

[URBAN REGENERATION AND PARTNERSHIPS BUILDING IN URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY POLICIES]

Evidences from two southern Italy case studies: Arghillà (Reggio Calabria, Calabria) and Librino (Catania, Sicily)

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Executive Summary

Report Structure

The following Report is the output of the research activity conducted on the case studies of Arghillà and Librino by the unit of Reggio Calabria (UMRC) within the general umbrella of the BESECURE Project 7FP .

The structure of the report is organized as follow:

1. **Introduction:**

The main Objective of the Report is described by introducing the peculiar character of the case studies analysed for the topics of urban safety and security. The aim of the Report is to give a picture of urban safety and security dynamics in two case studies belonging to underdeveloped Southern Italy urban areas, by emphasizing the policy areas and the planned interventions within the Regional Operative Programs under Structural Funds (ESF – ERDF).

The aim is to define specific policy areas of intervention in order to act on those factors which determine urban insecurity under a general strategy of local development suggested by European Policy, to be implemented through integrated approaches, such as sustainable urban regeneration initiatives.

The methodological framework section highlights the rationale of the method followed. The socio-economic structure analysis deepened for the identification of the priorities that integrated urban regeneration initiatives are expected to act .

To this purpose, context indicators are aggregate to identify the target area of policy to be considered, by involving targeted stakeholders, by indirectly acting on the causes of urban safety and security dynamics.

The case studies analysis aims to provide an understanding of urban safety and security issues, responding to the BESECURE project objective of identifying “important factors including legal, political and societal boundary conditions for the BESECURE project, and for methods and policies that can be employed by stakeholders and decision makers”.

2. **Overview of urban safety and security approaches:**

A description of the approaches on urban safety and security dynamics, starting from the “state of the art” of policies at European level. The meaning of safety and security are defined, and their changes and features through times and contexts are highlighted.

The section stresses the rationale followed for the comprehension of the topic of urban safety and security as multi-factors phenomena, starting from the BESECURE project rationale to the specific cases considered as evidences for the report.

The Southern Italy cases investigated are introduced under the general umbrella of policies on urban safety and security at Italian level. An overview of the Italian policies on the topics is aimed at showing the specific line followed by policy strategies in the South of Italy, under the Operational Programmes founded by the Structural Funds. Particularly FSE and ERDF are the two main drivers considered to implement urban safety and security policies in the underdeveloped contexts investigated. Finally the peculiar features of the southern Italy contexts considered are described.

The reason to connect urban safety and security with urban regeneration approaches is explained by highlighting its integrated capacity to enhance people quality of life, the community involvement and physical development.

The macro-areas of investigations are described in order to provide the structure of the analysis conducted: policy and governance; socio-economic structure; crime sector analysis; built-environment analysis.

3. **Main evidence from the analysis conducted:**

The common context indicators as measure of weaknesses of the urban areas considered. The final section is about the main outcomes the study brought to. The use of those indicators, used in aggregate manners, helped to define policy areas of action, giving the priorities of intervention, toward the mitigation of those factors affecting urban safety and security dynamics. The combination of those indicators with the results of the analysis of policies implemented might support place-based strategies for the development of the urban areas considered.

The Report conclusions stress the peculiar features of the crime-related events in the southern Italy cases studied, by supporting the need for a place-based approach to enhance locally the economic development opportunities of Arghillà and Librino, by leveraging on the local resources and mitigating the constraints for the life conditions improvement. The mitigation of socio-economic and physical decays could create the condition for positive urban safety and security dynamics to take place in the long run.

4. **Annex**

Insights from case studies: Arghillà and Librino:

This section contains an in depth description of the Southern Italy urban areas, supported by statistic data and planning analysis.

Two case studies synthetic sheets are provided to highlight the main information and features considered for the analysis.

Introduction

Urban security and safety have become central issues in the political agenda of national and local governments in the last decades. They “involve a complex mix of processes, involving multiple actors, resources and places, in ensuring the safety of urban citizens and areas” (BESECURE project D1.1:13). Contemporary cities are affected by several challenges as far as the social, economic, institutional, political and environmental spheres. Particularly, the rapid urbanisation processes combined with unstable economic conditions, uncontrolled physical development and social exclusion, political instability make difficult the understanding of “security and safety” dynamics, with effects on planning and governance actions. Social, economic and physical decays are often related with the perception of urban security. The combination of these three factors usually define appealing conditions to increase micro and macro (organised) crime.

The BESECURE project (Best practice Enhancers SEcurity in Urban REgions) “is working towards a better understanding of urban security through examination of different European urban areas. By examining eight urban areas throughout Europe, BESECURE is building a comprehensive and pragmatic knowledge base that supports policy making on urban security challenges by sharing best practices in use throughout Europe, and by providing visualisation and assessment tools and guidelines that help local policy makers to assess the impact of their practices, and improve their decision making”. The project aims at developing a knowledge base of best practices in urban areas providing key indicators of urban safety and security with respect to the following specific objectives¹:

- 1 – *Knowledge*: to develop a knowledge base for the identification of underlying problems associated with urban zones and to explore best practice in successful urban zones in Europe;
- 2 – *Understand*: to enable an understanding of key indicators of urban security and safety
- 3- *Develop*: to develop a suite of tools and methods that policy makers can use to understand their urban areas, identifying potential problems and possible solutions
- 4- *Transfer*: to facilitate knowledge transfer through dissemination methods and developing a systematic common support methodology

The UMIRC role within the project is to deliver case studies analysis on the topics of urban safety and security (WP5) with respect to the BESECURE objectives. The selected case studies, Arghillà- Reggio Calabria and Librino- Catania, in the Southern part of Italy within Regions considered *underdeveloped regions* by the Cohesion Policy programmes.

As a matter of fact, the case studies belong to those Regions under the Convergence Objective “to help the least-developed Member States and regions catch up more quickly with the EU average by improving conditions for growth and employment”² defined by the Cohesion Policy activated with funds of the national programming. The issues related to urban safety and security are indeed considered among the most important sources of underdevelopment in European Regions. The Southern Italy constantly records many situations affected by the lack of urban security and safety in urban areas, due mostly to the presence of criminal organizations that could be considered the main source of the presence, within the cities, of particular urban areas affected by poverty and social disease. Dynamics which have of course strong effects on economic development opportunities. The European cohesion policy, along the cycles of programming periods from 2000 to date, has encouraged local administrations to fight this phenomenon through the implementation of urban

¹ D1.1 Boundary conditions and options for Urban Security enhancement

² General provisions ERDF - ESF - Cohesion Fund (2007-2013)

regeneration initiatives, on one hand, and the re-location in the market of properties and assets confiscated from organized crime, on the other.

The security in those underdeveloped areas represents an element of constraint: the main effect of the crime organization increasing is recognized in a difficult improvement of development conditions. As matter of fact the presence of crime avoids the development of the so-called good “atmosphere” (Marshall, 1919)³ for investment and labour productivity.

Thus we suggest a connection between the Besecure rationale and the Cohesion Policy for the less developed regions that can be found in the two cases analyzed. To underline this connection a first part of the report is going to analyze the way urban safety and security are addressed by the cohesion policy with respect the objectives of the Besecure, being crucial to address the analysis of the case studies selected.

The theoretical background of the Cohesion Policy put in evidence as the security is an issue to be faced locally with the key role local authorities are expected to play. The Besecure rationale considers urban security a multi-factor phenomenon

³ the selected case studies areas present a “rigid” socio-economic structure that makes difficult the adoption of policies aiming to stimulate the socio-economic environment. The “rigidity” mentioned is a concept close to the marshallian economic atmosphere principle (Marshall, 1919), where the rigidity of firms’ structure is considered a dangerous limit because it cannot “adjust to changes” of economic atmosphere that “is never quite still” (Marshall, 1919:51).

PART I Theory and methods of Urban Safety and Security approaches

In literature many authors have been focusing on the topics of urban safety and security through times and with different approaches and perspectives. Since the '60 when Jane Jacobs published "The Death and life of great American cities" (1961), or the early '70s when Oscar Newman wrote "Defendable space" (1972) the way of considering "secure" and "safe" a city has encompassed several changes. Indeed, recent socio-economic changes deeply impacted on the issue, modifying the perception of safety and security in the cities (Z. Bauman, 2003 City of fears, city of hopes; G. Amendola, 2003, A city without fears). Also environmental questions come to fore, as climate change, which has accelerated extreme weather conditions enhancing the vulnerability of cities, as underlined by the recent report published by the United Nations- UN-Habitat "Enhancing urban safety and security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007".

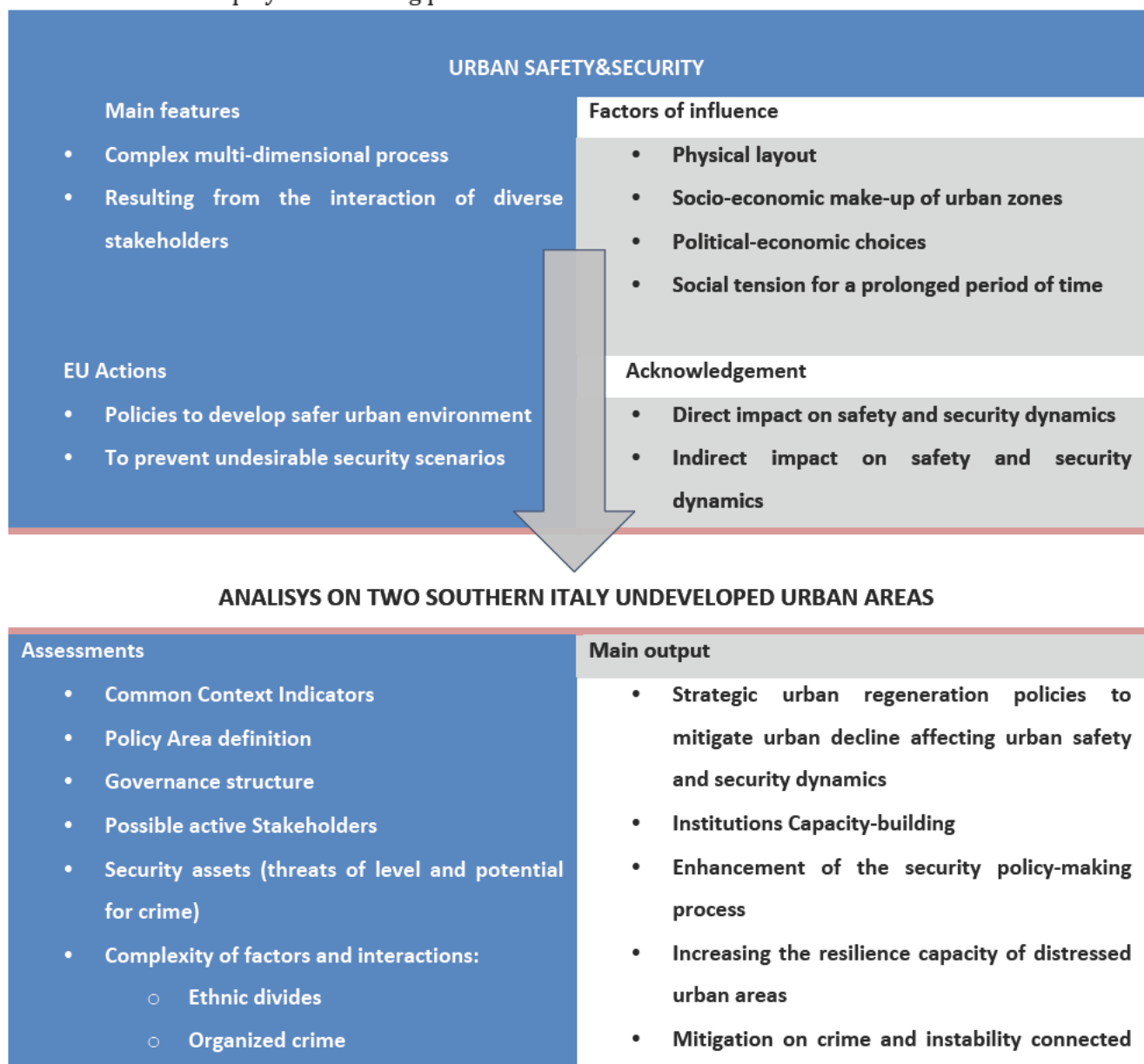
It can be said the meaning of security changes according with specific contexts and it can refer to all forms of stable social conditions at city or neighborhood level (Bonss, 2011).

The report focuses on the main factors influencing urban safety and security dynamics into two southern Italy urban areas, highlighting the key role urban planning and governance have to play in making our cities liveable places also for the future generations.

1. The BESECURE rationale on Urban Safety and Security

The Report intends to deepen the urban safety and security dynamics in two Southern Italy urban areas. The approach follows the BESECURE project rationale, considered as the umbrella to which refer in the case studies analysis conducted by the UMRC unit.

Indeed, urban safety and security are considered for their multi- factor nature, to be addressed by a proactive policy-making process by local stakeholders involvement⁴. The role of local actors is strategic for a more secure urban environment, according to the European Cohesion Policy objectives to consider urban security as a phenomenon to be faced locally, with the important role the local authorities have to play in delivering policies and measures.



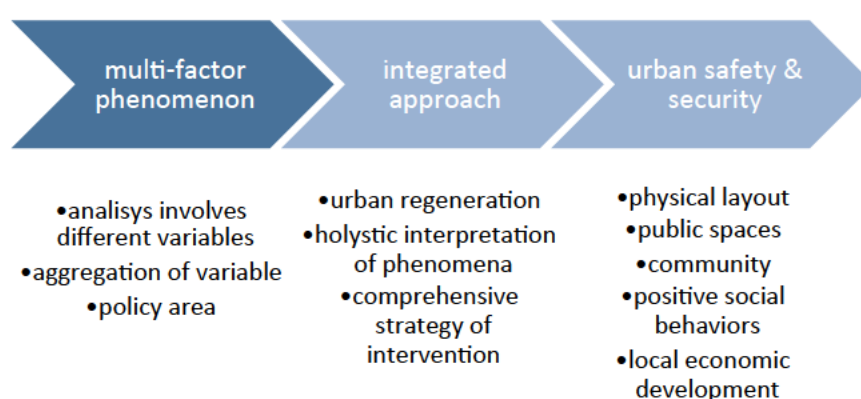
⁴ D1.1 Boundary Condition and Options for Urban Security Enhancement, p.6

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Economic decline ○ Physical layout 	<p>with the key factors found out</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mitigation of negative effects on prosperity and functionality of the area
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The main objective of the case studies selected for the BSECURE project by the UNIRC unit is to define specific policy areas of intervention in order to act on those factors which determine urban insecurity. The case studies analysis aims to provide an understanding of urban safety and security issues, responding to the BESECURE project objective of identifying “important factors including legal, political and societal boundary conditions for the BESECURE project, and for methods and policies that can be employed by stakeholders and decision makers”.

The study is conducted by considering the urban safety and security related issues as product of multifactor phenomenon to be read from different perspectives, but under the general comprehensive rationale.

Flow chart 1 Rationale of the analysis conducted



The work underlines the features assumed by those issues in the analyzed contexts, Arghillà in Reggio Calabria and Librino in Catania, where the expression of crime and instability occur in peculiar ways, to what extent both the perception and the impact at socio-economic and cultural levels. In those areas, the perception of insecurity assumes specific features, since it is not directly connected with the individual perception of insecurity, rather it is a structural condition not connected to contingency or episodic events of micro criminality.

The analysis is going to understand the multiple factors affecting the investigated urban contexts, by evaluating the weight of each variable in order to obtain priorities of intervention into specific policy areas, according to cohesion policy statement. The attempt is to mitigate threats under a general

strategy of local development suggested by European Cohesion Policy to be implemented through integrated approaches, such as sustainable urban regeneration initiatives.

The reason to connect urban safety and security with urban regeneration approaches lies on its integrated capacity to enhance people quality of life, the community involvement and physical interventions.

2. The Cohesion Policy guidelines in Underdeveloped Regions

Safety relates to all aspects of reliability of technical systems and urban infrastructure, protecting against natural disasters and prevention of human system failure (Besecure- D1.1 report, p.13) and criminal events. The attempt to give common general framework on crime prevention policies at European level is dated 1992 with the European Urban Charter, bringing together a series of principles on crime prevention to be managed at city level. One of the principles, indeed, states “ an effective urban Safety policy depends on close co-operation between the police and the local community”. In 1996 the Stockholm Conference examined the link between crime prevention and social exclusion dynamics, but more important is the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) that marked a changing point in the area of crime prevention at EU level, providing guidelines for policies to work toward an area of freedom, security and justice.

In 2001 the Council of the EU set up the European Union Crime Prevention Network, made up of representatives of associations and researchers from all state members, in order to have a common ground for measuring, monitoring, and statistical procedures comparable at international levels. The network is expected to contribute to develop the different aspects of crime prevention European level and to support crime prevention activities at local and national levels.

“The principle that the European Commission supports is that crime prevention is a matter that must be firstly addressed at the local level”⁵, with the important role played by local authorities.

In 2004 the European Council adopted the Hague Program with the objectives to be implemented in the area of freedom, security and justice for the period 2005-2010.

Then to establish an adequate connection with the financial resources, the commission proposed three Framework Programs coinciding with the Financial Perspectives 2007-2013, (Solidarity and Management of Migration flows; Security and Safeguarding Liberties; Fundamental rights and Justice). Many European governments promoted programs with areas- based initiatives to fight against deprived urban area issues. What emerge are diversity, as far as socio-economic composition, with social exclusion issues, and instability, both in political and economic terms, as common negative features impacting on the livability of the contemporary cities.

The urban safety and security related issues being products of multiple factors, interacting and connected each other, provide the dynamics occurring within a specific socio-economic context. The perception of safety or security relies on multiple outside influences, or depends on specific individual feelings. Security can be considered as something to be addressed following two perspectives:

- OBJECTIVE (crime, anti-social behaviors);
- INDIVIDUAL (personal perception of alarming dangerous situations).

What is under investigation, considering an urban context, are mostly those factors or causes that determine the sense of insecurity, affecting the socio economic and the physical environment status, compromising the possibilities of local economic and community developments.

Since the phenomenon of insecurity is place related, and faceted, it has to be investigated considering its peculiar features and all those components being part of the process, in order to develop integrated, sustainable and inclusive approaches.

It can be stressed as the status of decay of the physical environment affects urban safety and security perceptions, to what extent the organization and management of urban spaces for example. It is therefore essential to embed safety into the goals of urban planning process.

⁵ Secucities Local Policies, EFUS Report, p.21

Since all efforts to enhance urban safety and security are usually based on citizens perception comprehension, the objective is to understand what are the key variables involved and what is their weight within the urban system analyzed.

As stated in D1.1 Report: “the ability of inhabitants to organize their interests and to gain social control of their living environment contributes to resiliency and is important in counteracting incivilities and fear of crime. The resiliency- effect tends to fade as crime-rates increase beyond certain level (Lewis&Salem, 1986)”.

So that the analysis of dynamics that involve security perception are considered by going through main actors and variables understanding: decision making organizations (Municipality, Public Authorities, Planners), intermediate sectors (social services, NGOs, investors, businesses), residents (community perspectives and suggestions).

The freedom to live in peace, without violence, intimidation or fear is a fundamental right stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, considered *conditio sine qua non* for normal human development. Thus security is increasingly perceived as a public good which everyone should be able to enjoy and to which everyone should contribute to be able to respond to security challenges, as prevention of crime episodes and victimization, but addressing the causes and not symptoms.

Crime prevention is more effective when it is part of a strategic plan, based on knowledge, and strongly supported by city leaders in charge of community safety. Urban security requires a reliance on prevention, and on repression and solidarity⁶. The cooperation of local actors contributes to a security enhancement, by fostering the development of partnership between social services and education, and police and justice, by sharing risks and opportunities.

The research explores the policies and actions provided at European and national levels on the topics of urban safety and security, to which big attention has been done, in order to trace the main directories and the most used practices used to mitigate the influence of those issues on the quality of life.

The European Commission supports the principle of crime prevention as a matter to be firstly addressed at local level, by applying the principle of subsidiarity. Thus differences of approaches to common issues might be found among state members, Cooperation at EU level can provide a facilitating role, through different actions such as the European Forum for Urban Security, a nongovernmental organisation created to support local authorities working in the field of safety. With the Safety and Democracy Manifesto⁸ a step forward in the recognition of the importance to prevent crime locally for the cities, through inclusive and comprehensive policies shared under the EFUS network according to the model of “cities helping cities”.

EFUS is composed by 250 representative authorities from 16 countries, a network which provides the general overview of European policies and debates on the topic of urban security since 1987, building up links and enhancing sharing, training and support, as well as exchange of practices among all partners. The main objective is “to strengthen crime reduction policies and to promote the role of local authorities in national and European policies ”by acting also as link between local authorities at national and international levels. The forum highlights approaches and discussions related to urban security issues in each Country.

Urban Planning and crime prevention are strongly connected and many studies have been conducted to prove the importance of urban design in the field of urban safety and security enhancement. Particularly, studies have proved the correlation between structure and organization of urban spaces with crime events. To this purpose, the Justice and Home Affairs Council of the EU has supported crime prevention through urban design strategies⁷.

⁶ European Forum for Urban Security

⁷ http://www.cost.eu/domains_actions/tud/Actions/TU1203

Questions of urban security have become policy issues which are as critical for citizens as for politicians. The inclusion on the public agenda of those issues can be seen in Eurostat reports on the creation of a European area of freedom, security and justice (2007).

The European cohesion policy 2007-2013 for cities fostered the cities' contribution to growth and employment inside regions; the programs are divided into priorities and operational objectives, as follow:

- The Operational Programs EFRD and ESF include a tool aimed at enhancing urban safety, which differs from the one on the environmental risks foreseen in the specific environmental axis. It is part of the axis for the urban development, managed by means of integrated programs, which take over the former URBAN program. Furthermore, the axis concerning the international cooperation -for the South of Italy it focuses on Mediterranean- includes actions aimed at distributing best practice cases on urban safety;
- The Operational National Program "Safety for development - convergence objective 2007-2013" includes two operational objectives for the South of Italy:
 - To improve safety to enhance economic freedom and enterprise;
 - to distribute better justice and equity for citizens and business, also by improving the management of immigration.

In the research field, the European Commission included in the 7th Framework Program a specific track on safety, whose goals were:

- To develop technology and know-how in order to guarantee citizens security against threats depending on terrorism acts, criminality, risk and natural disasters, industrial accidents;
- To assure the best use of technologies for the common goal of European safety;
- To foster cooperation among producers and users of solutions addressed to the safety of the society; to improve competitiveness of companies involved in safety and distribute their knowledge to reduce existing gaps.

In the framework of URBAC, European program for urban sustainable development, second edition within the programming financial period 2007-2013, there is a specific track on active urban safety. It is named "Securcity network" and gathers a net of institutional actors (cities) and research actors (universities). The thematic fields were:

- Perception of insecurity in cities;
- Preventing criminal actions;
- Public health and citizens participation;
- Partnership for safety at a local level

The European Commission has promoted also CIVITAS - Better and cleaner transportations in cities- (City-VITALity-Sustainability). This initiative is aimed at promoting strategies and actions to improve security and sustainability of the public urban transportation means. In the framework of CIVITAS, some actions are focused on the safety for public transportation (Security Action Plan for Suburban Railway in Greater Stuttgart; Improved security and safety on buses in Malmö; Security action plan for public transport in Krakow; Safety and security training for public transport drivers: Public transport security).

The Horizon work programme 2014-2015 "Secure societies - Protecting freedom and security of Europe and its citizens" is going to contribute to the implementation of the policy goals of the Europe 2020 strategy: the Security Industrial Policy; the Internal Security Strategy; Cyber Security Strategy. This Work Programme aims at protecting citizens, society and economy of European Area, by enhancing the resilience capacities of society "against natural and man-made disasters, ranging from

new crisis management tools to communication interoperability, and to develop novel solutions for the protection of critical infrastructure (call 1); to fight crime and terrorism ranging from new forensic tools to protection against explosives (call 2); to improve border security, ranging from improved maritime border protection to supply chain security and to support the Unions external security policies including through conflict prevention and peace building (call 3); and to provide enhanced cyber security (call 4), ranging from secure information sharing to new assurance models”⁸

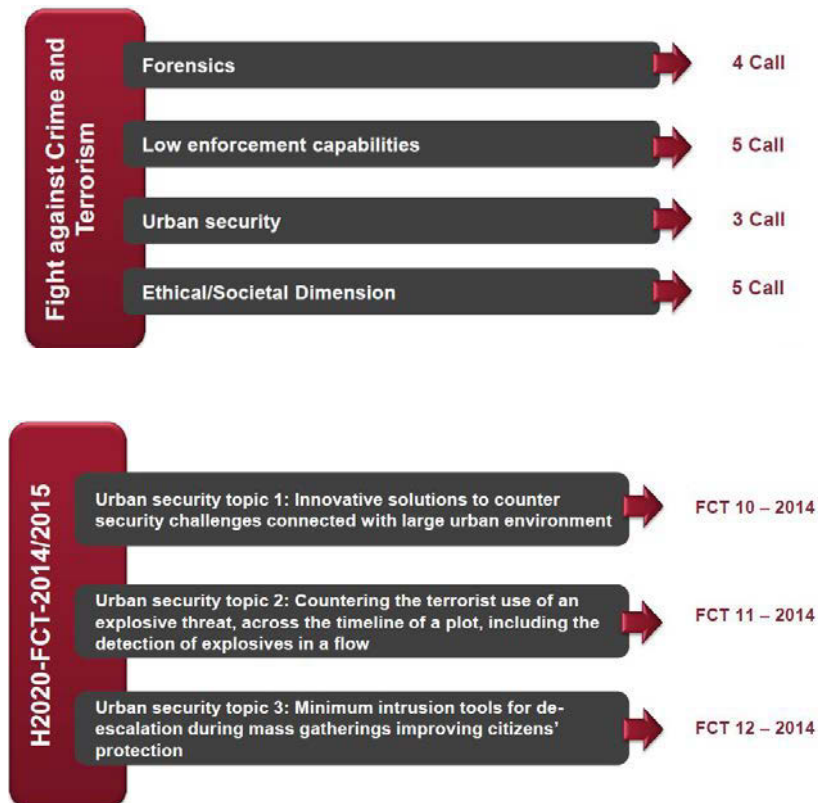


Figure 1 Schemes from H2020 work programme ⁹

⁸ Horizon 2020 Work Programme 2014-2015, Secure societies – Protecting freedom and security of Europe and its citizens

⁹ ASuR across H2020 - Security - 19 Dic 2013

3. Urban Regeneration and Partnership building

The European Structural and Investments Funds work together to support economic development in the EU countries, among them the **European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)** and the **European Social Fund (ESF)** are specifically allocated to the less developed regions that may receive support from the Cohesion Fund.

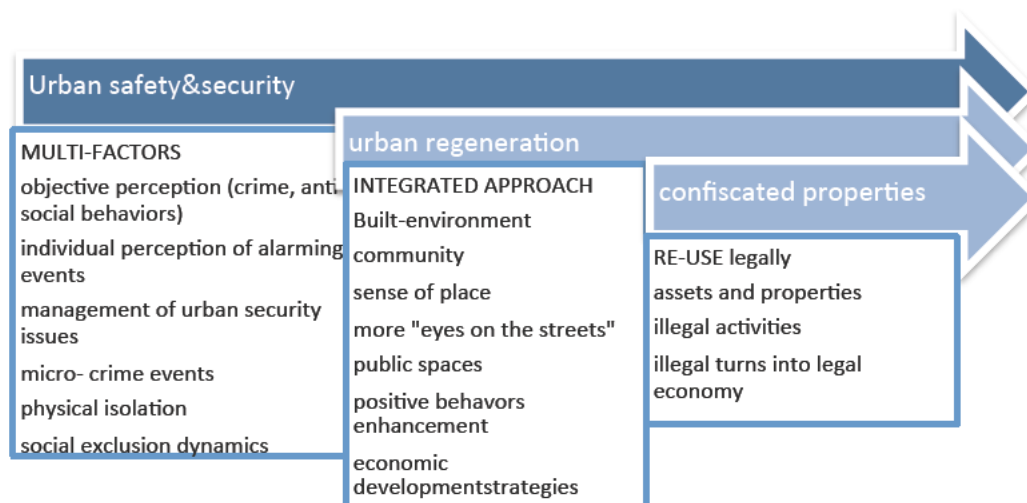
The RDF promotes public and private investments helping to reduce regional disparities in EU, by supporting programs addressing regional development, including research, innovation, environmental protection and risk prevention, while infrastructure investment retains an important role, especially in the less developed regions.

The ESF is implemented according with the European Employment Strategy and it will focus on four key areas: increasing adaptability of workers and enterprises, enhancing access to employment and participation in the labour market, reinforcing social inclusion by combating discrimination and facilitating access to the labour market for disadvantaged people, and promoting partnerships for reform in the fields of employment and inclusion¹⁰.

The Operational Regional Funds, financed by those instruments, are the implementation of those funds, by establishment of priorities of intervention.

From that the ERDF and FSE the two main tools to face urban safety and security issues by following the main two drivers:

1. ERDF for Urban Regeneration initiatives;
2. FSE for Partnerships building.



Flow chart 2 Urban Safety & Security: two approaches of intervention¹¹

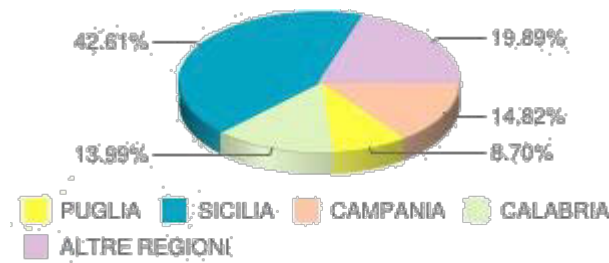
The European Commission supports the principle of crime prevention as “a matter that must be firstly addressed at the local level”¹², with the important role played by local authorities.

The study conducted suggests urban regeneration policies, thanks to their integrated approach, could reduce the presence of crime within blighted areas, by implementing actions which positively impact on the socio-economic and physical dimensions, through a strictly place-based approach.

¹⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/thefunds/index_en.cfm

¹¹ Source: elaborated by the author

¹² J. Kulach, N. Whiskin, EFUS, Securities Local Policies, “Culture of prevention. Urban Crime prevention policies in Europe: towards a common culture?”, 2006



Graph 1 Confiscated assets in Italy Regions "Obiettivo Convergenza"

Italy represents a peculiar case where safety and security issues are threats affecting society and economy from multiple perspectives.

The understanding of the factors that characterise the context of Calabria and Sicily regions will provide a better framework in which contextualise the analysis of this report finalised on the comprehension of the urban and safety issues in the two case studies selected.

Despite the fact that southern Italy is considered a homogenous and depressed area of the country Calabria and Sicily present different socioeconomic conditions (Schachter, 2001).

To better understand the reasons of lack of development and the characteristics of disadvantage in the two case studies selected it is appropriate to briefly introduce a historical excursus of the public policies implemented in the southern Italy during last decades.

In southern Italy, the past public actions have focused on large industrial projects to close the economic gap between the North and South (of Italy), neglecting in a certain way the spatial dimension of interventions (Schachter 2001).

If the main aim of development policies has been to stimulate investment and encourage agglomeration economies, urban planning, considered as implementation tool, is a key factors for the successful implementation of public policies development-oriented.

The lack of coordination between economic development and urban policy is one of the sources of the imbalance between the less and more developed areas (Schachter, 2001).

During last decades the southern Italian regions (included Calabria and Sicily where case studies are located) have benefited of specific economic development programs and policies.

Since the 1950 the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" fund was established as an agency to promote public works in these regions. The concept of this public intervention was substantially based on the increase of public expenditure in order to reinforce the market and create the conditions for economic development creating more jobs and income. Further the strengthen of the market would also create the condition to attract new investment in the area boosting the job creation process. Unfortunately, the nature of the intervention became assistential rather than oriented to the increase of productive capacity.

The fund distribution was based on the creation of "Consortia" (industrial development areas) "that define and control industrial development activities through a plan" (Schachter 2001) with the task to organise industrial development activities through the definition of use of land for industrial activities and infrastructures to support them.

The failure of this development mechanism is partly due to the lack of coordination between economic development policies and urban policies and tools, contributing to the underdevelopment of these regions and favouring the migration of workers to the Northern Italian regions.

The system, characterised by an increase of bureaucracy, became early a mechanism to distribute subsidies to southern Italian industries.

As demonstrated by Shachter and Bevilacqua (2001), subsidies increased year by year but in the same period of time other financial incentives and infrastructures expenditures directed to industries have diminished.

This brief excursus explains part of the current problems that these two territories deal with. Still today the lack between economic development rationale and urban policies is evident and contribute to maintain social negative conditions in urban areas, especially those characterised by an high percentage of residential zones lacking of public facilities, commercial and (light) industrial areas.

As matter of fact, the presence of criminal groups, organized and acting at different levels, represents an obstacle for development of many realities. Especially into underdeveloped areas, organized crime often acts by altering the market conditions by reducing firm competitiveness, directly influencing entrepreneurs investing capitals on the territory.

As reported by the Censis Report¹³ the organized crime slows down the social and economic development of the southern Italian regions:

- From the economic point of view it is able to alter the market and competitiveness mechanisms;
- From the social point of view it acquires the consensus of the few that benefit from their illegal activities and scares the rest of the local population that does not report crimes to the authorities.

The re-use of confiscated properties and assets mostly find application in Italy, the only State member to have this “procedure” regulated by law. In 2010, the Agency for the management and the re-allocation of assets confiscated to organized crime¹⁴ was established by law (Agenzia Nazionale Beni Confiscati¹⁵). The Agency is an entity with organizational autonomy and accounting and is placed under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior.

The agency has its headquarters in Reggio Calabria, and secondary offices in Rome, Palermo, Milan and Naples, strategic and symbolic places for this purposes. Nevertheless, many steps forward have been done to provide a directive at European level, since organized crime is growing at international levels not limited anymore into specific boundaries.

Organizations are closely working with institutions on this purpose, such as “Fondazione Falcone” that at European level “advocates for close cooperation between institutions and associations to promote a culture of legality in order to fight crime and organized crime”¹⁶.

¹³ Censis (2009) IL CONDIZIONAMENTO DELLE MAFIE SULL'ECONOMIA, SULLA SOCIETA' E SULLE ISTITUZIONI DEL MEZZOGIORNO, Rome 2009

¹⁴ The National Agency was established by Decree-Law 4 February 2010, n.4, converted into law with amendments by Law 31 March 2010, n. 50, now transposed by Legislative Decree 159 of 6 September 2011 (Code Anti-Mafia)

¹⁵ <http://www.benisequestraticonfiscati.it/Joomla/>

¹⁶ <http://efus.eu/en/topics/risks-forms-of-crime/organised-crime-trafficking/partners/3612/>



Figure 2 Italy: number of confiscated assets at national level (properties+businesses)

The adoption in 2007 of «Security Pacts» might be considered as a turning point served as mean to redefine the previous governance structure.¹⁷

The goal was to progressively eliminate areas of decay and disorder, while respecting the competences of the public security authorities, optimizing integration with the security policies at local level. The security pacts allocate funds to help human resources, or actions to deal with, for example, the Rom issue or exploitation of prostitution, illegal trade. They can also lead to the reorganization and the intensification of police forces to contrast the 'forms of organized mendacity'.

Under the programming financial period 2000-2006 Italy already focused on the topic of urban safety in the former FAS (Underutilized Areas Fund). On the basis of State- Regions Agreements, infrastructures were built in order to enhance security of blighted areas and to re-use seized goods. For the programming financial period 2007-2013, the National Action Plan - Governance 2007-2013 figured out actions to enhance the citizens safety for each sector.

Moreover, for the Programming Period 2007-2013 the Operative National Program PON "Security for Development- Convergence Objective 2007-2013", addresses security by providing a framework of actions and specific objectives to be respected per each axis of intervention considered, within Italian regions established as priorities both Calabria and Sicily are under such framework.

¹⁷ M.Calaresu, La politica di sicurezza urbana in Italia. L'esperienza dei «patti per la sicurezza» nel triennio 2007-2009 , in "Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche" 3/2012, pp. 387-418, doi: 10.1483/38684

Part II Case studies methodology

The case studies analysed show peculiar ways the crime act into two different Southern Italy contexts, affecting negatively the urban areas, as far the built environment decay and the socio-economic conditions. Both case studies demonstrate as urban regeneration policies, thanks to their integrated approach, might address those negative effects on social, economic and physical decays into positive mechanisms of development, by acting indirectly on the causes, mitigating the consequences on urban safety and security. The first one, Arghillà, geographically isolated from the city of Reggio Calabria, characterized by strong social exclusion dynamics for the presence of ROM minorities, featuring the neighbourhood as a “ghetto”. The socio-economic isolation, enhanced by the physical detachment and urban decay of the built environment, contribute to increase the sense of insecurity in the area. Despite its potential, Arghillà is considered as a weakness and a threat for the economic development opportunities of the city, a place where criminality act free from controls, both attracting and spreading all over micro-crime events. The study here puts forward as urban policies, focusing on the combination of social exclusion attitudes into an area with strong urban decay and spatial isolation, might work through initiatives that regenerating both the urban frame and the public spaces by following a systematic rationale, enhance social inclusion, sense of place and positive social behaviours by leveraging local resources.

The second one, Librino is a neighbourhood of Catania highly dense, a quasi mono-functional area, causing much concerns for local authorities and policy makers, very problematic in social terms. Indeed, far from the initial purposes of the city plan, today Librino represents a proper “fort” for organized crime, which from there manages the entire territory of Catania. Urban regeneration policies, working on physical barriers and on social inclusion processes, might avoid this “fortified zone”, protected from any kind of institutional control, by helping positive economies to take place. Here urban regeneration could act as umbrella for punctual interventions of re-use for those properties confiscated to criminal organizations, becoming examples of legal economies enhancement. The main issues on urban safety and security characterizing the urban area of Arghillà are investigated and analyzed to provide the mitigation of bad quality of life conditions.

Multiple sources of investigation are used to give a comprehensive picture of phenomena related to urban safety and security affecting the socio-economic and environmental development of the area: a qualitative analysis was conducted by using press and media data, secondary sources and direct surveys (interviews of privileged stakeholders); a quantitative analysis by using statistic data, supported also by on field work. To this purposes a in depth acknowledgement of factors involved, and their weight in the urban context investigated, is conducted under the general umbrella safety and security issues.

Particularly, the research is going to provide a framework of actions to be implemented in order to mitigate the instability conditions of the area considered while enhancing the perceptions of security . The aim “To identify important factors including legal, political and societal boundary conditions for the BESECURE project, and for methods and policies that can be employed by stakeholders and decision makers”, in order to establish the interpretation of data finalized to provide support in the decision making process. The Stakeholders involved during the process, through interviews and meetings to get suggestions and feeds-back, politicians and social organizations are expected to be final users of the BESECURE model. That is why both the interview delivery and the on field analysis have particular importance for the tools construction.

Particularly, the case study has been analyzed through both desk and on field analysis. An interview form that allowed to gather qualitative information about governance, organizational structure, stakeholders

and community involvement, has been used. The data collected through the “interview form” are logically and functionally connected with the information get through quali-quantitative analysis collected through media-analysis and statistic data.

Media analysis has been useful for the identification of the main variables that affect positively or negatively the context area: by combining media sources, interviews of local witnesses and main involved stakeholders, the analysis provided the socio-economic structure of the cases analyzed. Particularly, the media sources provide perspectives on perception about safety and security, used as critical points of view about the weaknesses of the neighborhood, the complains coming from citizens about the sense of inadequacy related to the wide city context and the lack of policy makers actions.

The analysis of policies applied in the cases analysed, deriving from the National, Regional or the Local/Municipal levels, was conducted by considering above all the National and Regional laws dealing with urban security.

1. Common Context Indicators for urban safety and security in Southern Italy: Arghillà and Librino

Given that urban security is a multi-factor phenomenon, in order to be measured we have to refer to this multiplicity considering different quantitative data, which allow through their aggregation, to define specific policy areas of intervention. Each variable might affect with different weight the final outcome of the phenomenon under investigation. For example the poverty itself cannot be considered dangerous, rather its consequences.

The methodology used aims at providing an evaluation of each variable and indicator considered (both for the social and the physical dimension), in order to obtain priorities of intervention referring to specific policy areas. The attempt is to mitigate the threats affecting the urban systems analysed, under a general strategy of local development to be implemented through integrated sustainable urban regeneration initiatives. The Urban Context Indicators (by definition indicators strictly place-based) are used to identify the policy areas of interest with strong impact on the causes of crime.

The following indicators have been used to analyse the socio-economic structure of the cases studies of Arghillà and Librino:

1. Population;
2. Population by age;
3. Territory;
4. Population density;
5. Employment rate;
6. Self-employment rate;
7. Unemployment rate;
8. GDP per capita;
9. Poverty rate;
10. Structure of the economy;
11. Labor productivity by economic sector;

The following indicators have been used to understand the crime conditions of the cases analyzed:

1. Micro-crime index
2. Robbery denounced rate
3. Thefts denounced rate
4. Homicides rate

2. Macro area of analysis

The main effect of the crime organization increasing is recognized in a difficult improvement of development conditions. From the studies on the EU Cohesion Policy clearly emerge as security and safety are considered a phenomena to be faced locally, at urban level. In a underdeveloped context of the southern Italy, such Arghillà, this means working on two drivers, according to the guidelines of the Structural funds: urban regeneration initiatives (European Social Funds) and capacity/partnership buildings (ERDF).

The reason to connect urban safety and security with urban regeneration approaches lies on its integrated capacity to enhance people quality of life, the community involvement and physical interventions.

This kind of approach is based on “targeted strategies” addressed by the feature that crime assumes in target urban areas in function of:

- the crime patterns to be faced;
- the socio-economic structures of the area;
- the local policies and capacities toward the crime prevention;
- the characteristics of the physical environment, often strengthening the decline of a urban context.

That is why the analysis conducted might be sub-divided into 4 macro-areas as follow:

1. Policy and governance analysis
2. Socio-economic structure
3. Crime sector analysis
4. Built-environment analysis

2.1. Policy and governance analysis: the policy making process in the southern Italy case studies

The understanding of dynamics and factors affecting the urban safety and security matters in the case studies analysed will provide a good example of how urban and social related policies could impact positively on those issues. The case studies analysis has shown as the combination of social exclusion and physical decay, enhanced by lack of long-term visions of development, are attractors of crime-related events. The institutional – “public hand” failure on safety and security issues, particularly visible in Southern Italy cases investigated, should be rather faced under long-term strategies of development, especially for the different levels of crime activities emerged in the areas selected. The presence of the organized crime in Librino demonstrates the need for local policies and actions to be supported at regional and national levels, with a particular focus on social inclusion, sense of belonging, and physical aspects of redevelopment. Furthermore, the perception of crime in Arghillà, where micro-crimes events are more easy to be, if compared with contexts like Librino, strongly associated with the question of ROM integration, affects any kind of proactive or preventive approach from the bottom, impacting on the local economic development possibilities.

The analysis of urban context indicators defines the areas of intervention in which integrated policies, covering both the socio-economic and physical dimensions, can be adopted. In this sense, urban regeneration initiatives led by local economic sustainable strategies (built-environment restoration-public spaces and social services – local organization and community role enhancement – local economic development opportunities) could enhance the bottom-up approach toward the need of quality of life improvement, increasing the community- resilience capacity and avoiding the creation of appealing conditions for the micro and organised crime.

The study suggests as urban regeneration policies, thanks to their integrated approach, could reduce the presence of crime within blighted areas, by implementing actions which positively impact on the socio-economic and physical dimensions, through a strictly place-based approach.

Thus, a way to tackle the issues of urban safety and security are urban regeneration policies, by acting indirectly on those factors which affect urban safety and security, such as urban decay, social-exclusion processes, local growth, deprived urban systems where crime related activities are more likely to take place. The other one is the re-use for social purposes of confiscated assets from criminal organizations¹⁸, to become part of legal economy .

From the analysis, mostly all the initiatives in Arghillà and Librino, are characterized by :

- Social purposes: with the important role played by no-profit organizations and associations of volunteers at the local level to prevent anti-social behaviours
- Indirect approaches to solve specific issues (such as drug dealing and school dropping-out)
- Lack of implementation of policies started at the National or at Regional levels
- Lack of continuity and constancy of Public administration policies toward security and social purposes. The actions are usually featured by punctual events, not properly implementation of specific strategies.
- Low capacity in the management system
- Disappointment of project objectives

¹⁸ Italian legislation: the Laws 646/1982 and 109/1996. At European level there is an upcoming Directive on the freezing and confiscation of proceeds of crime in the European Union

Best practices, policies and interventions provide a general comprehension of the asset of the urban areas investigated. What emerged is the important role played by local associations and no-profit organizations in addressing people, supporting them toward possibilities of change, life-style improvement and positive social-behaviors development. They often become the alternative to public policies gaps, and also point of reference for the institutions working on social issues.

As far as the security and safety purposes, we might suggest a lack of concrete preventive actions, beside the social-related ones, being often inconsistent with the real needs of those underdeveloped places. Working on the mitigation of the con-causes determining insecurity and unsafe conditions, by acting indirectly on all the key factors impacting in those deprived contexts, might be useful to pursue better life conditions and real opportunities of development. “If regional and local authorities wish to address the criminality problem, they can only accomplish this by attacking its multi-sectored causes”¹⁹ As stated by some American sociologists (Judith and Peter Blau²⁰) even the lack of basic services, disparity of access, generating segregation can provoke violent behaviors. Beside those evidences, urban security of course relies on both objective and individual perceptions to be addressed from the policy making actions according with the specific context object of analysis.

The governance structure is an important measure of successful or unsuccessful security policies since it affects local autonomy in grasping the input given at superior levels. By local autonomy can be referred to “a complex relationship between the local and the global levels, in which the local “plays” its self-representation capacity and, simultaneously, its external openness to take part in supra-local levels of network relations (from the regional to the global levels)”²¹. The possible interrelations between all levels have been investigated to figure out how they could affect each others and, directly or indirectly, the micro level considered for urban safety and security perceptions.

The research activity on policy and governance started from the comprehension of stakeholder composition, from the institutional, social and economic points of view. The policies, belonging to the meso and micro levels have been investigated to provide an in depth understanding of institutions roles in addressing public safety and security issues in the urban areas considered. The aim was understanding the capacity to respond the needs of local communities involved and the final outcomes, either positively or negatively, impacting on the possibilities to face those problems. The policies at macro level, that is to say at National level, are the references for policies to be applied at local level.

¹⁹ Building Communities – Report pp. 101

²⁰ LaSUR – Report, “Building Communities – Urban Planning and Security Policies”, Cahier du LaSUR n.9

²¹ S. Davoudi, N. Evans, F. Governa, M. Santangelo, “ Territorial governance in the making. Approaches, methodologies, practices”, Boletín de la A.G.E. N.º 46 - pp. 33-55, 2008,

2.2. Socio-economic structure

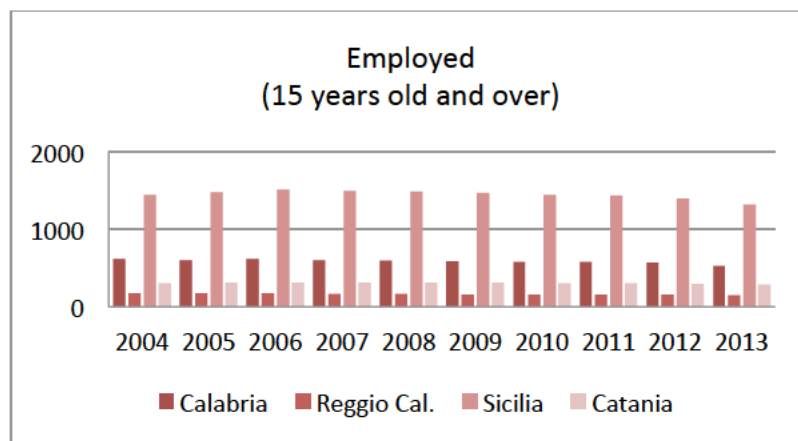
The socio-economic analysis is going to provide the main features of the case studies analysed. It is a precondition to draw the picture of the urban areas considered, as far the social and economic dynamics, by defining priorities of actions.

To this purpose, the Common Contexts Indicators are used to establish policy areas where the intervention is a priority, to what extent those factors of decay impacting on the safety and security standards. Being strictly place-based they are able to highlight the main threats affecting the urban areas of Librino and Arghillà, as far the economic development opportunities and the quality of life enhancement.

From the social point of view, both the cases analyzed are emblematic: on the one hand the presence of ethnic minorities in the area of Arghillà, not properly integrated with the urban system is mostly perceived as a weakness, rather than a point of strength, contributing to the exasperate the state of dereliction of the area; on the other hand, Librino represents the failure of the public administration to cope with the house needs of the 60s, initially conceived as “new town” satellite of Catania, model for life styles and quality of the built- environment, now hosting crime activities of any kind.

From the general overview of the case studies, the main elements impacting negatively on safety and security dynamics are the high unemployment rate, poverty level and diffused decay, beside diffused anti-social behaviours and social-exclusion events. The solid presence of young people then in both areas determines urgent measure to protect them from deviancy. Moreover, the high density, especially in Librino, jointly with the minorities concentration in the neighbourhoods, providing in Arghillà the effect of ghetto, highlight the strong social exclusion dynamics featuring both cases.

The combination of those factors enhance the sense of decay and abandonment of those places, providing appealing ground for crime events, requiring integrated approaches to enhance better life conditions.



From evidences, we could argue that although there is a strong concentration of minorities and low income people, overall feelings of unsafely and decay, it can be seen a general need for change pushed forward by local associations and volunteers, through social initiatives and work of art, events to sensitize residents and the city wide context. To this purpose from the study emerges that on both case studies religious and volunteers associations are playing the key- role of mediators with institutions, being social activators to face disadvantages and diffused decay from the bottom.

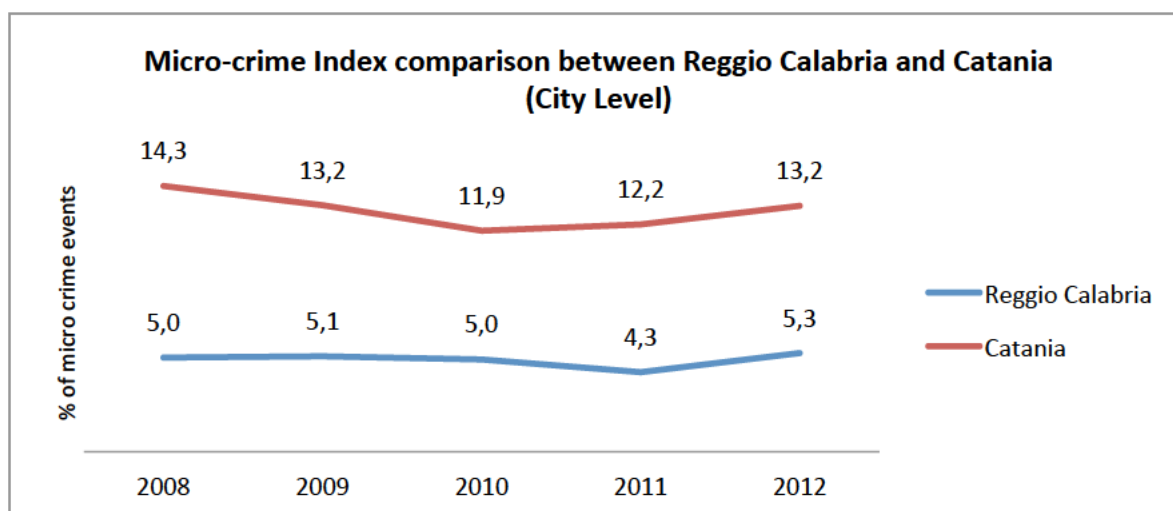
2.3. Crime sector analysis: the nature of crime in southern Italian urban areas

The crime sector analysis aims at highlighting the features assumed by the crime events in the areas under study. Particularly the following variables have been considered:

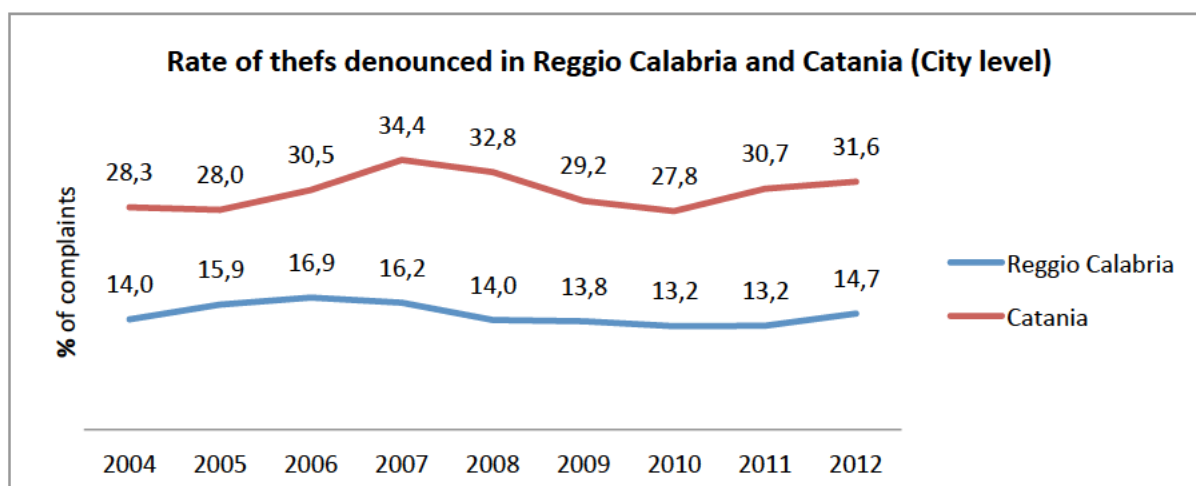
- Confiscated properties and assets
- Number of complaints
- Numbers of robbery
- Murders

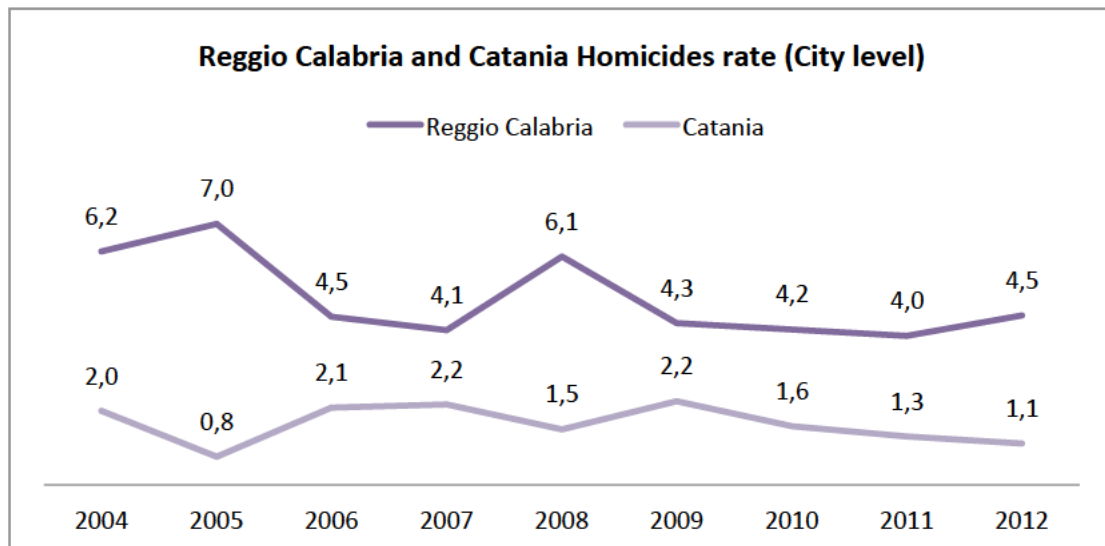
As concern crime related dynamics, the cases studies demonstrate as the social environment is usually used to afford micro-crime events, since the data show low complaint rate for robbery and thefts. This might suggest the sporadic character of such events, often means to comply with other organized criminal activities, or the lack of trust toward institutions.

1. Micro crime index comparison at metropolitan are level



2. Rate of thefts denounced: comparison between the cities of Reggio Calabria and Catania





3. Homicides rate comparison

Organized crime

The concept of organized crime is difficult to define, probably because of differences in the way different persons and countries approach various aspects of the problem²². Moreover, a reason that makes difficult to define this phenomenon lies on the essential characteristic of organized crime, not properly focusing on a specific “typology” of crime, rather it can be considered a sort of illicit process, that concerns different kinds of criminal activities. What is barely said is that organized crime is one of the major threats to development and security for countries, regions and cities. It is a kind of transnational phenomenon, not related exclusively criminal activities as traditionally intended, rather changing into more sophisticated ways of action, increasingly extending its power to the political and economic spheres, with huge effects on economic development possibilities for cities.

Thus criminal groups evolved, acting like multinational corporation and seeking profit through the evaluation of countries' risks, benefits and markets analysis. Organized crime adopts all forms of action to infiltrate political, economic and social levels all over the world. Through corruption, criminal groups generate poverty, it determines the misuse of Governments' resources by diverting them from sectors of vital importance such as health, education and development. Poor people are therefore deprived of economic growth and development opportunities. The price of public services rises to the point that economically deprived people can no longer afford them. As the poor become poorer, corruption feeds poverty and inequality. This growing socio-economic inequality causes the loss of confidence in public institutions. Social instability and violence increase because of the growing inequality, poverty and mass mistrust of political leaders and institutions.²³

Social problems reflect on cities and neighborhood increasing the sense of insecurity in urban areas, where social and economic problems allow the development of illegal activities from social excluded group of people.

²² Adamoli S. et al. (1998) Organized crime around the world. European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI). Publication Series No. 31

²³ UNICRI, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute
http://www.unicri.it/topics/organized_crime_corruption/ (09/2013)

“In Italy, the definition of Mafia-type crime is contained in art. 416-bis of the Penal Code, which was introduced into the Code in 1982. An association is “Mafia-type” when its members systematically use intimidation and conditions of subjection deriving therefrom to commit crimes, to gain control over economic activities and to acquire unlawful advantages”²⁴.

The relationship between criminal activities pursued by these organized groups and space is really strong. These organizations can vary in size, scale geographical scope and they can have a hierarchical structure or a flexible one²⁵. Recent trends see the organized crime restructuring their internal structure and activities, modeling themselves on the global changes, especially in the economic field. Their need to infiltrate in the legal economy and in the international markets is pushing them to acquire more relevance in the entrepreneurial sector, seeking to recruit skilled professionals to gain new profits. This new aspect is particular interesting for the European Union because the number of frauds against EU and the use of European funds is increasing and in most cases the organized crime is responsible.

Italy is one of the countries facing organized crime since decades. Even if the power of such organization extends beyond national borders interesting also other continents, regions like the southern Italian ones are suffering the persistent action of organized crime that is able to control territories and to slow cities development.

Even if organized crime organization play an important role in the economic arena and their importance at intercontinental level is increasing, they still need to control their territory pursuing their illegal activities and crimes.

Crimes related to criminal groups on territory are the following:

- homicides
- mafia-type association
- extortion (wringing)
- aggression (assault)
- wear and tear (usury)
- laundering
- smuggling
- drug traffick
- drugs dealing
- Assets/properties crimes²⁶

These crimes impact cities and neighborhoods, especially those where social exclusion, poverty levels and physical decay are features strongly characterizing the urban environment, like in the cases of Arghillà and Librino.

The presence of the criminal groups represent an obstacle for development: entrepreneurs have not the will to invest in these areas especially for the risks deriving by the presence of the organized crime that can alter the market condition reducing firm competitiveness and directly threat the

²⁴ Adamoli S. et al. (1998) Organized crime around the world. European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI). Publication Series No. 31

²⁵ Adamoli S. et al. (1998) Organized crime around the world. European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations (HEUNI). Publication Series No. 31

²⁶ Censis (2009) IL CONDIZIONAMENTO DELLE MAFIE SULL'ECONOMIA, SULLA SOCIETA' E SULLE ISTITUZIONI DEL MEZZOGIORNO, Rome 2009

entrepreneurs investing capitals on territory. The existing businesses have also other problems linked to the lack of services, infrastructures, credit access difficulty and so forth.

As reported by the Censis Report²⁷ the organized crime slows down the social and economic development of the southern Italian regions:

- From the economic point of view it is able to alter the market and competitiveness mechanisms;
- From the social point of view it acquires the consensus of the few that benefit from their illegal activities and scares the rest of the local population that doesn't report crimes to the authorities.

Among all the factors that slow the development in these regions the presence of organized crime is increasing: this presence discourages private investments, nurtures the illegal economy growth and social problems, especially in those areas already characterized by social weakness and exclusion.

Competitiveness is crucial for businesses. In the majority of regions and cities of the southern Italy the market is altered by the organized crime illegal forces. Some of the factors that contribute to alter the market are the following:

- Sudden birth of new competitor businesses;
- Labor (?) imposition;
- Goods and materials imposition;
- Public works management alteration

These distortion mechanisms are increasingly spreading out in regions like Calabria or Sicily.

Censis report²⁸ highlights factors linked to organized crime that stop the possible development of these areas.

These factors are the following :

- public management inability
- public bodies inefficiency
- shadow economy
- credit access difficulty for the small-medium businesses
- shortage of skilled labor
- limited availability of areas for businesses
- insufficient transport networks and infrastructures serving businesses

How Organized Crime affects cities and neighborhoods increasing urban insecurity?

Even if the organized crime has an increasing international dimension, it draws its power from the widespread control of territory. This control is extended on the economic, social, urban and environmental sector.

Since most developing countries lack the capacity to accommodate this rapid inflow, many will be brought up in slums, where quality of life is low and competition for scarce resources is fierce. Urban lifestyles require cash; which is difficult to access legally in countries with high unemployment levels. As a result, crime rates are higher in cities, especially in slums, where drug addiction and gang activity proliferate. It is these areas that give rise and shelter to a variety of organized crime activities. Urban violence and crime are on the rise in developing countries; from 1980 to 2000, recorded crime rates

²⁷ Censis (2009) IL CONDIZIONAMENTO DELLE MAFIE SULL'ECONOMIA, SULLA SOCIETA' E SULLE ISTITUZIONI DEL MEZZOGIORNO, Rome 2009

²⁸ Censis (2009) IL CONDIZIONAMENTO DELLE MAFIE SULL'ECONOMIA, SULLA SOCIETA' E SULLE ISTITUZIONI DEL MEZZOGIORNO, Rome 2009

increased by almost one third. In developing countries, an estimated 60% of all urban residents have been victims of crime over the past five years, rising to 70% in Latin America and Africa²⁹.

Usually is thanks to racket and wear that organized crime keeps the control of territory. An activity that does not interest just merchants but also industry and service sectors, becoming a cross activity. Wear (usury) allows criminal groups to control businesses and if they are in extreme difficulties they were acquired by these groups and owned by dummies or people connected with these groups.

Tab.1 How the Organized Crime affect cities generating urban insecurity

Sectors	Activities	Area of impact
Political	Public Administration	National/Regions/Cities/Neighborhoods
Economic	Businesses/Industry/finance	Neighborhood/Cities/Regions
Social	Social Exclusion/Poverty	Neighborhood/Cities
Urban	Physical decline/lower investment by Public and Private subjects	Neighborhood/Cities
Environmental	Pollution/Waste cycle management	Neighborhood/Cities/Regions

It can be argued, the most evident effect of organized crime into the urban system dynamics and development opportunities, is the medium-high level of security perceived by citizens as far micro-crime events: this kind of criminal processes do not usually affect the everyday life of people, rather it is at higher levels, probably only visible in the long run.

Calabria Region: 'Ndrangheta' phenomenon

If we examine the situation of Calabria Region considering data about organized crime we can observe how these kind of organizations are rooted on the territory even if they have acquired a transnational dimension. They obtain more power from the control of the local territory in which they operate, with the consensus of people, by threatening them or exploiting their appeasement. In this case the lack of the public institutions, the social and economic weakness of urban systems facilitates the raising of



these organizations. The administration of the City of Reggio Calabria, in which Arghillà is located, was interested by an inquiry from the Italian Minister of the Interior to investigate the influence of the organized crime in the Public Administration. After the inquiry activities the city council was released and the city has been for more than a year under the power of commissioner.

Fig. 1 Municipalities released in the province of Reggio Calabria for influence of organized crime³⁰

²⁹ UNODC (...) The threat of transnational organized crime. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

³⁰ Source: Report of the Italian Minister of the Interior to the Parliament on activities and the results achieved by the DIA - First Semester 2012

2.4. Built environment analysis

The analysis of the built-environment is mostly conducted on field to verify the state of decay characterizing those areas. The land use and the Plans implemented have been useful to understand the features of the neighborhoods with respect the metropolitan areas they belong to, the connection with the city center, the transportations systems, the main functions and services expected to be implemented with the plans but not applied.

The on field analysis shows a temporary status all over the zone considered, everything is not finished or underused, public spaces particularly are the symbols of this decay, while all the built environment presents a general precariousness. Buildings are empty, not finished or underused, while public spaces are the symbols of the neighborhood's decay as well as the built environment.

3. The place based approach to define policy areas

The analysis on the two Southern Italy case studies, Arghillà and Librino shows the way local systems are strongly featured by diffused decay and low capacities from institutions in facing structural and organized illegal behaviours and activities. The combination of those weaknesses affects negatively urban safety and security dynamics, impacting on the possibility to improve living standards.

In those deprived areas, indeed only targeted strategies strictly place-based might turn positively those effects, by mitigating the policies implementation failure. To pursue a place-based policy every action should rely on local knowledge and needs, to make the public interventions verifiable and submitted to scrutiny while linkages among places are taken into account.

A place-based development policy to be considered as follow³¹:

- as a strategy of long-term development which aims to reduce *inefficiency* and *inequality*;
- it promotes the supply of integrated goods and services tailored to contexts, and
- it triggers institutional changes through the production of packages of goods and services, implemented through participatory practices;
- through a strategy of multi-level governance

The use of common context indicators³², being strictly place-based since designed to highlight the specificities of a local context, allowed to establish targeted policy areas of intervention, defining the priorities to what extent the mitigation of those factors affecting urban security dynamics to pursue economic development and life conditions improvement.

As far as the socio-economic structure, indicators (population, education level, households, employment and unemployment, labour force, ethnic minorities, etc..) combined with the analysis of the physical urban environment (land use and on field analysis), provided an understanding of the weaknesses to be mitigated in the specific case study areas.

The case studies analysis helped the ***individuation of policy areas*** where actions are needed to mitigate those effects on urban safety and security dynamics:

- ***Urban Regeneration***: integrated urban regeneration initiatives, aimed by nature at improving both people and places, to leverage local economic development opportunities. The analysis shows multiple weaknesses that can be overcome with combined actions implementing targeted strategies. Place-based policies which could act on the reduction of *inefficiency* (increasing income and growth) and *inequality* (reducing inequality), increasing the living standards of those underdeveloped urban areas.
- ***Governance***: the improvement of the governance structure in order to be multi-level and multi-dimensional. That is to say to enhance governance system both at “vertical” dimension (linkages between levels of governments) and “horizontal” dimension (co-operations arrangements between regions or municipalities). This means to help the local capacity building and the partnership building capacity which are crucial to improve the coherence of public policies and the effectiveness of public service delivery, under targeted strategies of development.

³¹ Barca F. (2009), AN AGENDA FOR A REFORMED COHESION POLICY. A place-based approach to meeting European Union challenges and expectations

³² “A context indicator is a datum which provides simple and reliable information describing a variable relative to the context. It gives information about a situation and its evolution in a country, or an area relevant to the assistance policy”, Context Indicators – European Commission – EUROPA

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/evaluation/methodology/examples/too_ind_res_en.pdf

- **Community involvement:** local communities, (voluntary and community organisations, local authorities, other public authorities such as police, health and education, and local private sector businesses), through a real participatory democratic process could help positive social and civic behaviours to take place. A bottom-up approach, with the strategic role of local associations and key stakeholders to mediate with institutions, is expected to help the people's "awareness of the strategy"³³ to boost the deprived urban contexts analysed into potential places valuable for the entire community by increasing the resilience capacity. Embedding the participatory practices into the policy-making process should be guarantee of more sustainable performances, both at physical and socio-economic levels, as well as of their efficacy. This meant to enhance a proper Community- Led Local Development (CLLD), under the ratio of the European Structural and Investment Funds, to enable communities in delivering projects responsive to the area's needs and to improve strategic local development. The impact of a community-led development is expected to be "high on those groups furthers away from the labour market by increasing employment and skills, social enterprise, and social inclusion which leads to less poverty and better regeneration of deprived areas"³⁴.

³³ Healy P.

³⁴ Community-Led Local Development, Cohesion Policy 2014-2020,
<http://europeanfundingnetwork.eu/policy/cohesion-policy-2014-2020/community-led-local-development>

Part III

Case studies insights

Arghillà is one of the neighborhoods of the city where socio-economic and environmental dynamics at city level seems to be exasperated and perpetrated at the local level analyzed.

The neighborhood is strongly characterized by urban and social weakness, which for their complexity make it worth to be a case study. Indeed, the evidences gathered show widespread decay both on social behaviors and physical environment, supported by low safety and security perceptions. Micro-crime rates also complete the picture of the area, allowing to consider it as a paradigmatic case study in urban safety and security issues, potentially useful in the perspective of BESECURE model implementation.

The context

Arghillà is a recent urban settlement, the first building built on the plans of Arghillà dates back to the late 80s. The district is inhabited by families from different realities and cultures, this cultural and social diversity than in other places looks like wealth in this place is manifested in the forms of weakness, fragility and negativity.

Until the 80s the area was prevalent used for agriculture and production of wine. It is located up 160 mt, with a strategic position both for the location with respect the urban area, well connected by the highway, and for the attractive potential of the landscape offering good opportunities to redevelop versus touristic perspectives.

Arghillà extends over an area of 16.74 square kilometers and with 90% of building area. The latest data about population from ISTAT (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica), show a total population of 2281 in 2011, up to 4000 considering the illegal population living in the area.



Arghillà is geographically divided into two main parts: Southern and Northern Arghillà. The former is a built-up area from private cooperative, 30 years old, provided by municipality public services only in 2008, and still lacking of schools and health related services. The latter is a built-up area by public body, defined by the municipality as residential place mostly for social housing. Between the two areas many differences occurs, since the northern one is mostly occupied by Rom minorities and poor families, often living under poverty levels dealing with micro-crime or illegal activities; in the southern part most of the Italian families gave up the social house assigned by the municipalities because the social issues featuring the place. The general degree of abandonment and decay affect and enhance the socio-economic condition of the neighborhood.

The delocalization of ROM families from the city center reinforced this attitude toward isolation and deprivation the area is dealing with. We might argue the physical abandonment, beside the lack of public policies to prevent crime activities contribute to the perpetration of such weaknesses: rather, the enhancement of the “sense of belonging to” and the valorization of the place as strategic area for development are possibilities not enough explored by the public administration.

The political choice to use the Arghillà as place elected for affordable housing caused through time an increase of families migrated into the area from the urban center, encouraging the ethnic isolation and producing not sufficient heterogeneity to prevent social disadvantages.

Here the low per capita income and a less fragmented population indeed perpetrated an already sensitive social situation, stressed by a strong activity of de-localization of ROM families in the area, forced to move out the city center.

This bottom-down approach threatened the sense of security of people living those places, as if a disturb element has been introduced artificially within a system: equilibrium of forces acting in that

place changed abruptly. Consequently, as all changes, it brought a lack in security a safety perceptions in the area, improving bad behaviors attitude.

According to Maslow³⁵, the need for security could be considered one of the most important basic needs for individuals or communities, gathered through the look for defense mechanisms, such as the physical boundaries could be considered. Safety and Security needs to Maslow include:

- Personal security
- Financial security
- Health and well-being
- Safety net against accidents/illness and their adverse impacts

The introduction of Rom people within a context yet consolidated, might be considered one of the main causes of the bad integration with the pre-existing community, leading to the disadvantaged and dangerous condition we can see today.

Starting from these perspectives, it can be stated the Arghillà could bring opportunities to deepen some of the key factors involved in safety and security issues at urban level in order to address future scenarios in policy actions implementation.

The efforts to enhance urban safety and security should be based on citizens perception comprehension, with the objective to understand the key variables involved and their weight within the urban system analyzed.

Beside this social issues, the analysis conducted on the urban frame, at spatial level, shows high risk of built environment structures, because of widespread abandonment status and lack in maintenance policies. Then, micro-crime activities and low perception of “State”/ public defense within the neighborhood, enhanced by lack of the basic public services or their low quality, by interacting with the physical decay contribute to the general perception of decline of the neighborhood.

Urban planning tools analysis

Reggio Calabria, after the earthquake of 1908, it was to rebuild on the same site of the historic city. The Plan de Nava 1911 defines the reconstruction of this limited part of the territory which is a planned urban fabric with regular two areas of expansion: the expansion of the city was not planned for the foreseeable future population growth, but to hold the city rebuilt.

After the earthquake, were not drafted planning tools for the reconstruction of small towns in the hills and mountains. Only in 1970 there was a general planning instruments for these agglomerations.

Element of complexity in the general economy of urban growth, is the considerable size of the town and the diversification of the types of settlement existing there, also in relation to the presence of

³⁵ **Abraham Harold Maslow** (April 1, 1908 – June 8, 1970) was an [American psychologist](#) who was best known for creating [Maslow's hierarchy of needs](#), a theory of psychological health predicated on fulfilling innate human needs in priority, culminating in self-actualization.^[2] Maslow was a [psychology](#) professor at [Brandeis University](#), [Brooklyn College](#), [New School for Social Research](#) and [Columbia University](#). (source: Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Maslow, accessed 12/19/12, 12:38 p.m.)

different orographic conditions. In the early fifties, the process of rebuilding the city were almost completed, the lots of Plan De Nava fulfilled, and the city began to expand chaotically.

In the 60s there was a demographic and economic boom, beyond the supplies expected by the Plan De Nava, far from being a long-term vision tool. The main consequences of the uncontrolled urban growth, due to the increase in population, were the increase of economic needs to be satisfied and the claims for new urban spaces and houses. Nevertheless, the plan did not comply with those expectations, the city began to expand in a confused manner towards the hills, without the support of a new Plan.

In 1969 L. Quaroni was entrusted to drawn up the new General Plan, still effective, establishing directories of expansion of the residential and tertiary toward the northern part of the city, in the areas of Gallico, Catona and Arghillà, while in the south, industrial sites and services were planned. Thus the plan was only partially implemented through operative plans. Even today, still waiting for the new Structure Plan and subsequent implementation plans, the building up continues with the direct extension under the general provisions of the Plan Quaroni.

The few urban areas where a sort of rational expansion can be found, according to the standards of living established by law 1444/68 are those in the southern part of the city, and the only detailed plan implemented in Arghillà, area covered by a specific plan "Piano di Zona". Here, affordable housing and residential buildings were realized with strong delays from the municipality in the public services supply.

Population 1 Gennaio 2013			
Comune: Reggio Calabria			
Age	Tot Male	Tot Female	M+F

Socio-economic analysis

From evidence Arghillà can be considered as a fragmented and deprived sub-urban area, with rooted social exclusion issues, to be faced with particular measures.

0-4	4223	3910	8133
5-9	4452	4076	8528
10-14	4502	4314	8816
15-18	3783	3822	7605
19-21	3234	3102	6336
Tot	20194	19224	39418

In the last few years, the total number of families living in the area increased. Moreover, the ageing index shows a high level of minors.

This data give us the picture of some peculiar social problems affecting the place in particular and the municipality in general: the choice to use the Arghillà neighborhood as place elected for affordable housing caused an increase of families migrated into the area from the urban center, so that it became a place not enough heterogeneous to prevent social disadvantages, in which the low per capita income and a less fragmented population gave rise, trough time, to a sensitive social situation. Although the area is recent in development, with modern architectures, spaces underused with a high potential of urban quality, it seems to be a blighted area with high degree of decay.

The physical abandonment is underpinned by a social one: there are a lot of immigrated families, ROM population with medium- low economic status, people living next to the poverty level. It is not unlikely to imagine that the high level of micro-criminality, registered through the last years within this neighborhood, such as violence towards minors, prostitution, drug dealing, comes from the minority ethnic composition of the population and social pressure within such a small area becoming increasingly a "ghetto" under public bottom down actions (media-analysis sources - interviews). All these phenomena enhanced the area isolation over the city.

The ROM issue

About the Rom issue, from the socio- economic perspective, recent years there has been a growing interest from the institutions, which asked the EU States members to strengthen their integration policies and the use of Community instruments more effectively. In Calabria, as in most other Italian regions is difficult to have a precise figure on the presence of "Gypsies", both because the official census does not collect data for linguistic minorities and because there are no clear criteria to classify a person or group with this definition, since it does not have never been promoted ad hoc research on the subject on a regional scale.

Undoubtedly is that the presence of Gypsies in Calabria is mostly of Rom origin, and also in line with this other regions in the South, in most cases they are Italian citizens. From the 60s different assessments promoted primarily by the associations and organizations operating in this field, estimate

a range between 1,500 and 6,000 Rom residents, settled mainly in the larger municipalities (Cosenza, Lamezia Terme, Catanzaro and Reggio Calabria are the most ancient settlements).

Irrelevant and extemporaneous are considered the phenomena of nomadism. From the socio-economic perspective, the process of settlement has greatly contributed to a messy and irreversible process of transforming the Rom character, resulting in progressive loss of cultural symbols and identities of the different communities. In many Rom communities those once identified as the ancient crafts vanished, being replaced by numerous forms of welfare (pensions, benefits, etc.), black labor, petty crime and - as recorded by judicial reports- in some areas connection with local criminal organizations.

The interventions to support them toward integration were characterized by territoriality and mainly concerned the housing situation (transfer of families from the fields to the homes of social housing), the

education of minors and the placement of adults

The features that identify the current situation of the Roma in Calabria are:

- Poor housing;
- High unemployment;
- Illegal Employment;
- Early school leaving;
- Strong illiteracy;
- Loss of traditional activities;
- Phenomena of deviance and crime.

ROM History

Since their arrival in southern Italy the Rom have practiced nomadism limited to the territory the southern regions (Rom "Calabresi" in Calabria, Rom "Abruzzesi" in the South, the "Camminanti" in Sicily, Rom "Celentani" in Naples, in Campania), which allowed them to build good relations with the local population. But the inclusion of the Rom in the social context of the South was mainly from their economic activities which were integrated perfectly with economy of these regions mostly agriculture-led. Traditional activities of Rom people were the metalworking and cattle trade, beside other marginal activities part of the services for the local community, mostly itinerant activities in relation religious events.

Southern Italy continued to be ruled by a feudal structure for ages, even after the proto-industrialization phase which spread all over the other Italian States and European regions, and economy was limited to the agricultural sector. In such a context, where there was lack of a transportation system, weakness of the livestock's trade, not an industrial production of agricultural tools, it is clear that the services of the itinerant Rom were essential elements to connect the local

economies. That is why Rom in the South of Italy, thanks to their integration into the local economy, were not for the population an occasional guest, but an important part of the community. Even when repressive measures pursued in all European States against them, the southern Italy maintained the tolerance for this ethnic minority strongly supportive of the local economy.

In 1900 the Italian Fascist regime considered the Rom as a problem of public security, in fact, the racial laws adopted in 1938 were not addressed to them, but only to Jews and mulattos. Though, with the rise of they were victims of social exclusion processes, considered as a marginal part of the population even if part of the local economy. Fascism, by the prefects, limited travel within of Rom, beginning policies of sedentarization. Unlike the fascism, Hitler's regime activated a violent persecution of Gypsies in Northern Europe, eliminating more than 500,000 in the fields of concentration.

In the South of Italy after the WWII, a process of industrialization began, accompanied by the crisis of the rural economy with the consequent abandonment of rural areas, and the growing crowd of the cities. Gradually the conditions that had allowed the inclusion of the Rom in the local economy changed, and the their role started to disappear from the Southern society. Indeed, the nomadism which served to spread throughout the region the products of traditional activities, with the development of the transport system and especially with the crisis of the same activities, began to decline supported also by the attempt to settle the Rom.

In the early 60's the nomadic minorities in Calabria occurred around the capital city as Cosenza - Lamezia Terme Nicastro, Catanzaro and Reggio Calabria, with their larger settlements considered mostly a social issue to be solved. The process of regionalization, in fact has created over time a stable separation between local communities and Rom.

The ROM in Reggio Calabria

In the 50s groups of Rom stopped definitively in Reggio Calabria, in the north and south suburbs of the city along the two rivers of "Scacciotti" and "St. Agata ", where they built two settlements, one upstream near the neighborhood Modena and the other downstream in the airport area. It was made by a set of shacks made of wood, metal and cardboard forming very narrow alleys pretty much impracticable for the bad hygienic status.

Through times different episodes, both natural disaster and questions of safety, made the public administration interventions necessary. Under emergency measures, the Rom were dislocated in diverse undersused sites of the city, for temporary solutions. The new living arrangements, although initially they provided some improvement in their life conditions, encouraging the settling of other families, certainly could not be considered stable and safe locations. Therefore, the housing problem was consistently reported by the volunteers, and after a long process of dialog with institutions, there was the first call for the allocation of affordable housing. In 1981 the houses were assigned to 25 families in the district of Ciccarello, 6 families near Piazza Milano and 5 families in the neighborhood Archi. In the late '80s were assigned other properties in Archi and Arghillà. With the allocation of

housing barracks of the former Lazaretto and those that stood on private land in the neighborhood of Modena were abandoned. These assignments served only few of the Rom families and did not favor their inclusion in the social context because of the bad criterion of concentration used in the distribution of these units.

Today, of the 160 Rom families living in Reggio Calabria, 65% of them still live in settlements, which are ghetto-areas made up of dilapidated shacks and some brickwork construction, while the 35% of them has a affordable house by the public administration, but the 'incorrect allocation policy, make the life difficult as far marginalization and poverty conditions. The main consequences are the lost of some cultural peculiarities, the true values of Gypsy culture, now submerged by segregation dynamics. In 1997, through the Community Initiative Employment and Development of Human Resources (PIC INTEGRA) was carried out by associations of private capital, the project "Lacio Gave" (in the Rom language "The Good City") in order to create new business activities to protect the environment and urban regeneration promoted by ROM sedentary ethnic groups in the city of Reggio Calabria.

The participants have been trained in order to acquire the theoretical and practical skills for the context of a collection of bulky goods. The aim was:

- Legalize work done in black and improvised by some Roma groups,
- Train skilled professionals who can provide a useful service to the city,
- Enhance their attitudes of the Roma have always engaged in activities involving movement.

This work was the basis for many associations to produce by having as point of strength the employment of Rom in areas close to their attitudes and their culture.

Policies and actions implemented

In the last few years some initiatives grew up especially coming from local association, artist related (A.R.T.E. – Le Muse) or socially involved (NODIDA, for women inclusion, or ARKESIS for enhancement of ROM residents involvement through integrated activities under the rational of participatory activity of community) or ONLUS with critique perspectives about policies implementation within the area (no-profit organization for social inclusion, like Opera Nomadi ³⁶).

Although all initiatives have difficulty to be implemented and the complain about the area is strong at the wide city level, we can see from evidences of interviews a sort of sense of redemption within the area, the need to overcome such negative trends. Church and volunteers have an active role in make people involved through rehabilitation communities and job creation: agriculture, handmade products, social activities are the most important supported activities. Those initiatives contribute giving rise a growing attention on social issues and weakness of Arghillà, becoming more and more the centre of local policy actions and local community initiatives.

³⁶ Opera Nomadi is Italy's largest Romani organisation. It was founded in 1963 to combat discrimination and prejudice against the Romani people (WIKIPEDIA, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opera_Nomadi, accessed 14/12/12 17:35)

While walking through this context there is no cognition of poorness typical of blighted environment, no homeless or people sleeping or mendicants at the corners, but the general silent give you the feeling to be into another world, detached from the rest of the city. The morphological position of the area contributes to increase such differences, instead of creating a privileged place for public events or strategic users. All intents to specialize the neighborhood into a sustainable and attractive urban area felt down for bad management of public structures or lack in initiatives promotion. An example is the "Ecolandia Park" supposed to be one of the parks within a wider system of parks with social, cultural and environmental thematic, supporting a new social and solidarity economy in the Straits of Messina. It was born in the mid-90s under URBAN I European Commission program as a response to a reflection on the models promoted by low dominant development, which often occur in peripheral urban and territorial systems particularly unsustainable from an economic, social and environmental points of view. The aim was to cope with higher incidence than other areas of the city of social degradation, social exclusion, lack in services and in economic opportunities. The structure delivered in 2002, owned by the municipality of Reggio Calabria, has been without manager for 8 years because of delay in public call to assign a private management. In 2011 the property was given to a group of local social enterprises.

Grants and funds have been recently issued to enhance public instructions, through new buildings, and primary urban services improvement (sewerage, water) within the area. A way to enhance the sense of law and justice inside those deprived contexts has recently been the building of a maximum security prison, without success since it is still closed and abandoned: it became a national bad example, another evidence of the lack of institutions, once again a failure for the public image. To cope with such kind of issues municipality has promoted through years a welfare assistance program: it aims on one hand at solving some emergency, on the other to prevent some possible problem. Social and urban policies are in progress, (Il Piano Strategico Sociale, 2012- 2015) such as the Social Strategic Plan always trying to adapt to new needs and trends of people within the area. Mostly the attention is focused on:

1. Giving strengths to the qualities of the place (starting from its strategic position within the metropolitan area of Reggio Calabria)
2. Stressing its position into the intermodal system of transportation
3. Enhancing the local production and the local economic activities
4. Improving the touristic vocation of the place
5. Helping the employment in social services to involve people in the local community
6. Implementing initiatives for the improvement of the sense of community

2. Librino – Catania

Librino is a neighborhood located in the extreme periphery of Catania- Sicily. It was built in the 60s with the purpose of being the new town satellite of Catania. Nowadays it represents the failure of public policy implementation and management, hosting illegally occupied buildings under a problematic state of decay, and appealing place for crime events. Once conceived to become a model for life styles (designed by Kenzo Tange) through the quality of the built- environment structures, the design of the public spaces and the attention for the urban landscape, provision of social housing and social services, it is rather a urban isolated space, fort of clans fighting for the economic and territorial control. It could be considered demonstration of the theory which associate the quality of the urban form, of the urban design, to the quality of life : where there is physical isolation, lack of mixed use spaces, not well integrated social and ethnic status, the bad social behaviors are easy to come.

The city of Catania through time has undergone important phenomena of expansion toward the suburban areas surrounding, with the consequent build-up of entire neighborhoods, with infrastructure and services ex-novo, in a very unbalanced mix of commercial and private functions (building often grown illegally). Some of these peripheral areas are basically a kind of "inner suburbs", now incorporated by the successive expansions and where, unfortunately, have not yet triggered processes of exploitation and renewal; others are real marginal urban areas, while presenting strong untapped potential that are characterized by a strong state of social decay: this situation is mostly due to the southwest area of the city, so- called or the settlement of the Librino Plan.

The attempt to create an area of city expansion was firstly established by the General Plan prepared by Luigi Piccinato in the early 60s, adopted in 1964 and approved in 1969. The goal was to spread to the south in order to move the center of gravity of the residential areas of the city, until then almost all concentrated in the north-east, enhancing new urban centralities. The availability of land in the southern area allowed the possibility of establishing new urban settlements, primarily intended for workers in firms located in the nearby industrial area of Pantano d'Arci.

The context

Librino encompasses the illegal areas of St. George and other Plans ("Piani di Zona") including Villaggio Sant'Agata and Zia Lisa II. The current extension reaches 420 hectares and covers more than 70,000 inhabitants, but the not-regulated growth has negatively impacted on the timing of urbanization, as well as the rapid implementation of services (common issue of implementing the PDZ throughout Italy), which are still far from being completed, generating a progressive detachment from the original forecasts and enhancing the chaotic expansion trends.

The mono-functional area, almost exclusively due to the social housing building purposes, made up of residential buildings, helped isolation of the neighborhood, seen as a dormitory highly problematic in social terms. Despite a positive location with respect to transportation systems, its proximity to the port, the airport, the train station, as well as direct contact with the road suburban lines, its connection with the City through the main Axis, the neighborhood seems to lack of continuity with the City.

Both for territorial dimensions and the number of inhabitants, Librino was conceived as the Italian version of the "grands ensembles" which were made in France in the early 60s. Under this rational, Kenzo Tange, who had been entrusted by the Municipality of Catania, for the "Piano di Zona" (PDZ) Librino, used the expression "new town" to define the configuration of Librino not as a simple urban expansion but as "a new city", with its areas of business and commercial centers, office etc. The PDZ Librino, envisioned the establishment of about 60,000 inhabitants on a total area of 356.8 ha (and only constituted about 50% of the entire surface to Public Housing of the City of Catania).

The urban project involved the construction of a set of self-quarters surrounded by a circular ring a road system characterized by wide streets and tree-lined islands, as well as social, educational, religious and administrative provisions which make it perfectly autonomous from the city and expected "model" for the future expansion. The Plan has incorporated many rural areas, even of considerable size, some of them used for neighborhood facilities.

The urban project also involved the construction of some linear green spaces, so-called "green spines", specifically designed for the residential buildings, and a park of 31 hectares, an area of such dimensions expected to become attractive for the citizens of Catania.

Librino was conceived from the beginning as a new town, connected by a central road axis, capable of make it in constant connection with the consolidated City.

Socio economic structure

Demographic statistics qualify the Municipality where Librino is located as one of the most populous, with number of births that exceeds that of deaths.

According to the data analysis, the population living in these neighborhoods, is mainly formed by young couples with young children, expressing the neighborhood as a lively growing area.

Unlike the rest of the City, Librino is characterized by a very significant regular population growth, up to a thousand people each year. Behind this growth there is a clear economic attractiveness of the housing market of the Municipality, especially for low-medium classes, closely related to the affordability of houses. For this reason, it can be said that Librino might be considered as a privileged place for younger families to settle there.

Main issues

Worrying data emerging from the youth problems, which in this neighborhood assume particularly alarming dimensions. The economic recession, the lack of job opportunities, the frequency of anti-social actions, bands of minors, victims of school drop-out and anti-socialization processes improve the deviant juvenile crimes.

The absence of an economic structure that makes the area totally self-sufficient, low income levels of the population, which correspond to high rates of unemployment, make the district "marginal" also from the point of view of production.

The socio-economic analysis brings out the population of Librino as young and socially weak, with very low rates of oldness, the presence of big families, high levels of unemployment, economic activities with low wages, low-income, high rates of youth crime.

Beside those issues though, some positive activities led by local organizations engaged in the promotion of the Librino can be highlighted. Among the local stakeholders the Fondazione Fiumara d'arte guided by Antonio Presti promote art as tool to increase the sense of belonging, a means to acquire the right to citizenship through positive civic activities which enhance the sense of beauty in the neighborhood through the active local community participation.

Among others Librino is within the project "New centrality" of the Strategic Plan for the city of Catania. The establishment of ZFU "urban free zone", resulted in the first rank among the 22 identified, is expected to attract new investments, business and enterprises to move in the area. The selection criterion was based on key indicators of socio-economic hardship used for selection (unemployment rate, employment rate, concentration rate of youth, level of education).

The "Contratto di Quartiere" - Librino Modern City, funded for 5.5 million euro. The "Contract Area" main objective is the promotion of the territory, following the ratio of the programs for human development at the local level promoted by the United Nations under the framework of Agenda 21, as implementation of the "Aalborg Charter" . The project aims primarily to increase, with the support of private investments, the infrastructures of the district by providing measures and initiatives to increase employment and social integration. The actions planned concerned the construction of a eight floor- building in line with 64 apartments, plus a porch in the ground floor for storage and maintenance of a residential building, unusable for the perpetration of illegal occupation and vandalism acts.

New Head Offices of the Municipal Administration and Multipurpose Stadium. Despite the difficulties, some private investors are envisioning Librino's potential for the redevelopment of the city of Catania. The proposal to move the offices of the municipality in Librino, by building up a Directional Center, started from private stakeholders. This will cover all the need for offices of the Municipality of Catania for almost three thousand employees and users to be hosted from the soccer stadium in Librino. The proposed design of the stadium with a capacity of 35,000 seats will be in direct connection with the

underground already in a final stage of design, included in the funding program FCE. The total amount of the project is about 100 million euro.

New Hospital.

The building of a new hospital in the southern outskirts of Catania It is in an advanced stage of construction, already planned in 1986 by the then USL 35 as part of the Prometheus project, aimed at reducing congestion and the redevelopment of the city center of Catania. With Program Agreement April 2002 between the Region of Sicily, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Economy has been provided for the creation of three Centers of Excellence, including the new Hospital San Marco, with the Orthopedic Center of Excellence, a multi- block plate with services. The new hospital San Marco will have a total of 570 beds, for a total cost of 125 million euro.

Conclusions

The Southern Italy constantly records many situations affected by the lack of urban security and safety in urban areas, due mostly to the presence of criminal organizations that could be considered the main source of the presence, within the cities, of particular urban areas affected by poverty and social disease. Dynamics which have of course strong effects on economic development opportunities.

The European cohesion policy, along the cycles of programming periods from 2000 to date, has encouraged local administrations to fight this phenomenon through the implementation of urban regeneration initiatives, on one hand, and the re-location in the market of properties and assets confiscated from organized crime, on the other. Nevertheless the cases analyzed demonstrate as the perception of insecurity is not merely related to episodic situations, rather to a persistent atmosphere of uncertainty to create and encourage economic initiatives, due also to the perpetration of certain behaviors.

The understanding of dynamics and factors affecting the urban safety and security matters in the Southern Italy cases studied, provides an example of how urban and social related policies, by acting indirectly on their causes, could impact positively on those issues. This analysis, supported with context indicators, consents to establish priorities of intervention to mitigate the threats affecting the underdeveloped neighborhoods considered, by enhancing safety and security conditions.

From the gathered evidences, the main factors influencing urban safety and security dynamics emerge, featuring those urban areas with peculiar aspects as the crime-related events' impact on the urban areas considered, both for the physical and the socio-economic environments.

The southern Italy cases indeed brought to underline the peculiar character of crime events, if compared to the European cases belonging to the network of Besecure, and even with other Italian contexts the differences are quite relevant.

The study conducted shows as in such underdeveloped urban areas, the combination of economic decline, social exclusion dynamics, physical decay of the built environment, attracts easily crime events. In the specific case of Arghillà, when those dynamics are reinforced by loss of trust for institutions and limited cooperation among the local communities, not properly integrated with minorities, the crime events are perceived both in the everyday life, but much more at higher levels of actions. It seems the anti-social attitude is a sort of structural component of the common manners of people, by-passing institutions and police control, but also an effect of higher levels of control acting to maintain a sort of static and dishonest socio-economic environment. That is to say the nature of crime is not properly connected to micro-crime events, rather it is structured and controlled to pursue higher objectives, following power dynamics and territorial challenges to affirm over the State. Even in Librino, where data show higher index of micro-crime events, the fight for power among clans occupying the neighborhood, a "fort" protected from the city, demonstrates as small crime events are functional to affirm the control in the area.

What emerge indeed is the specificity of criminal related events both in Reggio Calabria and Catania: statistics show that the amount of robberies and thieving is the lower with respect Italy; rather the number of persons convicted of a crime in the final judgment level in Reggio Calabria is the highest with respect the national situation; the same for the number of confiscated properties. These data provide the main features of crime, valorizing the analysis, acting at different levels, working on diverse fields of interests, where the small illegal action is functional to complex purposes, influencing economic development opportunities. We might argue also that keeping underdevelopment conditions in those places is one of the purposes of controlling both people and places.

The status of decay of the urban environment, often consequence of bad policies implementation and lack of management capabilities, contribute to enhance the isolation from the rest of the city. On the

one hand, the spatial isolation of Arghillà, jointly with strong social exclusion dynamics, mostly for the presence of ROM minorities, characterizes the neighborhood as a “ghetto”. The socio-economic isolation indeed, boosted by the physical detachment and the visible decay of the built environment, contributes to increase the feelings of insecurity in the area which both attract and spread all over the city micro-crime events. On the other hand, Librino is highly dense, spatially isolated with proper physical obstacles, a quasi mono-functional area, which determine safe conditions of action for organized crime, free from any control as far as traffic of weapons and drugs. This sort of “citadel” is regularly at the media attention, which daily announce the perpetration of the same offences, exemplification of institution failure to cope with a well settled social status of dereliction. The high rates of crime events, generally drug, weapons and prostitution related, are strongly supported by high levels of unemployment and school abandonment, providing fertile ground to root anti-social behaviors.

The evidences show the weaknesses determining the unsafe and insecure character of urban areas investigated, factors to be treated to mitigate consequences and provide safer life conditions and economic development opportunities.

We suggest an integrated approach should work on the causes for crime attraction and settlement, by acting on: the built- environment amelioration, on the systematization of public spaces as enhancers of “sense of place”, on the community participation, on the build-up of aggregation centres, symbols of positive civic behaviors, on the job creation and local economy enhancement.

In Arghillà, urban regeneration policies might avoid this “fortified zone”, protected from any kind of institutional control, by helping positive economies to take place, by leveraging on local resources and community involvement a renewed sense of belonging and positive social behaviors could be helped creating a safer urban environment. The perception of crime here is often associated with the question of ROM integration, beside the lack of faith in institutions, affecting any kind of proactive or preventive approach from the bottom, impacting on the local economy.

In Librino, working on tearing down the physical barriers, urban policies could act as umbrella for punctual interventions of re-use for those properties confiscated to criminal organizations, becoming examples of legality defense and control establishment.

Moreover, the tangible presence of the organized crime in Librino demonstrates the need for local policies and actions to be supported at regional and national levels, with a particular focus on community involvement, social inclusion, sense of belonging, and physical aspects of redevelopment.

For those reasons, we might argue the management and the monitoring phases policy implementation in those areas should be particularly considered for the final output: a presidium of lawfulness to make those places positive example of livability. Furthermore, we suggest the institutional failure on the control of safety and security issues, tangible in the Southern Italy cases investigated, should be faced under long-term strategies of development acting on the main factors affecting urban safety and security dynamics.

Since it is wider recognized that any socio-economic, physical and environmental diseases of an urban system inexorably brings issues about security and the risks to be unsafe increases, starting from the mitigation of con- causes can be strategic in the long run perspective of development. In this sense, urban regeneration initiatives, led by local economic sustainable strategies (built-environment restoration- public spaces and social services – local organization and community role enhancement – local economic development opportunities), could enhance the bottom-up approach toward the need of quality of life improvement, increasing the community- resilience capacity and avoiding the creation of appealing conditions for the micro and organized crime. A sustainable urban environment, pursued through integrated urban regeneration actions, by involving local stakeholders and community, to boost the physical as well as the socio-economic environments, might be key factor in the prevention

of underdeveloped conditions, supporting crime prevention and implementation policies and helping urban safety and security.

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