in Hungary (30%).

Table 9. Eu-Midis. Ten groups with the highest perception of police stopping them because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background. Out of all those stopped in the 12 months prior to the survey

Group and country of residence	%
North-Africans in Italy	74
North Africans in Spain	73
Albanians in Italy	71
Roma in Greece	69
Sub-Saharan Africans in France	64
Roma in Hungary	58
Romanians in Italy	57
Albanians in Greece	56
North Africans in Belgium	55
Africans in Malta	55

Source: Elaboration on data from FRA, 2009¹

Finally, rights awareness²² among minority groups and immigrants was surveyed too. The findings indicate that 57% of all respondents were either unaware or unsure about the existence of legislation covering some areas of non-discrimination on the basis of racial or ethnic origin. In 19 out of the EU's 27 Member States, minority respondents indicated more often than respondents from the majority population that they had never heard of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU. 80% of all respondents could not think of a single organisation that could offer support to victims of discrimination, be this government-based, an independent institution or authority, such as an Equality Body, or an NGO.

Where possible, comparing data from EU-MIDIS with data from the European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS), which is part of the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) project, the difference in victimization between majority and minority population appears even starker. The level of victimization for theft and assaults and threats was predominantly greater for the minority groups than for the majority population for 25 out of 34 minority groups for theft and for 21 out of 34 minority groups for assaults and threats.

EU-MIDIS is currently the largest survey ever conducted in Europe on immigrant victimization. Its findings speak to a serious adjustment of policies and practices to an acknowledgement of the crimes immigrants suffer in Europe because of their vulnerable position. The survey promises to have a strong impact in terms of practical approaches and crime prevention and criminal justice responses to violence against migrants.

2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

In conclusion, victimization surveys appear to be among the most suitable tools to address the “immigrants as victims” issue. At the moment, though, they are still overrun with definitional, statistical, and methodological problems. In some countries (US and Great Britain, for instance), victimization surveys have come a long way towards solving these problems. Even so, shortcomings persist. In addition, “immigrants as victims”, being mostly a minority issue, appears to lag behind in interest. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jo Goodey, in his recent review of victimization surveys on immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe, concluded that «the experience of immigrants and ethnic minorities as victims of crime is just one area that has traditionally been neglected by victim survey research» (Goodey, 2008: 31).

²² The findings provided in this section are taken from FRA (2010).

2.5 BODY REPORTS AND JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS AS ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Aside from official statistical data and victimization surveys, two other important sources of information on immigrants as victims of crime are body reports and journalistic accounts.

2.5.1 BODY REPORTS

In the past few years, NGOs, immigrants' support organisations, associations and networks have reported an impressive number of crimes committed against immigrants. These crimes are not usually couched in criminological jargon, but figure under such disparate headings as "racism", "discrimination", "violation of human rights". In spite of this, the above headings include veritable property and violent crimes, which are worth mentioning here. NGOs, bodies and immigrants' support organisations play an important role in monitoring and bringing to public attention incidents of crimes committed against immigrants, which are often not reported to the authorities. Their reports are based on many sources of data – official, unofficial, academic and hands-on activities – and include news from the press, own investigations and reports, reports from local or minor associations, toll-free number contacts, direct access to immigrants (desk-work, field-work, social work), reception of complaints. Body reports are purposely produced to fill the gaps in the official and academic data and to offer alternative data. The information obtained may not meet academic standards, but it provides an "inside" perspective on the subject of research.

A few such reports will be here briefly described, with a special focus on Italy.

ENAR reports

ENAR (European Network Against Racism) is an EU-wide network of more than 600 organisations working to combat racism in all EU member states and speaks on behalf of the anti-racist movement in Europe. ENAR publishes yearly shadow reports which are a medley of information and data collected by its member organisations on incidents of racism and discrimination. Many such incidents are crimes against immigrants which are worth mentioning here. In the latest 2007 shadow report for Italy, ENAR has reported many cases of verbal and physical violence. For example: «63 cases of racist crime for which judicial authorities had initiated penal proceedings and 18 persons sentenced for racial discrimination» and, as regards racial discrimination, «137 new cases pending before criminal Courts and 100 proceedings concluded during the year». The report also mentions «39 acts of anti-Semitism, 26 of racism and 24 of xenophobia during the period 1st January – 31st August 2007. [...]

One person was denounced for anti-Semitism, 19 for racist acts, eight for xenophobic acts and two were arrested for inciting racial hatred» (Bencini and Cerretelli, 2007: 22). Following the murder of an Italian woman in Rome at the hands of a Romanian citizen in October, the report also mentions:

On 3 November, three Romanian boys were attacked with sticks and knives by a group of masked men identified by the police as part of the far-right group known as Forza Nuova. [...] In Rome, a 22-year old Romanian boy was stabbed in the shoulder by some unidentified Italian boys for no obvious reason and in another case, a bomb exploded in front of a shop offering typical Romanian products and a swastika was painted near the shop together with threatening graffiti (Bencini and Cerretelli, 2007: 23-24).

The report also tells about incidents of crime against immigrants in the housing and employment sectors.

FRA annual reports

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) is a body of the European Union, based in Vienna, whose objective is to provide European Member States with assistance and expertise relating to fundamental rights. FRA publishes yearly annual reports that deal with a number of issues including ethnic and immigrant victimization. As mentioned before, FRA has also recently launched the first “Discrimination and Victimisation in EU Member States: Experiences and Attitudes of Immigrants and Other Minorities” victim survey (EU-MIDIS). The latest 2009 FRA annual report records that «during the period 2000-2007, eleven out of 12 Member States which collect sufficient criminal justice data on racist crime experienced a general upward trend in recorded racist crime», even though, just looking at the most recent year - 2006-2007 - «just five out of 12 Member States which collect sufficient criminal justice data on racist crime experienced an upward trend in recorded racist crime: Ireland, Austria, Poland, Sweden and the UK (for both England and Wales, and for Scotland); while seven of the 12 experienced a downward trend: Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, France, Slovakia and Finland» (FRA, 2009: 25-26). Specifically, with regard to recorded crime with an extremist right-wing motive, «between 2006 and 2007 two Member States experienced a significant upward trend in recorded crime – Austria and Sweden – while two experienced a downward trend – Germany and France» (FRA, 2009: 27). FRA annual reports also assess criminal justice data for racial crimes across Europe, placing each EU state into one of four categories, named “tiers”, «with Tier 1 indicating comprehensive data collection and Tier 4 indicating the unavailability of data» (FRA, 2009: 27). Places in tiers may vary from one year to the next. For instance, Italy was demoted from Tier 3 (limited data) in 2008 to Tier 4 in 2009 (no official data available).

RAXEN reports

RAXEN is a network of 27 focal points (one for each EU country plus Bulgaria and Romania) established by FRA (Fundamental Rights Agency) in order to collect data on issues regarding racism, xenophobia and related intolerance. Raxen publishes yearly reports on various issues, including racial violence and crime, drawing on both official and unofficial sources. The focal point for Italy is at present COSPE (Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti), a no-profit association based in Florence. Raxen reports provide a breakdown analysis of racism and discrimination incidents and practices by key areas of social life (housing, education, employment, health and social care) for each European state. An interesting section on “Official criminal justice data” is also provided and regularly updated. In the latest 2007 report, the main crime trends highlighted in Italy are the escalation of hostility and violence against the Roma with 16 acts and episodes of violence against Roma camps or settlements, 12 of which consisting in arsons, and the stigmatisation of Mosques and Islamic cultural centres which resulted in at least «7 confirmed cases of attacks on mosques and centres of Muslim worship [...] documented until the end of September 2007» (Raxen, 2007: 24). The report also stresses the fact that Italy is characterized by a gap between available official statistics on racist violence and crimes and the actual intensification of the phenomenon based on reports by unofficial sources. In order to fill up the gap, the report draws on information obtained from many unofficial sources such as local and national associations, national and international websites, unofficial publications, newspapers clippings, and more.

Medecins sans Frontieres

Medecins sans Frontieres (Medici senza Frontiere, in Italy) is an organization created in France by doctors and journalists in 1971 for humanitarian reasons with many branches all over the world. Its aim is to contribute to the health of people regardless of their status and political situation. In Italy, Medici senza Frontiere has issued three very important reports (among many) on immigrant victimization: one in 2004 on the immigrants detained in the so called CPT (Centri di Permanenza Temporanea), transit centers where immigrants are kept who are unable to prove their identity and legal status (Medici senza Frontiere, 2004); the second in 2005 and the third in 2008, on the situation of immigrants employed to work the land in Southern Italy (Medici senza Frontiere, 2005; 2008).

CPTs, as portrayed by Medici senza Frontiere, appear as totally inadequate structures plagued by cramped spaces, overcrowding, poor services, self-mutilations, desperation, and a continuous infringement of human rights. They are more like prisons

than transit centers, so much so that Medici senza Frontiere advocate they be shut down completely (Medici senza Frontiere, 2004).

For the present purposes, though, the second and the third report are more interesting. “I frutti dell’ipocrisia” (*The Fruits of Hypocrisy*), issued in 2005, is a nine-month field research into the working conditions of immigrants in five Southern Italian regions (Campania, Basilicata, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily). 770 immigrants were visited by doctors and interviewed, 198 of which in Campania alone. Here the research was conducted in places where immigrants tend to gather for work: two near Caserta (Casal di Principe and Castelvoturno), three near Naples (Giugliano, Qualiano, and Varcaturro). In these places immigrants are confronted with a local backdrop of widespread illegality, organized crime thriving on the exploitation of immigrant work and prostitution, extortion acts against farmers, constant threats and armed assaults, illegal waste dumping. The situation is compounded by problems that specifically plague immigrants: overcrowded and small spaces to live in, comparable to ratholes; insufficient food due to small earnings; everyday episodes of violence. Specifically, 45.8% of respondents report having been mistreated and abused. By mistreatings and abuses, what is meant is assaults and robberies, robbery attempts, and one case of attempted homicide. Immigrants are very often spit on, hit with iron bars, clubs, sticks. Stories have been told of immigrants being left for dead or having gunshot wounds. In Casal di Principe, immigrants refuse to go out after 10 p.m. A widespread situation of fear affects immigrants’ behaviors. This reflects in medical visits as well: immigrant patients show injuries, wounds, traumas, severe stressful conditions, psychosomatic illnesses (Medici senza frontiere, 2005: 48-58). It is not said whether these incidents are brought to the attention of law-enforcement agencies.

The very title of the third report, “Una stagione all’inferno” (*A Season in Hell*), issued in 2008, is revealing of what the findings are (Medici senza frontiere, 2008). After visiting 643 immigrants from Africa and Asia (72% of which did not have a residence permit) employed as seasonal workers of the land in various Southern Italian regions (Campania, Puglia, Calabria, Sicilia, Basilicata, Lazio) and administering 600 questionnaires, Medici senza Frontiere found that immigrants all lived under frightful conditions: no job contract, long hours of work (8-10) in a scorching sun, minimum wage (25-40 Euros a day), hard and dirty work, malnutrition, exposure to chemicals, continuous violent and harassing behaviors by employers (“caporali”) who often acted like slave drivers, refusing to pay them or taking away some of the money on mere pretexts, seamy and unhealthy living spaces (with no gas, electricity, heating system) rented out at iniquitous prices. Immigrants often suffered from various job-related diseases (backaches, headaches, fainting fits, injuries, skin and breathing problems) for which they were not allowed to see doctors. Some had their houses vandalized, had stones thrown at them by locals and property stolen. In short, the number of crimes suffered by working immigrants in the South of Italy was almost endless, but no one

dared report them to the police. These crimes never made their way into official statistics. It is just as if they never happened. And yet, Medici senza Frontiere reports they exist and are serious crimes.

COSPE and NAGA

Last, but not least, an interesting combined study has been conducted by COSPE (Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti) and NAGA (Associazione Volontaria di Assistenza Socio-Sanitaria e per i Diritti di Stranieri e Nomadi) (NAGA, 2009) in 2008. COSPE has already been described as a no-profit organization based in Florence, whereas NAGA is an association of volunteers for immigrants and Roma based in Milan. The study is a two-part piece of research called “Razzismi quotidiani” (*Everyday Racisms*) which combines a study of how mass media report cases of racism and discrimination in Italy with a study of immigrants’ perception on racism and discrimination.

The first part of the research was run by COSPE and is an examination of the news in the Italian press (24 October through 28 November 2008) concerning incidents of violence, racism and discrimination against immigrants. 48 such incidents are recorded in a 35-day period. 30 out of 48 are violent acts (mostly assaults) perpetrated for the most part by young gangs, while 6 are verbal insults. Africans and Romanians seem to be the favourite targets. The striking feature about the examination is the large number of violent acts committed (more than one a day) and the fact that immigrants’ opinion are rarely voiced in the media (COSPE, 2009).

The second part of the research was run by NAGA, which in 2008 administered 500 questionnaires to the immigrants who turned to NAGA for help. The questionnaire included questions not just on racism and discrimination but on crime as well. Some of the findings are worth mentioning. 1 in 5 respondents happened to be mistreated by the police both verbally and physically. 3 in 10 respondents happened to be verbally abused while riding a means of public transportation. 3 in 10 respondents happened not to be paid after doing their job. 2 in 5 respondents happened to be treated badly or molested at their workplace. In addition, some of the respondents were fearful of being sick or stopped and searched by the police. Some of the findings are interesting from a criminological viewpoint, but obviously COSPE and NAGA reports are not academic studies, and are not statistically and methodologically reliable.

2.5.2 JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS

In the past few years, in Italy, the public has become knowledgeable of the crimes suffered by immigrants especially through articles, reports and books by fringe journalists who have “raked the muck”, exposing otherwise ignored incidents.

A few of these are worth mentioning.

Marco Rovelli’s *Lager Italiani* [“Italian concentration camps”] (Rovelli, 2006) provides interesting interviews with dozens of immigrant men and women who have been detained in CPTs all over Italy, that the author likens to Nazi concentration camps. Sad and telltale stories emerge that expose the inhumane conditions that await all those that are confined to these places. At the same time, their narratives give the reader a cross-section of what is happening to immigrants in Italy much beyond official statistics. What is palpable is that there are stories that much exceed official discourses: stories that need to be told for lessons to be learned.

In a more recent book, *Servi* [“Servants”] (Rovelli, 2009), Rovelli explores the many facets of exploited labour in the Italian informal economy. Italy is currently the first-ranking country in Europe to thrive on informal work, which is used by companies to cut down on the cost of labour and survive in the present post-fordist world. Desperate, “disposable” immigrants are usually employed in long and low-paid workdays. They are allowed to have jobs in sectors Italians refuse to work in since the jobs are hard, dirty and dead-end. Rovelli also describes the many unexplored crimes suffered by immigrants, for instance, in Rosarno, Calabria, where throwing stones at immigrant seems to be a local pastime, or in Zapponeta, Apulia, where immigrants are defrauded, in La Spezia, where immigrants are threatened and beat up, or in Tuscany where immigrant workers are left for dead at the workplace by unscrupulous employers. Of course, such incidents take place everywhere in Italy, but Rovelli digs deep into the ground to bring up pieces of information that do not usually hit the headlines.

Fabrizio Gatti’s *Bilal* (Gatti, 2007) is a first-hand account of the journeys immigrants venture to Italy and the unbelievable sufferings and sorrows they endure to cross over. Taking advantage of his rather dark complexion, Gatti manages to infiltrate a group of desperate would-be immigrants in Senegal and follows them all the way to Libia. He also passes himself off as an immigrant in Lampedusa and offers an “inside” account of what it is like to live in a CPT. Finally, he joins the immigrants who till the land and pick vegetables and fruits in Apulia and describes the frightful conditions under which they live and work.

Alessandro Leogrande’s *Uomini e Caporali* [“Men and Corporals”, but “caporale” is an underground name for someone who recruits workers in the informal job market and has a strongly bad connotation] (Leogrande, 2008) tells the stories of many immigrants who every year work as seasonal slaves in Apulia, picking vegetables and fruit for a minimum amount of money and living under unhealthy and dangerous

conditions. What is particularly interesting are the chapters devoted to the disappearance of dozens of Polish citizens who have never been found by their relatives and friends. A case of “dark number” of crime which still awaits an explanation. Some of them – argues Leogrande – may have been murdered and disposed of by local caporali, some of which themselves Polish. According to a few witnesses, some Polish workers may have been killed because they tried to oppose the illegal work organization, but the whole story is far from being clear.

Other reports might be mentioned (Gatti, 2005; Gatti, 2008; Dean, 2008; Braucci and Laffi, 2009), some included in what is technically called “misery literature” or falling under the “life stories” type of narrative. The number of such reports makes it impossible, though, to list them all, let alone mention their contents. It is sufficient to say that immigrant stories are on the increase in the book and documentary market and seem to be gaining stronger and stronger acceptance by the general public.

2.6 LIMITATIONS OF BODY REPORTS AND JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS

Body reports and journalistic accounts are extremely valuable sources of information on immigrants as victims of crime. Most of them tap sources other than official data and expose incidents and cases that would not otherwise be known. In addition, alternative figures are often produced and hypotheses occasionally put forward. There are important methodological limitations, though, in using the above sources: journalistic accounts tend to be unrepresentative, at times too focused on the emotional side of the stories, and too quick in passing judgment, while reports of organizations and monitoring groups are typically partisan in nature and self-admittedly limited in scope. Neither of them meets, nor do they intend to, academic standards. However, some of them have proved to be richer and more contextualized than academic efforts that lean on interviews or questionnaires administered only once or occasionally (Bowling and Phillips, 2003: 160). Body reports and journalistic accounts could work as preliminary stimuli to study topics in depth and could give clues as to the alternative sources to be investigated. Finally, body reports and journalistic accounts have undoubtedly raised awareness of immigrants as victims of crime.

2.7 SUMMARY

In short, there is still a sizeable dearth of data on immigrants as victims of crime. As has been shown, current primary and secondary sources of data and information on immigrant victimization all share severe limitations:

- a. official statistical data are limited by legislative changes, flaws in police recording systems, propensity of the public to report, and definitional issues. All these weaknesses are compounded in the case of immigrants;
- b. victimization surveys, currently the most interesting source on general victimization, are affected by serious problems when surveying immigrants: small sample size, poor or confusing target definitions, methodological issues (related to how to reach immigrant target), underreporting, cultural hurdles, and biases in crime-definitions;
- c. body reports and journalistic accounts offer opportunities to shed light on immigrant victimization, but they tend to be non academic, partisan, unrepresentative and, at worst, unreliable.

The above sources are especially poor in the case of illegal aliens, whose numbers are mere guesswork. Illegal aliens, “invisible” by definition, are extremely hard to reach both in statistical and methodological terms.

In addition, all these shortcomings make comparisons strenuous by defining victims in ways that differ from country to country and, within the same country, from social group to social group.

There is a clear need to develop quantitative and qualitative techniques to estimate the extent and nature of immigrant victimization. Some groundwork is required to establish the boundaries of the problem.

As has been shown above, in Italy little is known about immigrants as victims of crime, especially ordinary crime. The fact that Italy, a country with a long tradition of out-migration, has only recently begun receiving sizeable inflows of immigrants, thus turning from an emigration country into an immigration country²³ has had as a consequence that only in recent times data on the victimization of immigrants have begun to be gleaned, though not on a regular basis. Besides, the issue is often blended in with discussions on racism, discriminations, xenophobia and the like. While such internationally relevant, immigrant-related topics as trafficking and smuggling, have received some scholarly awareness in the past few years, immigrant victims of ordinary crime, for the reasons listed in section 1.4, is a relatively unexplored topic. This is all the more disturbing in the light of the large number of immigrants that by now live in Italy and of the worrying, albeit scant, reports of their involvement in crime as victims. There is clearly very poor knowledge of this phenomenon that needs to be seriously addressed.

²³ Bonifazi, 2007; Einaudi, 2007; Maciotti and Pugliese, 1991; Zanfrini, 2007; Calavita, 2005.

3. Methodological steps of the research

3.1 GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

As shown above, research on immigrants as victims of crime has not, as yet, received full consideration by criminology and is currently plagued by important insufficiencies. This is all the more so in a country like Italy that has only recently become an immigration country and started to think about immigrant victimization.

The goal of the present project is to explore the topic of immigrant ordinary victimization in a limited geographical area of Southern Italy - the town of Caserta and the city of Naples in the Campania region – where immigration is particularly widespread so as to gain an introductory knowledge of the phenomenon that might come in useful in view of further studies.

The research questions the present study tries to answer are the following: What kind of crimes do immigrants in Caserta and Naples suffer? What are their safety perceptions? Do they report the crimes they suffer? These questions will further be elaborated on in the following sections of this chapter.

The study also proposes some working suggestions for further research and some considerations for a more apt methodology for studying immigrants as victims of crime.

Before describing the methodological steps used to carry out the research, it is necessary to determine why the Campania region has been chosen as the setting of the study, what the target group exactly is and what the type of crimes included in the research are.

3.2 RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING CAMPANIA AS THE SETTING OF THE RESEARCH

Campania is a region of Southern Italy in Europe. The region has a population of 5,811,390 people, which makes it the second-most-populous region in Italy. Its total area of 13,595 km² makes it the most densely populated region in the country. Five provinces are included in it: Naples, Caserta, Salerno, Avellino, Benevento. Naples has a population of 3,083,060, while Salerno and Caserta have a population of respectively 1,102,629 and 897,820 (ISTAT data). All three are very densely populated. Over half of the population is resident in the provinces of Naples, where there is a population density of 2,626 inhabitants per km². Within the province, the highest density can be found along the coast, where it reaches 13,000 inhabitants per km² in the city of Portici, one of

the most densely populated cities in Europe. The region, which was characterised until recently by an acute contrast between internal and coastal areas also under the economic aspect, in the last decade has shown an improvement thanks to the development of the provinces of Benevento and Avellino. At the same time, the provinces of Naples, Caserta and Salerno have developed a variety of activities connected to advanced types of services.

The agro-food industry is one of the main pillars of industry in Campania. The organisation of the sector is improving and leading to higher levels of quality and salaries. Campania mainly produces fruits and vegetables, but has also expanded its production of flowers grown in greenhouse, becoming one of the leading regions of the sector in Italy. The value added of this sector represents around 6.5% of the total value added of the region. Campania produces, furthermore, over 50% of Italy's nuts and is also the leader in the production of tomatoes. Animal breeding is widespread and the milk produced is used to process typical products such as mozzarella. Olive trees cover over 74,604 hectares of the agricultural land and contribute to the value added of agriculture, together with the production of fruit. Wine production has increased, together with the quality of the wine.

The reasons for choosing Campania, and especially Naples and Caserta, as the setting of the present study are the following:

✓ According to ISTAT (ISTAT, 2010²), Campania is currently the largest-hosting Southern region for immigrants (61,254 males and 85,803 females for a total 147,057 immigrants, which amounts to 2.5% of resident population) with Caserta (28,889: 13,502 males and 15,387 females, which amounts to 3.2% of resident population) and Naples (68,863: 27,521 males and 41,342 females, which amounts to 2.2% of resident population) being among the three mostly immigrant-populated towns (along with Salerno: 33,510 divided into 14,182 males and 19,328 females, which amounts to 3.0% of resident population). The first three immigrant communities are: Ukrainians (22.6%), Rumanians (16.4%) and Moroccans (8.3%). The first immigrant community in Caserta and Naples is the Ukrainian community (6,489 and 16,418 respectively), whereas Rumanians are the largest community in Salerno (8,650). Immigration to Campania is predominantly female (58,3% vs. 41,7%). Besides, 20,336 foreign minors are estimated to be living in Campania (15,5% of resident immigrants), 60% of which are second-generation immigrants (Caritas/Migrantes, 2009: 415).

There is a larger number of illegal immigrants in the South of Italy than in the North (Barbagli, 2008: 88). 130,000 out of 495.000 immigrants in the South are estimated to be irregular (Rovelli, 2009: 68). According to 2008 CGIL union data, 50,000 irregular immigrants are staying in Campania, 75% of which make up the 1,500 homeless people that live in Naples alone (Caritas/Migrantes, 2009: 409-410). Incidentally, homeless people have grown by 30% in 2008. The provinces of Caserta

alone are estimated to host the largest number of irregulars in Campania (Caritas/Migrantes, 2008: 408). Castelvoturno alone, which has a population of roughly 23.000 people, produces waste only 40.000 people could produce, which might mean that twice as many people – possibly irregular immigrants – live there (Rovelli, 2009: 67). Others estimate that about 10,000 black immigrants alone live there (Nazzaro, 2010: 81-82). Over the past 10 years, migration to Campania has turned from a predominantly transient condition into a highly stable phenomenon (Caputo, 2007: 33). As a consequence, immigrants tend to stay within the boundaries of the region on a longer basis than before.

✓ Campania is one of the poorest regions in Italy. It has a staggering unemployment rate – 12.9% in 2009, and growing from 12.6% in 2008, according to ISTAT (ISTAT, 2010) as opposed to national 7.8%– combined with a large, thriving underground labour market where institutional control is poor²⁴. Depending on estimates, the local GDP has gone down by 2.8% or 1.6% in 2008 (Caritas/Migrantes, 2009: 411). This greatly impacts on immigrant working conditions that appear highly “segmented”: immigrants tend to be employed in low-prestige occupations which locals scorn and this results in the fact that certain underpaid, unwanted jobs become “ethnic” (i.e., they are done only or mostly by certain type of immigrants), while more prestigious and better paid jobs are allocated to locals (Zanfrini, 2007: 187-189). According to Reyneri, «Southern Italy is one of the areas of developed countries where irregular work is most widespread» (Reyneri, 2002: 28). Immigrant workers entering Campania find a huge, firmly rooted and flourishing underground economy, which offers them a wide range of jobs without demanding any documents, either for working or for staying (Reyneri, 2002: 27). The sectors where underground economy is more common are agriculture and construction, followed by the garment industry, repair firms, transport, entertainment (Reyneri, 2002: 28) and housekeeping. Not only does the underground labour market draw large numbers of illegal immigrants, it also makes it extremely hard for an immigrant to shift to the legal market. At the same time, the underground labour market offers 3-D jobs, i.e., dirty, dangerous and physically demanding undesired jobs that locals are not willing to be employed in, but are essential in order for current post-fordist economies to survive (Abella, Park and Bohning, 1995). It is no surprise, then, that Campania “boasts” very low integration indexes for immigration: according to recent data, Campania ranks next to last in Italy in terms of immigrants’ integration in the local community (Caritas/Migrantes, 2009: 412).

✓ Campania is both an emigration and an immigration land (Caputo, 2007: 36). Over the past 10 years, over 600,000 young people from Campania have migrated to the

²⁴ Zanfrini, 2007: 187-189; Barbagli, 2008: 102-104; 195.

North of Italy (Caritas/Migrantes, 2008: 409). The fact that lots of locals migrate to Northern Italy makes it easier for immigrants to access the jobs available on the underground labour market which highly educated locals tend to refuse. This makes Campania even more attractive to documented and undocumented immigrants.

✓ Campania is plagued by widespread illegality and local organized crime that both exploits and offers “jobs” to locals and immigrants. Organized crime – Camorra – runs parallel labour markets that employ hundreds of people in such sectors as drug-dealing, extortion, illegal waste disposal, usury, corruption (Ministero dell’Interno, 2007¹: 197-203). Campania is the Italian region with the most murders (111) followed by Lombardy (80) and Calabria (76) (EURES, ANSA, 2009). More city councils have been shut down in Campania than in any other region because under the direct or indirect control of local crime bosses (thirty-two as opposed to nineteen in Sicily). Sixty-four public officials have been removed from their jobs for the same reason, and eight members of parliament have come under investigation for association with organized crime.

Given this context, immigrants are often employed in the parallel labour market and, at the same time, run their own criminal businesses with the approval of local organized crime (prostitution, drug-dealing, exploitation of fellow-countrymen at the workplace). Even in criminal activities, immigrants are often at the bottom of the criminal ladder. Their involvement in small-to-medium-time crimes is also responsible for their frequent victimization. To quote but one example, 70% of all immigrant prostitution in Southern Italy takes place in Campania, 90% of which is located in the provinces of Caserta, Naples and Salerno (Cooperativa sociale E.V.A. and Cooperativa sociale Dedalus, 2009: 58).

These four points make immigration a particularly vulnerable condition in Campania and offer an interesting situation for study.

Figure 1: The Campania region in southern Italy



3.3 DEFINITION OF THE TARGET GROUP

The target group of the research is made up of legal and illegal aliens²⁵ living in Caserta and Naples. The aliens under focus are specifically those coming from “Heavy

²⁵ Legal aliens are here defined as immigrants who have permission to enter or reside in Italy, while illegal aliens are here defined as immigrants who do not have permission to enter or reside in Italy. The latter definition includes people who overstay their permits of stay (*immigrati irregolari*); immigrants who come to Italy without valid travel documents and have no valid residence permits (*immigrati clandestini*); and asylum seekers who were denied entrance to Italy, ignored the order to leave the country and stayed on without documents. This definition partly overlaps that of Richard Staring (Staring, 2008). Asylum seekers and refugees are included as well. According to article 1 of the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951), a refugee is intended as “a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”. This research will not deal with professional aliens (such as the African manager or the Ukrainian footballer) but with ordinary aliens for several reasons: first, because ordinary aliens are the largest section of immigrants; second, because ordinary aliens are

Immigration Pressure Countries” (HIPC), aliens who have migrated because looking for a job or trying to join relatives, spouses, friends who have migrated for a job. Asylum seekers and refugees are also included, considering that the distinction between economic immigrants and asylum seekers/refugees is very blurred today (Masiello, 2007: 15; Maciotti and Pugliese, 2010: 7). Immigrants coming from other countries, students, tourists, professional immigrants, minors, second-generation immigrants are not considered in the study.

Only aliens who have stayed in Italy for at least one year have been considered for the research. The underlying assumption is that recently arrived immigrants may have suffered no crimes, given the short period of stay.

In what follows, the terms “immigrants” or “migrants” are usually preferred to “aliens” in view of the frequency with which they are used in the existing literature.

3.4 TYPE OF CRIMES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

The types of offence included in the present study concern ordinary crimes, i.e. common violent and property crimes as defined by ISTAT²⁶ in the latest Citizen’s Safety Survey (ISTAT, 2004) and by most Western national victimization surveys, but also “bias and hate crimes” and “job exploitation”.

Bias and hate crimes have been included for their international relevance and also because the existing literature has by now revealed that many seemingly ordinary crimes are actually bias and hate crimes in disguise²⁷. “Bias and hate crimes” generally refers to criminal acts which are seen to have been motivated by hatred of one or more of the following traits exhibited by migrants: racial group, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender. Incidents may involve physical assault, damage to property, bullying, harassment, verbal abuse or insults, offensive graffiti or letters. Bias and hate crimes may have extreme consequences and have fallen under special international and national laws across the Western world. It needs to be added, though, that «determining whether a crime was motivated by hate is a difficult judgement call» and «wide differences in judgement happen» (McDonald, 2009¹: 166). Besides, many have

the most targeted victims; third, because they are more visible in the eyes of public opinion (see Zanfrini, 2007: 149-151)

²⁶ «Types of offence included in the Italian survey concern property crimes and violent victimization against household and individuals: bag-snatching, pickpocketing, larceny, robbery, physical assault and threats, burglary, unlawful entry, vandalism, motor vehicle/parts theft» (Muratore and Tagliacozzo, 2008: 100-101). Questions about sexual harassment and violence (addressed to women aged 14-59 only) are also included in the Italian survey.

²⁷ See, for instance, Green, McFalls and Smith, 2001.

opposed hate crime laws on the grounds that they conflict with free speech rights and free thought²⁸.

Job exploitation is included because of the vast diffusion of the phenomenon in Campania, strictly linked to the local diffusion of the informal/underground labour market (Caputo, 2007) which is where immigrants and often locals are employed. Migrant workers frequently have to deal with difficult living and working conditions, increased health risks, a lack of access to social services and various forms of abuse such as the confiscation of passports by their employers. They tend to integrate sectors that are largely informal and unregulated, therefore offering them little or no protection. Migrant workers also tend to have limited or no bargaining power and few or no opportunities for establishing networks to receive information and social support. Irregular women migrant workers especially are vulnerable to harassment, intimidation or threats as well as economic and sexual exploitation. Often times, they face incarceration and/or deportation if they attempt to leave their employers. The issues of violence against migrant workers and job exploitation have become so important that they are being investigated by such organizations as IOM (International Organization for Migration) and ILO (International Labour Organization) which have made it their goals to address the issue by projects and services²⁹.

Furthermore, both bias and hate crimes and job exploitation figure in recent immigrant population surveys such as EU-MIDIS³⁰. This adds to their relevance on immigrant victimization.

In light of the above, the following types of organized crime have not been included in the present study: smuggling, trafficking, slavery, forced labour, debt bondage, drug-related crimes, counterfeiting, prostitution, usury.

3.5 A qualitative approach to studying immigrants as victims of crime

Having established the goal of the research and described the setting, the target group and the type of crimes considered, it is now necessary to explain “how” to achieve the goal.

As previously stated, the purpose of the study is to explore the topic of immigrant ordinary victimization in two limited areas in the Campania region. The

²⁸ See, for instance, Jacobs and Potter, 1998.

²⁹ See, for instance, www.iom.int and www.ilo.org for further information. The UN *Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Their Families* (ICRMW), adopted by the General Assembly in 1990 and entered into force in 2003 is currently the most comprehensive international human rights treaty meant to protect the rights of migrant workers, both regular and irregular.

³⁰ See subsection 2.3.2 in chapter 2 above.

exploratory nature of the study is due to the fact that in Italy, and especially in Campania, «the subject of study is itself relatively new and unstudied» (Babbie, 1986: 72). As sociologist Herbert Blumer explains, exploratory studies of human behavior are a way by which «a scholar can form a close and comprehensive acquaintance with a sphere of social life that is unfamiliar and hence unknown to him» (Blumer, 1986: 40). Therefore, they provide a beginning familiarity with the topic the researcher is interested in. As previously highlighted, “immigrants as victims of crime” is a comparatively new issue in criminological research, all the more so in Italy and Campania, where very few studies have been conducted on the subject, very often mixed up with concerns about racism and discrimination rather than a sheer criminological interest.

Besides,

exploration is by definition a flexible procedure in which the scholar shifts from one to another line of inquiry, adopts new points of observation as his study progresses, moves in new directions previously unthought-of, and changes his recognition of what are relevant data as he acquires more information and better understanding (Blumer, 1986: 40).

In sum,

the purpose of exploratory investigation is to move toward a clearer understanding of how one’s problem is to be posed, to learn what are the appropriate data, to develop ideas of what are significant lines of relation, and to evolve one’s conceptual tools in the light of what one is learning about the area of life (Blumer, 1986: 40).

In light of what was previously said, this is exactly the case with immigrants as victims of crime, considering the limited number of scholarly pieces on the subject and the even more limited efforts at developing a proper methodology of analysis.

The purpose of the study being exploratory, a qualitative approach has here been chosen for two basic reasons.

The first is that qualitative research, while missing representativeness and standardization (Corbetta, 2003: 71-77), is especially recommended when exploring little-known or hard-to-obtain phenomena and allows the researcher to acquire a certain knowledge of the phenomenon.

The second reason, closely linked to the first, is that a qualitative approach enables the researcher enough flexibility to adjust to “difficult” target groups. This is exactly the case with immigrants. Immigrants fall in what are technically defined as “hard-to-reach” groups³¹, i.e. sections of the population that are difficult to involve in

³¹ The term “hard to reach group” is inconsistently employed in the literature. Sometimes it is used to refer to minority groups, such as ethnic people, gays and lesbians, or homeless people; it is also used to refer to “hidden populations”, i.e. groups of people who do not wish to be found or contacted, such as illegal drug users or gang members; while at other

public participation or ordinary surveys. This is because immigrants, whether legal or illegal, share a certain set of characteristics which make them elusive to mainstream research.

To begin with, immigrants, by definition, tend to move around much more than the local population.

In the second place, even though most legal aliens tend to apply for residence, they do not always have a landline phone or a stable place to live, which makes it very hard to conduct telephone interviews, mail interviews or face to face interviews, let alone computer-aided interviews.

Illegal, undocumented aliens, on the other hand, are not entitled to apply for residence, do not own landline phones and, because of their status, are always on the lookout when somebody tries to accost them. The problems mentioned about legal aliens are thus compounded.

These shortcomings make immigrants a rather elusive target group to approach. A qualitative method allows flexible strategies to overcome such obstacles, as will be discussed in section 3.7.

3.6 WHICH DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE?

Given the qualitative nature of the study, a semi-structured interview has been chosen as the technique to be used.

The semi-structured interview – one, that is to say, where questions are not predetermined and prearranged and the interviewer is free to ask them following predefined guidelines, while the respondent is free to answer them as they please – has here been adopted with immigrants for the following reasons:

- the semi-structured interview is specially recommended when flexibility is called for in the interaction with “not-so-ordinary” respondents, while, at the same time, the phenomenon under study is little known, as in the case of immigrants;

- the semi-structured interview allows both the interviewer and the respondent ample freedom during the encounter, while all possible areas of interest may be investigated with a minimum of directiveness;

- in the semi-structured interview, the phrasing and the order of the questions may be modified at will, according to necessity and the interviewer may be asked all sorts of clarifying questions by the respondent;

times it may refer to broader segments of the population, such as old or young people or people with disabilities (Jones and Newburn, 2001: vi).

- the semi-structured interview allows the researcher to take into account the respondent's culture, which, if very different, as in the case of immigrants, may be extremely hard to categorize in pre-determined ways³².

At the same time, semi-structured interviews with key informants ("Questura" officials, commissioners, law enforcement agencies representatives, community and association leaders) have also been conducted so as to gather more information on immigrants' behaviors and supplement the information already obtained by immigrants themselves.

The semi-structured format has here been chosen so that the respondents would be totally free to provide whatever information they felt relevant to the subject of study. Key informants make it possible to "see things" from a different vantage. This, combined with the immigrants' point of view, offers an all-round perspective on the subject³³.

Semi-structured interviews, as all qualitative interviews, demand the interviewer devote much time and energy to the task. A semi-structured interview requires a longer time than administering a questionnaire: the write-out part alone takes up to three times as long as the recording part (Gianturco, 2005: 83). Besides, a semi-structured interview is much more exacting than a questionnaire and requires maximum concentration during the intercourse.

These disadvantages are undoubtedly offset by the quality and relevancy of the information obtained.

3.6.1 CONTENTS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH IMMIGRANTS

As earlier observed, the semi-structured interview allows both the interviewer and the respondent considerable flexibility in the course of their interaction, thus eliciting previously unaccounted for contents, provided guidelines are supplied for the conduction of the interview (Corbetta, 2003: 82-84). Once the guidelines are determined, the interviewer is free to handle them of his/her own will, adjusting the aim as the interview goes along.

In view of the goals of the research, the above mentioned characteristics of the target group, the type of crimes included, and the methodology adopted, the interview guide here chosen has included the following four sections, which comprise the questions the present study tries to answer, i.e., what kind of crimes do immigrants in

³² Gobo, 2001; Corbetta, 2003: 69-113; Gianturco, 2005: 70-72; Lucidi, Alivernini and Pedon, 2008: 57.

³³ See Gianturco, 2005: 78-79 on this.

Caserta and Naples suffer? What are their safety perceptions? Do they report the crimes they suffer? In the following, the three questions are elaborated on.

First section

In the first section, respondents are made familiar with the purpose of the research and assured as to the anonymity and confidentiality of the answers provided. Respondents are then asked background information relative to sex, age, legal status, education and the like. Box 1 below details the first section of the semi-structured interview with immigrants.

Box 1 – First section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with immigrants

Dear respondent,
I am inviting you to participate in a research project to study the crimes suffered by immigrants in Campania, particularly in Caserta and Naples. I guarantee that your responses will not be identified with you personally. The interview is completely anonymous. The answers will be treated confidentially and only for research purposes. I'd also like to ask your permission to digitally record the conversation in order to make the data processing easier. The digital recording will be destroyed as soon as the data have been processed.

a) In the first part of the interview, I'd like to ask you some personal information such as: sex, age, legal status, education. Of course, your anonymity will be guaranteed.
During the interview also ask: How long have you been living in Italy? Which country are you from?

Second section

In the second section, respondents are asked “victimization” questions relative to crimes they may have suffered while in Italy. The crimes chosen, as said above, are drawn and adapted from regular Western victimization surveys (mostly property and

personal crimes, vandalism, but also job exploitation crimes and hate crimes). The second section is the core section of the interview. Box 2 below details the second section of the semi-structured interview with immigrants.

Box 2 – Second section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with immigrants

c) In this second part, I would like to ask you if you have ever been a victim of crime during your stay in Italy. For example, have you ever had anything stolen from you? Have you ever been attacked or threatened by someone? Has your property or household ever been vandalized? Have you ever been targeted because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion? If so, could you tell me more about what happened? Have you ever been the victim of any of the above crimes while at the workplace?
During the interview, also ask: a) Was the offender an Italian, a fellow-citizen or some other foreigner? b) Have you ever been injured as a result of the crime? c) How often has this happened? d) Where did this happen? e) Some immigrants say they have been exploited during their stay in Italy, for instance accepting lower wages or working extra hours without being properly paid. Has this ever happened to you?

Third section

In the third section, respondents are asked “safety” questions, that is to say, questions relative to their own feelings of safety, concerns and worries as immigrants living in Caserta and Naples, and other relevant “opinion” questions on the crimes suffered by immigrants in general – whether motivated by hate or not - and the perceived relationship with the police and how protected by law-enforcement agencies immigrants feel. The third section obviously deals with the perception of victimization among immigrants. Box 3 below details the third section of the semi-structured interview with immigrants.

Box 3 – Third section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with immigrants

b) In this third part, I'd like to focus on how safe you feel living in Italy. For example, how safe do you feel working, walking or just doing ordinary things in Italy? Do you ever think of the possibility of becoming a victim of crime in Italy? Are you ever worried that you might be subject to a physical attack because of your skin color, ethnic origin or religion? Do you think there is much violence against immigrants in Italy? If so, could you tell me more about it? Do you think that immigrants, on the whole, suffer more crimes than Italians? If so, why? Do you feel protected by law-enforcement agencies? What is your relationship with the police?

During the interview, also ask: a) Have you ever been stopped by the police or other law-enforcement agency? If so, could you tell me what happened? Was there anything about being stopped by the police that made you think you were stopped because you were a foreigner? b) Do you trust institutions in Italy? Please, elaborate on this.

Fourth section

In the fourth and final section, immigrants' reporting behavior is investigated.

Respondents are asked whether they tend to report the crimes they suffer and, if not, why they do not. In case the crimes have been reported, respondents are then asked whether they feel satisfied with the way law-enforcement agencies dealt with the matter. Box 4 below details the fourth section of the semi-structured interview with immigrants.

Box 4 – Fourth section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with immigrants

d) In this fourth part, I'd like to ask you if, as a victim of crime, you have ever reported the offence suffered to the police or other law-enforcement agency. If so, could you tell me what happened? If not, why didn't you report the offence? If you have reported it, were you satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter? Could you elaborate on this?

During the interview, also ask: a) Do you think you have been fairly treated by the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza? b) How do you think the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza generally treat immigrants?

This is the end of the interview.

Thanks for your time.

3.6.2 CONTENTS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Key informants are particularly invaluable since they are in a privileged position to observe immigrants' behaviors and perceptions on a day-to-day basis. Besides, they usually store relevant information on the subject of research.

The semi-structured interview with key informants here chosen has included the following three sections. Questions may have varied according to the capacity of the respondent:

First section

In the first section, key informants are made familiar with the purpose of the research and assured as to the confidentiality of the answers provided. Unlike immigrants, key informants are invited to disclose their identity. Respondents are then asked name and capacity within the organization they work for. Box 5 below details the first section of the semi-structured interview with key informants.

Box 5 – First section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with key informants

Dear respondent,
in your capacity as..., I am inviting you to participate in a research project to study the crimes suffered by immigrants in Campania, particularly in Caserta and Naples. I guarantee that the answers will be treated confidentially and only for research purposes. I'd also like to ask you permission to digitally record the conversation in order to make the data processing easier. The digital recording will be destroyed as soon as the data have been processed.

- a) In the first part of the interview, I'd like to ask you some personal information such as: name, position.

Second section

In the second section, key informants are asked questions regarding whatever relevant data they may possess on the subject of study. Also, they are asked about the type of crimes they think immigrants suffer most and their reporting behavior. A host of related questions are then asked. Box 6 below details the second section of the semi-structured interview with key informants.

Box 6 – Second section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with key informants

- b) In the second part of the interview, I would like to ask you if, in your capacity as..., you have relevant data on the subject of study.

After this, ask: in your capacity as..., what kind of crimes do immigrants suffer most? Do immigrants report the crimes they suffer? If not, why in your opinion? What kind of crimes do immigrants report? Do certain immigrants report more than others? Are certain crimes more reported/underreported than others? If so, why in your opinion? What kind of immigrants come into contact with law-enforcement agencies? What are the differences between Italians' and immigrants' reporting behavior?

During the interview, also ask: a) Do immigrants report crimes more when the offender is a fellow-citizen or when it is an Italian? b) Do irregular immigrants report the same as regular ones?

Third section

In the third and final section, key informants are asked questions regarding immigrants' attitudes and perception of the law-enforcement system. Also, important questions are asked regarding immigrants' rights awareness and whether they are knowledgeable of the Italian law system. A host of related questions are then asked. Box 7 below details the third section of the semi-structured interview with key informants.

Box 7 – Third section of Interview Guide for semi-structured interview with key informants

c) In this third part, I'd like to ask you about immigrants' attitudes and perception of the law-enforcement system. For example, how do immigrants relate to the law-enforcement system? How do they react to the crimes they suffer? Are they suspicious/trustful of the system? Do they see the law-enforcement system as a resource or as threat? Do immigrants, in your opinion, see themselves as discriminated against by the law-enforcement system?
During the interview, also ask: a) Are immigrants aware of their rights? b) Are they, on the average, knowledgeable of the Italian law system? c) What type of immigrant knows more about the law-enforcement system, in your opinion?
This is the end of the interview.
Thanks for your time.

3.7 A NEW STRATEGY TO APPROACH THE TARGET GROUP

As mentioned in section 3.5, immigrants represent a "hard-to-reach" target group, that is to say, a group not easily amenable to mainstream research. This calls for a new way to approach and get accurate information from them.

For the purposes of this study, a new strategy has been devised that relies on the brokering role of immigrant communities and associations in order to approach the target group. The Campania Region currently registers immigrant communities and associations in approved lists (Regional Law n. 33 – 03/11/1994, art. 8): these lists have

been employed by the researcher as a starting point to map out existing immigrant communities and associations in order to contact them and explain the purpose of the research.

The inspiring principle is that the researcher should reach the immigrants not where they live, which is very often undeterminable ammmmmnd impracticable, but where they turn to and get together for various reasons (help, looking for a job, assistance in filling out forms). A large number of immigrants is thus potentially available to the researcher.

Another reason for this is that immigrant communities and associations may act as gatekeepers and trust-builders between the researcher and the target group. Since immigrants live part of their lives with said communities and associations, a trustful relationship is established between them and the people who run these organizations. The researcher may thus come into contact with them, present the project and start the research on a mutual trust basis, which is a very important precondition for a study like the one discussed here.

Although this strategy tends to leave out those who keep to themselves and do not blend in with the rest of the population, it is probably the best way to approach a sizable number of immigrants on the best possible starting basis in view of the difficulties ordinary strategies present.

Accordingly, in the period February-April 2009, several immigrant associations and communities in Caserta and Naples were contacted mostly by phone or in person. The choice fell on the most active and accredited ones, i.e. those that had the largest immigrant turnout and were renowned for being dependable and trustworthy. After the research was presented to them, arrangements were made to schedule interviews with the immigrants that fell in the target group.

The details of the research are provided below.

3.8 DETAILS OF THE RESEARCH

Altogether, 22 organizations in Caserta and Naples were contacted for the interviews in the period February-April 2009 (for details see annex 6).

93 interviews were conducted between May and December 2009.

All in all, 73 immigrants and 20 key informants were interviewed.

According to literature³⁴, the number of expected respondents for a qualitative interview ranges somewhere between 50 and 100. It needs to be said, though, that the exact number cannot be determined in advance because knowledge of

³⁴ Corbetta, 2003: 113, n. 1; Gianturco, 2005: 97-98.

significant/relevant respondents and researcher's sensitivity are more important features than mere numbers³⁵.

In the course of the research, the reasons for conducting 73 interviews with immigrants were basically the following:

- a) The process of field research made the researcher aware that all the possible aspects of the study had been properly dealt with. The researcher decided to stop where he felt he had by then got a meaningful insight into the topic of his research, that could not be enhanced by more interviews³⁶.
- b) The researcher interviewed immigrants coming from as many diverse walks of life as possible. The most important immigrant communities in Campania were reached (with the exception of the Chinese community) and immigrants from different backgrounds were interviewed in terms of sex, age, nationality, period of stay, legal status, marital status and education.

As for key informants, they were mainly chosen on the basis of their relevancy and prominence. The subjects contacted were people "in the know", that is to say, people who possessed reliable knowledge and were willing to share it with others³⁷.

The interviews were mostly conducted in informal contexts. Given the type of respondents immigrants are, a formal context would have proved self-defeating. Sometimes the interviews were conducted over dinner or at conferences, festivals.

The interviews were recorded through a voice recorder. First a tape recorder was used, then a digital one.

Once the interviews were recorded, they were coded and properly translated into English.

Only 4 in 93 respondents refused to have their voice recorded.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English and Italian. Three in French.

Interviews with immigrants ran in length between 25 and 60 minutes, with an average of 40 minutes, depending especially on willingness and knowledge of the language. Interviews with key informants tended to run between 50 and 90 minutes with an average 60 minutes.

All the interviews were written out in English, though not verbatim. An "adaptation strategy" (Gianturco, 2005: 119) has been preferred, whereby spoken words

³⁵ Some authors maintain that small sample size is advisable for qualitative methods. For instance, Heith Copes argues that «qualitative methods provide a rich source of data; therefore smaller sample sizes are appropriate. There are numerous studies within criminology and sociology that rely on sample sizes ranging from 30 to 50» (Copes, 2003: 107).

³⁶ Glaser and Strauss talk about "theoretical saturation" to describe a situation where no new information emerges from the data and the researcher stops doing research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, pp. 61-62, 111-112).

³⁷ For more information on this, see sub-section 3.8.2. Profile of key informants.

were adapted to the written form by removing pauses, redundancies, convoluted style. This was due to various reasons:

- a) first of all, respondents sometimes had poor knowledge of Italian and English, or produced context-relative sentences, not easily amenable to written form;
- b) secondly, some of them tended to ramble, be hesitant or digressive. This had to somehow be made clear and sensible;
- c) finally, the need for everything to be translated into English made it necessary to adapt spoken sentences to the translation.

Accuracy in reporting respondents' words as best as possible was always a top priority for the researcher.

Finally, no Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Softwares (CAQDAS) were used for the study: Word2007 proved useful enough to process and analyze data.

3.8.1. PROFILE OF IMMIGRANT RESPONDENTS³⁸

Of the 73 immigrants interviewed, 56 (76,7%) were male, 17 (23,3%) female. 48 (65,8%) respondents were from Africa, 19 (26%) from Eastern Europe, 6 (8,2%) from Asia.

Most respondents' age bracket was 20-35.

41 interviewees lived in the provinces of Caserta (56,2%), 32 in the provinces of Naples (43,8%).

Considering residence permit holders, slip holders, EU citizens and Italian citizens, respondents' status was mostly legal (65,8%). 32,9% declared they were irregular. One respondent declared no citizenship.

As for the reason for coming to Italy, most respondents (74%) came to Italy for work, 15,1% to seek asylum, and 8,2% to join family.

Most respondents were either single (39,7%) or married (43,8%).

Finally, most respondents' level of education (61,6%) ranged from "some lower secondary education" to "completed upper secondary education".

Campania's five largest immigrant communities (Ukraine, Romania, Poland, Albania, Morocco) were reached. Other important communities were reached as well (Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Pakistan), among which many irregulars are to be found. Chinese immigrants were not included in the interviews because, however numerous, they tend to keep to themselves and are somewhat hard to reach.

³⁸ See Annex 4 for an extended profile.

A final remark: in this study it is not always easy to draw a clear-cut distinction between immigrant respondents and key informants. This especially holds true for the so called “mediatori culturali” (*cultural mediators*). Mediatori culturali are immigrant people whose job it is to mediate between their own and the Italian culture and, as such, they are both immigrants and key informants in that they tend to know Italian better, have a better knowledge of both their own and the Italian culture, are more aware of immigrants’ rights to tell which is a crime and which is not, and are generally people “in the know” when it comes to immigrant communities’ problems and resources. As a matter of fact, “mediatori culturali” have proved to be a particularly useful category of interviewees for the researcher.

The interviews being anonymous, in the next chapter immigrants are always referred to by the number associated with them in Annex 3 (“List of respondents by demographics”)³⁹. This way it is always possible to determine their identity in terms of gender, age, nationality, place of residence, education, legal status, marital status, reason for coming to Italy.

3.8.2. PROFILE OF KEY INFORMANTS

Of the 20 key informants interviewed, 7 belonged to law-enforcement agencies, one of which preferred to remain anonymous, 4 were lawyers who defended immigrants’ rights, 2 were union representatives (“CGIL⁴⁰ – Immigrati”), 7 were prominent members or presidents of important associations that deal with immigrants’ problems on a daily basis.

All were easily reached except law-enforcement representatives. One reason might be the bureaucracy involved in the process, but, on two occasions at least, lack of interest played a major part.

A complete list of the key-informants interviewed in the course of the study is provided in Annex 5.

3.8.3. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE RESEARCH

It is noteworthy to pinpoint some of the difficulties encountered during the research.

³⁹ For instance, by scrolling the list, respondent 33 appears to be a widowed Polish woman, aged 46, who came to Italy in 1996, lives in Caserta as a work residence permit holder, and has completed upper secondary education.

⁴⁰ CGIL: Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (Italian General Confederation of Work), the largest union in Italy.

When establishing contact with the immigrant associations and communities in Caserta and Naples, the researcher was always warmly welcomed and aptly introduced to the immigrants eventually interviewed. One problem, though, any researcher in the field of immigration will probably always have to be confronted with is what could be termed “saturation effect”. Over the past few years, immigrants have been asked time and time again to give interviews by both journalists and researchers to such an extent that some of them have grown tired of always being asked questions. As one key informant (not included in the list of key informants interviewed) said in Castelvoturno: «Immigrants are tired of interviews, because nothing happens afterwards. They want residence permits, not interviews». This “feeling” is very intense these days and will have to be taken into account by future researchers.

Establishing contact with law-enforcement agencies proved time-consuming and, to a certain extent, frustrating. It takes time and a lot of red tape before researchers may interview law-enforcement representatives. This is especially true of Carabinieri, who have to go through a lengthy procedure before allowing an interview. Besides, no data were authorized by law-enforcement agencies.

Saturation effect aside, immigrants were generally talkative and cooperative. Some of them tended to be excessively compliant or prone to overstatements. In one case, for instance, the respondents kept putting in “God bless Italians” every so many words as if to win the interviewer’s sympathy. Some tended to be suspicious at first, but then opened up after introductions were made. Others were originally afraid of speaking out, but became talkative after a while. In other cases, reassuring talk was needed on the part of the researcher for the respondents to finally state their own opinions.

Some cultural problems arose. For instance, the researcher had a hard time interviewing women from India and Pakistan who did not want to talk to a man alone. In one case, a man from Pakistan demanded the researcher give him a residence permit since “he had answered all the questions right!”. This was probably due to a linguistic misunderstanding. However much the researcher tried to structure, word and adapt interviews both linguistically and culturally, a few minor problems came up.

In other cases, the researcher had to make many appointments before the respondent turned up. In general, immigrants – especially irregular immigrants – lead a different lifestyle than nationals and this means complying with different rules and habits. In one case, for instance, the researcher got an interview at 11:00 p.m. because the respondent had worked all day long.

Something else needs to be mentioned. Despite what literature on methodology recommends, it was almost impossible for the researcher to snowball from one respondent to another. At the end of their interviews, respondents were generally more than willing to introduce the researcher to a friend/relative/acquaintance who had been victimized, but when it came down to facts, it was impossible to re-establish contact with them, save few exceptions.

Another interesting aspect had to do with respondents' awareness of the crimes suffered. Some respondents, whom the interviewer knew to have been victimized, started off saying they had never suffered any crimes during their stay in Italy, but, as the interview progressed, the researcher found out they actually had. A possible reason for this will be discussed in detail in subsection 4.3.2 in the next chapter.

A source of confusion was the fact that sometimes respondents mistook racism for crime as if those were always one and the same thing, which is not obviously true. A crime may have a racist background and some forms of racism may be labeled as crimes by the law, but the two concepts do not necessarily overlap.

As mentioned before, the largest immigrant communities in Campania were reached. The Chinese community, however, proved to be almost impenetrable and distrustful. This needs to be brought in mind, should other like researches be carried out.

A final comment needs to be made on the conduction of the research. The fact that the public relations man, the researcher, the linguist, and the interviewer were one and the same person certainly made things hard in that this type of study is better carried out by a team of people. Future research will have to take this into account.

4 Results of the research on immigrants as victims of ordinary crime in Caserta and Naples

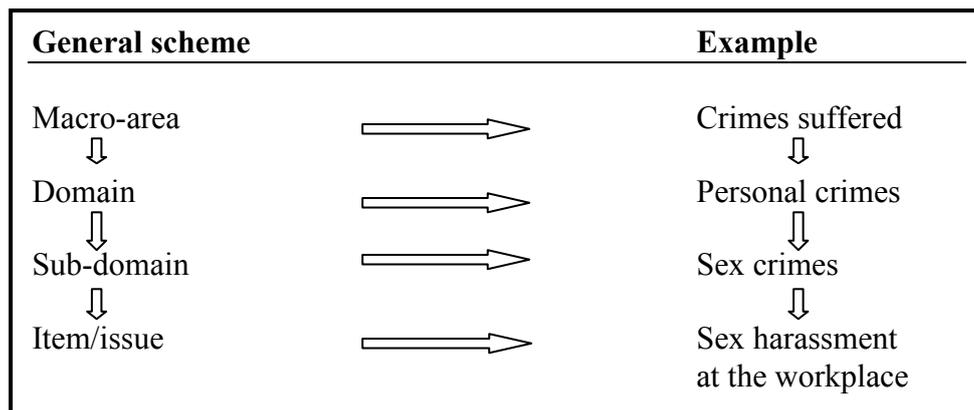
In this chapter, the results of the research on immigrants as victims of ordinary crime in Caserta and Naples are detailed.

Results are described following the macro-areas considered for the interview guides. This means that the sections of the chapter closely reflect the layout of the guide, that is to say: 1) crimes suffered; 2) safety; 3) reporting behavior. This way, respondents' and key informants' responses have been grouped together within the macro-areas defined in the interview guides according to emerging issues.

Specific items or issues have been isolated according to their relevancy and frequency. This way, it is possible to make sense of what otherwise would be an undifferentiated morass of information. Items are events, behaviors, statements or activities that stand out because they often occur and/or are crucial to a good understanding of the question of the research. Items are organized into domains which make it possible for the researcher to differentiate among issues and to make description easier. In some cases, sub-domains have been included as well.

To provide just one example, within the macro-area "crimes suffered", the domain "personal crime" includes the sub-domain "sex crimes" which includes the item "sex harassment at the workplace".

Box 8 –Organization of the results of the research



Given this framework, much space has been allotted to respondents' and key informants' words so as to be as accurate as possible in reporting them. Whenever necessary, a context in square brackets has been provided to clarify statements.

Finally, "respondents" is only used for immigrant respondents, whereas "key informants" is only used for key informants.

4.1 MACRO-AREA 1: CRIMES SUFFERED BY IMMIGRANTS IN CASERTA AND NAPLES

The crimes included and discussed in this area comprise crimes suffered at the workplace or while looking for a job; crimes suffered while looking for a house or when the house has already been rented or bought; personal crimes with special reference to beatings, assaults, sex harassment and gender violence; property crimes with special reference to robberies, pickpocketing, bag-snatching, burglaries, acts of vandalism and frauds; abuse of power by law-enforcement agencies; hate crimes.

4.1.1 CRIMES SUFFERED AT THE WORKPLACE OR WHILE LOOKING FOR A JOB

All over the world, migrant workers suffer violence. So much so that a number of international instruments have provided the necessary legal framework for the protection of migrants' labor rights: the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW, adopted by the General Assembly in 1990, entered into force in 2003), the United Nations resolution on Violence against Women Migrant Workers (A/RES/60/139) adopted in 2005, the 1949 ILO Migration for Employment Convention (ILO recommendation No. 86), and the 1975 ILO Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention (ILO recommendation No. 151).

In Italy, a ruling by the Court of Cassation (n. 872, September 21 2007) has decreed that black market jobs are a type of extortion, thus making it clear that employers cannot employ people against the law. In 2008 the Court of Cassation has also decreed (35112/2008) that it is a penal crime to employ irregular immigrants.

In short, both at the international and local level, crimes committed against migrant workers are acknowledged by the law.

It is no surprise, then, that work appears in this research as the one area where immigrants suffer the most crimes. This is so common that all the respondents interviewed have declared to have suffered some crimes. By and large, respondents were not even aware that what they went through was a crime. Some consider it a sort of price they have to pay for the very fact of being immigrants. Others have come to realize they were being exploited or taken advantage of only in time. Experiences at the workplace constitute an important part of immigrants' lives and have a tremendous impact on their staying in Italy.

In Italy, and especially in the South, the situation is compounded by the fact that the black job market is very widespread and makes up an important part of the economy of southern regions. This plays an important part in black jobs not being perceived as against the law: since everybody is doing it – immigrants seem to say – why should we not do it?

More in detail, from the interviews conducted, a whole host of issues regularly come up. The first and foremost is by far working without a contract and, consequently, no benefits, no prospect of a retirement pension, no entitlement to legal documents. This is so common that every time respondents were asked if they had a contract, they answered: «Of course I don't». Only occasionally was the issue directly voiced, since it was taken for granted. Besides, working without a contract is true of both men and women, regardless of their nationality. This is due to the fact that immigrants are in a vulnerable situation: for them having a chance to work legally may mean having a chance to become legal, as most permits of stay are work-related. Thus, having a job – any job – is not just instrumental to mere survival, but may be the first step towards becoming legal aliens. As it turns out, lots of legal foreign workers start off in the illegal job market to eventually (although not necessarily) move up to the legal job market. Immigrants are thus confronted with take-it-or-leave-it situations which expose them to unscrupulous “employers” who take advantage of their vulnerability in a way that would not be possible with Italians, who may always fall back on such “social cushions” as their families. One paradoxical consequence of this is that immigrant workers may be preferred over local workers in some sectors (such as construction), especially in times of economic crisis, because they cost less, do not complain, are more vulnerable and liable to be blackmailed, and, finally, more disposable. The “edge” immigrant workers seem to have over their Italian counterparts is only due to their vulnerability and, ultimately, confirms it⁴¹.

Here are some of the statements produced by respondents.

The main problem is I can never work with a regular contract (respondent 2).

⁴¹ For the Italian situation, see, for instance, Schinaia, 2010. See also Calavita, 2005; IPRS, 2007; IMED (ed.), 2008.

At the restaurant, I am paid less than my Italian fellow-workers ... who work without a contract, too, just like me ..., there are no rights (respondent 36).

Here I've worked as a carpenter without a contract (respondent 57).

I've worked ever since I was 13. I am a gardener here. I used to work for a boat factory. Then I worked for a furniture factory. Then I took a training course as a street worker. When I was at the boat factory, I worked 7 months, from 7 a.m. to 6,30 p.m. I had no contract, of course (respondent 63).

I used to be into cleaning. Five years. Then we fell out and I left. Then I did other jobs on and off. I got along well with my employer for 3 and half years. Then they started asking me to stay longer, for the same pay. No contract (respondent 43).

I worked as a bricklayer, a welder, other jobs. Now I'm into cleaning. I had to adapt, because I've always worked at the computer. I don't get much, but I can't complain. Of course, no contract. When you are a foreigner, they think you have fewer needs than them. But it's the other way round. They'll say, he is a foreigner, he doesn't need much. But that's wrong (respondent 44).

I am a fashion designer and am currently working as such. I have no contract, of course. I am truthful. I'll tell you the truth (respondent 64).

Working without a contract is so common that having a contract sometimes is a wonder:

I sell stuff wherever I can. I've done all sorts of jobs, painter, bricklayer...sometimes I've even had a contract (respondent 42).

This is also confirmed by a local union leader, who makes it clear that immigrants are not often aware of this condition being a crime:

Another huge crime is immigrants working without a contract and (usually) without a work permit. As a rule, an immigrant without a work permit will not be aware of that black job being a crime. All they want is to work. If you ask them, they will say everything is all right. Sometimes even having a contract doesn't necessarily mean having a job. Fake contracts are sold and bought. So are work permits. Certain people thrive on this (key informant 2).

If, as mentioned above, working without a contract is not typical of immigrant workers, working longer hours, doing 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, difficult), being underpaid and, sometimes, working without being paid have gradually become very typical of immigrant workers' condition. Actually, not being paid is something that all the immigrants interviewed have experienced at some point in their lives:

I work on and off. I've worked as a stucco decorator. I got my job through a friend. I go to Sant'Antimo [a small town near Naples] and Succivo [a small town near Caserta] in the piazza looking for work. I work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. 40 Euros a day. Some of my friends have not been paid. The "padrone" just ran off. 40 % of "padroni" are good; the rest are not. I have worked as a gardener from 7

a.m. to 8 p.m. Also, in the countryside from dawn till late of night, in the scorching sun. They don't even give you food. Just some water from the hose. You just have to keep working. Even if you feel sick, you can't say it, or else you lose the money (respondent 18).

I work on and off. I work as an ironer in a factory. I work 8 hours a day. I'd like to have documents and benefits... Sometimes, what happens is you don't get paid. They keep putting you off. They take advantage of the fact that you don't have documents. I can't even go to the police. This has happened to me more than once (respondent 20).

I work in a clothes factory... It's happened me that I wasn't paid by my employer. But I can't call the police ... Some employers are good; some are bad. I work 8 hours, but sometimes 10-11 without getting paid more. Some have a good heart; some don't. Last year I was out of work the whole year. What can you do about it? Work is my constant preoccupation. I work on and off. Sometimes I can't even call my parents because I have no money (respondent 21).

When I was in agriculture, I worked long hours, from 7, 7:30 (and we were supposed to start at 9) to 6 (and we were supposed to end at 5). They always try to make profits and take advantage of us because we are the weaker links. It's inevitable. Some are different and treat you differently, but most of them tend to exploit you. I was given 50.000 Lire. Then I started working in painting for a friend who had to redo his house. They got to know I worked well and so I got other jobs by word of mouth. Then I started working as a mediatore culturale in schools and things started to change, but you never know. I might find myself jobless and fall back on painting and carwashes. These situations are not normal, I felt angry, but I had to grin and bear it, because I was in dire straits, I had no alternatives. But people should be treated according to what they do, not to their nationality (respondent 38).

We have been exploited in a big way: long hours and they pay you always the same, 20-25 euros. You barely manage to survive, don't know how to pay the rent, starving yourself in order to survive, not eating what you need to eat, not buying the clothes that you need to wear. All to pay the rent because it's worse if you are kicked out of the house. We keep hoping to god there is a chance for us. You raise some money a month and then you have to use it for the following month. I'm not surprised that people, because of the hardship, they resort to crime (respondent 48).

[Back in Rumania] I worked 12 hours for a low pay. I do the same here. No difference. Here I've worked as a carpenter without a contract. But it was too hard. Then I worked for a fisherman for 6 weeks. I worked in the countryside, then in a garden. Now I work in construction. Everyone talks bad about Rumanians. We want to work. I've always been paid about 33,3% of what I deserved. Here there is democracy, but nothing has changed from Rumania. We are good respectable people. There are a lot of foreigners here. This is why we have to work long hours for a low pay (respondent 57).

They call me when the job is heavy and dirty. Two-three weeks. 20 euros a day. That's it. In Naples, I was working at the traffic lights (selling tissues), a man comes along and asks me if I want to do some bricklaying. I said yes. I worked 5 or 6 days for him. He said come back tomorrow for the pay. But he never paid me (respondent 42).

I used to work for a boat factory. Then I worked for a furniture factory. Then I took a training course as a street worker. When I was at the boat factory, I worked 7 months, from 7 a.m. to 6,30 p.m. He gave me 160 Euros for 10 days. Then he didn't pay me for 7 months, after which he said you can go

home now. I'll pay you in a couple of days. Then after one-two-three weeks, a month, they come to my place and give me 70 Euros. It was ridiculous. I was to be given about 5000 Euros. I ripped up the notes in front of them. They even accused me of stealing, which was not true. Everybody here knows that I am honest (respondent 63).

I worked two months with an electrician from Crispano [a small town near Naples] and he didn't pay me. He only gave me 500 Euros. I'm still waiting for the rest. What can you do about it? Such is life. Even if I wanted to report him to the police, he is still Italian, he knows the language better, he knows how to move around. Besides, I have no documents. So I said to myself: "Never mind" (respondent 43).

I'm a fashion designer. I design shoes. I'm pretty good at it. I started working for someone but he was just exploiting me. He wouldn't pay me. So I quit. Over here you just can't do your job. They think just because you are a foreigner they can take advantage of you. The first generation of Moroccans were pretty ignorant. Now things are different. But people still think we are chumps, that we work a lot for less than a minimum wage and we are happy this way. Things are different now (respondent 44).

When I started working I was with a family. They treated me well. I had to work from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. for 900,000 lire [roughly 450 Euros], with barely one day off. It was my first job so I didn't know any better. But I worked on Sundays too. Too many hours, poor pay, no contract because I didn't have a permit of stay yet. They didn't pay extra time, nothing (respondent 72).

In the following example, the immigrant's condition closely resembles slavery:

One day someone tells me there is this man I could work with. He had a horse that needed tending and training. The man never paid me well. The job was dirty too. He only gave me 10 Euros a day. So I talked to him and he put it up to 20 Euros. I worked from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. 12 hours. We had breaks occasionally: 2-hour breaks. Back then I was working with a Rumanian man. We collected the horse cacca and pipi (sic) and placed it somewhere else. We fed the horse. We gave it water. We also trained the horse, gave it medicine. Now the Rumanian has left for his country. I am all alone. The man asks me to remain and sleep there the night. The area is a lonely one. It is near Castelvoturno. I was afraid because no brothers [fellow-countrymen] were around. Now the man has put more people there. And he gave me small money because he said I was just helping out, not working much. Now I don't work for him anymore. I don't have a job. I worked for nothing. This man took my money. He didn't pay me well. He robbed me. He said he didn't have money to give me (respondent 47).

In the next two examples, the money owed the respondents is considerable, but the respondents feel helpless and are at a loss what to do. They don't go to the police because they are irregular and so stand to lose all their money:

I've been working for 5 months but now I have stopped working because the man refuses to pay me. He paid me some. He told me to keep working and the pay kept going up. Now he owes me 7.905 euros. I was doing house painting, tile fixing. I don't know the reason he doesn't want to pay me. I don't speak Italian well so I decided to ask my brothers [fellow-countrymen] to help me but the man just won't listen. He even asked me to keep working but I just told him that unless he pays me I won't work for him again. I never see the police so I reported the case to the lawyer at the social center [center for immigrant people] here. The lawyer says he'll need to talk to the man. I'm still waiting for feedback. In the

meantime, I just go to the roadside and wait for the job. A friend of my boss's offered me a job as a housecleaner, but it's still up in the air, so we'll see (respondent 49).

Three years ago I worked in Casoria [a town near Naples] for a man. One month he didn't pay me, he promised he would, but he didn't. And when I insisted he just said Go away or I'll call the police. You have no residence permit. He threatened me. I said All right, call the police, I'm an honest man. I am not stupid. You are stupid. After a lot of arguing, he gave me about 70% of what he owed me. The thing is we can't go to the police because they are not interested in the issue. The first thing they'll ask you is Do you have a residence permit? Do you have documents? That's it. They don't want to hear more. If you say no, they'll send you back to your own place. Over here, as soon as people see a foreigner they say to themselves Here's an opportunity to take advantage of someone. We are suffering here (respondent 64).

Immigrants' reporting behavior will be discussed later in the chapter. In the meantime, it is interesting to highlight that, although respondents hardly ever use the words "exploitation" or "slave-like condition", key informants have no hesitation in doing so. What comes up from the following statements is that this condition is favoured by what often appears a complete lack of awareness, a missing perception of what is right and what is not. All this is made worse, as previously said, by a parallel lack of social cushions:

The most common crime migrants suffer here is at the workplace. They are exploited by unscrupulous employers and made to work overtime hours without being paid (key informant 1).

The first problem is that most crimes suffered by migrants within the work area are not perceived as such. Usually, they'll have a part-time contract for a given job and a given set of working hours, and they'll end up doing something different, longer working hours, low pay. This happens to Italians as well, but at least, however much we accept it, we are aware that something is wrong. The average immigrant doesn't. And then, of course, sometimes, even in the black economy, they may not be paid at all. Italian employers very often exploit the situation since immigrants are very vulnerable. Once again, it's the perception that counts. They don't trust institutions and the law. They would never look to, say, the police to set things straight (key informant 2).

Immigrants mostly suffer from exploitation at the workplace. Slave-like conditions, low pay or no pay. This is very common here. Widespread illegality. They share this with Italians. Only they suffer more than Italians and don't have the social cushions Italians have (key informant 19).

One recurring theme is that of "caporali", a typical Italian phenomenon. "Caporali" (literally "corporals") are unscrupulous recruiters whose job it is to recruit as many hands as possible for such menial jobs as fruit-picking or harvesting at the lowest cost possible. Caporali usually gather in well-known places – piazze – where hands are picked up at a very early hour to be taken back late at night after a day's work in the fields, at construction sites or wherever work is needed. Some places are notorious for their "piazze" which go by the self-explanatory name of "piazze degli schiavi" (slaves' piazze). In Castelvolturno, this type of job by the day is also called "to work Kalifoo".

Not everyone is picked. Selection depends on physical condition, knowledge of the language and other skills as the respondent in interview 17 explains:

The way to get a job here is to go to a piazza in Sant'Antimo or Succivo or Villa Literno [a small town near Caserta] where immigrants go and are picked out for jobs. They pick you depending on your skills and how well you know the language. If you don't know the language, they can't say, for instance, "pass the hammer". I've worked as a marble worker and a brick layer in Villa Literno. Also as a painter. You work for a while and are paid by the day. Then everything ends and you find yourself in the piazza again, hoping for the best. Too many people looking for work. It's hard to be chosen. Now I'm looking, but there is the crisis. I sell things on the beach. My working day starts at 7:00 and ends at 17:00 or 18:00 when I work as a brick layer because you have to wait for the glue to dry up and have to clean your tools. They pay me 35/40 a day. When the police are around, we run off along with the caporale (respondent 17).

"To work kalifoo" is an everyday occurrence for most immigrants to places like Castelvoltuno or Villa Literno, not exempt from bad experiences:

I work kalifoo occasionally. I go to the piazza, they pick us up. We don't even know what we will do. It could be anything: construction, farming, house-cleaning. It could be 12 hours, 9 hours. It's not every day. It's always 25 Euros. They carry us around. They pick us up, they don't tell you what we are going to do. I happened twice not to be paid. I urged the man to pay me, but he threatened me so I had to give up my money (respondent 62).

When I came here, it was the first time for me to work 14 hours a day, we had to pick tobacco. We started at 6 a.m., we slept in our clothes, we just thought about work. We had short breaks. We were given only 5.000 lire. Which was comparatively good at the time. I didn't feel exploited back then, but I was. I just wasn't aware of my rights. Looking back, I'd say we were like slaves. I remember the caporale coming to us, feeling our muscles, bossing us around. But I think it is worse now. In Santa Maria Capua Vetere [a town near Caserta] where I picked Tobacco I made 600.000 lire a month which was for my family here and my family in Tunisia.

I can tell you one day a man from Gricignano [a town near Caserta] drove us to a place where we worked for a week and then he disappeared. I never had my money. Incidents like this happened pretty often. Very often we agreed on a sum and then the man gave us less. They never really threatened you directly, but they looked at you threateningly which was enough. You just had to make do with what they gave you. We knew that was camorra so we couldn't really do much. You just had to be patient. At times, they had us work longer hours for the same pay. We gathered in Casapesenna [a town near Caserta] and there they recruited us.

Once in PietraVairano [a town near Caserta], I was asked to work till 7 p.m. (we had been working since 6 a.m.). I said no and he said he wouldn't pay me at all. And he didn't so I had to hitchhike back home. On another occasion, I was picking strawberries and I was to get 50.000 lire, but he only wanted to give me 30.000. In the end I was given 40.000. This was exploitation too (respondent 65).

At first I worked in the fields at Villa Literno and in Foggia [a town in Apulia]. In Villa Literno, when I worked there, there were no "caporali". You only dealt with the owner of the field. You were paid by the crate. But that depended on what you picked (tomatoes, eggplants and so on). The day lasted a lot, 8-10 hours, in the sun. Sometimes, we had to buy our own meals; sometimes the owner bought our meal.

At Villa Literno, I've always been paid. In Foggia, once, I, along with other fellow-countrymen, was not paid my dues. In winter 1994, we picked broccoli in Cerignola [a town in Apulia].

We lived in tumble-down houses in the countryside and it was dangerous to live there because we were very vulnerable, but this has nothing to do with racism. We were just easy prey, easy target for delinquents. So we decided not to be paid little by little. In the end, the man didn't pay us 12,000,000 lire. We kept asking, but he kept saying we couldn't be paid because he hadn't been paid. That wasn't true. He just gave us 500.000 lire, which I gave to my fellow-countrymen. We even talked to a lawyer and he sent a letter to the man and to INPS and to Questura. But it was no good. We were never paid (respondent 45).

Of course, this is a well-known phenomenon to all key-informants, who explain some of the strategies employed by "caporali" to recruit their hands and go unpunished, including slave-drivers' techniques:

In the fields especially, young immigrants are hired to harvest tomatoes and tobacco. They are picked up in well-known places, in Arzano [a small town near Naples], for instance, at 5-6 o'clock in the morning and made to work for very paltry wages till sunset, with virtually no food. The "employers" are careful to choose undocumented immigrants because they are more vulnerable and exploitable. The "caporali" take advantage of a widespread situation of illegality, regardless of the welfare of these people.

Immigrants of course do not report these cases to the police for obvious reasons. Also because they feel totally disenfranchised. Unfortunately the law is not on their side. There should be something that would make it easier for them to report, but as of now there is no such thing. In a few cases, it's almost a form of slavery (key informant 4).

They suffer crimes at the hand of caporali. 25 Euroes a day, 5 of which go to the caporali. They used to be all Italians. Now they are mostly immigrants themselves. Sometimes they are almost like slaves. 15 Polish workers were found in chains 4 years ago in Castelvoturno. These things happen.

We used to only have one piazza degli schiavi in Villa Literno, but now we have dozens of piazze degli schiavi. Even though, because of the crisis, they are less in demand now (key informant 19).

Women migrant workers living in Caserta and Naples often find work in the service or entertainment sectors, which are traditionally harder to control. The informality of the private/domestic sphere makes migrant women even more vulnerable than their male counterparts and exposes them to abuses such as harsh working and living conditions, low wages, illegal withholding of wages and premature termination of employment. Migrant domestic workers are particularly in danger of having their working rights violated. In addition, the risk of losing their job might mean also losing their regular migration status, which forces them to accept lower wage rates with less guarantees just to avoid deportation:

For 16 years, I worked around the clock for a rich family in Naples: I had to do the house chores, attend to the elderlies. I never had a minute for myself. For all practical purposes, I was a slave.

When I came here in the eighties, things were different. There were fewer immigrants. We were employed by families. There was no one to turn to for help. There was not much of an alternative. You were expected to work from morning to night. I feel I have always been exploited. I couldn't even afford

to be sick. Like one time I had my leg in a cast for a month and the lady demanded that I went to work all the same! I just felt like I didn't exist. And the pay was always below expected. I depended on these people for survival. I even sued them and I won.

In 1997, I attended a course to be qualified as an elderly-attendant. At the time, I worked for a family who had an elderly person who didn't sleep much, so I had to stay awake all night and also do the house chores during the day. I told them I didn't make it, so we came to an agreement and I finally managed to just work for half a day (8 to 15) (respondent 13).

When I came here, I started working with a family who employed me round the clock. They gave me 550 Euros but I lived like a slave. I didn't know so many things back then. I didn't know the language, I didn't know my rights. They said I shouldn't go away because they liked the way I worked, but they didn't pay me enough.

I quit after nine months. It was a nightmare working 24 hours a day. Then I went to another family. They promised me 1200 Euros a month plus extras. Well, I only got 600 Euros a month with no extras (respondent 73).

A case of illegal withholding of papers is given by the following episode:

When I came to Italy, I didn't know anybody. In Naples I met a Ukrainian woman, she lived with an Italian man, and this woman "sold work". So I gave her 300 Euros and she took me to a family who needed me. I worked with them for a month. The man was in jail and the house was huge. The work there was pretty hard. The family was rich. I had to tidy up, cook and do a lot of chores. At night I had to look after a baby. There were three children. I hardly slept at all. After a month I was dead tired. I wanted to go away but the lady there held back my passport. She didn't even want to pay me. So I threatened to go to the police, and she gave me back my passport, but refused to pay me. She thought, since I had just gotten to Italy, that I would never go to the police. I probably wouldn't have gone to the police anyway because I was scared they might take me back to Ukraine (respondent 70).

Coercion and violence are used to prevent women workers from leaving.

Finally, sex harassment and gender violence are widespread among women migrant workers, but these will be touched on further ahead in the chapter.

Another common feature of immigrants' work, very widespread in the areas of Caserta and Naples, is the poor environment where they usually work, and the partial or complete lack of compliance with safety regulations that often characterizes their workplaces. This in turn tends to produce high rates of accidents among working migrants. According to INAIL⁴² official data, foreigners suffer more accidents at the workplace than their local counterparts (44 cases vs. 39 out of 1,000 workers, in 2008). Poor working environment is due to the fact that immigrants work in the lower ends of the job market, which, especially in the South, don't always come under inspection by local authorities. The informality of these job sectors reinforces the vulnerability of migrant workers who often lack access to social services and legal protection.

⁴² The Italian Industrial Injury Compensation Board.

People are not fair to you at work. I remember the first time I worked here. I worked for a rich family 24/24 in Naples. They put me in a very confined and narrow room and made me eat by myself as if I was an animal. Besides, they don't pay you well and try to take advantage of you (respondent 2).

We have come across people who are harsh on us, drive us out. Since they are the owners of the house, we can't do anything. We are afraid because we have no documents and if you go to the police you put yourself in more trouble. They do not treat the issue, but, rather, the issue of documents. We are afraid to talk or to speak out.

Also at work. You are on your own. There is no insurance to protect you. If you get an injury, you're on your own. So you have to be careful. Many brothers suffer from broken legs, broken bones. Every time you go out for work, it's risky. There is always risk. You have to buy your own drugs and everything (respondent 48).

The following narrative graphically describes what might happen to immigrants who work in places that do not respect safety regulations. However crude, incidents like these happen and should not be underestimated:

An incident is worth mentioning. A man worked at a place that sold detergents. He was in a goods elevator and tried to move the goods out of it, and didn't realize there was just empty space behind him and fell three stories down and almost got himself killed. No safety measures were observed. What's worse is that the employer took the man to the hospital, or rather, he was almost left for dead a couple hundred meters away from the entrance to the hospital. But he made it in the end. But this didn't serve them much because the police tracked down the employer and now he has to face up to several charges. There was no spontaneous reporting by the immigrant man.

Another incident, pertaining to a case of no safety measures, happened to another immigrant who slashed his arm while working at a bakery. In this case, the employer has to face charges too.

These are just two examples but there are many such cases. Lots of Italians think these immigrants are expendable and so they take advantage of them. (key informant 12).

Their frequency may be accounted for by a serious lack of inspections, especially in the agricultural sector, as witnessed by a union lawyer:

As for working the fields, law-enforcement is virtually absent. The situation is a little bit better in the construction field. More inspectors in the yards. Also because there are more work accidents here than in the fields (key informant 4).

Once again, immigrants may be scarcely aware of the importance of safety regulations, as admitted by this union leader:

Another major crime is committed in regard to safety conditions. Over here they are seldom observed and the immigrant worker is totally unaware of this (key informant 2).

Sometimes, immigrants work out in the street, selling various pieces of merchandise to whoever is willing to buy them. This exposes them to dangerous situations as in the following episode:

In Naples, I was working at the traffic lights, and two men got out of a car and beat me up real bad. I cried a lot. I even reported them to the police. I had to go to hospital. I had a residence permit. Carabinieri treated me real good, they showed me mug shots, but then I gave it all up for fear of retaliation (respondent 42).

Poor working conditions easily translate into injuries, pains, health problems. This is apparent by the statements produced by key informants 9 and 20, who happen to be two doctors who mostly visit immigrants. Their words make it clear that, despite stereotypes, immigrants are usually in good health when they first come to Italy and their problems are caused by their lifestyles and work environment:

When they are here they get sick with poverty. Their problems have to do with their lifestyles: overly humid houses, heavy jobs, slipped discs. Sometimes they have stupid problems which become chronic because they come here to work and always put off seeing a doctor until the problem gets really serious. When they get to us, it's usually when the pain is too hard to bear or when it's too late. For instance, workers from Eastern Europe come to us when the pain is unbearable. But they show all kinds of problems: diabetes, high blood pressure, cardiac problems, bone pains. They come to us either because they've been informed or because they heard it from someone else. The system here is different from their countries. They are used to paying for everything. Over here the system is free, [at the basic level]. In Africa, in Eastern Europe. Sometimes they find it hard to even reach a dispensary. Sometimes they come to us as a first time. Sometimes when they are suffering terribly. Some of their problems have to do with their everyday lives and jobs. So in Castelvoturno, you will find backaches, slipped discs, muscle problems, fractures, chopped off fingers, even if they are very young. Sometimes when the injury happens while they are working, the employer will take them to emergency saying he found them in the street. Women who work as domestic help or tend to the elderly suffer from depression or psychological stress. Some of them, like the Pakistani who make cheese, work many hours and can't easily come to us (key informant 9).

As for victims at the workplaces, I, as a medic, often happen to visit immigrants who suffer severe traumas and you can tell they have been hit or suffered injuries even if they don't speak out. There are statistics on immigrants who go to emergency unit. They are among the first to report traumas. They work without safety measures.

Immigrants come here and they are healthy. They couldn't come here if they were not healthy. Sometimes that's the only thing they have, health. They have problems on their way here – stress, difficulties – and then they fall sick because of the dampness of the places they live in or the danger of their jobs. Backaches, rheumatism, HIV, all reflect their life style. Their diseases are typical of poor conditions of life (key informant 20).

4.1.2 HOUSING

According to the Main Results Report of the *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey* (FRA, 2009³: 10), discrimination in housing – when looking for somewhere to rent or buy – is one of the least problematic for immigrants: the highest discrimination rate is recorded among North Africans and Roma. On average, 11% of both North Africans and Roma are discriminated against when looking for a house or apartment to rent or buy. In particular, North Africans in Italy experience the highest rate of discrimination in this area.

On the other hand, renting houses to immigrants – especially irregular immigrants – is being increasingly sanctioned. In Italy, for instance, a recent law⁴³ has made it a penal crime to rent a house to an irregular immigrant (6 months to three years' imprisonment for the landlords).

Immigrants do rent houses, though, and, in Italy, and especially in the South, they seem to pay higher rents than Italians and live in cramped, overcrowded apartments, often without a contract. The houses immigrants live in are more likely to be in bad repair, unfit for inhabitation and situated in suburban areas. At least this is what comes out of this research.

To begin with, immigrants, especially irregular immigrants, have a hard time finding a house. Even when they do find one, landlords mostly rent it to them without a regular contract. This happens for both regular and irregular immigrants living in Caserta and Naples, but it is especially true of irregulars who are very often confronted with a take-it-or-leave-it situation:

I've had problems finding a house. I was happy because the Centro sociale helped me, but when they hear you are an immigrant they turn you down. There's three of us in the house. We share the rent, the landlord made us sign a contract for 400 euros, but we pay 650 (respondent 61).

I had a hard time looking for a house. I was told twice that they wouldn't rent me an apartment because I was a foreigner. I was told straight away (respondent 72).

They also are abused by landlords, who won't give them a contract or charge them too much. Sometimes they make a simple deed out to be a regular contract. And the landlords will always say that they were just about to give them a contract if the police come along (key informant 16).

Many respondents think they pay higher rents than their Italian counterparts:

I live with 4 friends of mine. We pay a higher rent than our Italian neighbours. We pay 500 Euros, whereas a neighbouring Italian family, who lives in a house that's the same as ours, only pays 300. And you can't go to the police because of the lack of documents. The landlord said If it's fine with you, everything's all right, or else go! (respondent 5).

⁴³ Decree no. 92, 05/23/2008.

In Italy, it's very difficult to save up. For instance, if you want to rent a house, they'll always charge you more just because you are a foreigner (respondent 8).

I used to live in a four-room house. There were eight of us. The rent was too high. The Italians always pay a lower rent. Now I live with 6 more people, but the rent is 450 Euros. We have to work real hard to make ends meet (respondent 31).

Many think they are being taken advantage of by their landlords:

In 2003 I wanted to live here with my son. I found a small apartment. The landlord said I had to advance three months' rent, which I did. But then I found out that, according to ASL [Health Authority] normative standards, I couldn't live in such a small space with my son. Rejoining was not possible in such confined space. I had even borrowed the money. I said to the landlord that I couldn't live there and not only didn't he give me back the money, he also changed the lock so I couldn't even take my stuff back. I was even warned against reporting the landlord because they said he was with the Camorra. Well, I could only get some of my stuff back. For example, my TV set was stolen, along with my blankets. I was desperate. And my neighbours said I'd better shut up because I was not one of them. They didn't want me around here. This happens pretty often. A foreign family is living in a house and, all of a sudden, they are turned out. We live in fear. Then I rented another house with friends and this one landlord respects me and respects rules. For some time I had to stay at a friend's because I had no money. I'd say 80% of landlords act dishonestly (respondent 11).

In Castelvoturno, the only problem is the rent. We go rent a house. When the light bill arrives, you can see they belong to someone else. Different address. The bills are not ours. They are too expensive. They can't be ours. But what can you do? You can't stay outside, you have to keep with that. The light and the water are necessary. You can't afford to pay the rent by yourself so you need friends to share it. It's a take-it-or-leave-it situation (respondent 49).

I live in a very damp and old house. The landlord just won't make any repairs. This is affecting my health. My neighbours told me if I had been Italian everything would have been different. I had to call in a health inspector. I think the house is condemned. I always had to do restructuring myself. But this time it's different. And he's gonna hear me out. I think the rent is too high too. Back in Russia, I had no idea what dampness meant (respondent 23).

Given the high rents and the difficulties in finding a place, another common aspect is that some immigrant communities – such as Sub-Saharan African communities - prefer to share apartments. As a consequence, even 7-8-9 people may be found living in the same apartment (sometimes a small apartment too!). This is not to say that some immigrant communities are “more inclined” than others to live promiscuously or that they need less space than others or that their culture determines them to do that, as stereotype has it. All this happens out of sheer necessity. If they could, they would gladly do without overcrowding. It is also true, though, that conceptions of space may vary from community to community.

I live with 3 other people. The space is cramped and the rent is high. It's been recently raised. If something is wrong, you can't even complain (respondent 14).

Our apartment is cramped, overcrowded and full of leaks. The landlord, though, never makes any repairs, whereas it's different for Italian tenants. And the rent is a rip-off! Then, when we come back late, people complain but they don't when Italians come back late. It's disgusting! But it's a take it or leave it situation. We'd like to live in better houses, not so overcrowded, but what with the lack of money and Italians unwilling to rent us, we are forced to accept the situation, however grim it may be (respondent 16).

I live by myself. I used to live with 5-6 people. We pay a higher rent than Italians. Italians thrive on us, as I say. Sometimes they will give you a damp, cramped space and make you pay a lot. Or a student's bedroom. Or a garage or storehouse unfit to live in. This is very usual here. They make a house out of anything to make money (respondent 32).

In some not so rare cases, immigrants have been found to live in totally unfit places such as the notorious "bassi" in Naples (places situated below ground level with often no windows) or in condemned buildings. Police operations have been conducted in which landlords have been arrested for renting their "bassi" to immigrants. In some cases, immigrants have been forcedly "evicted" by their landlords or literally kicked out as key informant 2 reveals.

Last year, there was a raid early in the morning. The policemen broke into the brothers' homes and took them to the police station. We were afraid they'd be sent away to a CPT. But then we found out that the whole operation had been organized by a magistrate whose objective was to prevent landlords from renting houses without a regular contract and at high prices. This is a very widespread behavior in the south, even if the law says it is a crime punishable by jail (key informant 1).

They [the immigrants] may be rented condemned places, totally unfit for living in, at extremely high prices, with no contract, especially when they are irregulars. These places are humid, small and with no windows. Just last week, we raided a few such places in Forcella [a neighbourhood in Naples]. Some were unauthorized buildings that we had pulled down. The landlords, the owners were arrested (key informant 10).

As for housing conditions, there is exploitation too. Cramped space, lots of people, high rents. In part, this is due to economic conditions; in part to cultural habits for certain communities (such as Africans). Houses are often tumbledown, not sanitarily fit, no repairs. This is well known to law-enforcement agencies. A man, who paid an incredibly high rent, was beat up savagely by his landlord in Mondragone [a town near Caserta], went to the police, but the police advised him against reporting the incident and suggested he found another place to live (key informant 2).

Once again, immigrants happen not to perceive these as crimes, but mostly as a normal condition, a destiny that befits immigrants as such.

4.1.3 PERSONAL CRIMES

Immigrants in Caserta and Naples suffer a lot of personal crimes. In some areas around the two provinces, they are especially targeted by the local population: they are shot, hit with stones and iron bars, punched, kicked, slapped, spit on, run over by cars and motorbikes, thrown things at (including garbage bags, bottles, and cutting objects). This happens so often it is almost commonplace now. The consequences may be extremely severe: some of them have been taken to hospital; some have lost an eye; others have been crippled. Most of these incidents are not reported to the police for several reasons. To begin with, irregular immigrants are afraid of being sent back to their countries. Some immigrants are warned against reporting both by fellow-countrymen and Italians (including law-enforcement agency representatives!). In some cases, it is not clear who the assailant is. In others, immigrants think it would be a waste of time to go to the police in which they put no trust.

As a consequence of this, immigrants feel very anxious and insecure: they are often on the lookout when walking in the streets or going to work and tend to be extremely suspicious of people who accost them. Some express resentment and anger; others express the need to be patient and tolerant. For some immigrants, not much can be done: this is the price they have to pay for living in Italy. Once again, some fail to perceive these incidents as crimes and describe them as acts of bravado. Italian boys may be nasty to them, but this happens everywhere. After all they are just boys! On other occasions, instead, the reaction may be fierce as in the aftermath of the massacre of 6 young African people in Castelvoturno, which took place on September 18 2008.

As previously remarked, most of the personal crimes committed against immigrants are not known to the police because they are not reported to them. Thus the researcher is confronted with an apparent paradox: on the one hand, a vast majority of respondents clearly suggest that this phenomenon widely affects immigrants; on the other, law-enforcement agencies seem not to be aware of it because of the lack of reporting on the part of immigrants themselves. As a consequence, statistics fail to “catch” the phenomenon, giving way to a large “dark number” on which more will be said in the next chapter. Undoubtedly this poses serious questions to the criminologist who will have to find new ways to take these crimes into account.

4.1.3.1. Beatings and assaults

One of the most interesting findings of this research is that assaults and beatings against immigrants tend to take place in certain areas around the provinces of Caserta and Naples. These are: for Naples, Naples itself and the surrounding Casandrino, Sant’Antimo, Grumo Nevano (the northern area of the metropolis of Naples); for

Caserta, Parete, San Marcellino, Casal di Principe, Aversa, Castelvolturno (most of these notoriously plagued by the presence of rampant organized crime).

In Casandrino, Sant'Antimo, Grumo Nevano, Indian, Pakistani and Sinhalese immigrants seem to be the favourite target. In the area around Caserta, North-Africans and Sub-Saharan Africans (the latter especially in Castelvolturno) appear the most afflicted. This is largely due to their presence on the territory. Indian, Pakistani and Sinhalese immigrants are most numerous in the northern area of Naples; North-Africans and Sub-Saharan Africans are more numerous around Caserta. In Naples, instead, targets are more heterogeneous in that many communities live there.

In what follows, statements are assembled depending on the place of victimization. The first respondents live in the northern area of the metropolis of Naples (Casandrino, S. Antimo, Grumo Nevano) and are both from Asia and Africa:

In Casandrino, they throw stones and sticks at us. They beat us up. They don't like us. They tell us to go back where we come from. I think they target us for the color of our skin. Two guys on a moped once rode up to me in the street and one of them hit me from behind with a stick. Then they rode off. I didn't go to the police because I am undocumented. There's nothing you can really do. We are afraid. Afraid of Neapolitans (respondent 5).

People are more friendly here than in the north, even though sometimes, when you walk around, young boys on mopeds run by us and slap or kick us, just because we are black. This is unbearable. You can't even report them to the police because they run off (respondent 6).

I've only been here a year, but I have been kicked and tossed around pretty often, especially by kids on mopeds. As a matter of fact, I'm always on the lookout when I am walking around (respondent 7).

I have been slapped and kicked very often here. And spit on. A car even tried to run me over once (respondent 8).

We [Pakistanis] are specially targeted. They beat us and slap us. A friend of mine was held at gunpoint once in a store. Somebody called the police but they were very late in coming and didn't do anything about it. I was slapped by two unknown bikers just last Friday. My brother, who's been here longer than I have, was robbed. All my fellow-countrymen tell me there is a lot of slapping, kicking and beating against us. Everyone is scared around here (respondent 9).

I was attacked three times in the street. The first time in Sant'Antimo; the second in Grumo Nevano. The third time they threw a garbage bag at me. I think that's because Italians are not used to having foreigners around themselves. The color of the skin is also important. The worst problem to me is not the police, but the people (respondent 14).

In Sant'Antimo, two boys passed by me and hit me with a stick, but there was traffic and I hit them back. I am very often abused and yelled at. You always have to be on the lookout (respondent 17).

In Sant'Antimo, two boys threw a garbage bag at me and then they ran off. Then they yell at us, abuse us. This is racism. To them an immigrant is an animal. We don't act like that in my country (respondent 18).

Yesterday, a friend of mine, a mechanic, was walking home and he was beat up by someone. But he didn't go to the police. I asked him why. And he said: "What would you do in my shoes?" (respondent 21).

I was hit many times in Sant'Antimo by youngsters on bikes. It's happened five times at least. Once I was on a bike and they pushed me off. They were about 20-25 years old. I've asked many times why they do it, and I've asked my friends as well. Some of my friends have been hospitalized, one had a leg paralyzed for a while. I don't understand, we don't take your women, don't take your jobs. Why do you hate us so much? (respondent 35).

Once what happened was I was on a motorbike and these guys, they came to me, it was a one-way street, and they came to me the wrong way and they ran me over and didn't even stop. It was clearly intentional. See my eye here? I can't see well through this because of what happened that night. I went to the police but to this day I haven't been able to find out who did it and why (respondent 71).

The following respondent – a Pakistani boy – says that his community has decreed a curfew to avoid these beatings:

I go out, but kids here are very nasty to us. They throw bottles at us, almost run us over. It's really bad here. We have a curfew. Since we don't have documents, we can't go to the police. Two-three times I've been victim of attacks. Two weeks ago, I was with a friend around, two kids on a moped rode to us and hit my friend with an iron bar. He had to go to hospital. The police came, took us to hospital, and then said "Go!". No report. Nothing! Once, a friend of mine went to the questura at 5 a.m. and two Italian boys beat him up and took all his money. I think it was because he is not Italian. There is a group of boys who are after us. I'm scared of walking outside at night. These people, they treat us like beasts. Hit us like beasts. They hit us in the nose, in the forehead. A friend of mine, 50 years of age, was hit in the head – he was in the street – and had three stitches. The blood kept gushing out (respondent 20).

Key informant 19 – a union leader - seems to be fully aware of these beatings going on and remarks that the reason the police know nothing about them is that immigrants refuse to report these incidents:

Beatings of immigrants have been happening for ever. Kids break into Pakistani houses and harm them. I've often signaled this, but no one from Sri Lanka wants to report a thing, so they [the police] say they don't know a thing. A boy was run over by a car and was in a coma for four months. There's no end to these stories. We have to fight this (key informant 19).

Therefore it is not surprising to hear key informant 15 – a deputy commissioner of the Questura of Naples – say bluntly:

We know nothing about what happens in Sant'Antimo. You see, the starting point is always reporting and immigrants don't report (key informant 15).

The same incidents occur in Naples...:

In Naples, I was working at the traffic lights, and two men got out of a car and beat me up real bad. I cried a lot. I even reported them to the police. I had to go to hospital. I had a residence permit. Carabinieri treated me real good, they showed me mug shots, but then I gave it all up (respondent 42).

I had problems in Naples. Four Italian people beat me up. They just beat me. Three years ago. It was the time of Italy vs. France in the world championship. I didn't see anything. I don't know the reason why they beat me up. They only beat me of all people. I hadn't been here long, so I didn't know much about this country. They took me to hospital. I stayed three or four days. At the hospital they ask me if I know the road to my home, and I say no. I tell them I want to go home. I am fine, but I don't know the road. Then they called the police and the police people came and they let me go. They took my fingerprints first. I slept at the police station for one night. They didn't say anything to me (respondent 46).

I am constantly slapped and kicked by boys in the street as I'm riding my bike. I don't know why they do that (respondent 57).

In Naples, you have to look out. Always. Because they slap and kick you (respondent 25).

I have suffered a lot of crimes. One day, I was on a bus and someone snatched away my earrings after hitting me hard on the head. I tried and followed him, but it was no use. I didn't report this to the police. It would have been useless. I was shocked. I couldn't sleep at night for a period of time.

The color of my skin has to do with the fact that we are slapped, kicked pushed hard to the ground. One day, a guy wanted to maybe rob me. I was able to move my purse to the other side, but he punched me in the face so hard it left a mark for days. Another time, I was spit on in the street. And my aunt, who was fifty at the time, was kicked to the ground and had to go to hospital. I don't know why they do it (respondent 13).

... and in Parete, San Marcellino, Aversa, Casal di Principe (and somewhere else as well). This time it is the provinces of Caserta. The first statement is from the imam in San Marcellino, a prominent representative of the North-African community in Caserta:

I was beat up once in my car. There was this car in front of me. It was 9 p.m. and it was near Casal di Principe. The owner was out talking to someone, I couldn't get past, so I honked and he and his three friends came to me and beat me up pretty bad. I went to the carabinieri but they didn't even let me in. They said I had to come back with more information on my assailants, the license number at least. That's when I became distrustful of the law. I don't think this was a racist act on the part of the carabinieri. I think they were just tired and maybe didn't want to be involved.

Last year, in Parete, immigrants were beat up by motorists. They go to hospital. They suffer severe traumas. Sometimes the assailant even stops and waits for their reaction. It's like a challenge. If the immigrant takes them up they are beat up. We even went to the mayor of Parete and discussed the problem with him. We demanded stricter enforcement. The problem is pretty bad. A guy I know fell on the ground and woke up in the hospital. Then I got to know who the assailants were. These are desperate people, more desperate than us. They have nothing and all they can do is take it out on immigrants.

[...] Some people have been killed, in 2007 ... a Tunisian boy in Trentola-Ducenta, Karim Hammed, was shot in the head by a floating bullet on new year's eve and is now paralyzed. Others have been hurt. But nobody seems to care, not even the police. This is to say that people shoot as a rule over

here. Guns are even passed down from generation to generation. It's prestigious to own a gun at home (respondent 65).

I've been thrown rocks and things at. One night, someone threw a stone at my car and shattered the window glass. I had to have it repaired at my own expense. Another day, an Italian spat on me. One day my husband at the market was beat up over the space at the market. My husband has a work permit and a license, but even so, when the police came along, they didn't do anything. You have to put up with these things. My husband has been slapped and kicked several times. The police? It's no good calling them in. They are no use and they may be trouble to you. An old man in San Nicola la Strada was savagely beat up by unknown people. Such is life for us. In Naples it's very dangerous too. I try to go there as seldom as I can (respondent 26).

The following respondent points out an interesting aspect. Immigrants who want to survive in certain areas need to have "connections" just like the rest of the local people:

We get beat up a lot in San Marcellino. Once I was threatened with a gun by a boy who had insulted me. When he insulted me, I reacted and said "How dare you?" and he went to his car and got a gun. He didn't point it at me but kept it by his side as a threat. I was furious but I couldn't do anything. So I said Do you know such and such a man? And he said Yes, of course and he hugged me as if we were friends. That's the way people reason over there. It's all about having connections. There is a lot of namedropping there. He had insulted me because I am from Morocco.

Last week I was walking around with a friend in San Marcellino. It was around 8 p.m. this guy pulls over and goes: What are you doing here at this time? you shouldn't be here. I said: What's the problem? Can't we just walk around. He said: You are not supposed to be here. That's the way they treat us. After 8 p.m. you can't walk out. You are expected to stay indoors. They just assault you like that. It's very difficult to find immigrants around late at night. They threaten you and sometimes beat you. This happened to a friend of mine just recently. He was in a coma for two weeks with a swollen face. He was beat up real bad. No reason. He just happened to pass by and a group of people assaulted him with iron bars. The same happened in Parete during a work camp. Several immigrants were assaulted for no reason. You can't afford to walk by yourself. Imagine what would happen if you so much as take a look at an Italian girl. This happens very often. Once I intervened when a Moroccan was being beat and they told him to stay away from there. They almost beat me too (respondent 69).

Key informant 16 - a leader of a local association in Caserta that fights for the immigrants' rights - reports a few incidents that came to her attention. She mentions beatings at the workplace against immigrants who demand their pay:

Then there is unwarranted violence or plain robberies. Again, an immigrant was savagely beaten on a bus three months ago but the police didn't care about him. They just indicted him. Same thing happened to another man who had even been hospitalized and was indicted immediately. Many incidents like this take place. In Caserta, last September, some Senegalese people have been hit with baseball bats. Assaults do take place. And there is shame on the part of migrants to report them. Immigrants are also assaulted by their employers who refuse to pay them for the job done. Sometimes, employers even accuse immigrants of extortion just because they demand their dues. These Italians take advantage of their ignorance and of the fact that they don't speak the language. So when they are confronted by the police,

they always come out on top. Immigrants are easily manipulable. They may be threatened at gunpoint. These things happen at the rotonde in Villa Literno, Giugliano, Licola (key informant 16).

Key informant 20 – a famous opinion leader in Casal di Principe and a doctor – summarizes his point of view in the following:

Talking of crimes suffered by immigrants, one thing that needs to be said is that immigrants are assaulted by groups of local youth who take advantage of those who are weaker than them and try to assert themselves as little local bosses, also given the area. This happens very often. Just last week I assisted two young immigrants who had just been attacked. This happens to Ukrainian women who are walking around, to young men who are on their bikes, to people who are thrown stones at. These incidents have also been publicly exposed by me, but immigrants tend not to report for fear of retaliation. The assailants are young on average, but they do this for fun because they know their acts will go unpunished. Some of them are would-be “camorristi” [mobsters] so they feel strong this way. They’d never do this to a local because they’d be in trouble. So they become small-time negative heroes. It’s a pastime here. The more they hit the higher their ranking. I don’t think this is racism. They just take it out on those who are in a weaker position than they are.

Some time ago, prostitutes were killed on a frequent basis. Some mentioned serial killers, others camorra, others payouts. We don’t know yet, but these things happen in periods. It depends on periods.

There was a time in Casal di Principe when immigrant petty cigarette peddlers were shot in the legs to discourage their activities. That was very frequent for a time. They came to us by the dozens. This was camorra again (key informant 20).

Castelvoturno, near Caserta, is very famous in southern Italy for hosting lots of irregular immigrants. Local people complain, but, as is apparent from the following statements, life is not easy for immigrants themselves:

When you walk around, they might hit you with a belt. They come on their motorcycles. Every time you go around you have to be careful in Castelvoturno. This happens very often, you can never be in peace. Never at rest. It’s very very bad. It’s the mafia boys that do it. They chase us. They want us to stay away from here. They hate us. I don’t know why. I don’t understand. And we can’t go to the police because we have no documents. This is supposed to be a democratic country, but in Castelvoturno, with the mafia boys, there is no democracy. Because of this, I don’t go out much. They come to beat you. In Africa we are not peaceful, but here it’s bad. I have come here looking for peace of mind, but they don’t leave me alone. It’s very very bad. Some of us beg because it’s hard to find a job. I don’t think other immigrants do bad things to us (respondent 30).

One day, I wanted to work and at the workplace an Italian man threatened me saying: “You won’t work here. Only Italians work”. I went to the carabinieri and everything was all right again.

One day, I was in Scauri [near Castelvoturno], trying to sell things on the beach. A man gives me a counterfeit 20 dollar bill. I told him I didn’t want it. We had a fight and I called the carabinieri. He ran away. I didn’t report him. At night I bumped into him again with a whole bunch of friends, 10-15 people. I knew they wanted to beat me up. I ran away. I came across an Italian man and he said to them: “What are you doing?”. But they caught up with me and beat me up real bad. I had to be rushed to hospital with a broken rib. The maresciallo [marshal] came along and took good care of me. He showed me mugshots and I recognized one of them but I pretended not to know him. It took me a month to recover. I couldn’t work for a solid month (respondent 42).

At summertime, around the beach area, when people and foreigners come, young boys are used to misbehaving . They hit you with stones and clubs. For no reason. Just like that. Also when you are walking alone. They can also attack you by knife. They'll point a knife at you and ask for money. If you don't pay, they'll cut you. I've heard this very often. I've seen blood on my brothers' faces. And they can't go to the police because they have no documents (respondent 49).

In the following statement, the opening line from the respondent is contradicted by what comes next. This is very typical. Respondents may start off saying they suffered no crimes and then, as the interview unfolds, this turns out not to be the case. This is partly due to the fact that these violent events occur with such frequency that they may be taken for granted, part and parcel of their everyday background scenario:

I've never been beat up. Some people are nice to me; some people are not. Sometimes in the street boys hit you on the neck (respondent 50).

Doctors who visit immigrants happen to encounter "strange" bruises or wounds that are most likely caused by beatings. Key informant 9 works for Medecins sans Frontieres and often sees "weird things" when he is at work:

You can tell some of them have been assaulted. Some received violence in their own countries, some here. For example, Nigerian prostitutes are a special target of violence. Most of them, if they are simply punched in the face or kicked, won't tell anyone. It's part of the game to them. They'd only come if the situation is serious. They suffer passively. It's normal for them. Sometimes we only hear it accidentally or indirectly. They are thrown out of cars, beat up, thrown gas on and set on fire, raped, gangbanged. If they are irregular, they are scared to report. Some go to the police, but they won't help them, some do help them, because if they want, they can. Some are raped by fellow-countrymen and report them. I think they are mostly victimized by Italians, but the thing is they wouldn't readily say they have been raped by a fellow-countryman. It's easier to report an Italian, I think.

We also hear of boys who have stones thrown at them, are hit and run, beat up. We don't know if they are run over accidentally or on purpose. Just the other day a boy in Afragola was shot by two Italians. They were even caught by the police.

If you don't speak the language, in the hospital they will just write down they hurt themselves accidentally.

As MSF [Medecins sans Frontieres], we don't invite immigrants to report the crimes they suffer. At times they will not tell us who or what hit them. The same is true of Italians though. When I worked at the emergency room, we had patients who had been battered by their spouses and they said they'd fallen over. One day we had a Nigerian girl who had come to us for other reasons. She was scratching her arm and the mediatore culturale asked her why she was doing that and she said she'd been thrown gas at.

Also, they receive a lot of traumas, psychological problems. Some of them just want to talk.

I'll tell you something. One day, a black man was forced by some Italians to have sex with a woman. He was never able to have an erection again (key informant 9).

Key informant 10 from the local police ("polizia municipale") in Naples tells how a gang of Italians who assaulted immigrants on a regular basis in Naples was found out and arrested:

Immigrants are also victims to gangs like the one we arrested in August. That's because they are the weak link of society. This is why they are victimized. They are also criminalized in hate campaigns.

In August, we found out about this gang because an Italian citizen told us about two immigrants that had been beat up. Soon afterwards the same gang struck again and we were told again by Italian citizens. The gang was made up of both minors and adults. Half and half, let's say. The oldest one was 22 years old. They just enjoyed assaulting and robbing. There was no real reason behind all this. One of them – an adult – decided to cooperate with us.

The immigrants never called us. Of the first two, one was regular, the other wasn't. One was from Bangladesh; the other was from Sri Lanka and had been here 10 years. He [the regular one] reported the assault to us, after being hospitalized. He cooperated and that was important, otherwise we would never have known about this. The other was hospitalized and then simply disappeared because he was afraid of being sent away. In the second assault, the two victims were from Bangladesh.

So we arrested two of the gang first, also through CCTV on the bus. Then we arrested the others as well. Now we are short of one. The assailants said it had all started because one of the members of the gang – a girl – had been molested by an immigrant. But it wasn't true. It was a mere pretext. On the bus, immigrants, including African ones, were assaulted and robbed. We know this from CCTV (key informant 10).

What key informant 10 reveals is very interesting: the gang was wiped out not because the immigrant victims reported the assaults, but because an Italian citizen called in the police. As will be clear further ahead, this happens very often with immigrants and is partly responsible for the fact that not much is known about their victimization.

4.1.3.2 September 18 2008: a digression

On September 18 2008, in Castelvoturno, three Ghanaian, one Liberian and two Togolese citizens were massacred in front of a tailor's shop by a camorra commando led by a famous killer, Giuseppe Setola, who was eventually arrested (De Crescenzo, 2009: 98-103; Nazzaro, 2010: 85-96). The killers were dressed up as carabinieri. Joseph Ayimbora, a Ghanaian citizen, managed to survive pretending to be dead. His testimony proved very useful in re-enacting the crime and identifying the killers. The trial against that commando is currently under way, but one thing is clear. Setola meant to shoot at random, convinced as he was that "all blacks are the same". His case is the first in Italy where the defendants will not be prosecuted just for homicide but for racial hate as an aggravating circumstance.

Immediately in the aftermath of the event, the immigrants in Castelvoturno began to demonstrate in the streets, crying out for respect and protection. Lots of them were convinced that the "whites" wanted to do away with them. Incidentally, many of them are robbed or defrauded by people who pass themselves off as carabinieri. They were terrorized and demanded revenge. It took some time before order was restored and things got back to normal.

In the course of the interviews with immigrants living in Castelvoturno, the event of September 18 2008 has been mentioned, but some have refused to talk about it. However, everybody has been tremendously affected by it.

Lives have never been the same since.

After what happened in Castelvoturno, we are all afraid. You never know what might happen . Violence may strike any time (respondent 59).

After what happened in Castelvoturno, I always stay inside. I don't get out if I can avoid it. I am afraid of going out (respondent 60).

Only few key informants have decided to mention what happened that day. The first is a policeman from the Questura of Caserta:

We should also mention what happened in Castelvoturno by the casalesi [camorra organization]. We now know that the camorra wanted to send out a signal, warn the immigrants against doing anything on their own: whatever you mean to do, you'll do it only on our authorization. What we know is that they killed at random: the victims were not even pushers, maybe only one or two of them. But this is not the issue. Those people were killed at a tailor's shop, a very well known place among immigrants. So the massacre had a very powerful meaning. I talked to the Ghanaians and they asked us for protection because they said they were honest. We answered saying that we protect everyone independently of who the victim is (key informant 8).

The second is the leader of an association that has sued for damages in the criminal case and is very much involved in it:

With what happened in Castelvoturno, we now know that immigrants are all the same to criminals and the police as well. The Setola group will be the first in Italy to be judged for a hate crime (odio razziale) as an aggravating circumstance. I think they did it to send out a message and the message said We are superior to you people. Don't mess with us. The people killed were not pushers nor did they refuse to pay extortion money. They were casual victims because they were all considered disposable. As a matter of fact, immigrants didn't perceive this as a camorra act. They kept saying The whites want to kill us, because they are so used to being victimized that they thought this wasn't just a camorra thing. We are now trying to raise their awareness as to the existence of camorra (key informant 16).

Far from being an isolated incident, the massacre of Castelvoturno is the supreme example of the crimes immigrants may suffer at the hands of organized crime, which very often mingles with ordinary crimes. From this, immigrants appear disposable, interchangeable targets whose lives mean nothing in the eyes of the camorra bosses. To mention but one more incident, on may 26 2009, Rumanian Petru Birladeanu was shot by mistake in Naples by a commando of 8 camorra bikers who wanted to reinstate "order" by shooting around randomly. His body lay bleeding on the ground for half an hour until he eventually died.

As one key informant explains:

Mirella, Petru's wife, kept saying Petru Birladeanu was a true Rumanian, whereas she was a Roma. Petru was killed by mistake by a commando of camorra boys. They had been riding around with their guns for miles. They wanted to reinstate order. Petru lay there for a half hour and everyone was insensitive. That's a shame (key informant 13).

4.1.3.3 Sex harassment and gender violence

Women immigrants are sexually harassed and receive violence at the hands of both Italians and fellow-countrymen. These crimes are mostly committed at home and are extremely hard to detect unless the victim reports them. This is seldom the case, though. Women immigrants are afraid of losing their jobs, may be threatened, and feel very much ashamed of what happens to them. In other cases, when the harasser is a man from their own community, women do not report them because this is something "they just don't do" or because the men were drunk at the moment of the aggression or too frustrated because unemployed. Some of these incidents occur at the workplace where women do house chores or attend to somebody's needs. A recent Italian publication has suggested that these women may not report these crimes, but may confide them when talking to doctors or other professionals whose job it is to deal with immigrants (LeNove, Istituto per il Mediterraneo, Dedalus cooperativa sociale and Eva cooperativa sociale, 2008: 53). Considering this source, the amount of unreported harassments and violent acts appears to be rather large. Incidentally, this reflects recent data by ISTAT on violence against women in Italy. About 96% of violent acts committed by non-partners and 93% of violent acts committed by partners go unreported. 91.6% of rapes go unreported too (ISTAT, 2006). It is no surprise, then, that women immigrants do not report the violence committed against them.

Violence against women migrants is made easy by a number of variables. First of all, women migrants are in a vulnerable position because they work in the lower ends of the job market and can't often fall back on the resources they could make use of in their own countries. Secondly, their jobs often imply working in segregated places alone with their employers and no one to turn to for help. This situation exposes them to threats and blackmails. Thirdly, foreign women are tagged as "easy preys" by common stereotypes which liken the condition of the woman migrant to that of the prostitute.

In Campania, women immigrant victims appear to be most frequent among Eastern Europe communities, largely because these are also the most numerous in the region. It is not easy to elicit answers on such a sensitive issue as gender violence. The following interviews only seem to touch on the subject. Women respondents often mention "the friend of a friend's" or someone they barely know. Only two respondents clearly admit to having received violence themselves.

I said I wanted to be a social worker. I once went to the Comune to talk to a local social worker and he said he could do something for me and he was being nice to me. Then, after a while, he sends me text messages on the cell phone, asking me out. I was scared because these men think that, just because you're a foreigner and looking for something, you are an easy target. I had to go somewhere else to look for information. I was also molested by an old man I was attending to. He said: «Since you are a foreigner, you sure need money and I need some sex». He put his hand on my knee on several occasions. I felt disgusted (respondent 4).

Once something bad happened to me. I was working at a man's house. This man from Tunisia came to me and ripped off all my clothes. He was about to...you know, but fortunately my employer came to my aid and avoided the worst. I didn't feel scared as much as angry then. I didn't report that to the police. He hadn't done anything. This happens very often to us. The thing is we don't like to talk about that. We just go away from the family. We feel ashamed too. In Ukraine this is too big a thing to talk about it (respondent 70).

There is a famous lawyer in Caserta who is very demanding and lives with another man, an old man on the verge of the grave. This lawyer often employs women. After three-four days, usually at around midnight, this old man approaches the immigrant woman and asks for sex or a blowjob. If she says no, he turns her out. That's blackmail because she has nowhere to go (respondent 58).

I think Ukrainian women are often molested even if they won't say that easily. A Russian girl disappeared three years ago because of an Albanian man (respondent 72).

In the following statement, key informant 17 – a carabinieri – tells his experience with reporting women immigrants:

Eastern European women come to report their husbands or men they live with. They are beat up by Italians mostly. This happens because at first they are subdued because that is their culture. Eventually, the longer they live here, the more they feel liberated and are not willing to stand that anymore and so beatings start. Other than that, no one reports (key informant 17).

Unfortunately, law-enforcement agencies do not always seem to receive these reportings as they should:

I've heard of many Ukrainian women married to Italian men, who are hit and raped by their men. They go to the police but the police say: «This is family business. Go back home» like one girl in Castellammare di Stabia I know (respondent 11).

We've seldom heard of immigrant women being raped or harassed. On the other hand, just think of the Italians who marry foreigners and are then deserted. Or of fake weddings. All in all, I don't think there is much to it. I think this is just a case of machismo. I don't think many such incidents happen. It's not like Italians habitually rape or harass. Some men do go around doing something and trying to pick up foreign women. But this is no big deal. Some of these women lead a double life: they have a husband in their country and a man here in Italy (chuckles) (key informant 8).

Some respondents seem to think women are responsible for this too. One especially – a Ukrainian woman – thinks beatings against women may be occasionally justified.

I was never molested, but I've heard of fellow-countrywomen of mine being molested. It doesn't mean Italians are bad. Some are. But most aren't. It also depends on how you carry yourself. If you keep a straight face, don't laugh, and don't suggest anything, no one will do anything wrong to you (respondent 2).

Yes, Ukrainian women are sometimes beaten by their husbands. This is normal. I mean it shouldn't be normal but it happens. And I wouldn't call this violence, because what happens in a family is very special. Sometimes I think that some women deserve being beaten because they talk too much and complain too much and need to understand what their role is (respondent 58).

Women immigrants suffer violence at the hands of fellow-countrymen too. This finding has come up quite often during the interviews.

Ukrainian women are beat up by Ukrainian men as well. Ukrainian men are mostly alcoholic and also smoke joints when they come here because they are sold cheaper. Not only do they beat their women, they also steal money from them. It's a different culture. Men are like children to women. Women are supposed to attend to them and buy them things (respondent 11).

[...] immigrant women [are] beat up at the hands of Italian partners. This happens very often. We've also talked about this to law-enforcement agencies. That's why I have decided to open up a house and an association "Le ninfe" to host these women. They tend not to report beatings because they are afraid their children might be taken away. And also because they don't know the language and are all by themselves. They are afraid they might have problems too. They have no one else to turn to. We report these things along with the school, the social workers.

Italian partners beat them especially. They are low-class, low-education people, usually older, if not much older, than them. I think beatings are a way to assert themselves, to say We are superior. That's the profile. Sometimes, they are two-timers. They already have a wife, but don't want to split up. It's a mess. Especially if he has children from both. Once, I happened to meet a woman who was married to a 70-year-old man who forced her to have sex with painful sex toys, since he was impotent. This was a form of violence.

With immigrant partners, what happens is that the man can't find a job, feels frustrated and drinks a lot while the female spouse works all day long, only to go back to a violent partner. This happens a lot with Nigerians. Also, with Polish and Ukrainian men. Also with Rumanians. Rumanians can be more violent than the others I've mentioned. They're very often drunk from the early morning. Some of them have been warned not to go to work drunk. Some Polish women have bruises. I've seen this myself (key informant 14).

Key informant 20 mentions other forms of violence against women migrants, the case of immigrant prostitutes killed around Castelvoturno:

Some time ago, prostitutes were killed on a frequent basis. Some mentioned serial killers, others camorra, others payouts. We don't know yet, but these things happen in periods. It depends on periods.

Women are also exploited and victimized being weak. Immigrant women told us they are physically and sexually harassed. They don't report this because they feel ashamed and because they are afraid of losing their jobs. Also verbal harassment is very frequent, in bars for example. These people are cowards. Women don't usually open up. But we have heard about that (key informant 20).

Key informant 18 runs a shelter for battered women in Caserta. Her words are worth reporting at length as they provide an informative account of what happens to battered immigrant women in Caserta and in the surrounding areas:

My colleagues and I deal with violence against women on an everyday basis. We set up a shelter for battered women in 2003, which today poses as a best practice service to help women in their fight against gender violence.

We do happen to deal with immigrant women. They are mostly battered by their spouses or partners. In the past few years, the number has been growing. I don't know whether this is because awareness is growing or because incidents are growing. ISTAT reports speak to a tremendous dark number on this. What we encounter is just the tip of the iceberg. They may be battered either by an Italian partner or by a fellow-country partner. Obviously, immigrant women are more vulnerable than Italians. They are often alone, with no one to turn to, no family, no friends, no trust in the Italian institutions. They are afraid they might lose their permit of stay. They are not within a network, not independent. Sometimes they are terrorized. They often come from countries where women are subdued and their Italian partners want them to stay subdued. The thing is when they come here they are obsessed with the dream of becoming wealthy which they have to confront afterwards and often proves not true. Vulnerable immigrant women are easier to dominate. Sometimes they marry much older men with low education who are convinced men have to rule. But when women come here, they sort of liberate themselves or at least they are exposed to liberating role models. That's how conflicts arise. This phenomenon involves both European women and African women. With African women what happens is they are former prostitutes who marry their "saviors", ex clients turned good, who think they love them. Well, maybe they do, but what love can come out of a relationship that is originally commercial? It's more possession than real love.

Violence exists also within intra-national couples. They may share the same values, but living here women are exposed to other values and sometimes men are frustrated because they can't find a job or for other reasons.

Violence exists also within immigrant couples made up of men and women coming from different countries. For instance, Moroccan man and Ukrainian woman. North Africans seem to like eastern European Women a lot. In these couples, a particularly terrible form of violence arises due to clash of violence.

We never advise women to report. This is something we never did and never will do. When they come to us, often in a terrible condition, after being battered, we often invite them to overcome their emotional state. Immigrant women are terrorized of reporting their spouses, even when they have a permit of stay. They feel weak, vulnerable and confused. They are afraid of losing everything, even their children. It's almost easier to come out of prostitution than of a violent relationship. Sometimes they have gone to the police, but the police don't make them feel protected. They often try to play down the incident or even give them advice on how to sexually arouse their husbands! Like with one Polish woman we had who had put on weight after childbirth and was constantly battered by her husband.

This is why they don't trust law-enforcement. They are male chauvinists. Sometimes they don't accept reports and we have to call the police and remind them that they must accept reports. Also, they

have to acknowledge these as crimes. This may seem paradoxical, but sometimes the police think these problems should be solved within the family (key informant 18).

Gender violence suffered by women migrants is a very sensitive issue and obviously needs to be looked into more thoroughly. What especially needs to be taken into account is the fact that violence against women is often unspoken and unreported and that a big “dark figure of crime” probably needs to be brought to light.

4.1.4 PROPERTY CRIMES

Immigrants in Caserta and Naples suffer property crimes too. They have their belongings stolen, their bags snatched, their pockets picked, their houses burglarized. In the course of the interviews, almost all respondents have declared to have had something stolen. Most immigrants do not think they are robbed more often than Italians and do not perceive property crimes as having anything to do with the fact that they are foreign.

There are factors that make it easier for anyone to prey on immigrants. To begin with, immigrants lead more vulnerable lifestyles: they live in risky neighbourhoods, go out to work at early hours and come back late at night, ride on public means of transportation for lack of private vehicles, work out in the streets or walk out to look for a job, carry their belongings (including money) with them or store their things in their houses which may become attractive targets for petty thieves. Secondly, they tend not to report this type of crimes, either because they are irregular or because, if they are regular, they think it is a waste of time to go to the police or are afraid to turn to the police for help or are not familiar with the Italian language and law system. Immigrants do go to the police, though, when their documents are stolen. It is no exaggeration to say that documents are their most valuable goods and it would be a tragedy not to report their theft to the police. With regard to property crimes, many express a sense of dejection and resignation as if it was something they have to put up with. Some take this for granted: it happens to everyone so it does not even count as a crime... so much so that some start off saying they have never been robbed, only to admit later in the interview that, yes, it happened, but it does not count because everybody experiences it. Once again, this sense of hopelessness impacts on their rights awareness. The fact that property crimes happen all the time makes them seem inevitable, part and parcel of the destiny immigrants have chosen to live.

4.1.4.1. Robberies, pickpocketing, bag-snatching, burglaries

The above remarks reflect in the following statements provided by respondents with regard to such crimes as robberies, pickpocketing, bag-snatching and burglaries.

Two years ago I was on my way to Rome for a conference. I was going to the train station in Naples. I was dressed normally but I was carrying a briefcase in which I had all my documents (my life) and ATM card. This man runs along and tries to snatch off my briefcase. We struggle. No one comes to help. Only a fellow-countrywoman of mine tries to. But he smacked and hit us both and then ran off. Some people said: "Poor thing!", but I think that these people are condemnable because they didn't do anything. So I went to the carabinieri, but since it was Sunday, they told me to come back the following day. I went again. I was furious. But they told me the person who accepts reportings was not there. I had to go back on a limp some days afterwards. In the meantime I had given an interview on TV. The carabinieri had seen me on TV and welcomed me and finally took my charges. Back then I already had all my papers in order (respondent 11).

I have suffered a lot of property crimes. One day, I was on a bus and someone snatched away my earrings after hitting me hard on the head. I tried and followed him, but it was no use. I didn't report this to the police. It would have been useless. I was shocked. I couldn't sleep at night for a period of time.

On another occasion, in 2004, I had my purse taken away. I had all my papers inside it. I had to renew all my documents. The police wrote up the report, but they were not much help.

On another occasion yet, I was at an exchange agency, they followed me to a bus and this guy took my money. I followed him. Thanks God, a carabinieri ran after him and managed to catch him. I was able to recover my money, but I was shocked and bruised (and so was the carabinieri) and we were taken to hospital. I don't think this has to do with the fact that I am black. One day, a guy wanted to rob me. I was able to move my purse to the other side, but he punched me in the face so hard it left a mark for days. Especially in Naples, lots of bad things happen to immigrants out of sheer ignorance (respondent 13).

I had my bag snatched once in Frattamaggiore. A motorbike passed by and one of them took my bag. I had all my documents there, but since I knew people everything was all right. I went to the carabinieri and they were nice to me. [...] Then I had two bikes stolen in Caserta but I didn't go to the police because I didn't want to waste my time (respondent 72).

I once finished work at 1 p.m. and two people took my money. Once again I couldn't go to the police because I had no documents (respondent 21).

I had my motorbike stolen and I went to the police because my documents were all right. The police treated me fine, but I'm still waiting for my motorbike (respondent 54).

I've had my stuff taken away from me on several occasions. Like, once, I was walking with a bag in my hand, two bikers rode by me and snatched it off. No, you could never report these things because we are illegal (respondent 15).

I know of a man from Morocco, who had just come back from Morocco...He was in his car on the "vialone" [a main road connecting Caserta with Naples] and 4 Italians approached him to steal his stuff, he ran away and was run over by a car. I don't think this was a racist crime, because it was night

time and they couldn't really see he was a Moroccan. But he was robbed anyway. Then again, lots of people are robbed (respondent 24).

A lot of times, they have robbed my stuff. You get used to it and there is nothing you can really do. You just have to be patient. You may have all your documents ready and everything, but they [the police] always treat you like this [they don't care]. Many years ago, two Italian boys took away some of my stuff, but I caught them and handed them over to the police. They were arrested but I got a "foglio di via". That's why it is no good reporting thefts (respondent 25).

One day I was stopped by some people in a car. They asked for my money, threatening to kill me, then, as I heard I was from Ghana and didn't work, they let me go. They said they were looking for people from Nigeria. I don't know why. This is what is happening in Castelvoturno (respondent 27).

Three years ago I had my purse snatched in Marcianise at the market. I had it back two years afterwards through the police. I had reported the incident to the police. They were nice to me (respondent 67).

I've had my bag snatched several times. One time, it was 2 p.m., I was going to the Reggia with my son and a boy on a motorbike snatched off my necklace. That left a mark on my neck. Then another incident happened while I was coming back from work and someone took my bag with all my documents. The third time was at the market last year. Someone took my wallet. No, these incidents had nothing to do with the fact that I am a foreigner. No, I didn't go to the police because I think it is a waste of time, even though I should have gone. Lots of friends have told me it's a waste of time, also because you don't know them. They are just kids on motorbikes (respondent 33).

...bikes are stolen. A man from Morocco, who lives in Marcianise, had been to the hospital about his brother who'd had a stroke. When he came out, he found some youngsters playing with his bike. They shouted abuses at him, threw stones at him and ran off with his bike. He came to me in tears, to let off steam, but he never reported this to the police (key informant 2).

The following respondents express a contradictory sense of awareness. The first says he has never been robbed only to admit later in the course of the interview that he has. The second says that the crimes he suffered do not count because they happen to everyone.

I've never been robbed or assaulted. [...] In Caserta I've never had my stuff robbed, but it's happened in Caivano. I've been threatened by boys who have thrown stones at our houses. But this is nothing. A friend of mine was driven far by some guy and robbed of all his belongings (money and cell phone). He never reported this because he had no documents (respondent 31).

I happened twice to have my stuff taken away by some boys. This happens to everybody, especially around San Marcellino, Aversa...If someone denies it, they lie. Bad boys are everywhere. What hurts me most is when I see the faces of the others staring at me, mystified. The first time, there were a boy and a girl. The boy stopped me, pretended to take a look at my stuff and took away a radio. On another occasion, two boys on a moped rode by and took a couple of toys with them. These things happen to everyone, you know. Besides, I had no residence permit back then, I couldn't report a thing. Besides, you don't even know them (respondent 61).

Respondent 43 expresses a sense of resignation that is typical of many immigrants:

Once, I was on the train here back from Naples – the 11 o'clock night train that has now been cancelled - and four Italian boys – I didn't even realize it at first – were there. One of them pointed a knife at me, and the others took 300 Euros from me and ran off. Thank God nothing else happened. You know, 300 Euros comes and goes. I didn't go to the police, because I have no documents. Then I didn't know how to recognize them. If you want to talk, you need documents. I don't think they robbed me because I am a foreigner. It was dark. They didn't even see my face at first. It would have happened to anyone. I have a bike to move around. It was stolen once. These things happen. No big deal. Probably a junkie. They sell it off for nothing. Once, an Italian boy was here with me. I wasn't watching and he stole my cell phone. He never admitted it. Never mind. They told me he did that all the time. No police, of course (respondent 43).

Respondent 38, who lives in a risky area in Naples, has developed his own strategy to cope with the frequent robberies in his neighbourhood. He also offers an explanation as to why the Senegalese are robbed a lot:

One day in Naples, I was going to the train station . It was very early in the morning (4, 4:30). As I was walking, I noticed a car there. It was moving strangely. But what could I do? I just kept walking. All of a sudden these two guys came out of the car one pointed a gun at my head, the other a knife. Then one said: "Give me your Cell phone". Since I know my place, I always bring with me a battered phone when I could be in danger. I gave him that. Then they took my wallet which only had five Euros. As they saw this, they gave it all back to me. On the way back, I found out that these two guys lived where I lived. They had noticed me around, had seen that I'm always up to something and so thought I was loaded. Then they found I wasn't.

You have to learn how to live in these places and put up with these things. I've been stopped many times by people who wanted to rob me, then they realized I had nothing and let me go. I think the fact that I'm an immigrant plays a part in this, but they stop Italians too. They approach everyone as long as they are not locals. In summer, there are a lot of robberies because, take the Senegalese, they go out to sell their stuff at fairs and come back home at night and they are robbed in the street. Or Italians will knock on their doors and as soon as the door opens they rush in and punch their way in or wielding a weapon. It's very dangerous to open your door in Naples. One such incident happened just yesterday in Naples: a man broke in with a gun and robbed a Senegalese man. Immigrants are scared even as we speak. Everybody knows that by word of mouth. It happens in the neighbourhood where I live, in Naples [Forcella, Quartieri Spagnoli] (respondent 38).

Other explanations, connecting lifestyles and places with the chances of being robbed, are ventured by the following respondents and key informants:

In Caserta, people tend to think immigrants are poor so they leave them alone pretty much. There are exceptions. For instance, groups of youngsters may rob the occasional Ukrainian or Polish lady. Or the old immigrant in the countryside may be robbed too. These things happen. Not so often in Caserta as in, say, San Marcellino, Maddaloni. The perpetrators don't often belong to any organized crime syndicate. They act on their own initiative. What happens very often is that immigrants' homes are broken into and their stuff is taken away. Now, an immigrant's home is not usually a nice place, but, you know, they buy

merchandise so their spaces are full of pieces of equipment, small appliances, dvds. Sometimes the thieves are immigrants too, but at times they are Italian.

Women immigrants are also robbed pretty often because they are vulnerable. Especially of their cell phones. Especially in Naples. Sometimes thieves pass themselves off as policemen. They ask for the permesso di soggiorno, and when the lady takes it out of her purse they steal whatever's in it.

Immigrants usually do not report these thefts, unless their documents, are involved. When it's goods that are stolen, they don't bother going to the police (respondent 36).

..., it is pretty common for them to be assaulted or robbed when they are in the street. For instance, when they go to work early in the morning or come back home at night after work. They usually either walk or ride on bikes, so they are pretty vulnerable targets. At the same time, they are very unlikely to report the crimes suffered. If they are irregular, this is almost invariably the case. If they are regular, they might report the most serious crimes, but surely not the everyday shoving and slapping which takes place in the street (key informant 1).

Immigrants do get robbed, especially after they have finished work. At the end of the day, there are groups and micro-groups that rob them. This has become systematic these days (key informant 14).

Key informant 4 – a lawyer – confirms the fact that immigrants may not be more targeted than locals:

I've heard of immigrants being robbed (occasionally by other immigrants), but I don't think they are targeted because they are foreigners. They are robbed as Italians would be robbed. There are no hate crimes in Caserta in my opinion. More and more people are intolerant, but I wouldn't venture to talk about hate crimes (key informant 4).

Key informant 9 relates an "original" strategy adopted by a Nigerian woman annoyed at having her purse snatched all the time:

I know a Nigerian woman in Sant'Antimo who was so used to having her purse snatched that she asked her friends to shit in her purse. That was snatched too but she had her revenge. The same thing happened in Villa Literno with a woman we saw who had stitches on her lips. She was mugged all the time (key informant 9).

Finally, burglaries occur too. Immigrants work most of their days away from home and tend not to have alarm systems. As a consequence, burglars find it easy to break into their houses and take away whatever they can. All the following statements concur on this:

When I was living in Aversa, my house was burglarized. I was away for work. No one was in. they took away a lot of things: the tv set, a blanket. I never knew who did it. Apparently, they knew I'd be away the whole day. I had no locks on the doors either (respondent 42).

My mother had her house burglarized four times. Little gypsies, probably. They took money, gold. Once it happened when I was here. But my mother never reported any of these incidents to the police. Mostly because she thought it would be useless. My mother speaks Italian well, not like me, but

she speaks good Italian. So it wasn't because of the language. She didn't go because she thought it would be useless (respondent 67).

In Naples what often happens is burglaries. Italian boys break into immigrants' houses and steal whatever they see. They don't do it out of spite or racism, but simply because they are in trouble. When this happens, we help out our fellow-countrymen, tide them over the best we can. This happens because immigrants are weak and stay away from home most of the time. And they keep the little they have at home (respondent 45).

Sometimes people break into immigrants' houses and steal tv sets (respondent 50).

Somebody broke into my home when I was away. They took away my money and a watch. I'm sure they knew I was away from work and that I was a foreigner. I didn't report that to the police because I was irregular (respondent 54).

4.1.4.2 Acts of vandalism

Even though not with the same frequency as other acts of violence, respondents and key informants mention acts of vandalism against immigrants' property in Caserta and Naples. Two types of vandalism appear from their words. The first is a cultural type: vandals vandalize because they do not like those who are different from them and want to express that. The second is a more pragmatic type: property is damaged to send out a specific message.

A clear example of the first type is the stones thrown at the (then) recently built mosque in San Marcellino. Respondent 65 (an Imam) tells the story and the reaction of the muslim community. Respondents 69 adds some comments to the incident:

In July 2008 some 13-15 year old kids threw stones at our mosque. Nobody got hurt but we had some damages. We didn't take revenge on them, we threw a festival instead. A big one. Then we got to know the throwers and we became friends. Now when they see us, they say hi. We're friends. They do these things but they are not even aware of what they do. Now they know us and if you know someone you are friendly to them. In the 90s, when we first came here, locals looked at us suspiciously because we were different, did strange things, drank and ate strange things, had strange habits. There were cultural misunderstandings too. For instance Algerians when they talk seem to be fighting all the time, but they are not. It's just the way they talk. This, of course, added up to the problem. Later on there was a petition against the mosque. People remonstrated. Stones were thrown, but I think that was stupidity more than anything. Now things are different. People respect us. The mayor respects us (respondent 65).

There was vandalism against the mosque. Verbal abuses, stones thrown at it. A man was injured. We respect the Catholic church, but they don't respect the mosque. It was some kids which did the vandalism. 17-20 years. Usually those who don't have cars and have to stay there. So they target us for fun. They are usually low-education, violent boys. And the papers don't publish anything either (respondent 69)

Respondent 71 runs a center for immigrants in Sant'Antimo. Here he tells how it was burned down and what his reaction was.

There are cases of vandalism in Sant'Antimo. For instance, there is a house where immigrants live where the windows are always smashed. The center I run has been burned down twice. I don't know why. We called in the police, but it was no good. I guess some people just can't stand us. I still don't know who did it and why (respondent 71).

Another incident of the sort happened to a protestant church in Castelvolturno attended by the African community.

Last year, someone set the protestant church of Castelvolturno on fire, scaring the Africans that go there. This was labeled as an act of bravado, but it was vandalism. The Africans never reported anything because they were terrified. The Church did, but it was no good. The vandals were never apprehended (key informant 2).

Other respondents relate similar episodes where their houses were damaged. These appear to have been committed by someone "who didn't have better things to do".

Last year, it was new year's eve, someone threw a bomb at our door and blew up the window and the door (respondent 20).

One night, someone threw a stone at my car and shattered the window glass. I had to have it repaired at my own expense (respondent 25).

I've been threatened by boys who have thrown stones at our houses (respondent 31).

In other cases, vandalism is a way to get across a message, as in the following two incidents where the purpose is clearly to scare immigrants away or, more specifically as in the first story, to kick out a tenant in arrears.

There was a Moroccan man in San Marcellino. An Italian landlord wanted him out of his house. He sent a group of hoodlums to his house. They destroyed everything he had and threw out his stuff (respondent 69).

There has been a time in Castelvolturno where immigrants' cars were burned to try and scare them away. Some of these vandals were arrested too; some were supported by local political groups who meant to turn them away. Houses have been vandalized too. It depends on periods. That was the period when camorra was trying to send them all away. This is criminal activity. The purpose is to either turn them away or submit them (key informant 20).

4.1.4.3 Frauds

Immigrants living in Caserta and Naples often fall victim to unscrupulous frauds who take advantage of their vulnerability, their needs and their ignorance. These may be Italian or foreign. The most widespread case of fraud is when immigrants are promised a residence permit in return for money by people who disappear, once the money has been paid:

In 2002, during the “sanatoria” [amnesty], many Italians came to us immigrants telling us they could give us job contracts. We didn’t speak the language so we signed the contracts and gave them money. But these men signed many contracts with many immigrants who were then defrauded of their money. The Italians became rich and we remained with nothing, no permit, we couldn’t even go back to our countries. It’s very difficult to report these things. Immigrants are afraid especially when they have no documents. Italians should have gone after the frauds, but they didn’t (respondent 51).

During the latest “sanatoria” [amnesty in 2002], employers were to pay the relative tax, but they always made the migrants pay it. This was pretty common. But, in some cases, the employers took the money and stopped the process. They didn’t give them the slip and the other documents. We sued one such entrepreneur whose name was Mazzocchella on behalf of many immigrants. He was sued for employing workers without a regular contract and for pocketing their money. It was hard, but finally the magistrate acknowledged that the migrants had been cheated and ordered the entrepreneur to return the money. Unfortunately, too much time had elapsed and, in the meantime, some migrants had either gone back to Pakistan (most of them were from there) or elsewhere in Europe. So they never saw their money again. But it was a great victory, in a sense. No small thanks to a lawyer, Luciano Santoianni, who followed the whole thing (key informant 1).

Something that’s been going on here in Naples during the latest “sanatoria” [amnesty in 2002] is a crime connected with the residence permit. According to law, employers could regularize immigrants working informally for them by paying a tax that roughly amounted to 700 Euros. The burden was on the employer. This would make immigrants eligible for a work permit, and a residence permit. The thing is that most local employers (very often in association with organized crime) not only made the immigrants pay, but they charged them up to 5-10.000 Euros. Immigrants (especially from Pakistan and Sri Lanka) told me that they had to sell their houses back in their mother countries to afford paying their employers. This was pretty common. What’s more, in some cases, the employers took the money and stopped the process. They didn’t give them the slip and the other documents. This was really terrible. We sued several entrepreneurs on behalf of roughly 170 immigrants. We sued them for employing workers without a regular contract and for pocketing their money. It was hard, but finally the magistrate acknowledged that the migrants had been cheated and ordered the entrepreneurs to return the money. They were also sentenced to jail. Unfortunately, too much time had elapsed and, in the meantime, some migrants had either gone back to Pakistan (most of them were from there) or elsewhere in Europe. So they never saw their money again. For some immigrants, the process continues, and we are trying to make them have a permit for reasons of justice. The fight goes on (key informant 3).

We had an association that represented a lot of immigrants who had been defrauded by unscrupulous Italians who promised to get them residence permits in return for money. Each of them had

to pay 2000 Euros apiece for fake permits. Sometimes they didn't get anything at all. These immigrants were from Burkina Faso (key informant 15).

One more crime immigrants suffer is fraud. Some people pass themselves off for lawyers and promise to get them permits of stay and ask for money. Then they get the money and run off. 13 Pakistani, for example, were accosted by a man as soon as they got off their ship and paid for fake documents. They were really angry and went to the police but they were charged with both illegal entry and forgery. I don't know what happened to them (key informant 11).

Other types of more ordinary fraud take place as well.

Other recurring incidents concern immigrant women who work as domestic help or tend to elderly. What happens is that when the elderly die, and these women ask their relatives for their dues, they are reported to the police for theft and fraud. This is often a way for the Italian employers not to pay what they should pay. I've happened to act as a lawyer for some of these women, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. One woman was convicted (key informant 3).

I was involved in a car accident. It wasn't my fault but the other driver made it seem as if it was. He wanted me to say I was guilty. I had to go to a lawyer. Also, when I go shopping they always try to short-change me. I'm always on the look-out. You always have to outsmart them (respondent 4).

I was never robbed but I was cheated into buying a fake cell phone in Naples. Naples is dangerous. Now, I know (respondent 16).

Sometimes, employers even accuse immigrants of extortion just because they demand their dues. These Italians take advantage of their ignorance and of the fact that they don't speak the language. So when they are confronted by the police, they always come out on top. Immigrants are easily manipulable (key informant 16).

Frauds may be fellow-countrymen as well, as reported in the following story

When I first came here, I paid 350 dollars to an Italian man who said the money was for a job. But it was a fraud. I was given a job, but I was fired three days after on small pretexts. This was a scheme and many Ukrainians have fallen victim to it. When you remonstrated, he just said: "I gave you a chance and you blew it", so the blame was laid on you. 99,0% of Ukrainians have fallen victim to this scheme. But now we have all wised up to it. You Italians think that being cunning means being intelligent, we are different.

The worst thing, though, was when my fellow-country people defrauded me. When I first got here, I was put in a room with 8 Ukrainian people. That was shocking. I paid for that and had to be thankful. Then, after 4 days, I found a job with this man, and was fired after 4 days. I had borrowed the 350 dollars from my fellow-country people and they kept my documents until I had returned the money. I was lucky. I found a new job, but they refused to return my passport. And I had to struggle with them until finally they gave it to me. Then I returned the money, but it was a bad experience (respondent 53).

4.1.4.3.1 A special type of fraud: people passing themselves off as law-enforcement agents

A very recurring type of crime exposed by immigrants living in Caserta and Naples is that of Italians passing themselves off as policemen or carabinieri. The “fake” policeman or carabinieri usually stops the immigrant and pretends to search him or her for drugs or guns. Once the search is over, he seizes the immigrant’s money and runs away with it. Fake policemen or carabinieri may also break into immigrants’ houses pretending once again to search the premises for drugs and then take away whatever may be interesting to them. These fake policemen or carabinieri often wear uniforms or other insignias and rely on the fact that many immigrants do not know how to tell a genuine policeman or carabinieri from a fake one. Frauds also take advantage of the fact that immigrants would never report these incidents to the police. Incidentally, it must be borne in mind that, during the massacre in Castelvoturno on September 18 2008, the killers were dressed as carabinieri.

Once, a fake policeman stopped me in the street, searched me, asking me if I had any drugs on me, then took my wallet and took away 250 Euros. The he ran off with the money (respondent 5).

I don’t feel safe because of the police that might ask for my documents or because of the fake police who might attack me and hurt me for money. Sometimes, when we are around, we are stopped by people who claim they are the police and threaten to take you to the police station. Then they ask for your money and other belongings. Sometimes, they point a knife at you. You don’t know what to do, because you can’t tell real police from fake police. This has happened so many times. I have never reported any of these to the police, also because these people are on mopeds or motorbikes and they will run off (respondent 27).

People pose as policemen and rob immigrants, taking away all their stuff. This happens often and immigrants never report these things to the police (respondent 31).

Women immigrants are also robbed pretty often because they are vulnerable. Especially of their cell phones. Especially in Naples. Sometimes thieves pass themselves off as policemen. They ask for the permesso di soggiorno, and when the lady takes it out of her purse they steal whatever’s in it (respondent 36).

Some of my friends had put some money away in a cranny with the passport. Some guys came to their door, passed themselves off as policemen, asked for their documents, and, since the documents were with the money, these guys took everything away. This happens very often. I don’t think real police do that, they can’t risk their career for a handful of coins (respondent 66).

Another frequent incident takes place when some con men pretend to be policemen in plainclothes, and, by so doing, rob immigrants of all their belongings, money and whatnot. They take advantage of their ignorance, of their poor knowledge of the law (key informant 3).

I've been told of people posing as policemen who rob immigrants and take away all their stuff. This happens to prostitutes as well, though I am not aware of the number of occurrences. These crooks take advantage of immigrants never reporting these incidents to the police (key informant 4).

I've heard of Italians passing themselves off as policemen to rob immigrants. This happens to pushers, particularly (key informant 14).

Some months ago, there have been incidents of policemen or fake policemen who, under the pretext of searching immigrants' houses for drugs, steal their stuff and money. That was a time (in 1989) when robberies happened pretty often (key informant 20).

Key informant 16 stresses the fact that these frauds happen so often that, when the camorra mobsters killed six African men on September 18 2008, dressed up as carabinieri, they did not receive this as a surprise. Key informant 15 confirms the fact.

Yes, lots of Italians pass themselves off for policemen. We had a hard time trying to make immigrants in Castelvoturno understand that the Setola group dressed up as policemen was something remarkable in the sense that this happens so often immigrants are used to it. Maybe this is happening less often now but it's still happening (key informant 16).

I can tell you that when the Setola group was arrested we found fake police signals, and badges. They often passed themselves off as policemen to victimize their targets (key informant 15).

Not everybody agrees that these incidents do occur. Key informant 8 and key informant 17 – a policeman and a carabinieri – declare bitterly that no such thing ever takes place.

I've never heard of immigrants being victimized by fake policemen or assaulted by motorbike youngsters. No way (key informant 8).

It's not true that Italians pass themselves off as policemen and rob immigrants. That's something they probably made up. Immigrants mostly rob their own people (key informant 17).

But countless testimonies run counter to these two opinions. Besides, the researcher had a chance to talk to a magistrate who's been investigating camorra for the past 10 years, who has confirmed the fact that camorra mobsters usually resort to such strategies. He also recounted the story of a young Moroccan man, a pusher, who had started telling the police some inside facts on a camorra group. The group got wind of it and some of its men went to him with carabinieri uniforms on. At first the man was happy to see the carabinieri but then he realized those were not carabinieri and was brutally killed. This incident was revealed to the magistrate by a camorra "supergrass".

4.1.5 POLICE BEHAVIOR AND ABUSE OF POWER

Police forces enforce law and order and are supposed to be the “gatekeepers” through which victims can report incidents of criminal victimization. Immigrants should ideally see them as those who provide a service of protection and respond adequately to their needs. However, the relationship between the police and immigrant communities is not so ideal. The police often stop and search immigrants as part of their routine activities or encounter them while pursuing crimes. They may encounter victimized immigrants who intend to report the crimes suffered. Finally, they receive immigrants when they have to get or renew a permit of stay at the police headquarters (Questura). These occasions often result in conflicting interactions where immigrants complain they have been abused, manhandled or treated as inferior beings, while the police deny the allegations and respond they are only doing their job.

In Caserta and Naples, many respondents and key informants point out abuses of power and incidents of maltreatment. On the other hand, the policemen, the carabinieri and the local policemen (“vigili”) interviewed in the course of the research sturdily deny any abuse, throwing charges back to immigrants. According to law-enforcement agents, immigrants are often aggressive and ignorant of the law, and, at times, out-and-out criminals.

The most common complaint from immigrants concerns the way they are treated at the police headquarters, while waiting in line to receive their documents.

One day I was in line at the Questura and there was this black girl in front of me. A policeman pushed her back touching her breasts and when she reacted he hit her with an umbrella. My mother was with me and she wanted to report that. But I said: “Mom, we should report this to these very people, so let’s stay quiet” (respondent 52).

I have never had problems with the police except when I have to renew my residence permit. They treat you like a turd. Some immigrants are arrogant. But the police are not nice sometimes. Law-enforcement can be harsh on immigrants, especially black people (respondent 23).

The police, I’ve encountered them. They always treat you bad. The police always treat you bad all over the world. They try to intimidate you and if you talk back to them you are in trouble. One day, I was with an immigrant. He was in line for his permit of stay, he put his bike where he was not supposed to put it, a policemen shouted at him, he moved his bike yelling back, and three policemen took him in and roughed him up pretty bad. They wanted to report me as well, but I said that was an abuse of power and that I knew my rights. Since they are policemen, they always try to intimidate you and take advantage of you. This person lost his permit of stay and now he will be irregular forever. We sued them for this but we lost. The police are very cunning, they had it medically reported that they had suffered severe traumas, and so got the better of him. The police are protected by the law. That’s strange though. If you go to the Questura, they always mistreat you. And yet it’s through the taxes we pay that they get their pays. This happens on an everyday basis, so much so that a policeman who doesn’t mistreat an immigrant is not a

real policeman. It's their culture. The law lets them do it. The law protects them. We are inferior citizens. What happens at the "Questura" is unbelievable (respondent 36).

The following respondent, while claiming he was never stopped and searched by the police, witnessed an incident of mistreatment at the Questura [police headquarters] and offers an explanation as to why these incidents take place.

As far as I remember, I have never been stopped and searched by the police. Because of my job, I very often work with the police both as an interpreter and a mediatore culturale. So they know me too. Lots of immigrants are stopped and searched though. How are they treated? That also depends on the knowledge of the language, on how they relate to the police. Very often, I've been told that if the stopped immigrant hesitates, the policeman will stick his hand into their pockets for documents, which is something they shouldn't do. I've witnessed an episode of mistreating. A man was in line at the Questura for his permit along with thousands. He was first in line, and this policeman pushed him back, not with his hand but with his bludgeon, screaming at the top of his lungs. This man was treated like an animal, he almost passed out and had to fall out of the line. I called the Questura and things were mended, but this happens every day. In order to understand these things, you should really stand in line with these people for about fifteen minutes and see what happens. Watch them. It's an incredible experience. Policemen only treat well those immigrants who know the law and know how to make themselves respected (respondent 37).

Immigrants accuse law-enforcement agents of being too lenient towards Italian perpetrators or not doing their job.

One day, I was with a friend of mine who had a car, and a motorbike hits us. This boy goes: "Ok, let's cut the crap, just buy me the broken piece and then go". We said no, there were vigili nearby. So we went and talked to them. He kept saying no, no, but we talked to the vigili and the vigile said: "Guys, I think it's better for you if buy him the broken piece". We said no, got in our car and went away. After a couple of minutes, we were surrounded by at least 20 motorbikes. We couldn't move. These people got off and started kicking, punching and breaking our car. Finally, we got off the car and the youngsters ran off. There was a police car nearby, we went to them, they had seen everything, but they said: did you take down their license numbers? No? So there is nothing we can do. I think if two Italians had been in our place everything would have been different. I might be wrong, but I don't know (respondent 38).

One day my husband at the market was beat up over the space at the market. My husband has a work permit and a license, but even so, when the police came along, they didn't do anything. You have to put up with these things. My husband has been slapped and kicked several times. The police? It's no good calling them in. They are no use and they may be trouble to you (respondent 26).

Immigrants also complain that worse things happen. According to many of them, the police take advantage of their power and rob, defraud, ridicule or hit immigrants, knowing they will never react. In their opinions, the police search their houses, plant drugs and steal things or put false allegations on them or, worse still, beat them savagely. A few examples are reported:

Once, I was running to catch a bus with other people, and the police came from behind after us and tried to stop us. I didn't see them coming. I stopped, the other two ran away. In the process, one of the policemen ran after the two and came back with blood on his face. The other was holding me. So they got furious and took me to the police station, asking me to give them the names of the other two. I told them I didn't know their names, they may be black but I don't know their names. Then, I was brutally beaten by the police. I never thought here in Europe the police would torture someone like that. I think the policeman hit an object with his face, that's how he got blood on his face. The only problem is I didn't do anything, but I should have given them the names of the other two guys. I was slapped, head on the neck, against the wall. In the end, they took my fingerprints, my photograph, and wanted me to sign something in Italian. I refused because I didn't want to sign something I didn't understand, but they slapped me into signing it. They forced me. They gave me a paper to go. This happened around March this year. I don't know why this happened. Maybe in this country it is a crime to run to catch a bus. I talked to the lawyer, but the problem was the evidence. But the evidence they were looking for is visual. But I'm a Blackman and so the injuries didn't show. The doctor gave me medicine, a tablet, because I was in pain.

Other brothers have been through experiences like this, torture, manhandling, the police come to your house, take their money. Many of them have come out with different stories on how the police came, searched their houses and, at the end of the day, went away with what little they had (respondent 48).

We can't take this anymore. Police bursting into our houses so many times. At two a.m. Taking us away. To the police station. They stand us up. Turn everything upside down. They say it's all about drugs. They say that because they wonder: "How could they survive if they have no jobs? It must be drugs!". Instead of chasing us, they should ask themselves: "What am I doing for these people? Am I providing for them?". The only difference is the color of the skin. But we are all human beings. We all eat, drink, shit, take baths (respondent 29).

One day a man was minding his own business, the police walk up to him and ask him the documents. He presents them to them and then they ask him to give them their money and their watch. When he refused they put him in jail for 3 days. This happens very often. Another man I know was robbed of his cell phone by the police (respondent 26)

One day, I had just come to Italy. I was talking with a few friends. All of a sudden a junkie came up to us and asked for drugs. I didn't know Italian well back then, so I had that translated by my friend. Then I said to the junkie: go there and pointed to the nearest police station. After a while, a bunch of policemen walked up to us and took us in, made us take off our clothes, took our fingerprints and so on. They didn't find anything on us. One of them kept saying: Go back home, go back home. I told him a thing or two. Then they wanted me to rinse off the ink, and I said no I'll go to the press, and he said why? What do you want to do? One of them even said: If you do that, I'll shoot you, and I said, well, then, shoot me! Then they let me go and one of them said: I know you are new here, the place where we found you is not a good place to be. So I don't want to ever see you again there. Got it? I said yes. I've had other encounters with the police. I had lost my passport and they wouldn't let me report that. So I had to go with an Italian journalist, a friend of mine. And that's when everything changed (respondent 38).

The police came to my place one day, I was with a brother, and took me to the police station and took my fingerprints. They said I pushed drugs. I said I don't sell drugs. They took me to Santa Maria Capua Vetere [a prison] and made me stay there for two weeks. Now the lawyer here [at the "Centro sociale"] has told me I've been cleared of all charges. I don't know. I don't know how to sell drugs (respondent 50).

The police are peace-makers, at least in Africa, as long as you don't commit crimes. Here, they are not your friends. They put allegations on you. Here the peace-makers are not making peace. I was stopped by the police and was controlled, but fortunately for me I had my documents on me. Then they came to my house and searched it thoroughly. They didn't touch a pin. They didn't find anything that made me a crime-committer. They didn't find anything that attracted them. I don't have money. I don't have gold. I don't have anything. So they didn't take anything. But I think that if they find money or gold they will take it. This is not fair. Because what we have is something to prove that we have achieved something. So if they take it away, it's not fair. Where I go to change money, many people complain of being robbed by the police. They go to their houses and rob them (respondent 62).

This year, in February, March, three friends of mine were stopped by the police in their car. They were going to work, and were accused of selling drugs. They were taken to jail and before the court. They always denied that. They were stripped naked. Nothing was found on them. After three days they were let go because they hadn't done a thing. But the police had taken their watches and all their belongings. One of them had a golden watch from Africa. He never had it back.

Another incident happened at the American Palace [a building that used to be inhabited only by immigrants]. The police burst in and under the false pretence of checking documents took away everything immigrants had.

Last week, the police found a boy, took him to Pescopagano [a place near Castelvoturno] and wanted to put allegations on him. They said to him We know you live here, open the door. He said I don't live here and the landlord confirmed that. Just because he had a car that was the same car some criminals had used. They put allegations on him just because he was an immigrant.

Sometimes the police plant drugs in immigrants' cars and houses. Then they arrest people and steal their stuff. And no one protects us. This happens on a daily basis. We are more afraid of the police than of Italians. Italians are untouchable, if you touch them you are dead. I think the police now are like the police back when Mussolini ruled (respondent 64).

Something bad happened to my son. He was stopped by carabinieri. He was riding on his motorbike. He called me and I went to the carabinieri station to hand them my son's passport. He was arrested because they said he was a pusher. He had a dose of heroine on him, but the carabinieri planted 25 Euros in his wallet and took him to the station and then someone in plainclothes came along and said he had given him the money in return for a dose. He was set up. This has ruined his life for ever. He can't work, he can't study. He is ruined (respondent 72).

Last year, a group of irregular Moroccans had some money they wanted to send back to their countries through money transfer. The carabinieri stopped them, put allegations of them, said they had joints in their cars. There were witnesses too. I know them. They were not junkies, I can tell you. And the carabinieri took away all their money and gave them "fogli di via" [sent them back to their countries] (respondent 65).

The following respondent says he was treated by the police like a criminal in broad daylight and had to move from his house because his neighbours thought he was a criminal.

I've been stopped by the police many times. Once, in Casal di Principe, I was in my car, the police stopped me. They never treat immigrants fairly, they provoke you. They stopped me, aimed a

machine-gun at my head and took my car apart. They told me to get out of the car with my hands up. That was humiliating for me. The people around saw me. Fortunately, they fixed the car afterwards. You can lose face like that. People avoided me. As a matter of fact, I had to go away from there because people gave me dirty looks. In Florence [respondent worked in Florence for a period] it was different. The police were kind to us. Over here they are brutal. Campania is the only place where they don't even show you a warrant. Over here, the nastiest policemen are the ones from the north, because a local would never be a jerk with another southern man (respondent 68).

Another respondent relates a glaring incident of abuse of power:

The vigili [the local police] always try to harass you. Always. I've been stopped by the police lots of times. I always try to be nice to them. I was stopped once when I sold pirate CDs and they handcuffed me on the beach, tying my hands below my left leg and urging me to walk. I told them this was no way to treat a human being. It was humiliating. This still hurts. Then one of them told the other to untie me. Same thing happened at the office. It was august. Very hot. A vigile made monkey-like gestures at me and I told him this was exactly what the Americans were doing to the Iraqi prisoners. Then he stopped treating me like an animal. It was like what happened in Iraq with Iraqi prisoners. Piled one upon the other and ridiculed. I still feel like crying looking back on that. This happens very often to us. Sometimes they'll give you pork when you are a Muslim. They don't do it to spite you, but because they are ignorant (respondent 32).

However, most respondents are willing to admit that police controls are less strict in the South than in the North of Italy.

When I get my work permit, I'll move up north. They tell me life up north is less risky, I mean, controls are stricter, but once you have your permit, your life is ok (respondent 7).

The reason I came here is that already there are lots of Pakistani. We go where we have friends. Here the police don't control us that much (respondent 20).

Over here immigrants are not searched the way we are up north. Up north, you can't live without documents (respondent 21).

No one has documents in Castelvoturno, that's why they go there (respondent 30).

It's true that in the north it's easier to be stopped and searched. Over here, maybe it's because there is too much organized crime and so the police are too busy, but here it's different, they leave us alone. But that depends on the immigrant community as well. Nigerians are notoriously more dangerous and are more watched. Nigerians are always after money (respondent 45).

Over here, the police are more tolerant. Now, things are getting worse because of the pacchetto sicurezza [new law on safety]. In the north, you couldn't even sell stuff in the street if you don't have a license. It's not like here (respondent 61).

Over here, the immigrant may move about more freely than in the north because controls are less strict, but the same applies to criminals and criminal behaviors. There is less control at the workplace, in the street, everywhere (key informant 3).

Learned Rumanians go up north, whereas the others come down here. They know that the society is looser here. So the most marginal Rumanians are here and they have a harder time integrating in our society (key informant 13).

The police are generally nice to immigrants. There are exceptions of course, but generally they are nice to them. They tend to turn a blind eye to certain things, like going around without registration and so on. Over here they are less strict than up north (key informant 14).

Key informants mostly agree that cases of abuse of power do happen, even though no blanket generalizations should be allowed. Key informant 14 concedes that the police are generally kind to immigrants with some exceptions. Key informant 11 says the police are not well trained to cope with immigrants and their needs. Key informant 12 relates that a few immigrants have been put to jail unjustly.

Another thing – I don't know if I should say this – is that the police break into their houses and take away their property and money. I've seen this with my own eyes. I was there once. The police took everything and didn't even record it. But the police are generally nice to immigrants. There are exceptions of course, but generally they are nice to them. They tend to turn a blind eye to certain things, like going around without registration and so on. Over here they are less strict than up north (key informant 14).

There are cases of abuses of power by the police or the carabinieri. Sometimes they are verbally and physically abused. Sometimes they are not given their copy of the decreto di espulsione (expulsion decree) so they cannot defend themselves. That's serious. I don't know how that happens but it happens. Besides, I think law enforcement agencies are not well equipped to manage these situations, to interact with immigrants. They should be taught how to do that (key informant 11).

Yet another case was about a man who was unjustly arrested because thought to be a drug pusher. In the end, we found out he was completely innocent. He served 1 year in jail and 8 months house arrested. He was acquitted of all charges. I think it was a set-up. He was intercepted by the police but it seems that his phone had been used by others and the voices were different. What is really serious, nothing was found at his place: no drugs, no tools, no money, nothing. So he was arrested for nothing. It was probably someone else living with him. Also because immigrants very often change their cell phones. I can tell you that an immigrant man I know who had no bad records and was found with 8 grams of heroin has been detained for almost a year now, whereas an Italian man I know, with lots of bad records, was arrested in Salerno with 4 kilos of heroine and he is now house arrested. After just 10 days. This is discrimination. I have very often been told that when carabinieri and the police search immigrants' houses they take away their money. Of course, these things have been told me, there is no evidence.

Another Senegalese man was arrested by the polizia municipale for having abused two of them. The interesting thing is that there were witnesses who decided not to testify because they didn't want to have the police as enemies (key informant 12).

Key informant 16 is even more adamant. In her opinion, it is common wisdom among immigrants that abuses occur on a large scale. This is no "bad apples" situation. Abuses are widespread and very few of them come to light. Finally, she mentions that a

police officer in Caserta was arrested for demanding unjust money from immigrants to “solve their problems”.

Immigrants complain that carabinieri come to their houses and plant drugs. Carabinieri more than the police. They have an overbearing attitude to immigrants. Immigrants are shot in Castelvoturno but the police don't care because they are irregulars. And when they are targeted for a robbery and stuff they come to the attention of law-enforcement because they are irregular, not because they are victims. We know of people who had been indicted for drugs who had nothing to do with drugs. We are certain of this. Now it is common sense knowledge for immigrants that carabinieri do certain things to them. We all know how the police make their career, the more they arrest the better for them. We know a boy who has served two years in jail for drugs who is now free. There are many cases like this.

At the Questura [police headquarters] in Caserta, a policeman demanded money for papers. With him everything stopped and immigrants had to pay if they wanted their documents. He just invented obstacles which didn't exist. He was eventually arrested (key informant 16).

A recurring incident in the words of the Senegalese respondents took place in Caserta between the local police (“vigili”) and the Senegalese community. In 2008, a Senegalese peddler was stopped and searched by the local police and, being without a license to sell, ran away in his car. In the process, a policeman was hit, although not seriously. The police were not able to find the fugitive and, in reaction, raided all the houses they knew were inhabited by Senegalese citizens and took them all to the police station. According to the Senegalese, they were kept there all night long and some of them were segregated in the toilets out of sheer spite. Even those whose documents were genuine were kept there just to “teach them a lesson”. As a consequence, the Senegalese community sued the local police and the trial is still under way.

The following are a few testimonies of the event given by both sides.

First the Senegalese point of view, which also elaborates on the general relationship between “vigili” and the Senegalese community.

The “vigili” broke into our house at 6 a.m. and kept us at their station till 5 p.m. They often seize our stuff because we don't have a work permit and don't have a license to sell. The thing is they don't even ask for our documents. They just assume we are all illegal here. Sometimes they steal our stuff to leave us alone. We feel persecuted by them. We don't have the same problems with the police or with the carabinieri. You are always on the lookout for them to turn up. We are scared. We don't usually go out after 10 p.m. because we feel neither safe nor confident (respondent 15).

Yes, we do have problems with “vigili”. They take our stuff and either keep it for themselves or sell it to other people. Sometimes they'll run us in on false charges for 1, 2, 3 days. It's unfair. Maybe they are frustrated or something. They don't like their jobs and take it out on us. But we lose a lot of money this way (respondent 16).

So this is how the story went. A Senegalese friend of mine argued with a vigile over something and ran off, allegedly hitting him while running away. They knew who the person was, but they busted into our homes at 1:30 a.m. with their flashlights and took us to the local station where they kept us till 5 a.m. But they had said that we'd stay there as long as the person would be found. They threw us in the

toilet. There were 8 of us then living in via Solferini. Others they took from Tredici. The person they were looking for lived on via Acquaviva. All our documents were all right. But they didn't return our stuff. They said we'd have to come back the following day. We did with Luca, Nello and Centro Sociale. But we never got our stuff back. Now there is a trial going on. I don't understand this, because if a Senegalese person does something wrong, it doesn't necessarily mean that we are all responsible as a community. Now the vigili are nicer to us though. The police and the carabinieri are different from the vigili. The vigili sometimes say we hit them, but this is not true. And a friend of mine, for example, had his residence permit taken back. Now he is in Spain. Most of us would never go to the police to report a crime because it would be a waste of time, and then something bad might come out of this (respondent 31).

As for what happened between the vigili and the Senegalese, I think there was a big mistake there. Because they were looking for a man and they searched all our houses, all angry. We even called our ambassador and he talked to the questore [chief of the police], the police. This was an abuse of power. They can't go after all the Senegalese for the mistake of one. You can't say: "If you don't give us this boy, we will take all of you". They also put them in the toilets during the night. Some had a permit of stay. Last year a Senegalese boy was assaulted by two policemen who said he had been the attacker. Now he has been cleared of all charges and proved innocent. He was supported not only by the Senegalese but also by Italians. Everyone knew he was a good boy. There was a trial and he was acquitted (respondent 51).

It is just natural that the police see things differently. The following two key informants belong to the Caserta local police ("vigili"). Notice how key informant 5 admits to some of his colleagues "exaggerating a little".

Some of them have licenses to sell, some don't. But having a license is not enough. For instance, in Caserta it is not permitted to sell in the street downtown. If you want to sell in the street you need to move outside. What happens is that some of them may have individual licenses, but these don't cover their friends as well, of course. When they see us they just run away, pick up all their stuff and may throw someone down in the process. This may be dangerous. The Senegalese are not violent per se, but running away like that may be dangerous to the surrounding people. At the local market, they usually sneak in because only 2 or 3 Senegalese people have licenses for the market, and then they get together as if one license was enough for all of them. That's why the other peddlers complain, but the Senegalese are almost always wrong.

If they have no license, they are given a 5-10.000 Euro ticket, which they never pay. If they have no residence permit, they are reported to the judiciary authority and receive a "foglio di via". Their stuff is always seized, that's why they run off when they see us. If they sell counterfeit merchandise, they are liable to penal sanctions.

What we do is we try to surround them, when they realize this, they make a break out.

Nowadays, the Senegalese don't just run away, they get together and stand there menacingly. It's scary.

One of the things they do when we approach is to start screaming: "Racist, racist!". This way, the people around them take their sides and reproach us. On the other side, if we don't do anything, people, especially traders, complain all the same, saying we are too lax, so whatever we do, we are to blame. We are either bad or lax.

We are not racists, I swear. Some of us may exaggerate a little, but we are not racists.

We even warn them before seizing their stuff. But they don't listen and sometimes mock us ("Come on, be good", "Behave yourself").

We occasionally receive letters of complaint by citizens, urging us to do something. When this happens we have to do something, or else everybody starts complaining. So there are no "numbers to meet", we just act when we receive complaints. If there are many complaints, the mayor urges us to do something.

As for the notorious episode, I don't think we mistreated them. We brought them here to the station, because we couldn't identify the culprit, but we didn't lock them up in the toilet as they say. The culprit was nowhere to be found. But I won't say a thing more because there is a trial going on (key informant 5).

I don't think there is any friction between the vigili and the Senegalese. Of course if they do something wrong we have to do something. Also the problem is that if we do something, they say we are racists, if we don't they say we are too lax. We are not racists though. That's for sure. Our job is very special. It's hard working in the street 24 hours a day. What the people say is not true.

Sometimes we get in fights, because immigrants resist or try to get away and knock someone down. They are always on the lookout (respondent 6).

Key informant 3 – a lawyer – explains that law-enforcement agencies have to periodically arrest a certain number of people. Therefore, they turn to the Senegalese and other immigrant communities which are more vulnerable and easily apprehensible.

Some Senegalese immigrants are arrested because they are more vulnerable and so are easily apprehensible. The law-enforcement agencies have to meet certain figures (arrest, say, a certain number of people by a certain date), and the Senegalese are easy targets. In these cases, arrest is not mandatory according to law, but the police twist the law a bit and put them to jail. There are also cases of abuse of power, but they are not so relevant as the need for a certain number of people to be arrested (key informant 3).

Key informant 4 – another lawyer – does not agree with his colleague, though.

As for the relationship between the Senegalese (the first immigrant community in Caserta) and the local vigili in Caserta, the Senegalese are street peddlers and need special licenses. So they are often inspected by the vigili, who will often find fault with them. I have often seen them treated like beasts and verbally abused. There have been incidents of abuse of power. I don't think that law-enforcement agencies have to meet certain figures (arrest, say, a certain number of people by a certain date), as Santoianni [key informant 3] says. At least, here in Caserta. In Naples it could be possible (key informant 4).

The vigili aside, the other policemen and carabinieri interviewed during the research sturdily deny any cases of abuse of power. Key informant 8 says there may be cases of cultural misunderstandings: immigrants from countries where the police are corrupt and violent may think that the police are alike all over the world. Key informant 15 denies too, but eventually reveals that he himself has arrested two colleagues of his for...abuse of power.

I can assure you there are no cases of abuse of power. It's an old stereotype you see in movies. The police nowadays are more educated. We are under constant focus. This is something we don't do. We are CCTVed. On the contrary, we very often feed them and take care of them (key informant 7).

I can assure you that there are no cases of abuse of power by the police. The police are mature nowadays. All over Italy. Much more than in other countries. I've never come across incidents of racism. I'd have punished it. We can't rule anything out of course. But here nothing happens. Sometimes there are cases of cultural misunderstandings. Some of these people, when they are taken in, tend to think that they'll be beat to death because this is what happens in their country. So they will overreact. Of course, we have to enforce the law and this is not abuse of power (key informant 8).

Talking of abuses of power, I can tell you these things rarely happen, but when they do happen, we are very strict about it. I can tell you I arrested two inspectors, two colleagues at the immigration office, who had demanded extortion money in return for fake residence permits. In that case, we only knew of this because when the immigrants tried to renew their permits they were told the permits were not genuine and so, to avoid being indicted, they had to say what had happened. They wouldn't have reported it otherwise. At that point they could only tell the truth (key informant 15).

Different sides offer different versions. Nonetheless, the issue appears an important one and should probably be better looked into.

4.1.6 WHO VICTIMIZES IMMIGRANTS? VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS IN IMMIGRANT VICTIMIZATION

Who victimizes immigrants living in Caserta and Naples? Are the perpetrators Italian or foreign? Most respondents seem to take it for granted that the offenders are almost invariably Italian. Exceptions are made, but they are usually just that: exceptions. According to the international literature, though, immigrants are mostly victimized by other immigrants or by people belonging to their same racial or ethnic group. For instance, Robert O'Brien, in a study on violent crimes in the United States, claims that «violent crimes are found to be intraracial to a far greater extent than statistically expected» (O'Brien, 1987: 817), while Marzio Barbagli in Italy has found that immigrants tend to choose their victims within their own national groups (Barbagli, 2008: 178-179).

How to square this discrepancy? Some remarks need to be made. A few respondents seem to discount crimes when they are committed by fellow-nationals as if these were not as important as crimes committed by Italians. In other cases, intra-national crimes are not perceived as crimes, but rather explained away as cultural habits or traits. Some forms of violence may be occasionally justified when they occur in certain contexts. In all these situations, immigrants tend not to report the crimes they

suffer. Finally, some immigrants tend to be more tolerant of immigrants coming from their own countries and less tolerant of other immigrants.

Respondent 11 – a Ukrainian woman – clearly admits to the fact that Ukrainian women may be battered by Ukrainian men, but explains this in terms of cultural habits:

Ukrainian women are beat up by Ukrainian men as well. Ukrainian men are mostly alcoholic and also smoke joints when they come here because they are sold cheaper. Not only do they beat their women, they also steal money from them. It's a different culture. Ukrainian men are like children to women. Women are supposed to look after them and buy them things. Ukrainian women are also coerced into prostitution by their men (respondent 11).

Sometimes being victimized by a fellow-countryman may come as a shock. This happened to another Ukrainian woman who does not credit cultural explanations much. Notice how she does not report the perpetrator because he is from Ukraine:

The worst thing, though, was when my fellow-country people defrauded me. When I first got here, I was put in a room with 8 Ukrainian people. That was shocking. I paid for that and had to be thankful. Then, after 4 days, I found a job with this man, and was fired after 4 days. I had borrowed the 350 dollars from my fellow-country people and they kept my documents until I had returned the money. I was lucky. I found a new job, but they refused to return my passport. And I had to struggle with them until finally they gave it to me. Then I returned the money, but it was a bad experience. I had my money stolen by a Ukrainian man who lived with me at the time. I confronted him and he returned the money. I'd never have reported that to the police. We lived together. It's true that Ukrainian males tend to beat their women, but I don't think it's something cultural. It has to do with the difficulties and hardships of the life here (respondent 53).

The following respondent makes it clear that lots of Ukrainian women have fallen victim to unscrupulous fellow-nationals.

When I came to Italy, I didn't know anybody. In Naples I met a Ukrainian woman, she lived with an Italian man, and this woman "sold work". So I gave her 300 Euros and she took me to a family who needed me. The first year I changed many jobs. Everybody said I was good at my job but no one paid me. Until I finally found a good job in Canello in a restaurant as a cook. Of course this happened to other Ukrainians as well. Nowadays, though, no one sells work anymore (respondent 70).

Key informant 7 – a carabinieri – is convinced that immigrants mostly commit their crimes against other immigrants, and that they are seldom victimized by Italians.

Immigrants in Castelvoturno do report the crimes they suffer, but honestly I'd say they commit more crimes than they suffer. Mostly they rob each other. That's why they come here to report. You know, living together, ten, twelve people, they rob each other and then they say the police did it or the carabinieri. Very often we report them back for false accusation. They tend to exploit themselves. Immigrants subtle to other immigrants, act as "caporali" [work recruiters] to other immigrants, exploit prostitution. Italians are not involved. Albanians, Moroccans, they tend not to report and sort things out

among themselves. Eastern European women come to report their husbands or men they live with for gender violence. We see bruises and marks on their skin (key informant 17).

Key informant 7 – a policeman - tells a very revealing story on a Russian woman and her decision not to report acts of violence committed by other Russians.

One more thing is that they are often victimized by fellow-countrymen and then they blame the Italians. There was the case of a Russian woman who lived with a Pakistani man as man and wife, who was threatened by two fellow-countrymen. The Russian woman would never have reported her fellow-countrymen, but the Pakistani man did and that's how we came to know that (key informant 7).

Other types of crime take place in the family and have already been mentioned in regard to sex- and gender-related crimes.

I've heard of violence among immigrants. With immigrant partners, what happens is that the man can't find a job, feels frustrated and drinks a lot while the female spouse works all day long, only to go back to a violent partner. This happens a lot with Nigerians. Also, with Polish and Ukrainian men. Also with Rumanians. Rumanians can be more violent than the others I've mentioned. They're very often drunk from the early morning. Some of them have been warned not to go to work drunk. Some Polish women have bruises. I've seen this myself (key informant 14).

The Chinese community seems to be characterized by a peculiar inclination to victimize their own people.

... the Chinese usually commit crimes within their own community, so their victims are usually other Chinese people. They extort money or kidnap someone for a short time. Usually not for big money, sometimes, though, 10.000-30.000 Euros. This is something we seldom know about. We only know of one case, a Chinese girl, I think it was, who reported his father missing. He had been kidnapped but she didn't know. Another thing is the prostitution within the Chinese community. Another yet is fights among themselves. For instance, just yesterday a Chinese man was stabbed to death by another Chinese man.

Another thing is Chinese exploiting other Chinese. They live in cramped spaces, and sleep right next to their tools. I've seen this personally. We've closed down many factories where people were made to live unbearable lives.

We are also aware of Nigerians who fight among themselves, also South-Americans. Some are stabbed to death and when somebody dies we come along and get to know what happens. Prostitutes are beat up savagely too by Albanians and Rumanians. We get a lot of that (key informant 15).

Back to cultural habits, an Albanian respondent says that there are conflicts between northern and southern Albanians that reflect pre-existing conflicts. These may result in fights which are almost like private feuds, that go unreported all the time.

Sometimes what happens is that there is a conflict between people from the north and from the south of Albania and this conflict is reflected here as well. Sometimes they fight, but no one reports anything. It's like with south American gangs who get together in bands. I mean, Albanians don't band together like south Americans do, but they fight occasionally (respondent 34).

Another respondent – a Belarusian woman - was threatened with a blade by an Albanian man and is now scared to death of Albanians.

Once, I lost my job. The owner of a bar – a friend – took me in as a guest in Recale with a Ukrainian girl who worked as a bartender for him. Then an Albanian man came along and he hit the girl repeatedly. I think they were together and he was very jealous. Then he pointed a knife at me and threatened me. He said You have to tell me where this girl was or I'll kill you. I was very scared. I've always been afraid of Albanians since. I've heard that this often happens with Albanians. Albanians sometimes turn Ukrainians into prostitutes. They may be dangerous (respondent 72).

Occasionally, immigrants may think some forms of violence are justified.

Yes, Ukrainian women are sometimes beaten by their husbands. This is normal. I mean it shouldn't be normal but it happens. And I wouldn't call this violence, because what happens in a family is very special. Sometimes I think that some women deserve being beaten because they talk too much and complain too much and need to understand what their place in society is (respondent 58).

A Gambian respondent hints at usury among immigrant, but is not very talkative on the subject.

I can tell you there is usury among migrants, but no one will tell you about this. Me? I am not afraid to tell you (respondent 39).

Finally, some immigrants tend to be less tolerant of other immigrants, as in the case of the two following Polish women.

I am afraid of recently arrived migrants. I think Italy did well to recently crack down on them (respondent 3).

I think the Italian government should be strict on immigrants. Look at all these boys begging for money. It's impossible here. There are too many of them. Some come to work, but others come to steal or beg. It's annoying. They're always asking for money (respondent 33).

By and large, immigrants do not talk much about crimes committed by fellow-nationals. This is something to be borne in mind when studying immigrant victimization.

4.1.7 ARE HATE CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN CASERTA AND NAPLES?

An ordinary crime becomes a hate or bias crime when offenders choose a victim because of some characteristic, such as race, ethnicity or religion. Hate crimes usually accompany other violent crimes: rapes, robberies, assaults, vandalisms. Many definitions of hate crimes have been provided. For example, FBI define a hate crime as «a criminal offense committed against a person, property, or society which is motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national origin» (Shively, 2005: 2). Many other definitions have been provided though. In a sense hate crimes are no ordinary crimes in that, in order to be identified, they do not just depend on the offender's motive, but also on the victim's perception of why they became crime victims. That's why it may be very difficult to single out an incident as having been provoked by bias, especially if the offender is not found out. For instance, if an immigrant's house is burglarized, is it because the burglars were after the money or because they targeted the victim for their racial or ethnic origin?

In this study, only victims have been interviewed. This means that the biased nature of the crimes suffered by them heavily relies on their perception. The question "Have you ever been targeted because of your skin color, ethnic origin or religion?" has elicited conflicting answers. Some immigrants are ready to interpret inter-group crimes as motivated by hate, others tend to discount the incidents as acts of stupidity or ignorance. For instance, when the mosque in San Marcellino was vandalized by a group of youngsters, the local Imam himself did not think the incident was due to racism, but to ignorance and a sense of emptiness on the part of the young vandals. Italian key informants are almost invariably ready to dismiss any form of racism: Italians, in their opinions, are not racists. Immigrants' opinions are more varied.

Here are some examples. The first statements are provided by immigrants who attribute what happened to them to a biased intent. Some of them also mention "ignorance".

I think Italians in Caserta are mostly racist or maybe just plain ignorant. It's different up north (respondent 15).

Lots of people here are racists or maybe just ignorant, because they can't get it into their heads that the world is changing. It is not what it used to be. The color of the skin in Caserta is important. Up north, I've seen Senegalese married to Italians. Over here, it's impossible (respondent 16).

People from Caserta are racist in part. Most of them are. I see this from the way they treat us at work, my neighbours. That friend of mine, the neighbours called the carabinieri from Caserta because they said he did this and that, and since they didn't do anything, they called the carabinieri from Piedimonte. I don't know if they would do this to an Italian. And the situation is worse here than in the

north. Here, they joke a lot but want to cheat you. In the north, they are stricter but respect you more (respondent 31).

One day a little girl blew me a kiss and I blew a kiss back to her and her mother slapped her. I don't understand this (respondent 22).

Different opinions have been provided by both respondents and key informants.

I don't think it's racism. I think it is stupidity and ignorance (respondent 8).

Why do they do it? I don't think they are racists, I simply think they are crazy or stupid (respondent 10).

Once, I was on the train here back from Naples – the 11 o'clock night train that has now been cancelled - and four Italian boys – I didn't even realize it at first – were there. One of them pointed a knife at me, and the others took 300 Euros from me and ran off. Thank God nothing else happened. You know, 300 Euros comes and goes. I didn't go to the police, because I have no documents. Then I didn't know how to recognize them. If you want to talk, you need documents. I don't think they robbed me because I am an immigrant. It was dark. They didn't even see my face at first. It would have happened to anyone (respondent 43).

I had my bag snatched once in Frattamaggiore. A motorbike passed by and one of them took my bag. I had all my documents there, but since I knew people everything was all right. I went to the carabinieri and they were nice to me. I don't think I had my bag snatched because I was a foreigner. It could have happened to anyone. I was told it's pretty common there (respondent 72).

I don't think this [a previously mentioned incident] is racism. Racism is ideology: my race is superior to yours. These are examples of violence and aggression. Stupidity. This is the effect of a violent culture, where asserting oneself means being violent to others. Italians are not racists. These are cases of cultural simplification (key informant 8).

The following key informants claim that what some people term "racism" is really just a reaction to immigrants' misbehaviors. In other words, they "had it coming".

Of course if they [the immigrants] do something wrong we have to do something. Also the problem is that if we do something, they say we are racists. If we don't, they say we are too lax. We are not racists though. That's for sure. Our job is very special. It's hard working in the street 24 hours a day. What the people say is not true (key informant 6).

Sometimes they are assaulted but this happens because they don't behave themselves, for instance on buses. They spit, pee wherever they can, and as a reaction they are assaulted. These people are fifty years behind us. To them it's normal to live in seedy places, all together. Sometimes they use the bathroom as a warehouse! (Key informant 17).

Obviously, the question is far from being settled and deserves to be looked into more deeply.

4.2 MACRO-AREA 2: SAFETY

In most international victimization surveys, safety perception is probed by one (usually the first), or both of the following questions:

- 1) “How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?”
- 2) “How safe do you feel when you are alone in your own home at night?”

These questions are usually addressed to national citizens who voice their own fears and concerns. In some cases, these questions are also addressed to immigrants or people from minority groups and the answers change from place to place. For instance, in Australia, the Australian component of the 2004 International Crime Victimization Survey revealed that high proportions of immigrants, particularly women, felt unsafe walking alone in the local area alone after dark (Johnson, 2005¹; 2005²), whereas, in Switzerland, studies reveal that «safety in the streets is very comparable for foreign and Swiss nationals» (Killias, 2009: 40).

Fear of crime is an important variable. When it is high, it may seriously affect a person’s freedom of movement and impinge on their rights as free citizens. In most Western countries, policies are implemented based on the findings from studies surveying safety perceptions. These translate in changes in the urban environment, individual lifestyles and social habits. In other words, probing safety perceptions may have considerable consequences on people’s lives.

4.2.1 SAFETY PERCEPTION AND AVOIDANCE BEHAVIORS

Do immigrants from the present study feel safe? This question has elicited rather consistent answers from respondents whose relevance may pose interesting challenges to future researchers. Contrary to mainstream assumptions that portray foreigners as a threat and a problem to national safety (Maneri, 2009¹), immigrants often feel scared of walking around in Caserta and Naples and resort to avoidance behaviors to counter their fears. Besides, a number of interesting phenomena emerge with regard to the issue of safety.

To begin with, most respondents admit to feeling unsafe when walking around and not just after dark. Their feelings are strictly connected to possible crime incidents and are at times originated by actual bad experiences with local people.

Sometimes I’m afraid of walking around because of the bad people there are (respondent 1).

Every time I hear the noise of a motorcycle I turn around because you never know what might happen. I am always scared when I walk (respondent 8).

I'm pretty scared when I walk around. I was slapped once so hard that I bled from my nose. Why do they do it? I don't think they are racist, I simply think they are crazy or stupid (respondent 10).

When I am in the street, I don't feel safe. I think Italians are not used to a multiethnic society. I was attacked three times in the street. The first time in Sant'Antimo; the second in Grumo Nevano. The third time they threw a garbage bag at me. I think that's because Italians are not used to having foreigners around themselves. The color of the skin is also important. The worst problem to me is not the police, but the people (respondent 14).

In Sant'Antimo, two boys threw a garbage bag at me and then they ran off. [...] To them an immigrant is an animal. We don't act like that in my country. I can't even go to the police because I have no documents. I'm always scared when I walk around. You always have to look out for yourself. You can never relax (respondent 18).

After the massacre of six Africans in Castelvoturno on September 18 2008, some Africans are scared of going around and are afraid something like that might happen again. In this case, the fear is caused by a very specific, tragic event.

When you walk around, they might hit you with a belt. They come on their motorcycles. Every time you go around you have to be careful in Castelvoturno. This happens very often you can never be in peace. Never at rest. It's very very bad. It's the mafia boys that do it. They chase us. They want us to stay away from here. They hate us. I don't know why. I don't understand. And we can't go to the police because we have no documents. This is supposed to be a democratic country, but in Castelvoturno, with the mafia boys, there is no democracy. Because of this, I don't go out much (respondent 30).

After what happened in Castelvoturno, we are all afraid. You never know what might happen. Violence may strike any time. I'm also afraid of the police and what they could do to us. They should protect us, but instead they send us back to our countries. I always stay at home after what happened. I try to stay out as little as I can. My life is work and home (respondent 59).

After what happened in Castelvoturno, I always stay inside. I don't get out if I can avoid it. I am afraid of going out (respondent 60).

Contradictory as they may seem, the statements provided by the following respondent are very revealing. Even though the massacre happened in broad daylight, it seems to affect nighttime behaviors as well.

I don't feel safe. I stay indoors after 10:00 p.m.. I know my life is in danger. When those things happened to me, it was daytime. So I don't move in the night. When our 6 brothers were killed in Castelvoturno, it was daytime. It could have happened to any of us. So our lives are in danger (respondent 62).

Key informant 8 - a policeman – says that after the September 18 killings, immigrants demand protection because they do not feel safe at all.

We should also mention what happened in Castelvoturno because of the casalesi [camorra gang]. We now know that camorra wanted to send out a signal, warn the immigrants against doing anything on their own: whatever you mean to do, you'll do it only on our authorization. What we know is that they killed at random: the victims were not even pushers, maybe only one or two of them. But this is not the question. Those people were killed at a tailor's shop, a very well known place among immigrants. So the massacre had a very powerful meaning. I talked to the Ghanese and they asked us for protection because they said they were honest. We answered saying that we protect everyone independently of who the victim is (key informant 8).

But immigrants in Caserta and Naples are not just afraid of local people. They are afraid of law-enforcement agents too. This is partly because they are afraid they might be sent back to their own countries or might have their stuff seized when they are undocumented or without a regular license; partly because, even when they do have documents, they are afraid the police might abuse their powers. Some respondents are suspicious of the police regardless of their legal status. In other cases, having regular documents seems to make all the difference.

In Naples, you have to look out. Always. Because they slap and kick you. Of course I am scared. You can't just walk and relax. Also when you sell your stuff, you are always turning your head to the left and to the right in case the vigili [the local police] come over and seize your merchandise or turn you away (respondent 25).

I don't feel safe because of the police that might ask for my documents or because of the fake policemen who might attack me and hurt me for money (respondent 27).

I am afraid when I walk around in the street that I might be searched because I have no documents. I am very anxious (respondent 46).

I am afraid of walking around. The place I live, I don't feel safe because I have no documents. I can't sleep at night. If I had documents, I could afford a better job and a better place. Anything might happen to me (respondent 47).

We are always afraid. We don't have documents and we know that in a country like this, that alone makes us afraid. Because no one wants to be taken back home just like that. So when we are in the street we look back, we look in front, when we see a car we cross to the other side (respondent 48).

In Sant'Antimo, two boys passed by me and hit me with a stick, but there was traffic and I hit them back. I am very often abused and yelled at. You always have to be on the lookout. There are good people and bad people. Good Moroccans and bad Moroccans. The police scare me too. They have stopped me at times, but they have always let me go (respondent 17).

This situation often leads to an “existential kind of insecurity” as exemplified in the following two examples.

When I walk around in Sant’Antimo, I am scared of youngsters. I feel safe in Aversa. I’d also like to say that we live under a constant psychological violence: being always on the lookout for dangers, never knowing what tomorrow will bring, bureaucratic delays, this suspension of life (respondent 35).

Papers are the biggest problem for Ukrainians. It’s harder and harder for us to get them in time. This is a source of anxiety. Besides, we don’t have a future. Everything is centered on the present (respondent 11).

As respondent 35 aptly puts it, “never knowing what tomorrow has in store” brings about a suspension of life, which in turn brings about a constant sense of insecurity, which is very characteristic of the immigrants interviewed in this study.

In order to overcome the anxiety from feeling insecure, immigrants often resort to avoidance behaviors: some have curfews; some avoid certain places or going out after dark; some try to stay out of trouble; others prefer not to talk to certain people or dress in a certain way; others still resort to protective strategies learned by Italian friends. Protective behavior is even discussed during prayers at the mosque in San Marcellino. Safety seems to be a constant concern with immigrants in Caserta and Naples.

We stay out of trouble. I’m scared of walking outside at night. These people, they treat us like beasts. They hit us like beasts. They hit us in the nose, in the forehead. A friend of mine, 50 years of age, was hit in the head – he was in the street – and had three stitches. The blood kept gushing out. He didn’t report the fact because he didn’t have documents. I think they don’t see us as human, but below human (respondent 20).

Everyone is scared around here. We even have a curfew: no one goes out after eight p.m. (respondent 9).

I was never robbed, but I am very careful. I always carry very little with me. I avoid certain places. It’s safer (respondent 56).

I live a very calm life. I go to work till late, come back home and sleep. I rarely go out. That’s why I have suffered no serious crimes so far. The problem here is with some youngsters who are really nasty to immigrants, but other than that, I’d say that everything is fine (respondent 22).

I never walk out alone. I am worried when I walk out. I’m not scared. I just work and go home. When I have to walk dark, lonely streets, I’m very careful and I never stop. I’m afraid for my son, more than anything (respondent 23).

I don’t go out much. I go to work and then back home (respondent 19).

You are always on the lookout for them [bad people] to turn up. We are scared. We don't usually go out after 10 p.m. because we neither feel safe nor confident (respondent 15).

I know how to move around. My husband told me all about it. I don't stop to talk to strangers and know how to handle risky situations (respondent 3).

We don't feel safe, especially at night, but also during the day. That's why during our prayers in the mosque we also discuss how to protect ourselves, where to keep our money, where not to go. It's to protect ourselves (respondent 65).

Some [immigrants] don't go out at night because they are afraid something might happen to them or because they have a friend who was beat up. I have friends who do not attend meetings here [the union] because they are afraid of going to certain places or of walking through certain areas (key informant 19).

Respondent 11 resorts to dyeing her hair as a survival strategy so she does not look like "eastern women".

You can tell I don't feel safe here by the fact that I dyed my hair a darker shade. I am much blonder than I look. But if I had stayed blonde, I would have been an easy target. People can tell from a distance that you are not Italian. This tells you how scared I am (respondent 11).

Curfews may be a cultural behavior as explained by the following Moroccan girl. Protecting oneself means also protecting one's morality. It is a treasured quality with some immigrant communities. As a consequence, the very perception of safety may be culturally different.

I don't go out at night. After nine p.m., Moroccan girls stay at home (respondent 24).

Immigrants adopt avoidance behaviors not just to overcome feeling unsafe, but also to stay out of trouble when they have no documents. Staying out of trouble is necessary when something big as staying in Italy is at stake.

I don't always feel safe here. I avoid going through certain places. Places frequented by junkies. I am not afraid of them, but I'm afraid I could get in trouble and since I have no documents...If I was Italian, I'd probably be less scared. But it depends on the situation. I have friends from Bangladesh who just never go to certain places. They are scared. Maybe they are too peaceful, they should react, do something (respondent 44).

Another interesting phenomenon is that of "downgrading". Many immigrants coming from areas where violent, abusive behavior happens on an everyday basis compare this to how local people act towards them in Italy, thus getting a feeling that the latter are better. This means that they perceive as safe situations, people or areas

locals would no doubt label as insecure, just because they are actually safer compared to situations, people and areas experienced in the mother country.

I feel safe when I walk around here. It's different from my country. In Casablanca anything might happen to you. It's risky, especially at night (respondent 67).

My life is good here. In Rumania and in Hungary, what happened was you always had to bribe the customs officers and the police, even if your documents were all right. It happens all the time. We're used to it (respondent 54).

Back in Ghana, somebody hit my face and I can hardly see from my eyes. I don't go to hospital, because I have no documents. My sight is very poor. There was violence back in Ghana. [Here] I am not scared when I walk around. I feel safe, there is no violence here (respondent 28).

I feel safe here when I walk around, in Caserta, San Nicola la Strada, even Naples. I might hold tight to my bag, but that's all. In Belarus, it's different. You might be assaulted any time and anywhere, even in public offices or in stores. It's dangerous everywhere (respondent 72).

This phenomenon leads to a strange paradox best expressed in the words of key informant 16.

The paradox here is that immigrants in this area ask for protection and demand more safety. They come from dangerous areas where safety is very poor and they come to us asking for safety. And in return we give them more risks, more dangers. And Italians think they are the threat! The truth is their needs do not exist to Italians and therefore they are not perceived as people who suffer crimes. This is where you see they are invisible. And they have to adapt to being invisible (key informant 16).

Finally, respondents and key informants seem to be aware that immigrants may not feel safe because of where they live. In other words, their feelings of insecurity are closely related to the places where they spend most of their everyday lives.

Immigrants don't feel safe. Over here they usually live in degraded places with no lights and bumpy roads, and are often targeted by delinquents or by people who just want to have some fun. They walk around in groups to avoid problems. So, no, they don't feel safe (key informant 14).

Immigrants don't feel safe when they walk around. It depends on the areas where they live. They don't feel safe both because they might be attacked by criminals and because they are abused by the police (respondent 36).

I don't walk much around because I've been warned by my husband against it. But when I do, I sense the difference. I am afraid, not because I am a foreigner, but because these places are sometimes unsafe (respondent 2).

In the following example, respondent 34 – an Albanian boy - admits to Albany being a more dangerous place than Italy. He also says he was assaulted in Germany

where he used to live, while nothing ever happened to him in Italy. Yet he feels less safe in Italy because of the “stories” he hears all the time about where he lives.

I don't feel safe when I walk around at night like I did in Albania. When I was in Germany, I felt safer. I was punched by someone in the face in Germany for no reason. I'm always afraid somebody might attack me. You hear stories about boys and stuff. I know the mentality here. Boys here are much more aggressive (respondent 34).

In short, the concept of “safety” seems to be more complex when applied to immigrants. Cultural traits, different lifestyles, norms and rules on immigrant status, attitudes of locals towards foreigners all concur to make immigrants' safety perceptions rather low. The irony here is that the very people who, according to public stereotypes, are a major source of fear and concern for nationals seem to be particularly affected by insecurity and express negative feelings not unlike local citizens. This means that the whole concept of safety should be reconsidered in a less ethnocentric way. The issue obviously deserves more thorough study and cannot be pigeon-holed in just one category of analysis.

4.2.2 DO IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN CASERTA AND NAPLES TRUST ITALIAN INSTITUTIONS?

Closely associated to the question of safety perception is that of immigrants' trust in Italian institutions. Generally speaking, respondents express no or very little trust in Italian institutions⁴⁴. Italian institutions are seen as enemies that are always ready to put obstacles in their way. No help can be received from institutions: for example, how can there be trust when law-enforcement agencies seem to be more anxious to check victimized immigrants' documents than to hear what crimes they have come to report? Therefore, immigrants would report a missing residence permit, not because they trust the police but only because they would need to get another one. Likewise, politicians cannot be trusted because they seem to thrive on immigrants' misfortunes and only pass anti-immigration laws. Finally, bureaucracy is perceived as a disrespectful, time-consuming monster whose only aim is to humiliate immigrants and keep them in line for hours. No wonder then that respondents, when asked whether they trust Italian institutions, first respond with a smirk on their faces!

⁴⁴ Incidentally, according to recent surveys, Italians themselves, and southern Italians especially, seem to have little or no trust in Italian Institutions. See, for an overview, La Valle, 2002.

I don't trust Italian institutions because of all the things that happened to me. I once talked to a psychologist and she said that my body language spoke the distrust and lack of confidence I have towards Italian institutions (respondent 4).

I don't trust the police because they are not much help (respondent 9).

We don't trust law enforcement. They take advantage of us. They mistreat us (respondent 26).

I don't trust Italian institutions that much, but I think they are just doing their jobs (respondent 32).

I wish the Italian institutions would be fairer to us. Here in Italy, it's like in Albania. If you know the right person at the right place, everything is right for you. Sometimes, they treat us roughly, and are aggressive to us foreigners. That doesn't do (respondent 34).

I have no trust in politics. I know of immigrants with no license, no registration, nothing. I ask them how they get by? And they say: We bribe the police! I've also heard of policemen who plant drugs in the pockets of immigrants and they say: either you pay us or we run you in (respondent 38).

I don't trust Italian institutions. Nothing works as it should. Too many problems. I'm almost an Italian citizen. But too many things are wrong. I don't know (respondent 63).

Immigrants usually do not report thefts, unless their documents are involved. When it's goods that are stolen, they don't bother going to the police. Maybe just 1 in 10 goes to the police. The main reason is that they have no trust in the police. Of course if they are irregular they don't go at all. They say, Ok I'll go to the police and then what?

Immigrants have no trust in Italian institutions. Italian institutions and immigrants are enemies. Institutions do not represent us. We don't vote. We don't decide for ourselves and the law doesn't protect us. And we don't respect the law. One wants to fuck the other. That's the only relationship. I work in minor jails. There, immigrant minors are constantly discriminated against. For instance, yesterday, a boy argued with an Italian boy over a pepsi and the carabinieri came along, and the boy overreacted throwing water at the carabinieri. The carabinieri said: you monkey, you want a pepsi, ah! You are used to getting money out of your African well, you dirty nigger. So the carabinieri hit him and the boy was sentenced to 6 months. This is something so ordinary. It happens everywhere in Italian families and yet, in this case, they called in the police. It's unbelievable. Why put this boy in prison? He didn't do anything. Now his life is ruined (respondent 36).

These people come here because they are not safe. And what do you do? You send them back again. What does it take to give us documents? Just a piece of paper to be free in your country. To travel abroad, find a job, find a house. In Nigeria, where I come from, there are so many nationalities. Everyone is free to go wherever they please. But life changes. Remember this. Things might change here too. And they will. This is a new generation. We want to discover things. Travelling is part of education. I am surprised because if you don't accept foreigners your country will not make progress. It can't (respondent 29).

The following respondent – a black Somali woman - is an Italian citizen. Even though she's been living in Italy for decades, she is always confronted with disbelief and puzzlement when Italians find out she is "one of them".

I don't trust Italian institutions. You always have to fight for your rights. At the Questura police headquarters], at the Comune [city hall]. Even now that I am an Italian citizen. Once I went to the Comune for my papers, and the employee looks at me and, without even looking at my identity card, asks me: "Where is your residence permit?". I played along for a while and then said: "I don't have it, where is your residence permit?" "I don't have it, I am Italian" . "Well, so am I", I said. The same thing happens when I go to vote. They always look at me strangely. They always make me feel as if I didn't belong. Also, when you have been lining up since 3 a.m. , and they tell you that you have to go away. You are always humiliated (respondent 13).

Key informants too confirm that immigrants put no trust in Italian institutions:

They don't trust institutions and the law. They would never look to, say, the police to set things straight. They would never report such incidents because they'd be afraid of losing their job and of being kicked out of the country. Recently, a Moroccan man – he had no residence permit - went to the police to report a stolen passport (he was afraid his passport might be used for wrong purposes) and he was given a foglio di via. These things do not build up trust bonds between law-enforcement agencies and immigrants. This same person will never go to the police again and will also tell the others not to go. Immigrants usually report a missing residence permit, not because they trust the police but only because they have to get another residence permit (key informant 2).

Immigrants are totally distrustful of Italian justice. I remember once an immigrant from Senegal – Ybrahim Diop – was killed and we organized a huge demonstration, we raised money to send the body back to Africa and everything. His brother, the plaintiff, wasn't even notified that the trial of the murderer was taking place. This speaks to the inhumane perceptions of immigrants even some judges have (key informant 3).

Respondent 69 hints at something interesting: when immigrants want some respect they need to behave like Italians and start namedropping. They have to adapt.

We get beat up a lot in San Marcellino. Once I was threatened with a gun by a boy who had insulted me. When he insulted me, I reacted and said "How dare you" and he went to his car and got a gun. He didn't point it at me but kept it by his side as a threat. I was furious but I couldn't do anything. So I said Do you know such and such a man? And he said Yes, of course and he hugged me as if we were friends. That's the way people reason over there. It's all about having connections. There is a lot of namedropping there (respondent 69).

In conclusion, immigrants find it hard to put their trust in Italian institutions because they do not feel respected by them. They sense suspicion and patronizing attitude wherever they go. Besides, when they are victims of crime, immigrants do not feel they can really turn to someone for help. This also reflects in their poor reporting behavior.

4.3 MACRO-AREA 3: REPORTING BEHAVIOR

Reporting behavior is crucial in order to understand crime. Reporting is the main way to make a crime known to law-enforcement agencies. Unreported crimes make up the so-called “dark figure of crime” which may seriously affect crime trends awareness, thus harming criminological understanding. Underestimating or overestimating crime trends may in turn lead to wrong policies. Therefore, its consequences are not just theoretical.

Given this background, do immigrants living in Caserta and Naples report the crimes they suffer? From this study, immigrants’ reporting behavior appears rather poor. This is due to several reasons. First of all, irregular immigrants tend not to report the crimes they suffer, because if they went to the police they would be ordered by law to go back to their own countries. Reporting to them would be a very risky option and most of them prefer not to take any chances, considering that they may have invested all they have on their migration project. Unscrupulous employers, landlords and perpetrators are aware of this and make irregular immigrants their favorite target. Regular immigrants, on the other hand, are more inclined to report the crimes they suffer, but not to a much greater extent than irregulars. One reason is that their decision could treacherously backfire on them. For instance, if they reported being exploited they might lose their job; if they lost their job, they would have no job contract; if they had no job contract, they would be likely to have no work permit, and if they had no work permit, they would become irregular. Besides, an immigrant known to report exploitation would find it almost impossible to find another job. Another reason is that many immigrants are not familiar with the Italian law system or have a poor knowledge of the language. This makes it difficult for them to make themselves understood and explain what happened, especially if the offender is Italian. Immigrants are afraid Italians would somehow take advantage of this and get back at them. Immigrants may also be afraid of retaliation. Respondents from this study admit to having been threatened by offenders. Sometimes the police themselves or other people advise or warn immigrants against reporting for their own safety. Therefore they decide “to drop it” for fear that worse things might happen to them. Underreporting may also be caused by a sense of distrust in law-enforcement agencies, not unlike that experienced by Italians themselves. Immigrants may feel that it would be a waste of time to go to the police because “they wouldn’t do much anyway” or because “we’d never get our stuff back” or because “we can’t be bothered”.

Other factors need to be taken into account. Respondents and key informants from this study agree that the police tend to play down certain crimes. For instance, certain types of gender violence are considered “family business” and seem not to be taken too seriously. Ethnic or cultural aspects may also be crucial. Some communities

think that “dirty linen should not be washed in public”, especially if the offender belongs to the same community or the crime is too embarrassing. Besides, some respondents think that it would be better not to encounter the police because of possible unpleasant consequences.

Law-enforcement key informants from this study confirm immigrants’ tendency to underreport, even though they have not been able to produce any data. Crimes against immigrants are mostly brought to light when the police or the carabinieri are called in by zealous Italian citizens or when something serious or fatal happens. So much so that, during the interviews, law-enforcement agents have often objected to discussing immigrants as victims of crime. As one of them succinctly put it: «To us, they do not exist as victims. We are only aware of them as offenders». The reason for this is that immigrants report so little that it is hard to see them as victims from the law-enforcement agents’ point of view. Some key informants have pointed out that it would be necessary to encourage immigrants to turn to the police or the carabinieri for help and build up trusting relationships between immigrants and law-enforcement. In Italy, article 18 of the Legislative Decree 286/1998 allows victims of trafficking to obtain a temporary stay permit for social and humanitarian reasons on the condition that all contacts with the exploiters cease. Victims may eventually convert their temporary stay permits into work or study permits, if they cooperate with investigators against traffickers, and the duration of the permit is extended until conclusion of the judicial process. Something of the sort might be applied – some key informants suggest – to victims of ordinary crime, but no steps in this direction have been taken so far.

4.3.1 IMMIGRANTS’ ATTITUDE TOWARDS REPORTING AND ENCOUNTERS WITH LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENTS

When analyzing the attitude of immigrants living in Caserta and Naples towards reporting, the biggest divide is that between irregular and regular immigrants. Irregular immigrants express a strong attitude not to report the crimes they have suffered for fear that they might have to leave Campania and, consequently, Italy. This is so common that it is almost taken for granted, as is apparent from the following statements.

I had my bag snatched off once, while walking in the street. I didn’t report it to the police because I didn’t have much money with me and because, back then, I didn’t have a work permit (respondent 2).

I live with 4 friends of mine. We pay a higher rent than our Italian neighbours. We pay 500 Euros, whereas a neighbouring Italian family, who lives in a house that’s the same as ours, only pays 300. And you can’t go to the police because of the lack of documents. In Casandrino, they throw stones and sticks at us. They beat us up. They don’t like us. They tell us to go back where we come from. I think they target us for the color of our skin. Two guys on a moped once rode up to me in the street and one of them

hit me from behind with a stick. Then they rode off. I didn't go to the police because I am undocumented. There's nothing you can really do (respondent 5).

I've had my stuff taken away from me on several occasions. Like, once, I was walking with a bag in my hand, two bikers rode by me and snatched it off. I could never report that because I am illegal (respondent 15).

Another thing is that if an Italian man does something bad to us, we'll always be the guilty ones. People pose as policemen and rob immigrants, taking away all their stuff. This happens often and they never report these things to the police because they are irregular. A friend of mine was driven far by some guy and robbed of all his belongings (money and cell phone). He never reported this because he had no documents (respondent 31).

I'd say that immigrants suffer crimes in silence. They cannot report the crimes they suffer because they are irregular. Because of my job, I know many such people who have suffered crimes. They tell me stories, things they would never say to the police (respondent 37).

Somebody broke into my home when I was away. They took away my money and a watch. I'm sure they knew I was away from work and that I was a foreigner. I didn't report that to the police because I was irregular (respondent 54).

My sister was robbed in Piazza Garibaldi one Sunday last year. There were no policemen around. Just foreigners and Neapolitans. Someone took her money and her documents from her back pocket. We didn't report that because we had no documents (respondent 57).

Another thing is immigrants can't report the crimes suffered because they are indicted for being irregulars and the police don't care about the crimes they suffer. Like, just yesterday a Tunisian tried to take away a moped from a Nigerian who was hurt in the process and spontaneously called the police. Well, he was indicted as I said but the police didn't do a thing. These things happen hundreds of times. There is nothing they can do. If you have no documents, they will not hear your charges they will just indict you (key informant 16).

I used to work for a welder so I worked iron. The first month I was paid but I had to struggle for that. The following months he wouldn't pay me because he said he was out of money, and there was the crisis. All excuses. I never reported any of this because I didn't have a contract. If I had had one, I'd have gone to the police. Reporting is no good. It's a lost cause here. This man I worked for, there was the two of us only and sometimes I was the only one who worked. And yet he didn't pay me (respondent 69).

Respondent 71 even ventures to talk about "omertà" (code of silence), an attitude shared by the rest of the population at large.

I think the reason why some immigrants without a permit of stay do not report the crimes they suffer is because over here we have omertà [code of silence] which is something Italians do and that infects immigrants as well. Before reporting to the police, Immigrants think twice because they are afraid something might happen to them, their families, relatives. They adapt to the social environment (respondent 71).

Irregulars often have to “grin and bear it”. There is no alternative.

Four years ago, I was stopped in the middle of the street and had my money, cigarettes and motorbike stolen. I had no documents back then and didn't report the thing. I felt bad at the time. But it was my choice to come here and so I have to accept it (respondent 55).

Irregular immigrants are often warned not to go to the police. Sometimes the police themselves advise them against reporting: it is better not “to mess up with bad people”. Besides, they might have to go back to their own countries if they wanted to report anyway.

Sometimes, what happens is that they [employers] don't pay. They keep putting us off. They take advantage of the fact that I don't have documents. I can't even go to the police. This has happened to me more than once. I go out, but kids here are very nasty to us. They throw bottles at us, almost run us over. It's really bad here. We have a curfew. Since we don't have documents, we can't go to the police. Two-three times I've been victim of attacks. Two weeks ago, I was with a friend around, two kids on a moped rode to us and hit my friend with an iron bar. He had to go to hospital. The police came, took us to hospital, and then said “Go!”. Nothing happened!

A friend of mine, 50 years of age, was hit in the head – he was in the street – and had three stitches. The blood kept gushing out. He didn't report the fact because he didn't have documents. At a call center in Sant'Antimo a friend of mine was held at gunpoint by two men who robbed him and beat him. He had a gash on his face. The police warned him against reporting the event because one of the two was a well-known camorrista [camorra mobster]. They told me that if he wanted to stay out of trouble, he'd better not do anything (respondent 20).

The following irregular respondent is clearly aware that going to the police is no use. He did it once and only received a “foglio di via” (expulsion order). Besides the police are not much help in his opinion.

Many years ago, 2 Italian boys took away some of my stuff, but I caught them and handed them over to the police. They were arrested but I got a “foglio di via” [expulsion order]. That's why it is no good reporting thefts. Besides, a lot of times, you call the police and they don't come. And even if they do, they will ask for your documents first. So it's no good calling them. They can send you away anytime (respondent 25).

Criminals are fully aware that irregular immigrants are reluctant to go to the police. Key informant 4 informs how the system works. He also adds that law-enforcement agencies sometimes persuade irregulars not to press charges:

“Caporali” take advantage of a widespread situation of illegality, regardless of the welfare of these people. Immigrants of course do not report these cases to the police for obvious reasons. Also because they feel totally disenfranchised. Unfortunately the law is not on their side. There should be something that would make it easier for them to report, but as of now there is no such thing. In a few cases, it's almost a form of slavery. I've been told of people posing as policemen who rob immigrants and take away all their stuff. This happens to prostitutes as well, though I am not aware of the number of occurrences. These crooks take advantage of immigrants never reporting these incidents to the police. In

general, if an immigrant wants to report a crime and is undocumented, very often the carabinieri don't let them do it because they'd have to give them a "foglio di via" [expulsion order] (key informant 4).

The difference in reporting behavior between irregular and regular immigrants is glaringly obvious in the following episode told by a vigile (member of local police) in Naples:

In August, we found out about this gang that assaulted immigrants because an Italian citizen told us about two immigrants that had been beat up. Soon afterwards the same gang struck again and we were told again by Italian citizens. The gang was made up of both minors and adults. Half and half, let's say. The oldest one was 22 years old. They just enjoyed assaulting and robbing. There was no real reason behind all this. One of them – an adult – decided to cooperate with us.

The immigrants never called us. Of the first two, one was regular, the other wasn't. One was from Bangladesh; the other was from Sri Lanka and had been here 10 years. He (the regular one) reported the assault to us, after being hospitalized. He cooperated and that was important, otherwise we would never have known about this. The other was hospitalized and then simply disappeared because he was afraid of being sent away. So we arrested two of the gang first, also through CCTV on the bus. Then we arrested the others as well. Now we are short of one. The assailants said it had all started because one of the members of the gang – a girl – had been molested by an immigrant. But it wasn't true. It was a mere pretext (key informant 10).

Regular immigrants, on the other hand, tend to report the crimes they suffer to a greater extent than irregulars, but they seem to be reluctant too. One of the reasons is that they are afraid something bad might happen to them.

I don't think regular migrants report the crimes they suffer, because they are afraid something worse might happen to them. If something happened to me, I'd go to the police because I'd hate to see us being trampled on. I personally think any immigrant victim should go to the police, whether regular or irregular, because they shouldn't put up with this (respondent 37).

[...] they are very unlikely to report the crimes suffered. If they are irregular, this is almost invariably the case. If they are regular, they might report the most serious crimes, but surely not the everyday shoving and slapping which takes place in the street (key informant 1).

Most immigrants don't report the crimes they suffer because they are afraid of losing the little they have. Besides, if immigrants should report anything to the police, they'd suffer a boomerang effect in the sense that, if they are illegal, they would be given a "foglio di via" [expulsion order], if they are legal, they might lose their jobs, hence their residence permit, or suffer retaliation (key informant 3).

As a mediatrice cultural [cultural mediator], I happen to bump into cases of work exploitation every day, dozens a day. I strongly advise them [immigrants] to report this but they are afraid they might lose their job; if they lose their job, they have no job contract; if they have no job contract, they have no work permit. It's a vicious circle. This goes for both those with a work permit and those without a work permit. So Moroccans suffer passively. It's common knowledge. Work is where immigrants suffer the most crimes (respondent 24).

Just last week I assisted two young immigrants who had just been attacked. This happens to Ukrainian women who are walking around, to young men who are on their bikes, to people who are thrown stones at. These incidents have also been publicly exposed by me, but immigrants tend not to report for fear of retaliation. Immigrants don't report because they are afraid of the consequences. That's the same reason why they don't go to public services. They are afraid something bad might happen to them. Also the whole process of going to the police, the court, the judges. This is too much of a hassle for them. You have to consider that even locals don't willingly go to the police. You know how things are over here [in Casal di Principe] (key informant 20).

One Filipino woman I know was beat up by her employer because she "dared" ask for her money. She never reported him to the police. Besides, the thing is if they know you have reported your employer to the police you may never find a job again (respondent 53).

The exploited labourer never reports a crime: the illegal one for obvious reasons; the legal one for fear of losing their job. At least they earn money. So this is pretty subterranean and hardly ever comes up to surface (key informant 8).

What should be said is that immigrants are afraid of us and they wouldn't even report the theft of a moped. They're afraid this might have consequences on the renewal of their permit.

Very often they are not aware of their rights. They are afraid who knows what might happen to them, afraid they might appear as witnesses (key informant 7).

Another reason is that immigrants feel that going to the police would be a waste of time, that they would never get their stolen property back or have their rights mended and that dealing with the police or the carabinieri is a difficult process. Some respondents put no trust in the police or in the carabinieri. This is often associated to first-hand experiences. By and large, despondency seems to be a common trait among many respondents' attitudes towards the law. For instance, respondent 11 thinks that the carabinieri finally let her press charges only because she had been seen on tv.

When you have to report a crime you have suffered to the police, it's not easy. Two years ago I was on my way to Rome for a conference. I was going to the train station in Naples. I was dressed normally but I was carrying a briefcase in which I had all my documents (my life) and ATM card. This man runs along and tries to snatch off my briefcase. We struggle. No one comes to help. Only a fellow-countrywoman of mine tries to. But he smacked and hit us both and then ran off. Some people said: "Poor thing!", but I think that these people are condemnable because they didn't do anything. So I went to the carabinieri, but since it was Sunday, they told me to come back the following day. I went again. I was furious. But they told me the person who accepts reportings was not there. I had to go back on a limp some days afterwards. In the meantime I had given an interview on TV. The carabinieri had seen me on TV and welcomed me and finally took my charges (respondent 11).

A sense of uselessness and distrust seeps into the next statements too.

I've had my bag snatched several times. One time, it was 2 p.m., I was going to the Reggia [the Royal Palace in Caserta] with my son and a boy on a motorbike snatched off my necklace. That left a

mark on my neck. Then another incident happened while I was coming back from work and someone took my bag with all my documents. The third time was at the market last year. Someone took my wallet. I don't think these incidents had anything to do with the fact that I am a foreigner. I didn't go to the police because I think it is a waste of time, even though I should have gone. Lots of friends have told me it's a waste of time (respondent 33).

I had my bag snatched once in Frattamaggiore [near Naples]. A motorbike passed by and one of them took my bag. I had all my documents there, but since I knew people everything was all right. I went to the carabinieri and they were nice to me. [...] Then I had two bikes stolen in Caserta but I didn't go to the police because I didn't want to waste my time (respondent 72).

Somebody tried to steal my car once, they didn't succeed but I would have gone to the police. I think, though, that immigrants don't go to the police for the same reason Italians don't: because they think it's a waste of time. Once I had a business and that was robbed. Well, I did go to the police and they treated me fairly because they know me and everything. But they didn't do much (respondent 71).

In Naples, my sister had 1800 Euros in her bag, two young people on a motorbike came near her and snatched it off. She went to the police but it was no use. She had not seen their faces. She was so shocked she lost 40 kilos in a week [...] Then a man in Caserta sold my husband and me a chain that supposedly was made of gold, but turned out to be fake. My husband was really mad. One day he saw him in the street and reported him to the police but I'm still waiting for something to happen. Besides I'm afraid we might have to pay a lawyer so it's just as well (respondent 73).

In key informant 12's words, immigrant witnesses of crime refuse to testify, but the same is true of Italian witnesses too.

A man worked at a place that sold detergents. He was in a goods elevator and tried to move the goods out of it, and didn't realize there was just empty space behind him and fell three stories down and almost got himself killed. No safety measures were observed. What's worse is that the employer took the man to the hospital, or rather, he was almost left for dead a couple hundred meters away from the entry to the hospital. But he made it in the end. This didn't help much because the police tracked down the employer and now he has to face up to several charges. There was no spontaneous reporting by the immigrant man, though. He was afraid.

An immigrant I know who had a regular permit of stay went to the police to report a crime. He was a refugee and so he had a special permit of stay, but since computers had not been updated, he figured in the dataset as only having a decree of expulsion. So he was arrested and turned from victim to perpetrator. He had lots of problems. That's why immigrants do not report the crimes they suffer. They are not protected.

Many immigrants are not willing to testify because they are afraid to lose everything.

Another Senegalese man was arrested by the polizia municipale [local police] for having abused two of them. The interesting thing is that there were witnesses who decided not to testify because they didn't want to have the police as enemies (key informant 12).

Sometimes pressing charges is hard because the offender is unknown and this, in turn, generates a sense of hopelessness.

I have been slapped and kicked very often here. And spit on. A car even tried to run me over once. They even tried to rob me here, but I stood up for myself. Nobody did anything. But when I was at Centro Dadaa Ghezo [a place for immigrants], they took away all I had and the worst thing was the manager warned me against reporting the thing to the police. It's impossible to report these facts because you don't even see who hit you, they are all on mopeds. I once managed to take down a license number but I scribbled it wrong (respondent 8).

People are more friendly here than in the north, even though sometimes, when you walk around, young boys on mopeds run by us and slap or kick us, just because we are black. This is unbearable. You can't even report them to the police because they run off. You don't know who they are (respondent 6).

Some crimes, especially those involving gender violence, are played down by law-enforcement agencies and treated as "family business". Under these circumstances, victims are discouraged from pressing charges.

I've heard of many Ukrainian women married to Italian men, who are hit and raped by their men. They go to the police but the police say: «This is family business. Go back home» like one girl in Castellammare di Stabia I know (respondent 11).

We [center that hosts battered women] never advise women to report. This is something we never did and never will do. When they come to us, often in a terrible condition, after being battered, we often invite them to overcome their emotional state. Immigrant women are terrorized of reporting their spouses, even when they have a permit of stay. They feel weak, vulnerable and confused. They are afraid of losing everything, even their children. Sometimes they go to the police, but the police don't make them feel protected. They often try to play down the incident or even give them advice on how to sexually arouse their husbands! Like with one Polish woman we had who had put on weight after childbirth and was constantly battered by her husband. This is why they [battered women] don't trust law-enforcement. They are male chauvinists. Sometimes they don't take charges and we have to call the police and remind them that they must do just that! Also, they have to acknowledge these as crimes. This may seem paradoxical, but sometimes the police think these problems should be solved within the family (key informant 18).

Sometimes crimes may be so embarrassing or shameful that victims refuse to go to the police or the carabinieri.

Immigrant women told us they are physically and sexually harassed. They don't report this because they feel ashamed and because they are afraid of losing their jobs (key informant 20).

In Caserta, last September, some Senegalese have been hit with baseball bats. Assaults do take place. And there is shame on the part of migrants to report them (key informant 16)

Regular immigrants do press charges when their documents are stolen or missing. This is because they want to avoid getting in trouble with the law.

Immigrants usually do not report thefts, unless their documents are involved. When it's goods that are stolen, they don't bother going to the police. Maybe just 1 in 10 goes to the police. The main

reason is that they have no trust in the police. Of course if they are irregular they don't go at all. They say, Ok I'll go to the police and then what? (respondent 36).

Immigrants usually report a missing residence permit, not because they trust the police but only because they have to get another residence permit (key informant 2).

Sometimes even regular immigrants are warned against reporting. In a region like Campania where illegality is widespread, turning to the police for help could prove dangerous.

We never go to the police. I asked the president of Opera Divina Misericordia [an association that defends immigrants' rights] and he said it's useless because even if we recognized the assailants, the police wouldn't do anything about it and it would be worse for us. They might even kill us. No one I know has reported anything (respondent 35).

Houses are often tumbledown, not sanitarily fit, no repairs. This is well known to law-enforcement agencies. A man, who paid an incredibly high rent, was beat up savagely by his landlord in Mondragone, and went to the police, but the police advised him against reporting the incident and suggested he found another place to live (key informant 2).

In 2003 I wanted to live here with my son. I found a small apartment. The landlord said I had to advance three months' rent, which I did. But then I found out that, according to ASL [health authority] normative standards, I couldn't live in such a small space with my son. Rejoining was not possible in such confined space. I had even borrowed the money. I said to the landlord that I couldn't live there and not only didn't he give me back the money, he also changed the lock so I couldn't even take my stuff back. I was even warned against reporting the landlord because they said he was a Camorra man (respondent 11).

Other aspects worth mentioning are poor knowledge of the Italian law system and poor knowledge of the language.

Another frequent incident takes place when some con men pretend to be policemen in plainclothes, and, by so doing, rob immigrants of all their belongings, money and whatnot. They take advantage of their ignorance, of their poor knowledge of the law. Immigrants think it's the police that robbed them and they wouldn't dare report these things to the very people who robbed them (key informant 3).

Immigrants do report the crimes they suffer when they have a residence permit, but sometimes if they don't know the language it's hard for them, and either prefer not to go or have a hard time telling what happened to them. Therefore, there's no trust in the police (respondent 66).

Immigrants are also assaulted by their employers who refuse to pay them for the job done. Sometimes, employers even accuse immigrants of extortion just because they demand their dues. These Italians take advantage of their ignorance and of the fact that they don't speak the language. So when they are confronted by the police, they always come out on top (key informant 16)

New immigrant generations appear to be more aware of their rights and this reflects in their reporting attitude.

Three years ago I had my purse snatched in Marcianise at the market. I had it back two years afterwards through the police. I had reported the incident to the police. They were nice to me. My mother had her house burglarized 4 times. Little gypsies, she said. They took money, gold. Once it happened when I was here. But my mother never reported any of these incidents to the police. Mostly because she thought it would be useless. My mother speaks Italian well, not like me, but she speaks good Italian. So it wasn't because of the language. She didn't go because it would be useless or so she thought (respondent 67).

Cultural factors are very important too. For instance, offenders belonging to the same ethnic or national group are less likely to be reported.

I had my money stolen by a Ukrainian man who lived with me at the time. I confronted him and he returned the money. I'd never have reported that to the police. We lived together (respondent 53).

There was the case of a Russian woman who lived with a Pakistani man, who was threatened by two fellow-countrymen. The Russian woman would never have reported her fellow-countrymen, but the Pakistani man did (key informant 7).

This seems to be especially true of the Chinese community.

The Chinese usually commit crimes within their own community, so their victims are usually other Chinese people. They extort money or kidnap someone for a short time. Usually not for big money, sometimes, though, 10.000-30.000 Euros. This is something we seldom know about. We only know of one case, a Chinese girl, I think it was, who reported his father missing. He had been kidnapped but she didn't know. If she had known she'd never have come to the police. Another thing is the prostitution within the Chinese community. Another yet is fights among themselves. For instance, just yesterday a Chinese man was stabbed to death by another Chinese man. The Chinese seldom report. Even when they are sick or hurt, they have their own doctors and "hospitals". They even have their own drugs, something called "lion" that comes from Hong Kong. "Lion" is very similar to "Ice", a synthetic drug that is not very popular in Italy. So, if they can, they never report. They even replace their own corpses. I know this is an urban legend, but it is occasionally true (key informant 15).

In other cases, reporting is hampered by religious prejudices as in the following example. Key informant 11 thinks the police should be better equipped to handle these cases:

There was a case of an 11-year-old child, the son of an African couple, who was found in bed with a 71-year-old Italian man. The parents were aware that something strange was happening to their son, and so told the police. The police laid an ambush and caught the man red-handed. Then they came to me and I told them the man would go to prison and they would get damages. I talked to a woman who acted as a middle woman. But then something strange happened. They talked to their imam and he told them that they shouldn't press charges and that what was happening was their fault. They shouldn't have

left their country for Europe. This was retribution for their wickedness. Besides, asking money for the pain their son had suffered was not becoming to real Muslims. In short, they decided not to press charges. I don't know whether there are many such cases in Naples, but I suspect there are.

I think law enforcement agencies are not well equipped to manage these situations, to interact with immigrants. They should be taught how to do that (key informant 11).

Sometimes, immigrants prefer not to have anything to do with the police or the carabinieri because they had bad experiences with them. This is a recurring issue with many respondents.

My only encounter with the police was one day when they took away my moped because they thought I had stolen it. It had probably been stolen, but not by me. I had bought it from someone, I still had the receipt with me. I had paid 120 Euros for it. But they took it away anyway. They seized it. When they heard I had no residence permit, they just took it away. I never got it back (respondent 14).

One day, I was with a friend of mine who had a car, and a motorbike hits us. This boy goes: "Ok, let's cut the crap, just buy me the broken piece and then go". We said no, there were vigili [local police] nearby. So we went and talked to them. He kept saying no, no, but we talked to the vigili and the vigile said: "Guys, I think it's better for you if buy him the broken piece". We said no, got in our car and went away. After a couple of minutes, we were surrounded by at least 20 motorbikes. We couldn't move. These people got off and started kicking, punching and breaking our car. Finally, we got off the car and the youngsters ran off. There was a police car nearby, we went to them, they had seen everything, but they said: did you take down their license numbers? No? So there is nothing we can do. I think if two Italians had been in our place everything would have been different. I might be wrong, but I don't know.

This is why immigrants don't report, because they think it's a waste of time.

I'll tell you one more thing. One day, I had just come to Italy. I was talking with a few friends. All of a sudden a junkie came up to us and asked for drugs. I didn't know Italian well back then, so I had that translated by my friend. Then I said to the junkie: go there and pointed to the near police station. After a while, a bunch of policemen walked up to us and took us in, made us take off our clothes, took our imprints and so on. They didn't find anything on us. One of them kept saying: Go back home, go back home. I told him a thing or two. Then they wanted me to rinse off the ink, and I said no I'll go to the press, and he said why? What do you want to do? One of them even said: If you don't do that, I'll shoot you, and I said, well, then, shoot me! Then they let me go and one of them said: I know you are new here, the place where we found you is not a good place to be. So I don't want to ever see you again there. Got it? I said yes.

I've had other encounters with the police. I had lost my passport and they wouldn't let me report that. So I had to go with an Italian journalist, a friend of mine. And that's when everything changed (respondent 38).

I've been stopped by the police many times. Once, in Casal di Principe, I was in my car, the police stopped me. They never treat immigrants fairly, they provoke you. They stopped me, aimed a machine-gun at my head and took my car apart. They told me to get out of the car with my hands up. That was humiliating for me. The people around saw me. Fortunately, they fixed the car afterwards. You can lose face like that. People avoided me. As a matter of fact, I had to go away from there because people gave me dirty looks.

On another occasion, I lived in a house with 3 people. The landlord called the police on me. They broke into our house and destroyed part of the furniture and the steel-clad door. The landlord

wanted us to pay the damages. But we found out he had called the police, he was a bastard double-dealer. He always did that when he wanted immigrants out. I went to the lawyer along with other immigrants and we ruined him.

In Florence it was different. The police were kind to us. Over here they are brutal. Campania is the only place where they don't even show you a warrant. Over here, the nastiest policemen are the ones from the north, because a local would never be a jerk with another southern man (respondent 68).

Key informants who belong to law-enforcement agencies are a valuable source of information on immigrants' reporting attitude. By and large, they do not think immigrants suffer many crimes because immigrants do not come often to them for help. Immigrants are more often seen as offenders than as victims. Sometimes, when first asked about immigrants' reporting habits, key informants will say regular immigrants report just as much as Italians, but, as the interview goes on, they themselves will admit that they behave differently from Italians. Some think that immigrants "make up" crimes that never happened or that they tend to rob each other and that they are "sly" people. Key informant 16 acknowledges that immigrants are invisible in the eyes of the police because of their tendency to underreport.

In my experience, immigrants are never victims, they only commit crimes. No immigrant came here to report anything (key informant 5).

No immigrant ever came here to report a crime. I've heard of someone reporting a car theft seven-eight years ago. Not even Italians tend to report much, because they think it's a waste of time (key informant 6).

Sometimes immigrants overstate their problems to get a residence permit. For instance, prostitutes who give away their madames (key informant 15).

I've never heard of immigrants being victimized by fake policemen or assaulted by motorbike youngsters (key informant 8).

One more thing is that they are often victimized by fellow-countrymen and then they blame the Italians [...] I think we are more victimized than they are (key informant 7).

Immigrants in Castelvoturno do report the crimes they suffer, but honestly I'd say they commit more crimes than they suffer. For instance, I don't think that people pass themselves off as policemen or carabinieri to rob them. Mostly they rob each other. That's why they come here to report. You know, living together, ten twelve people, they rob each other and then they say the police did it or the carabinieri. Very often we report them back for false accusation.

See this here? This is a report by a landlord who says he rented his house to a man only to find other men living there, who refused to pay him his dues. This is what happens. They tend to exploit themselves. Immigrants sublet to other immigrants, act as caporali to other immigrants, exploit prostitution. Italians are not involved.

Albanians, Moroccans, they tend not to report and sort things out among themselves. Eastern European women come to report their husbands or men they live with. They are beat up by Italians mostly. This happens because at first they are subdued because that is their culture. Eventually, the longer

they live here, the more they feel liberated and are not willing to stand that anymore and so beatings start. Other than that, no one reports.

I'd say we get approximately 100 reports by immigrants per year, but they report much less than Italians.

Usually those who report have a permit of stay, but even those who don't we try to protect them somehow. We don't arrest them but we report them.

We treat them just like we treat anybody else (key informant 17).

They do not seem to suffer crimes and therefore they do not exist. This is where you see they are invisible (key informant 16).

Both the police and the carabinieri are aware that immigrants sometimes behave just like Italians in that they do not go to the police or the carabinieri because they think it is a waste of time. The situation is different when the documents are at stake.

Immigrants with a residence permit report just as much as the Italians. Sometimes, they don't because they are afraid it is a waste of time. Just like Italians too. Unless they lose their documents. Sometimes we invite them to say more, but they are often suspicious of us (key informant 15).

The only other way crimes against immigrants come to light is when the police or the carabinieri are called in to the scene of the crime or when a crime has serious or fatal consequences. Other than that, crimes against immigrants are virtually invisible:

We seldom hear of crimes committed against immigrants unless we are called in by an Italian or the immigrant is forced to report a crime to avoid being indicted himself.

We know nothing about what happens in Sant'Antimo [where the researcher was told many unreported crimes are committed against local immigrants]. You see, the starting point is always reporting. I think these things happen [...] because immigrants are vulnerable. It's a social problem. These people [the offenders] have no conscience. I don't think this has to do with immigrants per se. I mean, locals would take it out on anyone. They just happen to be there (key informant 15).

What happens is that we are often called to intervene (113) and when this happens we find things out. Very seldom immigrants report. In one case, 4 Rumanians reported against an Italian man and another immigrant. Maybe they were exploited at the workplace.

Immigrants without a residence permit don't usually report crimes for obvious reasons. But legal immigrants tend not to report as well. We had this case of a Russian woman, who had cancer, who had been mistreated by a neighbour. Racial reasons. Things come up to our attention only when we are called in for something. Immigrants very seldom report spontaneously. For example, we were called for something that had happened a couple of nights ago on via Carlo III and we found an immigrant prostitute who had been beaten and robbed, but she wouldn't or couldn't say who it was.

I really can't tell you what crimes they might suffer. They only deal with us when they are forced to, but they would do without it easily. The crimes suffered have probably more to do with work situations. They don't report because they are afraid they might lose their job and their permit.

I am not aware of immigrants being beaten like in Sant'Antimo or Casandrino [where the researcher was told many unreported crimes are committed against local immigrants]. People have been attacked in Marcianise or san Marco. But this seldom happens.

But these things only come up when we are called in, or when we go to the hospital and find people with bruises and injuries. They say they are accidental, but we know it isn't so (key informant 7).

Key informant 8 is ready to admit that immigrants potentially suffer more crimes than Italians because of their vulnerable situation. Key informant 15 confirms that immigrants are not victimized as such but because they are easy targets:

I'd say they suffer the same crimes as Italians do plus other crimes they suffer as immigrants (key informant 8).

[The researcher shows key informant an article on gay people and immigrants targeted in Piazza Bellini, and Piazza Dante in Naples]. They [immigrants] are targeted because they are minorities not because they are immigrants. To them homosexuals and immigrants are all the same. Once again we never apprehended any of these assailants because we never had anybody reporting. If we don't have that, it's just as if no crime had been committed. Our hands are tied. Our only chance is to bump into a crime being committed. That's all (key informant 15).

Finally, key informant 20 explains law-enforcement attitudes towards immigrants and takes a critical stance on them

Law-enforcement attitudes to immigrants may vary from person to person. Some are supportive of them, some antagonize them. Some just don't want to investigate the matter. It's certainly easier to say that immigrants are offenders rather than investigate their victimization. Every time we have publicly exposed misdeeds against immigrants, the police always say We don't have any crimes reported so these crimes don't exist for us. If they are victims why don't they come to us and report the crimes they suffer? We think they just make them up! As you can see, they have to somehow justify their inertia (key informant 20)

4.3.2 ARE IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN CASERTA AND NAPLES AWARE OF THEIR RIGHTS?

Strictly linked to immigrants' reporting attitudes is the issue of rights awareness. When immigrants are not aware of their rights, they are more easily exploitable, and less inclined to turn to the police for help because they do not know the police may be any help. Hence the feeling of "being stranded" that characterizes many immigrants. This lack of awareness also translates in an obsessive demand for documents as if documents depended on someone's goodwill rather than on objective requirements the immigrant has to meet. Some immigrants expect to have documents for the mere fact of living in Italy. Therefore, quite a few respondents feel they are not entitled to any rights until they have documents. It is almost as if, having no documents, immigrants feel they could be stepped on at will. This lack of rights awareness usually goes hand in

hand with young age, older generations, poor education, poor knowledge of the language and short duration of stay.

Some respondents simply do not perceive certain behaviors as crimes. For examples, some of them think that just because something happens to everybody, it is not a crime. Others think they can be respected only if they “behave themselves”, that is to say, only if they meekly let others exploit them or take advantage of them or if they do not “provoke” their Italian counterparts. Sometimes, during the interviews, this lack of rights awareness was apparent more from what immigrants indirectly said or from their fatalistic mien than from direct statements. Self-awareness is more evident in the so-called *mediatori culturali* (cultural mediators), who usually have been living in Italy for quite some time and are more educated than the average immigrant. As a matter of fact, interviewing them has proven to be an invaluable experience research-wise.

One important methodological consequence of this is that many crimes committed against migrants would not surface in a regular survey based on a fully structured questionnaire and this is something that needs to be borne in mind in future studies.

Given the above considerations, not many declarations are available on this aspect but the few there are are worth mentioning.

[Pakistani respondent] Unfortunately, many fellow-countrymen of mine, even those who have stayed here the longest (even more than 10 years), don't know the language (not even English), their surroundings and so on. They just work and work like mules. They are not aware of their rights and they only speak Urdu (respondent 12).

Another important thing for us is that you have to stand up for your rights, become aware of them. If you stay ignorant, you are taken advantage of. The language is important too. It's the first thing an immigrant has to learn. My father works in trading. He's been here for 25 years. He sells clothes and linen. My mother doesn't work because in Morocco wives don't work. I have three brothers. And my father has been exploited and has suffered a lot passively. It was a different mentality back then. They didn't think they were entitled to fight back. Now everything is different (respondent 24).

Key informants 2 and 7 are very clear on the topic: some immigrants just do not perceive the crimes they suffer as such.

The first problem is that most crimes suffered by migrants within the work area are not perceived as such. Usually, they'll have a part-time contract for a given job and a given set of working hours, and they'll end up doing something different, longer working hours, low pay. This happens to Italians as well, but at least, however much we accept it, we are aware that something is wrong. The average immigrant doesn't. And then, of course, sometimes, even in the black economy, they may not be paid at all. Italian employers very often exploit the situation since immigrants are very vulnerable. Once again, it's the perception that counts. Immigrants often do not perceive those low pays as low pays (key informant 2).

Very often they are not aware of their rights. They are afraid who knows what might happen to them (key informant 7).

The following interviewees express the alienation and sense of being frustrated that often affect immigrant experiences. The obsessive request for documents independently of objective requirements is indicative of the fact that immigrants sometimes do not know what is right from what is wrong and merely appeal to humanitarian feelings.

I've come here for family problems, but when I came here those who had brought me here took away my passport. Now I am stranded. They told me to wait but they never showed up (respondent 40).

I had problems in Naples. Four Italian people beat me up. They just beat me. Three years ago. It was the time of Italy vs. France in the world championship. I didn't see anything. I don't know the reason why they beat me up. They only beat me of all people. I hadn't been here long, so I didn't know much about this country. They took me to hospital. I stayed three or four days. At the hospital they ask me if I know the road to my home, and I say no. I tell them I want to go home. I am fine, but I don't know the road. Then they called the police and the police people came and they let me go. They took my fingerprints first. I slept at the police station for one night. They didn't say anything to me.

They gave me an expulsion order [because I was undocumented] six months ago.

I have no documents. Four years and still no documents. I'm still waiting. I just need my documents (respondent 46).

Some have a good heart; some don't. Last year I was out of work the whole year. What can you do about it? I can't call the police or go to them, because I have no documents. [...] You are a different person, when you have documents. Yesterday, a friend of mine, a mechanic, was walking home and he was beat up by someone. But he didn't go to the police. I asked him why. And he said: "What would you do in my shoes?"

In 2010 I'll go to the questura to see if my documents are ready. Everything depends on the documents (respondent 21).

The problem is that I have no documents. If I had documents, things would be different. They wouldn't treat me like this (respondent 60).

I had no documents so I couldn't lodge a complaint. There's nothing you can do. I have to keep quiet (respondent 62).

I'm always thinking about documents. [...]The government should give us documents because we are suffering a lot. They should help us (respondent 27).

We felt white people could solve our problems. Now we discover they can't do anything. We thought that the Italian government was good. We are just frustrated. They see you frustrated and that's all we have. This life is all about give and take. Of course, we are disappointed. As I am speaking to you, many people are being taken away from here in pain, in tears. These people come here because they are not safe. And what do you do? You send them back again. What does it take to give us documents? Just a piece of paper to be free in your country (respondent 29).

Some behaviors just do not count as crimes when they happen to most immigrants.

I happened twice to have my stuff taken away by some boys. This happens to everybody, especially around San Marcellino, Aversa...If someone denies it, they are liars. Bad boys are everywhere. [...] These things happen to everyone, you know. No big deal (respondent 61).

Finally, “bad things happen to bad people” - some respondents seem to suggest – “so behave yourself and everything will be all right”. The problem is that “good behavior” might imply indulging infringements of all sorts or complying with overbearing attitudes.

Italians have always respected me, also at work. When you behave well, Italians respect you (respondent 1).

I was never molested, but I’ve heard of fellow-countrywomen of mine being molested. It doesn’t mean Italians are bad. Some are. But most aren’t. It also depends on how you carry yourself. If you keep a straight face, don’t laugh, and don’t suggest anything, no one will do anything wrong to you (respondent 2).

4.4 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

At the end of this chapter, a summary of the main findings of the research will serve to answer the research questions put in section 3.1 of chapter 3 and as a basis for the conclusions to be drawn in the next chapter.

By and large, the study shows that a whole host of crimes are suffered by the immigrants who live in Caserta and Naples. Most of these crimes are not “visible” in that they are not reported to law-enforcement agencies and do not appear as data anywhere. Only the tip of the iceberg becomes known to the police or the carabinieri, mostly when they are called in to the scene of the crime or when the crimes committed are particularly serious or fatal. The immigrants from this study show a sharp tendency to underreport: this is especially true of irregular immigrants who would receive an expulsion order if they turned to the police or the carabinieri for help. Regular immigrants report more than irregulars but seem reluctant to go to the police because they are afraid of the possible negative consequences (such as losing their jobs if they reported their employers). Other reasons are: poor knowledge of the Italian law system and of the language; fear of retaliation; distrust in law-enforcement agencies, feeling of “wasting one’s time”. Ethnic and cultural aspects also need to be taken into account. Some of the respondents seem not to be fully aware of their rights.

As for crimes, the respondents from this study appear to be victimized in several areas: 1) work; 2) housing; 3) personal crimes; 4) property crimes; 5) abuse of power by law-enforcement agencies; 6) partly, hate crimes.

With regard to work, immigrants suffer crimes on an everyday basis, so much so that they tend to take them for granted. First of all, immigrants, including regular ones, often work without a contract. In the second place, they are often made to work longer hours, doing 3-D jobs, being underpaid and, sometimes, working without being paid. Next, immigrants often work in poor environments where a partial or complete lack of compliance with safety regulations is found which may translate into accidents, injuries, health problems.

With regard to housing, the respondents from this study have a hard time finding a place to live, seem to pay higher rents than Italians and live in cramped, overcrowded apartments, often without a contract. The houses immigrants live in are also more likely to be in bad repair, unfit for inhabitation and situated in suburban areas.

With regard to personal crimes, immigrants living in Caserta and Naples seem to be especially targeted in some areas around the two provinces, where they are shot, hit, punched, kicked, slapped, with often severe consequences both physical and psychological. A very famous example of this was the massacre of 6 young African people in Castelvolturno on September 18 2008. Many of these incidents are not reported to law-enforcement agencies and, consequently, are not registered as official data. Other important, although equally underreported crimes, are related to sex and gender.

With regard to property crimes, most respondents declare they have had at least something stolen, but they do not think they are robbed more often than Italians. However, a number of factors help make them more vulnerable: immigrants lead more vulnerable lifestyles and tend not to report this type of crimes, unless it is their documents that are taken away. When talking about property crimes, many immigrants feel despondent: the fact that these types of crimes happen all the time makes them seem inevitable. Acts of vandalism are mentioned too. Vandalism may be “cultural”, i.e. expressive of a cultural dislike for the victim, or “pragmatic”, i.e. meant to send out a specific message. Frauds are also very common by people who take advantage of immigrants’ vulnerability, needs and ignorance. The two most specific types of fraud are: money paid in return for fake or not existing documents, and offenders passing themselves off as policemen or carabinieri.

In Caserta and Naples, many respondents and key informants point out abuses of power at the hands of the police, the carabinieri and the local policemen (“vigili”). The police allegedly rob, defraud, ridicule or hit immigrants. Besides, the police search houses, plant drugs and steal things or put false allegations on immigrants or, worse still, beat them savagely. On the other hand, law-enforcement agents deny the

accusations and argue that immigrants are often aggressive and ignorant of the law, and, at times, out-and-out criminals.

Finally, questioned whether they thought they had been targeted because of their skin color, ethnic origin or religion, immigrants in Caserta and Naples provide conflicting answers. Some immigrants are ready to interpret inter-group crimes as motivated by hate, others tend to discount the incidents as acts of stupidity or ignorance.

As a consequence of this, immigrants often express fear of walking around in Caserta and Naples and resort to avoidance behaviors (including curfews) to counter their fears. Immigrants are afraid of local people, foreign citizens, and law-enforcement agents and often lead a life that constantly makes them feel anxious and on the alert. Little trust is put in Italian institutions.

5. Conclusions

The research reported here has been an attempt to determine the features of immigrant victimization in a limited area of Italy. This final chapter sketches out a tentative vulnerability profile and proposes some suggestions for both academic researchers and policy makers.

While exploring the crimes suffered by immigrants in Caserta and Naples, some characteristics seemed to be more closely associated with the probability of being a victim of ordinary crime than others. It is worth commenting on these characteristics, fuzzy as they may be, because of the interest they arouse from a criminological and victimological point of view. Victimology has a well-known history in vulnerability profiles⁴⁵.

Important sections of this chapter are devoted to proposing suggestions for future research based on the present study, and on advancing policy implications to acknowledge immigrants' rights, raise awareness among victims and offenders, empower immigrant communities, improve relations between immigrants and law-enforcement agencies and facilitate immigrants' access to the criminal justice system.

5.1 TOWARDS A VULNERABILITY PROFILE OF IMMIGRANT VICTIMS IN CASERTA AND NAPLES

Which immigrants suffer more crimes in Caserta and Naples? Is it possible to point out features that make certain immigrants easier victims than others? In victimology research, a number of variables are examined in relation to the probability of being a victim. Given the exploratory nature of the present study and the comparatively small number of subjects involved, it is not possible to determine what factors cause immigrant victimization. During the interviews, though, respondents and key informants have repeatedly pointed to some characteristics that make victimization more probable for immigrants in Caserta and Naples. It is worthwhile dwelling briefly on these as a working suggestion in view of larger victimization surveys.

By and large, the one feature that most respondents and key informants have singled out as being chiefly responsible for immigrants' victimization is legal status. Virtually all respondents and key informants agree on this. Being irregular means being deprived of all rights, being exposed to exploitation and all possible abuses, not being

⁴⁵ See, for instance, von Hentig, 1948; Schafer, 1977; Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978; Fattah, 1991; Karmen, 2001; Saponaro, 2004; Hoyle and Zedner, 2007.

able to press charges. This has been mentioned again and again in the previous chapter and will not be here elaborated on any further.

Another important aspect is the color of the skin. Here are some of the statements collected:

Black immigrants are more targeted than white immigrants. People think blacks are more ignorant, poor, stupid (respondent 38).

I think black immigrants are more targeted than other immigrants. A sort of weak link. Also because they don't speak the local language at all (respondent 37).

I think blacks are more victimized than other immigrants. That depends on the situation though. At the workplace, the color of the skin doesn't matter (key informant 20).

I think the color of the skin matters very much. Black people are targeted more often. They can be picked out more easily (respondent 66).

Knowledge of the language is another important feature that may account for immigrant victimization as well as for immigrants not turning to the police for help. This is how the above mentioned respondent 66 continues his interview:

I think the color of the skin matters very much. Black people are targeted more often. They can be picked out more easily. As well as people who don't speak the language. For instance, I've been stopped by policemen but since I speak the language they let me go. Policemen seem to think that if you don't know the language that's because you don't want to integrate. But that's not true, because some have objective difficulties in learning the language.

Immigrants do report the crimes they suffer when they have a residence permit, but sometimes if they don't know the language it's hard for them, and either prefer not to go or have a hard time telling what happened to them (respondent 66).

More statements are available on the subject. Some closely associate poor knowledge of the language with poor rights awareness:

When I came here, I started working with a family who employed me round the clock. They gave me 550 Euros but I lived like a slave. I didn't know so many things back then. I didn't know the language, I didn't know my rights. They said I shouldn't go away because they liked the way I worked, but they didn't pay me enough (respondent 73).

Unfortunately, many fellow-countrymen of mine, even those who have stayed here the longest (even more than 10 years), don't know the language (not even English), their surroundings and so on. They just work and work like mules. They are not aware of their rights and they only speak Urdu. As for crimes, something happened just yesterday. It even hit the news on the "Cronaca di Napoli". Two local boys broke into a friend's house and since he doesn't speak the language well he called me to call the carabinieri. This is what ignorance does (respondent 12).

Knowing the language is very important. It makes me feel more integrated (respondent 67).

Language is important. Some communities learn more (such as Ukrainians), others keep to themselves. Sub-Saharanans only speak English or French, don't mingle with the local population. So it is related to country, too. And education as well (key informant 2).

Nationality may also play a part according to key informant 12.

I do think that some immigrants are more vulnerable than others. The Senegalese, for instance, are more integrated, also politically, in Caserta also because of their highly visible jobs, whereas Ghanaians work in a more secluded environment and are more exploitable (key informant 12).

Gender is also mentioned, though more loosely.

Women are often exploited and victimized being weak. Immigrant women told us they are physically and sexually harassed. They don't report this because they feel ashamed and because they are afraid of losing their jobs (key informant 20).

Women immigrants are also robbed pretty often because they are vulnerable. Especially of their cell phones. Especially in Naples. Sometimes thieves pass themselves off as policemen. They ask for the permesso di soggiorno [permit of stay], and when the lady takes it out of her purse they steal whatever's in it (respondent 36).

One respondent also points to socio-economic status and geographical areas.

In Caserta, people tend to think immigrants are poor so they leave them alone pretty much. There are exceptions. For instance, groups of youngsters may rob the occasional Ukrainian or Polish lady. Or the old immigrant in the countryside may be robbed too. These things happen. Not so often in Caserta as in, say, San Marcellino, Maddaloni. Offenders don't often belong to any organized crime syndicate. They act on their own initiative. What often happens is that immigrants' homes are broken into and their stuff is taken away. Now, an immigrant's home is not usually a nice place, but, you know, they buy merchandise so their spaces are full of pieces of equipment, small appliances, DVDs. Sometimes the thieves are immigrants too, but at times they are Italian (respondent 36).

Family networks may be a shielding factor as opposed to being alone.

When I came here, my family was protective of me and made sure I went to work for families that could be trusted. I think that if my relatives had not protected me, I might have suffered more crimes (respondent 52).

Religion, on the contrary, seems to have no influence on the probability of being victimized, according to key informant 20.

Religion plays no role whatsoever over here. I'm sure of that (key informant 20).

Finally, it is worth reporting two more opinions that run somewhat counter to the above in that no given factor is associated once and for all with the probability of being victimized. Respondent 66 simply thinks that the most numerous communities are more likely to be victimized, whereas key informant 19 feels targets change all the time depending on historical and sociological reasons.

I don't think a particular community is targeted. The most numerous communities are also the most targeted (respondent 66).

I think the type of immigrant who is most victimized and criminalized varies from time to time. We've had Albanians, Moroccans, Rumanians, Mohameddians. They change all the time. The targets are different all the time (key informant 19).

In short, some of the respondents and key informants declare that legal status, color of the skin, knowledge of the language, nationality, duration of stay, family networks and, partially, gender, socio-economic status and area of residence may be important factors in determining immigrants' victimization. In other words, newly arrived, undocumented, unemployed, single, black immigrants (possibly women), coming from Sub-Saharan Africa, who live in degraded areas and do not speak the language well are more at risk than long-staying, documented, employed, married, white immigrants (possibly men), coming from European countries, who live in decent areas and speak the language well. Thus it would seem that the more integrated immigrants are less vulnerable, while the less integrated immigrants are more vulnerable.

Box 9 – A tentative profile of immigrants' vulnerability in Caserta and Naples

Factors that seem to facilitate victimization	Factors that seem to protect from victimization
- Fresh arrival	- Long stay
- No documents	- Permit of stay
- Unemployment	- Employment
- Being single	- Being married
- Black color of the skin	- White color of the skin
- (possibly) Female sex	- (possibly) Male sex
- Sub-Saharan Africa	- European country
- Living in degraded areas	- Living in decent areas
- Poor knowledge of the language	- Good knowledge of the language

As previously remarked, the qualitative nature of the study and the small number of interviews conducted make it impossible to establish a sound vulnerability typology, but the vulnerability-integration nexus just sketched out seems to be a promising one for research.

Incidentally, the above profile closely resembles a typology developed by two Italian scholars, Vincenzo Cesareo and Gian Carlo Blangiardo, in a recent survey⁴⁶ aimed at studying immigrants' integration in Italy by way of an integration index. According to Cesareo and Blangiardo, who have surveyed over 12,000 immigrants living in Italy, immigrants with a high level of integration share a variety of features: long stay in Italy, female gender, married with children, high level of education, high income, good knowledge of the language, cultural and religious proximity. In Naples, the average integration index is 0.45, which is one of the lowest scores in Italy. It would be interesting to survey whether integration and victimization vulnerability go hand in hand and whether lower integration "explains" higher vulnerability, but this is not for this study to say.

Future research should investigate whether such variables as legal status, gender, age, race, education, knowledge of the language, family or friends network, socio-economic conditions, occupation, duration of residence, lifestyle and leisure behavior are correlated with the probability of being victimized. This is a very interesting issue, that has very important policy implications

5.2 VICTIMOLOGICAL MODELS, VULNERABILITY PROFILE AND IMMIGRANT VICTIMS IN CASERTA AND NAPLES: A DISCUSSION

In section 1.3 of chapter 1, three victimological models have been mentioned that may help explain why immigrants are prone to be vulnerable targets: the Lifestyle Exposure Theory, the Routine Activity Approach, and the Equivalent Group Explanation. Although the purpose of this thesis is merely exploratory and no hypotheses are tested, a discussion on the relation between the three models and the findings from this study is worth making that might work as a suggestion for future research on immigrants as victims of crime. This will also help other researchers be aware of possible limitations when conducting research using the three models mentioned.

In light of the findings illustrated in chapter 4 and the vulnerability profile sketched out in section 5.1 above, the Lifestyle Exposure Theory appears to be very useful in explaining immigrant victimization in Caserta and Naples. The Lifestyle Exposure Theory maintains that some lifestyles expose people to more risks than do

⁴⁶ Cesareo and Blangiardo (ed.), 2009.

other lifestyles (Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978). This seems to be the case with immigrants living in Caserta and Naples. As observed in chapter 4, immigrants live in risky neighbourhoods, go out to work at early hours and come back late at night; they ride on public means of transportation for lack of private vehicles, work out in the streets or walk out to look for a job; they often carry their belongings (including money) with them or store their things in their houses, which makes these ideal targets for thieves. The houses immigrants live in are more likely to be in bad repair, unfit for inhabitation and situated in suburban areas or in condemned buildings. The fact that they live in overcrowded apartments further exposes them to the risk of being robbed by their fellow-countrymen. In addition, immigrants work long hours: this means they stay away from their homes a long time, leaving them unguarded for most of the day. Ignorance and poverty expose them to unscrupulous frauds who take advantage of their vulnerability. Working without a contract and doing 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous, difficult) are also risky conditions: immigrants may be denied their pay or paid less than agreed upon; they may incur accidents for the partial or complete lack of safety measures. Women immigrant workers may be even more at risk: first of all, they are in a vulnerable position because they work in the lower ends of the job market and can't often fall back on the resources they could make use of in their own countries. Secondly, their jobs often imply working in segregated places alone with their employers and no one to turn to for help. This situation exposes them to threats and blackmails. Thirdly, foreign women are tagged as "easy preys" by common stereotypes which liken the condition of the woman migrant to that of the prostitute. It has also been observed in chapter 4 that most respondents from this study are aware of leading risky lifestyles and admit to feeling unsafe. Some of them resort to avoidance behaviors and assert that their feelings of insecurity are closely related to the places where they spend most of their everyday lives and the job they do.

In addition, the factors that facilitate victimization among immigrants, referred to in section 5.1 above, seem to fit in with a lifestyle exposure model because some of them are usually associated with risky lifestyles. For instance, being black, unemployed, freshly arrived and undocumented exposes the immigrant to higher risks of being victimized, exploited and denied human rights than being white, employed, long-staying and documented.

In connection with the Lifestyle Exposure Theory, the principle of "homogamy" and the principle of "proximity" have been discussed too. The two principles state that people are more likely to be victimized if they disproportionately associate with offenders or live in the vicinity of residences of high-rate offender groups. From the interviews conducted, it is not possible to determine whether the two principles hold true in the case of the immigrants that live in Caserta and Naples. Immigrants do not easily admit to associating with offenders or living where offenders live. Questions on this subject have often raised suspicions during the interviews and have not been

pressed in order to avoid any possible disruption of the communication process. This limitation should be borne in mind by anyone who would like to conduct research on immigrants as victims of crime. Immigrants' association with offenders should be probably explored in different ways: for instance, gaining information on the area where the respondents live or on the number of crimes committed there might reveal the existence of offender groups. Simply asking the respondents is not enough.

In short, immigrants from this study do lead risky lifestyles and the Lifestyle Exposure Theory appears a useful theory to explain their victimization, but prospective scholars have to bear in mind that it is not easy to determine whether immigrants associate with offenders or live in the vicinity of offenders, at least if they use the same methodology employed in this study.

The Routine Activity Approach, as described in chapter 1, attempts to explain immigrant victimization focusing on three elements: the presence of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson, 1979). This model may be very useful in explaining crimes against immigrants in Caserta and Naples. It has already been remarked in chapter 3 that Campania is affected by widespread illegality and rampant organized crime for which immigrants make ideal targets: they are visible and can be easily spotted; they live in marginal, degraded, unprotected areas and store merchandise and hide cash in their homes, totally or partially unguarded. They may represent easy preys for both desperate small-time criminals looking for easy money, and organized criminals. But there's more to be said. Two factors from this study make immigrants even more suitable targets. The first is the lack of rights awareness⁴⁷ that makes them more easily exploitable and less aware of the rights they are entitled to. The second is immigrants' poor reporting behavior⁴⁸ for which many reasons have been suggested in chapter 4. These two factors combined with the others previously mentioned make immigrants what is probably the most vulnerable category of victims in Campania. This vulnerability is further compounded by the fact that the police do not acknowledge immigrants as victims because immigrants do not often come to them for help and do not appear in crime statistics as victims as much as they appear as offenders. Therefore, immigrants make ideal targets in more than one way.

The vulnerability profile traced in section 5.1 above also fits in with the Routine Activity Approach. The facilitating factors described make up what could be termed as ideal target suitability, but the findings from this thesis illustrate that many immigrants seem to share at least some of these factors and this adds to their vulnerability. Once again, the fact of being single, unemployed or unsteadily employed, living in degraded areas, speaking the language poorly or having just arrived are characteristics that many

⁴⁷ See chapter 4, subsection 4.3.2 for this.

⁴⁸ See chapter 4, section 4.3 for this.

immigrants have at least at some point in their immigrant lives which augment their suitability as likely targets.

One final thing should be remembered. The third element of the Routine Activity Approach– the absence of capable guardians - is usually assumed to refer to a person (or a device operated by a person) who, by their mere presence, deters potential offenders from perpetrating a crime (police patrols, security guards, friends, neighbours, CCTV). Immigrants seem to be particularly unguarded in this regard. Not only do they often lack traditional protective networks (family, friends), but frequently, as highlighted in chapter 4, they are not even considered as potential victims by law-enforcement agencies (which they would reluctantly turn to for help anyway). In short, target suitability and absence of capable guardians take on more specific meanings when applied to immigrants, and this should be remembered when conducting research on immigrant victims using the Routine Activity Approach.

Finally, the Equivalent Group Explanation maintains that people are more likely to be victimized by victimizers who share their interests, activities, and belong to the same lifestyle group (Karmen, 2001). According to some scholars (Barbagli, 1998), when applied to immigrants, this model translates into the assumption that immigrants are mostly victimized by other immigrants. The findings from this study do not help understand the value and limitations of the Equivalent Group Explanation. In chapter 4, subsection 4.1.6, it has been observed that immigrants do not talk much about crimes committed by fellow-nationals or other immigrants. Some respondents discount crimes when they are committed by fellow-nationals as if these were not as important as crimes committed by Italians. In other cases, intra-national crimes are not perceived as crimes, but rather explained away as cultural traits. For instance, women immigrants tend not to report harassers from their own community because this is something “they just don’t do” or because the men were drunk at the moment of the aggression or too frustrated because unemployed. This makes it hard to assess the extent of criminality committed by fellow-nationals or other immigrants. This type of criminality should probably be investigated by other data-gathering strategies, including victimization surveys and self-report studies. Law-enforcement agents from this study have often underscored the importance of intra-national violence, for instance in the case of the Chinese community⁴⁹. Unfortunately, at least in Italy, these data are not always available because criminal justice data collection mechanisms are far from accurate. Besides, data may vary from crime to crime. Homicides, for instance, are more easily detectable than pickpocketings. As pointed out in chapter 2, subsection 2.1.1, data from the Italian Ministry of the Interior suggest that, in Italy, for four crimes (attempted and completed homicides, sexual violence and street robberies), immigrant victims are more likely to

⁴⁹ See chapter 4, subsection 4.1.6 for this.

be victimized by fellow-countrymen. However, no particular pattern of victimization of immigrants at the hands of other immigrants emerges from this study.

In conclusion, considering the findings from this study and the vulnerability profile sketched out in section 5.1 above, the Lifestyle Exposure Theory and the Routine Activity Approach appear to be promising theories to explain immigrant victimization and should be seriously considered by researchers who would like to investigate the subject further, whereas the same findings do not make it possible to discuss the value of the Equivalent Group Explanation. More research is needed which may hopefully be aided by the suggestions advanced in this section.

In the next section, more suggestions for future research are put forward.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As noted in chapter 3, immigrants are a “hard-to-reach” group and various limitations affect current criminological and victimological research on this particular target. These limitations are both statistical and methodological.

Methodological limitations have already been pointed out in chapter 3.

As for statistical limitations, more needs to be said. By way of an example, the following remarks will be confined to Italy.

According to Italian national law, aliens may be divided up into at least two groups: legal and illegal aliens.

Legal aliens are accounted for by ISTAT in terms of resident foreign population and by the Ministry of the Interior in terms of residence permits.

ISTAT data focus on the stable quota of legal foreign residents living in Italy (including minors, both born abroad and in Italy), as registered by Italian “comuni”. These data are available by nationality, sex and age, and are published annually. ISTAT data, though, are affected by some limitations both in terms of underestimation and overestimation. Foreigners who formally only stay three months or less (i.e., for tourism) do not have to register, but some of them tend to overstay and become irregular, and thus are undercounted. Undercounting comes out of registration procedures as well: administratively, it takes time for all new entries to be properly registered. So a certain number of residents are systematically underrepresented when data are made public. In addition, as Salvatore Palidda points out, there is also a major reason for overestimation:

the number of legal residence permits overestimates the actual number of foreigners by some 30%; some foreigners, when moving from one province to another, may register at more than one police department. Another source of overestimation could derive from the fact that expired permits are not subtracted from the total number of permits (Gatti, Malfatti and Verde, 1997: 112-113).

In short, it is not possible to determine whether the number of foreigners who do not figure anymore in official registry data have returned to their own countries, have moved somewhere else or are still staying in Italy as irregulars. This is a key problem in that immigrants move around more than locals and the quota of moving immigrants is likely to have a significant impact on official data. Besides, a small sector of immigrant residents may acquire Italian citizenship, but they may still be temporarily counted as foreigners. Other limitations apply. As mentioned above, a person who has entered Italy as a tourist may be actually looking for a job and may eventually turn out to be an overstay; a worker who holds a work permit may see their permit expire thus becoming illegal and, viceversa, an illegal immigrant may find a job and a house and become legal. These dynamics are not usually reflected in ISTAT official statistics.

The data provided by the Ministry of the Interior, through “Questure” (police headquarters) immigration offices, are partially unreliable as well. As said above, they are based on the number of residence permits issued, but not all foreigners need or apply for a residence permit. Foreigners who just stay a few days, for instance, do not have to apply for a residence permit. And a sizeable number of irregular stayers in Italy enter the country as tourists and then overstay. So these are not accounted for by the Ministry of the Interior. In the second place, minors are not entitled to residence permits, so they do not figure in these statistics, unlike ISTAT data. This makes for a considerable difference between ISTAT and Ministry of the Interior data. In the third place, these data reflect procedural limitations in that, since they are made available in the early months of every given year, they do not register all possible expired or not renewed residence permits. Besides, it is not always possible to determine whether an expired residence permit is related to a foreigner who has decided to go back to their own country or whether that foreigner has simply become irregular. Finally, Ministry of the Interior data do not make it possible to break down variables into more significant categories: work permits, for instance, are usually registered by season and subordinate vs. self-employed jobs, and this does not make it possible to determine whether, for example, someone from Senegal is staying in Italy because they are working in the farming sector or because they have been signed by a football team.

For the above mentioned reasons, ISTAT and Ministry of the Interior data tend to be different. For instance, comparing data for 2007 (latest available period for comparison), ISTAT reports 3,432,651 foreigners, while the Ministry of the Interior reports 1,889,490 foreigners. Caritas/Migrantes, an important private organization that issues an annual report on immigrants in Italy, makes use of yet different standards to calculate the number of foreigners in Italy, that combine ISTAT and Ministry of the Interior data, adjusting them according to specific criteria. For the same year 2007, for example, foreigners are estimated by Caritas/Migrantes to be 3,238,922.

In short, even for regular immigrants, figures are far from being identical.

As for illegal aliens and asylum seekers, no statistical population exists although estimates of their numbers have been attempted (Ministero dell'Interno. 2007²: 325), with much debated and controversial results. In Campania, for instance, irregular immigrants are estimated to be about 30% of regular immigrants. So, considering the latest ISTAT data, they should be somewhere around 40,000, but figures vary from province to province and from nationality to nationality (Caputo, 2007). 2008 CGIL union data, for instance, make 50,000 the number of irregular immigrants present in Campania.

In light of the above, available sources do not yield perfectly reliable lists of population, especially with regard to illegal aliens.

This situation, combined with the previously mentioned methodological shortcomings, makes it necessary for the researcher to devise new strategies to approach the target in a scientifically sound way.

What seems apparent from this study is that new, more comprehensive sources of information should complement the old ones and that innovative inspiring principles should be adopted to counter methodological limitations in order for more ambitious research to be conducted. This is all the more necessary in view of the considerable dark number of crime that seems to affect criminology with regard to immigrants as victims of crime. One such principle is that the researcher should reach immigrants – by definition, an unstable population - not where they live, which is very often undeterminable and impracticable, but where they turn to and get together for various reasons (help, looking for a job, assistance in filling out forms). This implies a considerable shift in methodological focus since most victimization surveys select their respondents at the place where they live and so do most criminological studies.

One recent technique, that has not been specially developed for criminological purposes, but has been devised to address the limitations of current statistics and methodology in surveys on foreign migrants is Giancarlo Blangiardo's Center Sampling (CS) technique⁵⁰. Blangiardo's technique aims at providing a method to select units at random, as requested by probabilistic samples, by simultaneously devising a way to contact immigrants in an innovative way. The basic principle of the CS method assumes that each statistical unit (the migrant) visits at least one local "centre of aggregation" of some kind (institutions, places of worship, entertainment, care centers, meeting points, call centers) at a given time.

The centers may be divided into two main categories: 1) centers where the complete list of participants is available (i.e., population register, language courses, medical and care centers); 2) centers with no such list, further dividable into: a) centers with a limited number of participants (i.e. facilities with a standard number of

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Baio, Blangiardo and Blangiardo, 2008, from which much of what follows is taken.

places/beds); b) “open” centers with no information available (i.e. squares, parks, shopping centers, bars and clubs).

The first important step is to identify all (or a sufficiently large set of) centers located in a given territory that immigrants visit at a given time. Immigrants may then be selected for random sampling and interviewed. What is essential is that in any selected center the corresponding set of respondents must be selected at random among its visitors. The immigrants chosen are then given a questionnaire to fill out and, after that, a profile based on the centers they visit (all the individuals who visit the same centers are given the same profiles).

The individual probability of inclusion in the sample depends directly on the number of selected centers the person really visits; and inversely on the number of individuals from the population who visit that center.

As a consequence, the sample collected by the CS technique is originally biased. It is then made unbiased by means of appropriate weights to be associated with each sample unit. According to Blangiardo, the adoption of these weights makes the sample chosen by CS technique perfectly representative of the whole universe and fully comparable to a hypothetical traditional simple random sample.

Blangiardo’s technique allows the researcher to find a way around current statistical and methodological limitations by referring them to alternative lists of population and shifting the focus from where immigrants live to where immigrants go to for various reasons. Thus, the two major limitations that affect research on immigrants are eluded. The technique has been widely applied in Italy⁵¹ and is currently one of the best innovative ways of surveying immigrant populations. It might be profitably applied in criminology and victimology.

More working suggestions for further research on immigrants as victims of crime may be put forward.

First of all, any such research involves many skills: sociological, anthropological, linguistic, criminological. This is especially relevant during research design and should always be taken into proper account. A team of people should be set up for the purpose. Neglecting cultural or linguistic issues might lead to disturbing misunderstandings and, ultimately, to a complete failure of the effort. As a consequence, interviewers need to be properly trained. Not all immigrants are alike. This might sound platitudinous, but different communities may have different lifestyles and see the world in a different way. For instance, in the course of the present study, the researcher happened to interview a Senegalese man. At one point, the man started saying words in his own language to a fellow-countryman who promptly replied. The two started exchanging what seemed like never-ending expressions. The researcher obviously stopped asking questions and waited for the two to finish their repartee only to be told

⁵¹ For a recent application, Cesareo and Blangiardo (ed.), 2009.

to continue by the respondent who seemed very surprised that the interview had been interrupted. As it turned out, the two Senegalese men had been engaged in a long ritual salute that wasn't considered an obstacle to the continuation of the interview. A western interviewer might have interpreted what was really just a longish exchange of greetings as a personal slight. On another occasion, a respondent was only available to be interviewed at 11 p.m. because that was when he stopped working. In short, the interviewer needs to be flexible and adapt to different needs and lifestyles.

What has often been called "downgrading" needs to be taken into account too. Some immigrants may not be aware that some behaviors are crimes because they are not labelled as such or are so widespread in their own countries as to be considered normal. So awareness should never be taken for granted. Before the research proper starts, the researcher should always pre-test the definitions they use.

Downgrading aside, crime and rights awareness should never be taken for granted in surveys on immigrant victimization. Immigrants are often not aware of certain behaviours being crimes because, as is the case in southern Italy, they may be so common in the hosting society as not to be perceived as wrong actions by locals themselves. Other reasons might be at work. For instance, as is apparent from the present study, violence at the hands of compatriots might not be considered "real" violence and never be reported because "nobody tells on their own fellow-countrymen/women". Therefore questionnaire design should always take this into account, the risk being that many crimes committed against migrants might not come up or would be played down in a general victimization survey that pays no attention to linguistic and cultural aspects.

Particular attention should be paid to safety perception too. What is apparent from the present study is that, contrary to mainstream criminological wisdom that point out foreigners as a threat to national safety, immigrants often feel scared to a greater degree than locals and resort to avoidance behaviors (such as curfews) that would cause extreme, panicky reactions in the hosting society if they were exhibited by locals. This alarming finding is usually neglected because it only concerns immigrants, but deserves more in-depth analysis.

Saturation effects should be avoided. In the past few years, immigrants have been asked to participate in many studies and have been interviewed or administered questionnaires by scholars, journalists, and authors. This has led to a widespread feeling of annoyance and estrangement among immigrants that often feel people ask them useless questions for useless reasons, even when bigger not-yet-broached problems have an effect on their lives.

In short, there is a clear need for extensive empirical research in violence or crime against immigrants, especially in Italy: research that goes far beyond that provided in the study presented here. The issue cannot be addressed effectively in the

absence of sufficient data. This study has hopefully contributed an introductory knowledge on the topic that needs to be further extended.

As a final suggestion, a questionnaire format specially designed for an immigrant victimization survey to be conducted in Italy is here inserted as Annex 7. The questionnaire is based on many similar formats developed in western countries. To be exact, the format is inspired by and elaborates on the following well-established general and victimization surveys:

- a) The European Crime and Safety Survey Master Questionnaire
- b) The European Social Survey Questionnaire
- c) The Australian Component of the 2004 International Crime Victimization Survey
- d) The 2002 British Crime Survey Questionnaire
- e) The U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey Questionnaire (2006)
- f) The Migrants' Experience of Racism and Discrimination in Ireland Survey Questionnaire (2006)
- g) The Canadian General Social Survey Questionnaire (1999)
- h) The Immigrants on Discrimination II Questionnaire (1997)
- i) The European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Questionnaire (2009)
- j) The Italian Citizens' Safety Questionnaire (2004)⁵².

The questionnaire is just a small contribution, but might prove a useful starting point for whoever wishes to study immigrants as victims of crime in Italy and elsewhere.

One more remark on the so-called "dark number of crime" in immigrant victimization surveys. What comes out of this study is that many crimes against immigrants do not figure in official statistics nor in mainstream surveys for a number of reasons. One important reason is that immigrant victimization surveys should be something different from "ordinary" victimization surveys and should seriously address the issues highlighted in the previous chapters. Another important reason, though, is that official statistical systems themselves should gear up for this new task. It much exceeds the scope of this study to suggest how this can be done, but something must be obviously done. Chances are that if ordinary recording systems do not adapt, immigrant victimization might be played down and so might immigrants' sufferings and

⁵² The above questionnaires are available at the following websites: a) <http://www.europeansafetyobservatory.eu>; b) <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>; c) <http://www.aic.gov.au>; d) <http://www.data-archive.ac.uk>; e) <http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov>; f) <http://ideas.repec.org>; g) <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>; i) http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/eu-midis/index_en.htm; j) <http://www.istat.it>. As for h), see Lange, 1997.

grievances. This implies new policy strategies on which more will be said in the next section.

Finally, no Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Softwares (CAQDAS) were used for this study, but future researchers might benefit from them especially when dealing with large data.

5.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Policy implications emerge from the present study that should be seriously considered to prevent immigrants' victimization and promote their rights as legitimate citizens⁵³.

a) *Acknowledging immigrants' rights as a way to reduce victimization*

The basic rights of immigrants to be granted fair justice should be acknowledged, whether they are regular immigrants or not. In Italy irregular immigrants are often afraid of turning to the criminal justice system for fear of being reported to the police and deported. Regular immigrants are often discouraged from reporting the crimes they suffer: the language, the intricacies of the law, the formidable appearance of bureaucracy, the harsh attitudes of the staff working within the criminal justice system all contribute to making it extremely difficult even for regular immigrants to turn to the law for help.

To encourage irregular and regular immigrants to put their trust in the criminal justice system, it is necessary to enact legislation that fully allows them to access it without fear. It has already been mentioned that extending the scope of article 18 of the Italian Legislative Decree 286/1998, that allows victims of trafficking to obtain a temporary stay permit for social and humanitarian reasons, to victims of ordinary crime under given circumstances might be useful. On the other hand, it is necessary for the staff working within the criminal justice system to ensure equity and confidentiality. These actions should be combined with a systematic approach to implementing immigrants' rights that includes a number of measures, such as: promoting community participation; supporting active enterprise within minority communities; countering labour market exploitation; combining the role of local authorities as human rights actors with the promotion of human rights education among those who have a duty to protect human rights and among those who are entitled to them; providing training in human rights to those who work within the criminal justice systems such as police officers, judges, lawyers.

⁵³ Much of what follows has been inspired by UNODC, 2010 to which the author of the present study has contributed.

More inspections to the workplace and a constant and relentless fight against black economy would be extremely beneficial towards reducing the number of accidents at work and illegal, exploitable immigrants.

b) *Raising awareness among immigrant victims of crime*

It is apparent that vulnerability to crime is strictly linked to poor awareness and scant knowledge of the law. Therefore, it is advisable to promote awareness-raising programs among immigrants, which should not just be focused on countering prejudices and discrimination, but also on making immigrants aware of the crimes they suffer and on providing information on the Italian criminal justice system and how to handle it in the best possible way. Inducements are needed to encourage victims to press charges and improve the services offered to them by law-enforcement agencies.

Immigrants should also be made aware of the risky conditions under which they are often made to work by unscrupulous employers, particularly in the black market. Failure to comply with safety rules causes accidents and casualties and should not be underestimated. Programs aimed at increasing the culture of safety at the workplace, the level of employees' training and the kind and number of information could improve working conditions for both immigrants and employed nationals. Specific safety training courses, especially when attended on a regular basis, have proved to be a crucial factor in reducing the frequency of injuries⁵⁴.

Language is another important factor, since it is often the main gate through which immigrants may grasp the workings of the law machine and become citizens with full rights. Language training programs are extremely important for foreign citizens and should be open not just to regular immigrants but also to irregular ones, since the latter are more likely to be victimized, and are often less able to identify a potentially dangerous situation when they see one.

At the same time, immigrants should also be made aware that their lifestyles might be occasionally conducive to dangerous situations. Living in seedy, risky neighbourhoods, working outdoors or in segregated places or at early/late hours may be potentially unsafe situations. Sure enough, immigrants do not often have a real choice, but they should be aware of the consequences anyway.

c) *Raising awareness among offenders*

As became apparent from chapter 4, among those who commit crimes against immigrants, some do not seem to consider these seriously and harm immigrants as a way to assert themselves or express their anger and frustration. Specific public

⁵⁴ See Savona, Di Nicola and Vettori, 2008 on this.

campaigns might help in making the population at large aware of immigrants' rights and in combating prejudice and discrimination. As often as not, crimes against immigrants are made possible by the fact that immigrants are perceived as inferior and disposable: seeing them as human beings might help fight this facilitating factor. On the other hand, certain repeated and obnoxious behaviors by the population that are generally undercounted and underestimated as mere "boyish pranks" should be severely emphasised and sanctioned. This would send a clear message to society as to the real nature of these acts.

d) *Empowering immigrant communities*

Immigrant communities should be involved in the society at large and be allowed to voice their concerns and fears so that politicians, citizens and the various components of society (the police, the justice system, social work) are aware of them and act on them.

Immigrant victims of crime should be supported and encouraged to report their experiences to the relevant authorities and assured that their complaints will be taken seriously. Allocating bigger resources to organizations that offer assistance to immigrants who have been victimized might be a good starting point. Moreover, community associations could support immigrants by increasing their rights awareness, and thereby their willingness to report crimes, and by providing them with legal assistance and social services.

All this would prove extremely helpful in reducing immigrants' constant sense of insecurity and hopelessness, which, as noted in chapter 4, seem to be a haunting presence among them. As a matter of fact, immigrants resort to protective and avoidance behaviours to overcome their fears to an extent that is often unimaginable to the ordinary Italian citizen. More studies surveying safety perceptions among immigrants should be conducted to probe a very interesting, albeit very little explored, area of interest. These studies often have policy implications and translate in changes in the urban environment, individual lifestyles and social habits of the people involved.

e) *Improving relations between immigrants and law-enforcement agencies*

In order to improve the relations between immigrant communities and law-enforcement agencies, several working initiatives involving the police, local authorities and civil society organizations should be developed in an effort to encourage immigrants to report the crimes they suffer and to provide appropriate assistance to victims. This is a particularly sensitive issue since many immigrants feel they are not entitled to any kind of redress for the very fact of being immigrants. Some even think

suffering crimes is a price they have to pay for living in Italy and so no justice is really due to them.

There is an urgent need to identify and address discriminatory and abusive enforcement behavior. Some work needs to be done to improve the relations between immigrant communities and law-enforcement agencies. Trust in law-enforcement agencies needs to be built up on respectful and non-discriminatory treatment. Better relations between immigrants and the criminal justice system should be promoted and cultural misunderstandings should be avoided by means of training and educational programmes. Cooperation with the authorities involved and civil society organizations should be sought. All this would also translate in immigrants having more trust in Italian institutions.

Abuses of power by law-enforcement agencies should be relentlessly prosecuted and never excused.

Law-enforcement officers should also be able to identify hate and bias crimes, and avoid playing them down. As noted in chapter 4, officers often refuse to acknowledge the racist nature of certain acts even when this is glaringly obvious.

f) *Facilitating immigrants' access to the criminal justice system*

Facilitating immigrants' access to the criminal justice system is a major prerequisite to make interactions between immigrant communities and law-enforcement agencies easier.

As noted in the previous chapters, current research shows that the overwhelming majority of immigrants suffering crimes do not report their experiences to any organizations or to the relevant authorities. Significant numbers of incidents involving crimes against immigrants do not come to the attention of the police because of defects in current data collection processes. This means that thousands of cases of crimes are invisible, as they are not officially recorded by criminal justice systems. These failures need to be urgently addressed.

One way to do so is to adapt procedures and norms from a linguistic and cultural point of view. For instance, immigrants should be put in a position to fully understand how to press charges and know what their rights are through language-friendly devices.

“Downgrading” should be overcome. Many immigrants, coming from areas where violent, abusive behavior by law-enforcement agencies happens on an everyday basis, do not perceive certain crimes as such. They should, instead, be made aware that those behaviors are not permitted in the hosting country.

Criminal justice system professionals should be made aware of the linguistic, social and cultural barriers that immigrants face. Reducing those barriers would help increase people's understanding of legal proceedings. Furthermore, studies should be

conducted to evaluate possible police or judiciary discrimination and bias suffered by immigrants when involved in the criminal justice system.

Special data collection for crimes suffered by immigrants might be implemented, especially when these happen recurrently. Attention should also be paid to establishing independent routes to record crimes on the basis of immigrant background. Victimization patterns might emerge that would not otherwise be apparent.

Connections between irregular immigration and organized crime should also be highlighted since organized crime thrives on human smuggling and trafficking and other related crimes (drugs, slavery, forced labour, debt bondage).

Finally, severe sanctions should be enforced against police officers who misuse their powers. No such behavior should be considered negligible.

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Annexes

Annex 1
Interview Guide for semi-structured interview
with immigrants

Dear respondent,

I am inviting you to participate in a research project to study the crimes suffered by immigrants in Campania, particularly in Caserta and Naples. I guarantee that your responses will not be identified with you personally. The interview is completely anonymous. The answers will be treated confidentially and only for research purposes. I'd also like to ask your permission to digitally record the conversation in order to make the data processing easier. The digital recording will be destroyed as soon as the data have been processed.

- a) In the first part of the interview, I'd like to ask you some personal information such as: sex, age, legal status, education. Of course, your anonymity will be guaranteed. During the interview also ask: How long have you been living in Italy? Which country are you from?
- b) In this second part, I would like to ask you if you have ever been a victim of crime during your stay in Italy. For example, have you ever had anything stolen from you? Have you ever been attacked or threatened by someone? Has your property or household ever been vandalized? Have you ever been targeted because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion? If so, could you tell me more about what happened? Have you ever been the victim of any of the above crimes while at the workplace?
During the interview, also ask: a) Was the offender an Italian, a fellow-citizen or some other foreigner? b) Have you ever been injured as a result of the crime? c) How often has this happened? d) Where did this happen? e) Some immigrants say they have been exploited during their stay in Italy, for instance accepting lower wages or working extra hours without being properly paid. Has this ever happened to you?
- c) In this third part, I'd like to focus on how safe you feel living in Italy. For example, how safe do you feel working, walking or just doing ordinary things in Italy? Do you ever think of the possibility of becoming a victim of crime in Italy? Are you ever worried that you might be subject to a physical attack because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion? Do you think there is much violence against immigrants in Italy? If so, could you tell me more about it? Do you think that immigrants, on the whole, suffer more crimes than Italians? If so, why? Do you feel protected by law-enforcement agencies? What is your relationship with the police?

During the interview, also ask: a) Have you ever been stopped by the police or other law-enforcement agency? If so, could you tell me what happened? Was there anything about being stopped by the police that made you think you were stopped because you were a foreigner? b) Do you trust institutions in Italy? Please, elaborate on this.

- d) In this fourth part, I'd like to ask you if, as a victim of crime, you have ever reported the offence suffered to the police or other law-enforcement agency? If so, could you tell me what happened? If not, why didn't you report the offence? If you have reported it, were you satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter? Could you elaborate on this?

During the interview, also ask: a) Do you think you have been fairly treated by the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza? b) How do you think the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza generally treat immigrants?

This is the end of the interview.

Thanks for your time.

Annex 2
Interview Guide for semi-structured interview
with key informants

Dear respondent,

in your capacity as..., I am inviting you to participate in a research project to study the crimes suffered by immigrants in Campania, particularly in Caserta and Naples. I guarantee that the answers will be treated confidentially and only for research purposes. I'd also like to ask you permission to digitally record the conversation in order to make the data processing easier. The digital recording will be destroyed as soon as the data have been processed.

a) In the first part of the interview, I'd like to ask you some personal information such as name, position.

b) In the second part of the interview, I would like to ask you if, in your capacity as..., you have relevant data on the subject of study.

After this, ask: in your capacity as..., what kind of crimes do immigrants suffer most? Do immigrants report the crimes they suffer? If not, why in your opinion? What kind of crimes do immigrants report? Do certain immigrants report more than others? Are certain crimes more reported/underreported than others? If so, why in your opinion? What kind of immigrants come into contact with law-enforcement agencies? What are the differences between Italians' and immigrants' reporting behavior?

During the interview, also ask: a) Do immigrants report crimes more when the offender is a fellow-citizen or when it is an Italian? b) Do irregular immigrants report the same as regular ones?

c) In this third part, I'd like to ask you about immigrants' attitudes and perception of the law-enforcement system. For example, how do immigrants relate to the law-enforcement system? How do they react to the crimes they suffer? Are they suspicious/trustful of the system? Do they see the law-enforcement system as a resource or as threat? Do immigrants, in your opinion, see themselves as discriminated against by the law-enforcement system?

During the interview, also ask: a) Are immigrants aware of their rights? b) Are they, on the average, knowledgeable of the Italian law system? c) What type of immigrant knows more about the law-enforcement system, in your opinion?

This is the end of the interview.

Thanks for your time.

Annex 3 - List of respondents by demographics

Interview ID	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Year respondent came to Italy	Town where respondent currently lives	Reason for coming to Italy	Legal status	Marital status	Education*
1	M	25	Pakistan	2006	Frattamaggiore (NA)	To seek asylum	Asylum seeker	Single	3
2	F	32	Ukraine	2000	Naples	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	4
3	F	30	Poland	2003	Naples	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	4
4	F	27	Poland	2005	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	6
5	M	31	Bangladesh	2004	Casandrino (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	6
6	M	23	Ivory Coast	2007	Grumo Nevano (NA)	Work	Slip holder	Married	3
7	M	31	Ivory Coast	2008	Grumo Nevano (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	5
8	M	36	Benin	2002	Grumo Nevano (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	4
9	M	33	Pakistan	2008	Casandrino (NA)	To seek asylum	Asylum seeker	Married	3
10	M	30	Burkina Faso	2007	Grumo Nevano (NA)	To seek asylum	Asylum seeker	Married	2
11	F	46	Ukraine	2001	Naples	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	8
12	M	31	Pakistan	2005	Naples	To seek asylum	Slip holder	Single	5
13	F	44	Somalia	1986	Naples	To seek asylum	Italian citizen	Married	6
14	M	36	Burkina Faso	2003	Grumo Nevano (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Married	1
15	M	30	Senegal	2006	Caserta	Work	Illegal alien	Single	2
16	M	24	Senegal	2006	Caserta	Work	Illegal alien	Single	6

17	M	34	Morocco	2006	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	3
18	M	25	Morocco	2006	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	6
19	M	22	Morocco	2008	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	3
20	M	29	Pakistan	2005	Casandrino (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	7
21	M	28	Bangladesh	2004	Sant'Antimo (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	3
22	M	53	Ivory Coast	1999	Ponticelli (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	3
23	F	38	Ukraine	1999	Caserta	To join family	Residence permit holder	Divorced	7
24	F	24	Morocco	2005	Marcianise (CE)	To join family	Residence permit holder	Engaged	7
25	M	49	Senegal	1988	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	3
26	F	60	Senegal	1999	S. Nicola la Strada (CE)	To join family	Residence permit holder	Married	2
27	M	29	Ghana	2007	Castelvoturno (CE)	To seek asylum	Illegal alien	Single	6
28	M	25	Ghana	2007	Castelvoturno (CE)	To seek asylum	Illegal alien	Married	4
29	M	37	Nigeria	2008	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Married	n.a.
30	M	20	Liberia	2007	Castelvoturno (CE)	To seek asylum	Illegal alien	Single	4
31	M	52	Senegal	1985	S. Nicola la Strada (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	4
32	M	32	Senegal	2003	Naples	Tourism (overstayer)	Illegal alien	Single	8
33	F	46	Poland	1996	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Widowed	6

34	M	27	Albania	2002	S. Nicola la Strada (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Divorced	5
35	M	40	Burkina Faso	2008	Grumo Nevano (NA)	To seek asylum	Slip holder	Married	8
36	M	41	Tunisia	1990	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Separated	6
37	M	46	Tunisia	1989	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Living with someone	6
38	M	40	Burkina Faso	2000	Naples	Work	Residence permit holder	Engaged	6
39	M	43	Gambia	1986	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	n.a.
40	M	32	Ghana	2003	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Married	3
41	M	28	Togo	2008	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	1
42	M	46	Morocco	1989	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	2
43	M	30	Morocco	2003	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	6
44	M	34	Morocco	2004	Frattamaggiore (NA)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	8
45	M	46	Guinea	1991	Licola (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	8
46	M	32	Sudan	2005	Naples	To seek asylum	Illegal alien	Widowed	1
47	M	32	Ghana	2006	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Married	4
48	M	36	Nigeria	2005	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	4
49	M	41	Ghana	2007	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Asylum seeker	Married	4
50	M	28	Liberia	2002	Castelvoturno	Work	Illegal alien	Single	2

(CE)									
51	M	51	Senegal	2001	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Divorced	3
52	F	31	Albania	1997	Capodrise (CE)	To join family	Residence permit holder	Married	7
53	F	32	Ukraine	2000	S. Nicola la Strada (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Living with someone	8
54	M	29	Romania	1998	Naples	To join family	EU citizen	Married	4
55	M	34	Romania	2005	Naples	Work	EU citizen	Married	2
56	F	23	Romania	2006	Naples	Work	EU citizen	Married	6
57	M	50	Romania	2007	Somma Vesuviana (NA)	Work	EU citizen	Married	5
58	F	40	Ukraine	2001	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Divorced	8
59	M	25	Ghana	2002	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	3
60	M	28	Liberia	2005	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Illegal alien	Single	3
61	M	39	Morocco	1999	Caserta	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	5
62	M	35	Liberia	2003	Castelvoturno (CE)	To seek asylum	Asylum seeker	Single	2
63	M	24	Serbia	1998	Mondragone (CE)	Kidnapped	No citizenship at the moment	Single	2
64	M	43	Nigeria	2003	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Asylum seeker	Married	6
65	M	43	Tunisia	1990	San Marcellino (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	7
66	M	34	Camerun	1999	Castelvoturno (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Living with someone	7
67	F	24	Morocco	2002	Capodrise (CE)	To join family	Residence permit holder	Single	8

68	M	24	Albania	2001	Mondragone (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	5
69	M	19	Morocco	2005	San Marcellino (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Single	5
70	F	50	Ukraine	2000	Caserta	Work	Illegal alien	Widowed	6
71	M	48	Benin	1993	Sant'Antimo (NA)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	6
72	F	50	Belarus	2000	San Nicola la Strada (CE)	Work	Residence permit holder	Married	8
73	F	35	Rumania	2003	Caserta	Work	EU citizen	Married	3

Source: summary of data collected by means of in-depth interviews

*Key to Level of education:

1. No formal education
2. Elementary/primary school
3. Some lower secondary education
4. Completed lower secondary education
5. Some upper secondary education
6. Completed upper secondary education
7. Univ./College of Higher education, no degree
8. Univ./College of Higher education, with degree
9. Masters or earned doctorate (Ph.D)

Annex 4 - Respondents' demographic summary

Gender		Age bracket of most respondents	
M 56 F 17		20-35	
Country of origin		Provinces where respondents live	
✓ Eastern Europe 19		✓ Naples 32	
✓ Asia 6		✓ Caserta 41	
✓ Sub-Saharan Africa 35			
✓ Maghreb 13			
Reason for coming to Italy		Legal status	
✓ Work 54		✓ Residence permit holder 33	
✓ Asylum 11		✓ Asylum seeker 6	
✓ To join family 6		✓ Slip holder 3	
✓ Tourism 1		✓ Illegal alien 24	
✓ Kidnapped 1		✓ Italian citizen 1	
		✓ EU citizen 5	
		✓ No citizenship 1	
Marital status		Level of education	
✓ Single 29		✓ No formal education 3	
✓ Married 32		✓ Elementary 8	
✓ Divorced 4		✓ Some lower sec. ed. 13	
✓ Engaged 2		✓ Compl. Lower sec. ed. 10	
✓ Widowed 3		✓ Some upper sec. ed. 7	
✓ Separated 1		✓ Compl. Upper sec. ed. 15	
✓ Living with someone 3		✓ University, no degree 6	
		✓ University, with degree 9	
		✓ Not available 2	

Country of origin breakdown

✓ <u>Eastern Europe</u>	<u>17</u>
▪ Ukraine	6
▪ Poland	3
▪ Albania	3
▪ Romania	5
▪ Serbia	1
▪ Belarus	1
✓ <u>Asia</u>	<u>6</u>
▪ Pakistan	4
▪ Bangladesh	2
✓ <u>Sub-Saharan Africa</u>	<u>35</u>
▪ Ivory Coast	3
▪ Benin	2
▪ Burkina Faso	4
▪ Somalia	1
▪ Senegal	7
▪ Ghana	6
▪ Nigeria	3
▪ Liberia	4
▪ Gambia	1
▪ Togo	1
▪ Guinea	1
▪ Sudan	1
▪ Camerun	1
✓ <u>Maghreb</u>	<u>13</u>
▪ Morocco	10
▪ Tunisia	3

Source: summary of data collected by means of in-depth interviews

Annex 5 - List of key informants

Interview ID	Name	Capacity/Organization
1	Stefano Travelli	Member Association "3 Febbraio" - Naples
2	Emanuela Borrelli	Coordinator CGIL – Department for immigration - Caserta
3	Luciano Santoianni	Lawyer – Association "3 Febbraio" - Naples
4	Roberto Ricciardi	Lawyer – CGIL Caserta
5	Umberto Pasquariello	Inspector "Polizia Commerciale" - Caserta
6	Alfonso Di Fratta	Lieutenant "Polizia Giudiziaria" - Caserta
7	Vincenzo Vitale	Commissioner-in-chief "Ufficio Prevenzione Generale" – Questura Caserta
8	Antonio Sepe	Dirigente Squadra mobile – Questura Caserta
9	Sergio Serraino	Coordinator "Medecins sans Frontieres" - Campania
10	Giuseppe Cortese	Second section – "Polizia municipale" - Naples
11	Diego Griffo	Lawyer – "Centro Astalli" – Grumo Nevano (NA)
12	Sergio Serraino	Coordinator "Medecins sans Frontieres" - Campania
13	Federico Zinna	Lawyer - Association "PartenopeDacia" – Naples
14	Angelo Luciano	President – "Centro Laila" – Mondragone (NA)
15	Francesco Saverio Penna	Deputy Commissioner – Questura - Naples
16	Domenica D'Amico	President – "C. S. ex Canapificio" - Caserta
17	Anonymous	Carabinieri – Castelvoturno (CE)
18	Raffaella Palladino	President – Cooperative "EVA Onlus" – S. Maria Capua Vetere (CE)
19	Jamal Qaddorah	CGIL – Departm. for Immigrants - Naples
20	Renato Natale	President - Association "Jerry Masslo"

Source: summary of data collected by means of in-depth interviews

Annex 6 - List of organizations contacted for interviews by province

N.	Name	Province
1	Centro Fernandes	Caserta
2	Associazione "Jerry Masslo"	Caserta
3	Centro "Laila"	Caserta
4	Associazione Senegalesi di Caserta	Caserta
5	ANOLF (Associazione Nazionale Oltre le Frontiere)	Caserta
6	Cidis Onlus	Caserta
7	Cidis Onlus	Naples
8	Centro Sociale "Ex Canapificio"	Caserta
9	Comunità "Ruth"	Caserta
10	Associazione "Black and White!"	Caserta
11	Sportello Informaimmigrati	Caserta
12	Cooperativa Sociale "Dedalus"	Naples
13	Associazione "3 Febbraio"	Naples
14	CGIL Immigrati	Caserta
15	CGIL Immigrati	Naples
16	Medici Senza Frontiere	Naples
17	Centro "Astalli"	Naples
18	Associazione "Parthenopedacia"	Naples
19	Associazione "Dada Ghezo"	Naples
20	Cooperativa Sociale "Eva Onlus"	Caserta
21	Cooperativa Sociale "Cantiere Giovani"	Naples
22	Associazione "Zerno"	Caserta

Source: data collected by researcher

Annex 7
Immigrant Victimization Survey
Questionnaire

Section 1

1. Are you male or female?

- M
- F

2. Marital status

- Married
- Widowed
- Living together as a couple (but not married)
- Divorced
- Separated
- Engaged
- Single (not married)
- Don't know

3. What age category are you in?

- 15-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- Over 54

4. Which country are you from?

- | Africa | Asia | Europe | America |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Morocco | <input type="checkbox"/> China | <input type="checkbox"/> Ukraine | <input type="checkbox"/> Dominican Republic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nigeria | <input type="checkbox"/> Sri Lanka | <input type="checkbox"/> Romania | <input type="checkbox"/> Argentina |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Algeria | <input type="checkbox"/> Philippines | <input type="checkbox"/> Poland | <input type="checkbox"/> Brazil |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tunisia | <input type="checkbox"/> India | <input type="checkbox"/> Albania | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexico |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Senegal | <input type="checkbox"/> Bangladesh | <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria | <input type="checkbox"/> Venezuela |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cape Verde | <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistan | <input type="checkbox"/> Moldova | <input type="checkbox"/> Uruguay |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ghana | <input type="checkbox"/> Thailand | <input type="checkbox"/> Serbia | <input type="checkbox"/> Cuba |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |

5. How long have you been living in Italy?

- |__|__| years
- |__|__| months

6. How long have you been living in Campania?

- |__|__| years
- |__|__| months

7. Where do you live?

- Caserta
- In the provinces of Caserta
- Naples
- In the provinces of Naples

8. Why have you come to Italy?

- Work
- Study
- Tourism
- Sport/Art performance
- To join family
- To seek asylum
- Other reason _____

9. What is your legal status in Italy?

- Holder of Permit of stay (from 1 to 5 years)
- Holder of a short residence permit (less than 1 year)
- Holder of Carta di soggiorno or long residence permit (at least 5 years)
- Waiting for the first permit of stay
- Illegal (undocumented) alien/No residence permit (permesso di soggiorno)
- Student
- Asylum seeker
- Refugee
- Tourist
- Italian Citizen
- EU Citizen
- Other _____

10. What is the highest level of education that you have attained?

- Masters or earned doctorate (Ph.D)
- Univ./College of Higher education, with degree
- Univ./College of Higher education, no degree
- Completed upper secondary education
- Some upper secondary education
- Completed lower secondary education
- Some lower secondary education
- Elementary/primary school
- No formal education/I never went to school

Section 2

11. What type of dwelling are you living in now?

- Flat/apartment
- House
- I live wherever possible
(friends, relatives etc.) \Rightarrow *Skip to question 14*
- I don't have a place to live \Rightarrow *Skip to question 14*
- Other _____

12. Do you currently own your dwelling?

- Yes
- No, I've rented it
- No, I've rented it and share it with other people
- No, I'm a guest
- Other _____

13. If you share your dwelling, how many people do you share it with?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- More than 5

14. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been denied the opportunity to buy or rent an apartment or house?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

15. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever had to move from your dwelling after suffering a crime or because you didn't feel safe?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

21. Are you an employee or self-employed?

- Employee
- Self-employed \implies *Skip to question 24*

22. If you are an employee, do you have a regular job contract?

- Yes \implies *Skip to question 24*
- No

23. If you don't have a regular job contract, why is that?

- My employer doesn't want to give me a regular job contract
- It's easier to find a job without a regular contract
- Because I don't have a residence permit
- Because it's too much of a hassle to have a regular job contract
- Don't know

24. Could you please tell me how much you earned for the last month?

- 0
- below or equal to 250 Euro
- between 251 and 500 Euro
- between 501 and 750 Euro
- between 751 and 1.000 Euro
- between 1.001 and 1.250 Euro
- between 1.251 and 1.500
- over 1.501 Euro

25. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been refused pay after you had finished your work?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

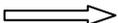
26. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever suffered an injury while working?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No  *Skip to question 30*

27. If you have suffered an injury while working, have you ever received any medical attention from a doctor or a nurse as a result of the injury?

- Yes
- No  *Skip to question 30*

28. If you have received medical attention, did you have to stay in hospital overnight?

- Yes
- No  *Skip to question 30*

29. If you had to stay in hospital overnight, for how many nights?

- 1
- Between 2 and 4
- Between 5 and 7
- More than 7

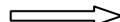
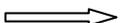
30. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you been subjected to insults or other forms of harassment (for ex.: called names, made fun of, threatened, etc.) at work because of your foreign background?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

31. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you been subjected to degrading working conditions or exploitation (for ex.: unpaid overtime, unbecoming or menial tasks etc.)?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

32. If you do not have a job, give the most important reason:

- Unemployed/looking for work
- Keeping home (homemaker)  *Skip to question 35*
- Going to school/college (student)  *Skip to question 35*
- Retired  *Skip to question 35*
- Disabled  *Skip to question 35*
- Other reason _____

33. If you are unemployed/looking for work, do you believe that your unemployment is due to employers preferring to hire native Italians rather than people from your home country?

- Yes
- No

34. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been refused a regular job contract?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No

Section 4

35. How safe do you feel walking alone in your area during the day?

- Very safe
- Fairly safe
- Bit unsafe
- Very unsafe
- Don't know

36. How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?

- Very safe
- Fairly safe
- Bit unsafe
- Very unsafe
- Don't know

37. How safe do you feel when you are alone in your own home at night?

- Very safe
- Fairly safe
- Bit unsafe
- Very unsafe
- Don't know

38. How often do you think of the possibility of becoming a victim of crime?

- Very often
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

39. Taking everything into account, how satisfied are you with the city where you live?

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Not at all satisfied

40. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever come into contact with the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza ...? (You can select more than one choice)

- for a traffic violation
- as a victim of a crime
- as a witness to a crime
- as a suspect of a crime
- to report a crime
- to seek information
- by being arrested
- for any other reason _____
- I have never come into contact with the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza

41. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been stopped by the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza while driving, riding on a bus (or other means of transportation) or walking?

- No, never \implies *Skip to question 48*
- Yes, while driving
- Yes, while riding on a bus (or other means of transportation)
- Yes, while walking

42. If yes, did the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza give a reason for stopping you?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 45*

43. If the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza gave you a reason, what was this? (You can select more than one choice).

- Speeding
- Suspected drunken driving
- Some vehicle defect (e.g., faulty brake lights, tyres etc)
- Parking offence or other motoring/traffic offence
- To check car ownership
- Routine check (e.g., checking tax disc)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza had received information (tip-off) about an offence
- Matched suspect description for crime
- Case of mistaken identity
- In vicinity of a crime
- Other _____

44. Do you think this was the real reason that you were stopped?

- Yes
- No

45. And how fairly would you say the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza treated you on this occasion?

- Very fairly
- Fairly fairly
- Bit unfairly
- Very unfairly

46. Was there anything about the incident that made you think it might have been racially motivated?

- Yes
- No \longrightarrow *Skip to question 48*

47. If yes, why do you think it was racially motivated?

- Racist language used (comments, abuse, etc) by the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza
- Because of my country of origin
- Because this only happens to foreigners
- Because the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza pick on minorities
- Because it has happened before
- Other reason _____

48. How great is your trust in the following institutions in Italian society?

	None at all	Not very great	Quite a lot	Very great
- The justice system	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- The police/the carabinieri/ the guardia di finanza	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Politicians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Healthcare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Social Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 5

49. Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in Italy?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 51*

50. If yes, on what grounds is your group discriminated against?

- Colour or race
- Nationality
- Religion
- Language
- Ethnic group
- Sex
- Don't know

51. How worried are you about being subject to a physical attack because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?

- Very worried
- Fairly worried
- Not very worried
- Not at all worried

52. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been verbally abused by someone who has called you names or insulted you in a way that really frightened, embarrassed or annoyed you, because of your foreign background ?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 55*

53. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 55*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 55*

54. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

55. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you been subjected to insults or harassment by your neighbours because of your foreign background?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 58*

56. Did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 58*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 58*

57. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

58. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you been subjected to threats, insults or other forms of harassment in other contexts, e.g. on the street, on the bus and similar because of your foreign background?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 61*

59. Did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 61*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 61*

60. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

61. Have you ever reported any of the above incidents to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 64*

62. If you have reported them, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 65*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *Skip to question 65*

63. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

64. If you didn't report any of the above incidents, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 6

65. Do you own a car?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 73*

66. If you own a car, during the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen it or attempted to steal it?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 73*

67. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 69*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 69*

68. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

69. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 72*

70. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied)  *Skip to question 73*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know  *Skip to question 73*

71. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

72. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

73. Do you own a bicycle?

- Yes
- No  *Skip to question 81*

74. If you own a bicycle, during the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen it or attempted to steal it?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 81*

75. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 77*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 77*

76. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

77. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 80*

78. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 81*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 81*

79. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

80. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

81. Do you own a moped/motorcycle?

- Yes
- No  *Skip to question 89*

82. If you own a moped/motorcycle, during the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen it or attempted to steal it?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No  *Skip to question 89*

83. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 85*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 85*

84. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

85. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 88*

86. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 89*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *Skip to question 89*

87. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

88. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

89. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen or tried to steal your wallet or other objects you had on yourself without you realizing it at first, for example accosting you in a crowded place, hugging you or pushing you?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 94*

90. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 93*

91. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 94*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 94*

92. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

93. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

94. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone snatched or tried to snatch your bag, your watch, your bracelet or other objects in the street without threatening you in any way?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 101*

95. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 97*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 97*

96. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

97. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 100*

98. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 101*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *Skip to question 101*

99. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

100. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? You can select more than one choice.

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

101. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone taken or tried to take something from you by force or threat of force, with or without a weapon, whether in the street or at home or in a car?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 108*

102. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 104*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 104*

103. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

104. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
 No \longrightarrow *Skip to question 107*

105. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \longrightarrow *Skip to question 108*
 No (dissatisfied)
 Don't know \longrightarrow *Skip to question 108*

106. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
 They were not interested
 They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
 They didn't recover my property (goods)
 They didn't keep me properly informed
 They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
 They were slow to arrive
 They said they couldn't do much
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

107. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
 Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
 Inability to communicate/speak Italian
 Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
 Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
 Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
 I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

108. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen or tried to steal objects that belonged to you, but you didn't have on yourself such as money, jewellery, sports equipment etc. on a train, at school, at work etc.?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 115*

109. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 111*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 111*

110. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

111. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 114*

112. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 115*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *Skip to question 115*

113. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

114. If you didn't report the offence, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 7

115. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone stolen or attempted to steal something from your home after breaking into it?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 122*

116. If you answered yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 118*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 118*

117. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

118. Have you reported this to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 121*

119. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 121*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 121*

120. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't recover my property (goods)
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

121. If you didn't report it, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 8

122. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you been personally attacked or threatened with or without a weapon by someone in a way that really frightened you, either at home or elsewhere, such as in a pub, in the street, at school, on public transport or at your workplace? An attack can be anything from being hit, slapped, kicked, pushed or grabbed, to being shot or beaten.

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 135*

123. If yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 125*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 125*

124. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

125. Did (any of) the offender(s) have a knife, a gun, another weapon or something used as a weapon?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 127*
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 127*

126. If they did, what was it?

- Knife
- Gun
- Other weapon/stick
- Something used as a weapon
- Don't know

127. During this (these) incident(s), were you (ever) physically injured in any way?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 131*

128. If you were physically injured, have you ever received any medical attention from a doctor or a nurse as a result of the injury?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 131*

129. If you have received medical attention, did you stay in hospital overnight?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 131*

130. If you stayed in hospital overnight, for how many nights?

- 1
- Between 2 and 4
- Between 5 and 7
- More than 7

131. Have you reported any of the above crimes to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 134*

132. If you have reported them, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 135*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 135*

133. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

134. If you didn't report any of the above crimes, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessari
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 9

135. During the past 12 months in Italy, has any act of vandalism been committed against your household or your property? Vandalism is the deliberate, intentional damage to or destruction of household property. Examples are breaking windows, slashing tires, and painting graffiti on walls.

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 143*

136. If yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 138*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 138*

137. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

138. What kind of property was damaged or destroyed in this/these act(s) of vandalism? (You can select more than one choice).

- Motor vehicle (including parts)
- Bicycle (including parts)
- Mailbox
- House window/screen/door
- Yard or garden (trees, shrubs, fence, etc.)
- Furniture, other household goods
- Clothing
- Animal (pet, livestock, etc.)
- Other _____

139. Have you reported the above act/acts of vandalism to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 142*

140. If you have reported them, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 143*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *Skip to question 143*

141. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

142. If you didn't report any of the above crimes, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessari
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 10

143. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone forced you or attempted to force you into any unwanted sexual activity, by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in some way? Remember that all information provided is strictly confidential.

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *Skip to question 151*

144. If yes, did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \implies *Skip to question 147*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \implies *Skip to question 147*

145. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

146. Were any of them your spouse, ex-spouse, partner, ex-partner, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, a relative or a close friend, an acquaintance or was it someone you work with?

- Spouse, partner (at the time)
- Ex-spouse, ex-partner (at the time)
- Boyfriend/girlfriend (at the time)
- Ex-boyfriend/ex-girlfriend (at the time)
- Relative
- Close friend
- Acquaintance
- Someone I work/worked with
- Other _____

147. Have you reported the offence to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
 No \implies *Skip to question 150*

148. If yes, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 151*
 No (dissatisfied)
 Don't know \implies *Skip to question 151*

149. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
 They were not interested
 They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
 They didn't keep me properly informed
 They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
 They were slow to arrive
 They said they couldn't do much
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

150. If you didn't report any of the previous incidents, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
 Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
 Inability to communicate/speak Italian
 Embarrassed, confused or ashamed (for myself or my community)
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
 Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
 Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I am not documented
 I didn't want our relationship to end
 I didn't want him/her arrested
 For the sake of our children
 I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

151. During the past 12 months in Italy, has anyone ever touched you, grabbed you, kissed you or fondled you against your will in any sexual way? Remember that all information provided is strictly confidential.

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 159*

152. Did you know the offender(s) by name or by sight at the time of the offence?

- Did not know offender(s) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 155*
- (At least one) known by sight
- (At least one) known by name
- Did not see offender \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 155*

153. If you knew the offender (s) by name or by sight, was/were he/she/they Italian, did he/she/they come from your own country or did he/she/they come from other countries?

- Italian
- My country
- Other country
- Don't know

154. Were any of them your spouse, ex-spouse, partner, ex-partner, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, a relative or a close friend, an acquaintance or was it someone you work with?

- Spouse, partner, (at the time)
- Ex-spouse, ex-partner, (at the time)
- Boyfriend/girlfriend (at the time)
- Ex-boyfriend/ex-girlfriend (at the time)
- Relative
- Close friend
- Acquaintance
- Someone I work/worked with
- Other _____

155. Have you reported the offence them to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
 No \implies *Skip to question 158*

156. If yes, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *Skip to question 159*
 No (dissatisfied)
 Don't know \implies *Skip to question 159*

157. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
 They were not interested
 They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
 They didn't keep me properly informed
 They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
 They were slow to arrive
 They said they couldn't do much
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

158. If you didn't report any of the previous incidents, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
 Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
 Inability to communicate/speak Italian
 Embarrassed, confused or ashamed (for myself or my community)
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
 Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
 Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
 Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I am not documented
 I didn't want our relationship to end
 I didn't want him/her arrested
 For the sake of our children
 I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
 Other reason _____
 Don't know

159. During the past 12 months in Italy, have you ever been offered a job in return for a sex act? Have you ever been asked to “be nice” to someone if you wanted a job? Remember that all information provided is strictly confidential.

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 164*

160. Have you reported the incident them to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 163*

161. If yes, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 164*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \Longrightarrow *Skip to question 164*

162. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

163. If you didn't report any of the previous incidents, why didn't you report them? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed, confused or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I am not documented
- I didn't want our relationship to end
- I didn't want him/her arrested
- For the sake of our children
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

Section 11

164. During the past 12 months in Italy, has any government official, for instance a customs officer, a police officer or inspector asked you, or expected you to pay a bribe for his or her services (residence permit issue, etc.)?

- Yes, once
- Yes, two-three times
- Yes, four-five times
- Yes, more than five times
- No \implies *End of questionnaire*

165. If yes, what type of official was involved?

- Customs officers
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza officer
- Judge, magistrate
- Court personnel
- Inspector (health, construction, food quality, sanitary control and licensing)
- Other _____
- Don't know

166. Have you reported this to the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza?

- Yes
- No \implies *Skip to question 169*

167. If you have reported it, were you, on the whole, satisfied with the way the police/the carabinieri/the guardia di finanza dealt with the matter?

- Yes (satisfied) \implies *End of questionnaire*
- No (dissatisfied)
- Don't know \implies *End of questionnaire*

168. If dissatisfied, for what reasons were you dissatisfied? (You can give more than one reason).

- They didn't do enough
- They were not interested
- They didn't find or apprehend the offender/s
- They didn't keep me properly informed
- They didn't treat me correctly/were impolite
- They were slow to arrive
- They said they couldn't do much
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

169. If you didn't report it, why didn't you report it? (You can select more than one choice).

- I didn't think the offence was serious
- Inappropriate for police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza not necessary
- Inability to communicate/speak Italian
- Embarrassed or ashamed (for myself or my community)
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza could do nothing/lack of proof
- Police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza wouldn't have done anything about it
- Fear/dislike of the police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza /no involvement wanted with police, carabinieri, guardia di finanza
- Fear of the police/carabinieri/guardia di finanza because I don't have a residence permit
- I didn't dare (for fear of reprisal)
- Other reason _____
- Don't know

If you missed anything during this questionnaire or would like to make any suggestions, please feel free to do so:

Thank you very much for your collaboration!