

## Disorderly or simply ugly? Representations of the local regulation of street prostitution in the Italian press and their policy implications

### 1. Introduction

In recent years, many European countries, including Italy, have witnessed an increasing penalisation of uncivil (anti-social or nuisance) behaviour at the local level (Peršak, 2017b; Selmini and Crawford, 2017). In England and Wales, Belgium and Italy, this has been the result of the enactment at the national level of vague legislative provisions, which have entrusted local authorities with enhanced powers in the area of urban safety and security (XX, 2014). Local authorities have used their increased public order powers to target a wide range of behaviour, which they considered to be “anti-social”, a “nuisance” or a “threat” to public safety and urban security (XX, 2014). This behaviour also included the nuisance caused by street prostitution. Punitive measures against street prostitutes and their clients have been taken at the local level, for example, in England and Wales, where Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) were issued against street sex workers and clients until 2014 (see Sagar, 2007, 2009; Scouler and O’Neil, 2007). In addition, administrative sanctions have been imposed in Spain (Villacampa, 2016), as well as in Belgium and Italy (XX, 2014).

Particular policy choices, including the various national policy options that regulate prostitution, are the result of a political battle where different political groups and actors try to manipulate the public perception of a policy problem, impose their definition of the “problem”, and ultimately affect policy-making (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). In the field of prostitution, for instance, women’s movement groups in many countries have been quite successful in gaining access to, and participate in, the policy process by offering (e.g., gendered and feminist) frames that have ultimately affected policy-making (Outshoorn, 2004). As the cases of Sweden and Germany teach us, highly coherently structured and politically influential women’s movements and interest groups can be particularly successful in shaping policy (towards different and, as in these two cases, opposite ends) especially when the problem framing advanced by them is compatible with ideological governmental positions (Euchner and Knill, 2015; Dodillet, 2005).

The media, and particularly the national media, have a role to play in “problem” framing and in shaping solutions to it (Hall, 1982). For instance, by rapidly shifting the focus from one aspect of a policy to another considered “newsworthy”, simplifying policy issues and exaggerating – also through a sensationalistic rhetoric – “risks” or “threats”,<sup>1</sup> the media may attract in the mediated policy debate groups who may promote specific frames (and solutions to the addressed policy issues), which may eventually shape agenda setting and inform policy-making (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). Many examples can be made to illustrate the link between media representations and national prostitution policy. For instance, the sensationalistic media reporting of prostitution as an organised crime activity<sup>2</sup> has been associated with the opening of policy debates in the Netherlands (Outshoorn, 2012). In addition, press reporting of the “liberal” prostitution policies adopted in many European countries in the late 1990s, and of the related concerns of being “invaded” by sex workers from Eastern Europe after accessing the EU, has been one of the key factors that has led to the criminalisation of clients in Sweden (Kulick, 2003).

The media, and particularly the print media where much of the news originate (making them the ideal terrain for agenda setting, see Kenamer, 1994), can, therefore, have an important role to play in constructing prostitution as a “problem” and in supporting its penalisation, including its local regulation. Previous research has investigated press representations of the anti-social (Peršak, 2017a), of regulated incivilities (XX, 2016), and of disorder in public spaces (Pavel, 2016), and has highlighted the role of the print media in supporting punitive local measures as solutions to the addressed “problems”. A tentative (due to the methodological differences of the two compared studies) comparative analysis between the British and the Flemish press (Peršak, 2017a) has suggested the existence of differences in the way the press has represented the problem in these two regions:

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<sup>1</sup> Also through the media, particular social groups can come to periodically be constructed as “risk groups”, and become the target of law enforcement interventions (see, e.g., Cohen, 1980; Young, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> In addition to framing prostitution as an organised crime activity (and sex workers as victims of exploitation by criminal networks), the media have tended to portray it as a vector of disease (Hallgrimsdottir et al., 2008) and as a public nuisance (for an example of the Flemish TV news, see Symons and Gillis, 2014).

while in England and Wales it was associated with uncivil people (or social disorder),<sup>3</sup> in the Flemish press it was linked with physical disorder (mostly, with littering and illegal dumping). However, in spite of a different representation of the “problem”, the press in both countries (although, in the British press, only in tabloids and not in broadsheets) has tended to offer repressive solutions, therefore supporting the local penalisation of uncivil behaviour (Peršak, 2017a).

This article aims to inspect how the Italian national press has represented the local regulation of street prostitution overtime, and to detect whether press representations have had an effect on the national regulation of prostitution, particularly of street prostitution. To these ends, it investigates what have been described as the “problems” posed by street prostitution at the local level, and what have been identified as the main solutions to it over the years, along with the narratives used by the different actors to support the proposed solutions. The results suggest that street prostitution has been considered as a problem when occurring in neighbourhoods attended by middle classes (e.g., residential areas, city centres and historic districts), especially when their liveability is thought to be impaired by the presence of physical and (other forms of) social disorder; in addition, in these same areas the unsightly presence of street prostitutes (particularly, their outfits) has also been problematized. These represented problems have been associated with very punitive solutions: zero-tolerance approaches to clean “degenerated” areas from street sex work (along with other causes of disorder), and administrative fines to sanction indecently dressed street prostitutes. The article concludes by discussing the relation between press representations and the national regulation of prostitution, and by considering the effects of the local enforcement of national punitive regulations on street sex workers and their right to the city.

## **2. The national regulation of prostitution in Italy**

Prostitution in Italy is neither a legal nor an illegal activity. According to the law No 75 of 1958 (or “Merlin law”), which has abolished the previous regulation on indoor prostitution and is currently the main prostitution law in Italy, what is criminal are the activities of loitering, kerb crawling and soliciting, the exploitation of prostitution and, more generally, all the activities of aiding and abetting. Prostitution is, therefore, not a criminal activity if carried out in one’s apartment without the exploitation or favouring of other people, or in public spaces without being seen by others (Crowhurst, 2012).<sup>4</sup>

This notwithstanding, prostitution has substantially been regulated at the local level. Starting from the 1990s, when insecurity feelings and fear of crime and disorder became a major concern in Italy also in light of the increased presence of migrants (Pavarini, 2006; Melossi and Selmini, 2009), local authorities have been pressured to provide responses to crime and disorder at the local level. In the 1990s, widespread concerns over low level crimes and incivilities pushed municipalities to apply administrative sanctions (e.g., for violations of road traffic, public health and safety regulations) against “uncivil” people, including prostitutes’ clients, who were mainly sanctioned for violations of traffic regulations (Danna, 2004; Cittalia, 2009). More recently, local authorities anchored their punitive responses against street prostitution to the so-called “Security Package” (law decree of 23 May 2008 No 92), which was approved by the Berlusconi government in 2008.<sup>5</sup> This law decree<sup>6</sup> provided local authorities with wide powers in the field of urban safety and, more concretely, with the possibility of sanctioning any behaviour deemed to pose a “grave peril” to public safety and security (art. 6), which exacerbates people’s insecurities<sup>7</sup> – including street prostitution.

This law is the result of the failure of the then government (a Berlusconi-led centre-right coalition) to pass the many anti-prostitution bills that, especially in the early 2000s, were put forward to punitively regulate prostitution and, particularly, street prostitution (Crowhurst, 2012). In addition, these bills were based on a narrow view of prostitution, which was framed in terms of either “danger” and “threat” (posed by “immigrant”

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<sup>3</sup> Also in Czech Republic, press representations of disorder have focused on certain unwanted groups, mostly the homeless and Roma people (Pavel, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> For a review and critical analysis of the past and present Italian prostitution policies, see Crowhurst et al. (2018).

<sup>5</sup> According to Calaresu (2017), the “Security Package” has re-established the sovereignty of the national government – previously held by local authorities – in the governance of crime and disorder at the local level.

<sup>6</sup> Law decrees are adopted by the Italian government in case of urgency. They are immediately effective but expire if the Parliament does not convert them into law within 60 days. The law decree known as “Security Package” was converted into the law No 125 of 24 July 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Reference to widespread fears and insecurities among Italian citizens has been made in the bill that has been passed by the Parliament in 2008 and has become known as the “Security Package” (Italian Council of Ministers, 2008: 3).

sex workers) to the public safety of “ordinary” people (or the traditional Italian family), or of crime pursued against prostitutes by human traffickers and exploiters (Crowhurst, 2012).<sup>8</sup> In essence, street prostitutes were framed in these legal texts as both criminals and victims. Outdoor prostitutes and clients were penalised in these bills (and, particularly, in the “Carfagna bill”, see Crowhurst, 2012) with measures including administrative sanctions and arrest, which served the twofold aim of ensuring public safety and countering criminal organisations exploiting women for sex. Although these bills were eventually not passed by the Parliament, their core punitive ethos was passed on the “Security Package” and was pursued at the local level through local security policies and measures – all of which have embedded a framing of prostitution as a public order and security problem (while losing reference to the organised crime/exploitation frame).

Since the adoption of the “Security Package”, municipal authorities have substantially used these powers against street prostitution. In roughly the first ten months since its adoption, prostitution proved to be the topic mostly covered by local emergency orders (Cittalia, 2009) and was one of the top four areas of intervention in 2009 and 2010 (Cittalia, 2012). Local public order powers as set out by the “Security Package” have, however, been found illegitimate by the Constitutional Court in a leading judgment of 2011.<sup>9</sup> In essence, according to the Court’s decision, local emergency orders prohibited a wide range of conduct, whose characteristics or defining elements were not proscribed by way of a law, thus breaching the legality principle.<sup>10</sup> In addition, these powers often relied on measures that disproportionately constrained individual’s rights, therefore violating the proportionality principle.<sup>11</sup> As a result of this judgment, local authorities have been allowed to exercise their public order powers only exceptionally and, more specifically, when there is a *serious* and concrete *risk* of *harm* to the public safety and security of people, which cannot be averted through ordinary measures – only under these circumstances, municipalities may decide to adopt local orders that are temporary limited in their effects and that are not too prejudicial to individual’s autonomy (XX, 2014). Notwithstanding this judgment, there have been indications that local authorities have kept on issuing orders (XX, 2014; Crocitti and Selmini, 2016). Only recently, moreover, the government has passed a law decree on “Security in the city” that, in defiance of the Constitutional Court’s decision, reintroduces wide powers to local authorities in the field of public safety (law decree No 17 of 20 February 2017).

The law decree<sup>12</sup> has extended the capacity of local authorities to regulate uncivil behaviour in different ways. It has done so, for example, by expanding the definition of urban security, which is now regarded as “a public good that has to do with the *liveability* and the *decorum* of the city” (art. 4, emphasis added). In light of this expanded definition, emergency orders can be adopted not only in exceptional cases requiring urgent sanitation and hygienic solutions at the local level, as currently envisaged by law,<sup>13</sup> but also in situations of “serious neglect or degradation of the territory or prejudice to the decorum and the urban liveability, with a particular reference to the need to protect the peace and quietness of residents” (art. 8 co. 1 let. a) No 1). The scope of this provision has clearly been widened through the use of a vague terminology (e.g., “neglect”, “degradation”, “decorum”, “urban liveability”), whose meaning is going to be “filled in” at the local level by administrative authorities and law enforcers. This may lead to an arbitrary exercise of local public order powers, and, more concretely, to the imposition of administrative fines to “uncivil people” for the mere purpose of protecting the “peace and quietness of residents” – where “peace” and “quietness” are as well very fuzzy concepts, open to subjective interpretation and, possibly, to abuses and excesses.

There are at least two other ways in which the decree expands local public order powers. For example, local authorities have been entrusted with the adoption of emergency orders for the purpose of “preventing and eradicating situations that favour the occurrence of criminal phenomena or illegality, such as [...] the exploitation of prostitution [...]” (art. 8 co. 1 let. b) No 1).<sup>14</sup> In essence, the aim is no longer to prevent and

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<sup>8</sup> Narratives that associated prostitution with women exploitation, illegal immigration and public order featured the policy debate also in the 1990s (Danna, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> The Constitutional Court’s judgment (of 7 April 2011, No 115) has corrected art. 54 co. 4 of the legislative decree of 18 August 2000, No 267, as amended by the “Security Package”.

<sup>10</sup> The legality principle requires that crime and punishment are clearly set out by law before the commission of crime.

<sup>11</sup> The proportionality principle stipulates that legislative or administrative measures ought not to excessively interfere with the exercise of fundamental rights.

<sup>12</sup> The law decree has been converted into law by the Parliament on 18 April 2017, with the law No 48.

<sup>13</sup> See art. 50, co. 5, of the legislative decree of 18 August 2000, No 267.

<sup>14</sup> Along with the exploitation of prostitution, other “situations that favour the occurrence of criminal phenomena or illegality” are, according to the law decree (No 17 of 20 February 2017, art. 8 co. 1 let. b) No 1),

remove a *serious* risk of *harm* to the safety of people, as in the Court’s judgment; the provision now allows local actors to regulate situations that *favour* the exploitation of prostitution – and not necessarily pose a serious risk of harm to public safety and security. It is unclear what the government exactly meant by “situations that favour [...] the exploitation of prostitution”, as the decree does not further elaborate on the meaning of this provision. In addition, preparatory acts and memoranda have not been made available online on its website.<sup>15</sup> Arguably, this vague formulation may lead to an enhanced local penalisation of clients, who can be seen as favouring – with their demand for sex – the exploitation of prostitution. However, a lack of clarity on this point may also lead local authorities to punish street sex workers.<sup>16</sup>

The law decree also provides local authorities with the power to identify via regulation “particular areas” (art. 9) of the city where there are “museums, archaeological sites, monuments and other institutions or areas of cultural heritage where tourists are present, as well as green areas” (art. 9 co. 3), and to punish the behaviour of people that “impairs the access and use of those areas” by others (art. 9 co. 1). Therefore, individuals adopting any behaviour that is deemed by local authorities to limit other people’s access to, or enjoyment of, “specially protected areas” can be fined administratively (up to EUR 300) and be banned from that space for forty-eight hours (art. 9 co. 1 and art. 10. co. 1). The length of the ban, however, can be extended by the police chief (questore) to up to six months, if the banned person reiterates the prohibited conduct and providing that such a behaviour “may cause a risk to security” (art. 10 co. 2). This vague provision gives local authorities a large leeway to determine which conduct to proscribe at the local level. This may lead to abuses and, therefore, to the arbitrary (and illegitimate) exclusion of unwanted people, like street prostitutes, from public spaces.

### 3. Methodology

This article investigates how the local regulation of street prostitution has been represented in a sample of Italian national newspapers overtime, and whether (and, if so, how) they have influenced the national regulation of prostitution, and particularly of street prostitution.

Newspaper articles have been retrieved from the online archives of the two mostly read Italian national daily newspapers (broadsheets), *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera* (henceforth: REP and COR, respectively).<sup>17</sup> Although the results may only represent the press representations of the local regulation of street prostitutes in these two selected newspapers, and not in other (national or local) newspaper outlets (including tabloids), I have tried to reduce this limitation by selecting the newspapers that are have the highest circulation rates and are mostly read at the national level. Articles were sampled along a period of time that stretches from 1 January 2008 to 1 March 2017. The year 2008 was selected as the starting point of the analysis to allow the study to cover the media debate on the local regulation of prostitution since prior the adoption of the “Security Package”, which paved the way for the widespread adoption of the local anti-prostitution orders (Cittalia, 2009, 2012). To select newspaper articles reporting stories on the local regulation of prostitution, the online databases of these two newspapers were searched using the following two keywords: “orders prostitution” (“ordinanze prostituzione”) and “order prostitution” (“ordinanza prostituzione”), *all words*. After a pilot search through newspaper articles, in which different searching strategies were used (using a combination of the following keywords: prostitution, prostitute, prostitutes, sanction, sanctions, fine, fines), the chosen keyword combinations (“orders prostitution” and “order prostitution”) proved to be the most overarching in covering stories on the local regulation of street prostitution. This notwithstanding, the used keyword searches may have not covered relevant stories where street prostitutes may have been referred to with different epithets (e.g., “lucciola” or “luciole”) and where social control mechanisms other than local orders have been adopted at the local level to penalise them.

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drug dealing, begging with the aid of minors and disabled people, the illicit occupation of public space (by, e.g., street vendors), and violent behaviour also linked to alcohol or substance abuse.

<sup>15</sup> On its website, the government only published a press release (see <http://www.governo.it/articolo/comunicato-stampa-del-consiglio-dei-ministri-n-12/6727>). Also the bill (which reflects the content of the law decree) converted into law by the Parliament does not clarify these broad notions (see <http://www.senato.it/service/PDF/PDFServer/BGT/01009295.pdf>).

<sup>16</sup> For example, in the “Carfagna bill” referred to above, the penalisation of both clients and prostitutes was justified in light of the need to ensure public order and tackle criminal organisations.

<sup>17</sup> For data on the diffusion of daily, weekly and monthly newspapers until October 2016, see [http://www.fieg.it/documenti\\_item.asp?page=1&doc\\_id=338](http://www.fieg.it/documenti_item.asp?page=1&doc_id=338).

The resulting newspaper articles<sup>18</sup> were screened for relevance, leading to the removal of manifestly irrelevant articles and of the doubles (within and between the two keyword searches). This led to a final sample of 437 newspaper articles (311 articles were retrieved from the online database of *La Repubblica* and 126 articles from the online database of *Il Corriere*).<sup>19</sup>

The software NVivo has been used for the computer-assisted content analysis. While the main categories or content codes were aimed at identifying the main press frames (“Problems” and “Solutions”) put forward by dominant actors (“Actors speaking”) in the national press, and the geographical areas of the covered stories (“Where: regions and cities”), sub-codes (or codes that thematically belonged to the main categories) have been inductively developed on the “ground” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) through “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) (see the Appendix for the full list of codes and sub-codes). Through the use of NVivo, numerical data was generated indicating the frequency in the occurrence of certain categories and sub-categories in the sample; therefore, the first level of content analysis has been quantitative. The second level of content analysis has, by contrast, been qualitative, and has involved the identification of two frequent and recurrent themes in the press articles. In the next two sections, I will summarise the results of the quantitative analysis and will analyse the two most recurrent themes.

#### 4. Results of the quantitative analysis

##### 4.1. Where: regions and cities

The majority of the news covering stories on the local regulation of prostitution refers to cities or areas located in the northern Italian region (52%), which includes cities like Milan in Lombardy (16,4%), Genoa in Liguria (9,8%), along with cities like Vicenza, Padua and Verona that are situated in the Veneto Region in the north-east (17%). All these cities have adopted a rather punitive approach towards street prostitution along the years. Milan, for example, enacted an order targeting clients already in 1998 (Cittalia 2009) and adopted an anti-prostitution order, sanctioning both clients and street sex workers, in 2008 (which was in force until 2011).<sup>20</sup> Cities like Padua, Vicenza and Verona have mostly been governed by right wing political parties, including the Northern League, whose representatives have, when speaking in the news, tended to firmly oppose street prostitution and to propose (or enact) punitive solutions to it. More generally, the Northern League has used a political rhetoric and, within it, a racist and xenophobic language that has heavily stigmatised minorities and, particularly, migrant minorities, and has thus facilitated the adoption of “local policies of exclusion” – what Caneva (2014: 397) called “institutionalized forms of intolerance” – not only in the northern region, but throughout the country (Caneva, 2014).

A high number of news also covers stories on the local regulation of prostitution in the central part of the country (36%) and, mostly, in Rome, which is the city where most of the relevant news is set (30,1%). The city of Rome has adopted an anti-prostitution order, mostly sanctioning street prostitutes’ “indecorous and indecent” clothing and clients’ “imprudent” driving behaviour, in 2008 (Di Feliciano, 2015: 1020).

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<sup>18</sup> The resulting hits for the first keyword search (“orders prostitution”) were 429, in *REP*, and 174, in *COR*; they were 835 in *REP* and 139 in *COR* in the second keyword search (“order prostitution”).

<sup>19</sup> The number of articles sampled from *La Repubblica* varied across time. They were: 112 in 2008, 54 in 2009, 56 in 2010, 25 in 2011, 20 in 2012, 20 in 2013, 10 in 2014, 11 in 2015, 2 in 2016 and 1 in 2017. In *Il Corriere* the number of relevant press news are: 11 in 2008, 21 in 2009, 19 in 2010, 20 in 2011, 6 in 2012, 17 in 2013, 5 in 2014, 15 in 2015, 5 in 2016, and 7 in 2017. There are differences in the number of retrieved articles in the two selected newspapers. While the number of articles sampled from *La Repubblica* steady and substantially decreases after 2008, which is the year when the “Security Package” entered into force (and when the number of news reaches its peak with 112 hits), the number of press news from *Il Corriere* tends to be constant across time. The substantial decrease in the number of news in *La Repubblica* (which is particularly low after 2010) may have to do with the reduced interest in the topic of this particular press title, or on its shifted focus on other topics that may have captured the public attention in more recent years (e.g., the refugee crisis). Further research carried out on other press titles and other media (including social media) would help to better understand the decrease in the number of press news in this newspaper.

<sup>20</sup> Although the order was not re-adopted by the mayor of Milan in 2011 (when its effects ceased), an anti-prostitution order was passed in the neighbouring municipality of Rho, where the Expo took place, in 2015 to prohibit prostitution during the months of the Expo. See [http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/15\\_aprile\\_23/expo-super-multe-anti-lucciole-vietato-anche-avvicinarsi-auto-32922ef8-e9d0-11e4-8a77-30fccc419003.shtml](http://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/15_aprile_23/expo-super-multe-anti-lucciole-vietato-anche-avvicinarsi-auto-32922ef8-e9d0-11e4-8a77-30fccc419003.shtml).

In contrast, relative little attention has been paid on the regulation of prostitution in cities or areas located in the south of the peninsula (12% in total).

By focusing on stories on the punitive local regulation of prostitution, the press has tended to under-report on the few, yet very positive cases where street prostitution has been managed – rather than punitively regulated – at the local level. One example is provided by the city of Venice, where since 1995 street prostitution has been allowed in a particular city zone controlled by the police and characterised by the presence of third sector associations (Sapio, 2007; Crowhurst et al., 2018).

These results are overall in line with the last released Citalia report (2012), which found that in the three years stretching from 2008 to 2010 the northern part of Italy and, particularly, the regions of Lombardy, Piedmont, Veneto, Emilia Romagna and Liguria adopted the highest numbers of administrative orders – with prostitution featuring among the primary areas of intervention of the orders adopted there. The fact that the mostly represented cities in the press are the ones that have adopted and implemented administrative orders against street prostitution also helps to understand why the press has framed street prostitution as a public order problem and has offered very punitive solutions to it (see below under the sub-sections ‘Problems’ and ‘Solutions’).

#### 4.2. Actors speaking

The actors whose voices are overwhelmingly present in the news are the ones of mayors (26,7%) and local politicians (24,6%), who are in charge with the adoption of punitive measures against street prostitutes and their clients. The opinions of law enforcers (which include the Polizia di Stato, the local police, and traffic wardens), who are entrusted with the implementation of local orders and regulations, are also substantially covered in the press news (14,3%). By contrast, the voices of provincial, regional and national politicians (7,3%), residents (6,5%), third sector associations (7%) and sex workers and their associations (5,2%), are heard in a much more reduced fashion. Only in a very few instances, the press has covered the opinions of academics and researchers (1,1%). The little coverage of experts’ opinions has also been highlighted in a recent study, which has inspected the press representation of regulated incivilities in the Flemish press (XX, 2016).

#### 4.3. Problems

Most of the news describes street prostitution as a phenomenon that contributes to urban decay (“degrado”) (70,7%). Prostitution in this is not alone; many other “problems”, including begging, graffiti writing, camping (which is mostly related to Roma people), fly tipping, cleaning windscreens, drug dealing, public drinking and related uncivil behaviour (e.g., littering, vandalism, shouting etc.), are said to contribute to degrading certain urban areas and, therefore, to impairing the life quality of residents and entire communities (30,7%). In addition, in sixty-two articles (10,5%) the problem coincides with the aesthetic appearance of street prostitutes and, particularly, with their dress code. In many of the news, moreover, reference is made to specific areas of the city, where the presence of street sex workers is said to exacerbate the situation of social and physical degradation of the area or is simply not tolerated (29,5%). These areas are residential areas and areas attended by families and children like schools (e.g., “in front of the elementary school and nurseries”, *REP*, 19 March 2008) and churches (“in the hedges of the St Peter’s Basilica”, *REP*, 26 October 2014). In addition, areas that are referred to are also city centres and historic districts known for their historic and artistic heritage, areas of transit or train stations, and areas of summer vacation.

In a substantial number of articles, moreover, the problem is also associated with local anti-prostitution orders (11,3%). In particular, they are considered as useless (3,2%), hard to implement or enforce (3%), causing the displacement of prostitutes to less monitored (and controllable) areas (including indoors) (3,6%), and failing to offer sufficient support and health care to prostitutes (1,5%). Even when local orders are problematized, however, the proposed solutions tend not to be associated with preventive strategies. As it will be further explained in the sub-section below (on “Solutions”), the main solutions to the problem of street prostitution are the enhanced presence of law enforcement actors and the imposition of fines on “ugly” prostitutes and on clients.

The limited capacity of the police to enforce local orders (mostly, due to the limited number of available police officers) is mentioned as a problem in twenty-five articles (4,3%). In addition, the exploitation of prostitution is referred to as a problem only in forty-six articles (7,8%), mostly in combination with the public order narrative. In essence, street prostitutes tend to be framed as victims of trafficking and exploitation while *at the same time* being “guilty” of public order offences (or of the nuisance caused by their presence on the streets). To solve these different, but related, problems, the press has proposed a one-size-fits-all solution, which relies on the penalisation of sex workers (“This measure then has a twofold objective: to clean certain city areas and to provide a lifeline to the many young women, often minors, who are forced to sell their bodies because victims of organised crime”, *COR*, 4 March 2015).

The Constitutional Court's judgment, which has negatively assessed the legitimacy of local security orders, has been described as a problem in thirteen articles (2,2%), which have mostly been published in 2011. These articles tend not to address the reasons why the Court has corrected the "Security Package" in the part where it provides increased public order powers to local authorities by substantially curtailing them; rather, they (and, through them, especially mayors) tend to oppose the judgment and to describe the judges as "removed from the real problems of citizens" (COR, 28 April 2011). Considering the high number of articles where *illegitimate* (as they violate the Court's judgement) local anti-prostitution orders and administrative sanctions to prostitutes and clients are indicated as a solution (93 (or 14%) and 112 (or 16,9%), respectively; see section below on Solutions and the Appendix),<sup>21</sup> it seems that this judgment has overall been neglected and not been taken seriously by local administrations.

#### 4.4. Solutions

In most of the sampled articles (132 or 19,9%), the offered solutions correspond with the increasing presence of law enforcers (including of vigilantes and the army) and with the intensification of law enforcement actions against prostitutes and their clients especially in areas that are considered as being highly affected by crime, social and physical disorder.

Common solutions are also the sanctioning of both prostitutes (mainly, for their clothing) and their clients with administrative fines (16,9%); the sanctioning of clients only (7,9%); and the giving of more powers to local authorities in the field of urban safety, which also includes their capacity to adopt local anti-prostitution orders (14%). As reported in the Cittalia reports (2009, 2012), since the adoption of the "Security Package", municipalities have penalised through local orders not the exchange of sexual services *per se*, but the *nuisance* caused by both prostitutes and clients. For example, local regulations have sanctioned traffic violations (e.g., a client's car stopping in the street to negotiate sexual services with the prostitute) and prostitutes' scant clothing, which was considered an indication of their soliciting intent (Parmigiani, 2008; Cittalia, 2009; Crowhurst, 2012). More accurately, the penalisation of the nuisance caused by sex workers' "indecorous" clothing has been justified by municipalities in light of the need to protect the public and, particularly, "women and children, who pass by the areas affected by the phenomenon", as this is said to "limit the[ir] use and enjoyment of the municipal territory" (Cittalia, 2009: 16). Its penalisation has also been justified as it contributed to "bad upbringing", consisted of a "potential risk to the public health" and amounted to an "illicit occupation of the municipal territory" (Cittalia, 2012: 34). In essence, the local sanctioning of *visible* street prostitutes served the purpose of re-establishing order, decency and decorum in certain city areas, which were seen as being *illegitimately occupied* and devalued by the presence of *deviant migrants*<sup>22</sup>, and of responding to the increasing quests for security of the insecure and fearful residents (Saitta, 2009, 2011). These local sanctions, which discipline (sexual) behaviour and regulate women's bodies (and outfits) in the public space, have been considered an example of neoliberal governance of the urban space in the "risk society" (Simone, 2010): they prevent "danger" and "risk" (posed by the presence of street sex workers) and restore safety in order to protect the "legitimate" consumer and businesses (Di Feliciano, 2015).

In addition, forty-one newspaper articles (6,2%) identify as a solution the offering of support to street prostitutes, which is mostly envisaged in combination with sanctions to them. Sanctioning prostitutes serves, in fact, the purpose of "saving" them from sexual exploitation (e.g., "If we won't be given the power to sanction more heavily prostitutes and clients, the racket will get richer by exploiting these poor girls. We already saved 300 of them", REP, 8 June 2008). This rhetoric reflects the bills (and, particularly, the "Carfagna bill") put forward in the 2000s, where the criminalisation of prostitutes (in addition to clients) was proposed as a tool to "save" them from exploitation (Crowhurst, 2012). The offering of support to sex workers *in addition to* the imposition of sanctions to them, moreover, also aims at making them "exit" prostitution (e.g., "The objective [...] is not to target those who behave in a deviant manner but to make them understand that they are making a mistake; for this reason, the support to rehabilitation and reintegration will be reinforced", REP, 27 June 2010). This rhetoric also reflects the policy discourses found in earlier legal texts, such as in the Turco-Napolitano law of 1998 (No 40), which introduced protection permits to sex workers upon condition that they gave up

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<sup>21</sup> This is also reflected in the limited number of press news that has presented the invalidity of orders, as established by the Constitutional Court's 2011 judgment, as a solution (only 9 or 1,35%).

<sup>22</sup> Street prostitutes in Italy are mainly migrants. See, e.g., Sapio (2007), Saitta (2009) and Crowhurst et al. (2018).

prostitution (Danna, 2004).<sup>23</sup>

New, more repressive, laws against prostitution and, particularly, street prostitution (i.e., the introduction of a new criminal offence punishing street prostitution), are offered as a solution in thirty-five articles (5,3%). Other solutions refer to measures that aim to increase people's perceptions of safety in the urban space (6% in total), which include the installation of CCTV cameras and the improvement of street lightning (4,2%), the adoption of urban regeneration plans (1,2%), the improvement of the city cleaning (0,6%) etc. Offered solutions also refer to the "zoning" of prostitutes in specific areas of the city, which are located far away from residential areas and arterial roads (4,4%); the establishment of limited traffic zones where the cars of clients are only allowed to circulate in specific hours of the day (and prohibited during the night) (3%); the sanctioning of bar and apartment owners for indoor prostitution (3,9%); and the regulation of prostitution through the establishment of Red Light Districts (1,35%).

In a very limited number of articles, the offered solution is prevention, rather than repression (3,2%). The concept of prevention, when is actually articulated in the news and not only used in a general fashion (mostly in opposition to repression), refers to the need to increase the level of education on sexuality matters, of social inclusion, and of people's awareness of the fact that many prostitutes are, in fact, victims of sexual exploitation. Other solutions have to do with the need to appeal to illegitimate orders in court or administratively (1,5%), and to the established illegitimacy of local orders by way of judicial decision (1,35%). Measures against the exploitation of prostitutes are identified as a solution only in five newspaper articles (0,7%).

## 5. Results of the qualitative analysis: Two themes

The content analysis of the sampled articles revealed two recurrent narratives or themes, which are further discussed in the sub-sections below. They are: '*fighting street prostitution, incivilities and crime*', the first, and '*sanctioning ugly and out-of-space street prostitutes*', the second. Although they construct problems and solutions in different terms, these narratives tend to frame street prostitution as a public order problem that needs to be tackled in order to restore or preserve decency and decorum in the urban space.

### 5.1. *Fighting street prostitution, incivilities and crime*

#### a) *Problem*

In much of the news, the extent of the "problem" posed by street prostitution is amplified through the link with other "problems", which are said to be thriving in certain neighbourhoods attended by middle classes (e.g., residential areas, city centres, areas of transit and of summer vacation). These related problems, as shown in the two examples below, mostly consist of other cases of social disorder (e.g., public drunkenness, rowdy behaviour), physical disorder (e.g., littering), and crime proper (e.g., drug dealing, physical assault):

"Besieged by prostitutes [...] Residents, shop owners and those who work in the neighbourhood are exasperated. Prostitutes are under the eyes of those who live in viale Tupini, paid sexual intercourses take place on the stairs of viale America and viale Europa, used condoms are left in the hedges of the St Peter's Basilica [in Rome]. And more: litter, sidewalks and flowerbeds are destroyed by neglect, cobblestones are torn up and poorly repaired. «This is the new Bronx of Rome [...] it is becoming one of the worse neighbourhoods [...].»" (*REP*, 26 October 2014)

"SAMPIERDARENA [a neighbourhood in Genua] at gunpoint. Sampierdarena a territory of prostitution, drug dealing, violence; of drunk people wandering on the streets [...]. Sampierdarena under siege. Sampierdarena that now wants to close the bars behind to defend itself" (*REP*, 21 April 2015)

As it appears from these representative fragments, a sensationalistic tone and war-type rhetoric (exemplified by the words "besieged", "at gunpoint", "under siege") is used to sensationalise the problem posed by (among others) street prostitution in certain urban districts, which are described as degenerated and made unliveable. These neighbourhoods (like the EUR in Rome, referred to in the first fragment above, and Sampierdarena in Genoa, in the second fragment), which are mostly middle-class neighbourhoods, have experienced in recent years higher levels of (recorded and/or perceived) social and physical disorder; however, contrary to the press

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<sup>23</sup> In England and Wales, measures that have similarly attempted to help sex workers exit through criminal justice based interventions have been critically analysed by Scoular and O'Neill (2007) and, more recently, by Scoular and Carline (2014).



representations, they have not necessarily become crime “hot spots” or the most problematic city areas.

Press news also tends to describe residents as “exasperated” (*REP*, 26 October 2014) by this situation of degradation, and to “have had enough” (*REP*, 31 October 2010) of it. These concerns are reflected in the messages of mayors and local politicians, who tend to offer punitive solutions against street prostitution on the basis of “what citizens want” (e.g., “It was what citizens asked for” *REP*, 8 April 2011; “People expect a [...] tough line against prostitution, degradation and criminality [...]. We have to give answers to citizens”, *REP*, 31 July 2015).

#### *b) Solutions*

The offered solutions refer to the need of having a higher number of police officers in the areas identified as problematic and to militarise them with weapons, which is usually not allowed in Italy. In addition, by using a sensationalistic war-like rhetoric, the press news also emphasises the “exceptional” need to deploy the army in support of the local police to counter the “emergency” in some neighbourhoods. This is shown by the following two representative fragments:

“they will arrive in waves, from Monday on, soldiers from the army, navy, air force and, obviously, the Carabinieri [the Italian gendarmerie]. They will be on foot, partly to make people feel their presence. Others will not move and will monitor the twenty “sensitive targets” [...] They will be in the areas considered less safe, in the drug and prostitution markets” (*REP*, 30 July 2008)

“Two days after the meeting [...] between all police bodies, the city centre is still shaken: a meeting that has allocated more officers, about thirty and in riot gear, to the “hot spots” of the old city. Exceptional measures” (*REP*, 4 September 2013)

In addition, many newspaper articles describe successful enforcement actions (also called “blitz”, “maxi police operations”, “round ups”), which have also been carried out by the police in coordination with other bodies or in “task forces” (e.g., “a maxi police operation that has led to the arrest of 262 prostitutes and transsexual people”, *REP*, 8 August 2010).

The main objectives that are to be achieved by mayors through the enhanced presence of police officers have mostly to do with the need of “making the city safer” (*REP*, 4 August 2008), and, most importantly, of “taking back” (*REP*, 2 October 2008) the territory and giving it back to its considered legitimate users, such as families and children (e.g., “The objective is to «protect the family with its values [...]”, *COR*, 9 February 2015; “to protect the children”, *REP*, 24 September 2008), tourists and businesses (“Prostitutes, many prostitutes, and only a few shops open. An image that doesn’t do good to the city, that reduces tourism and that attracts “bad people”” *REP*, 2 October 2008).

### *5.2. Sanctioning ugly and out-of-space street prostitutes*

#### *a) Problem*

In sixty-two articles (10,5%) the problem coincides with the physical appearance of street prostitutes and, particularly, with their dress code – their “scant” clothing, which “distracts drivers” (*REP*, 16 September 2008), “gives the wrong example, especially to young people” (*COR*, 24 September 2010) and “embarrasses other citizens” (*REP*, 14 November 2010). The dressing style of street prostitutes, however, is said to change across time and space, mainly as a result of the many anti-prostitution orders that have targeted prostitutes dressed in a certain “indecent” way. Prostitutes are described as women wearing very little clothing, as in the following typical fragments: “They are all dressed in little clothing. Minis or shorts, tops and heels” (*COR*, 10 July 2009), “misses with 12-centimeter heels and skimpy clothes that leave absolutely nothing to imagination” (*COR*, 28 November 2009).

However, street prostitutes are also said to have changed their clothing style into a more decent or “chastised” one as a result of local orders: “leggings and knee trousers instead of minis and bikini” (*REP*, 18 September 2008), “Inguinal miniskirts have disappeared from via Salaria [a street in Rome].. the girls wear chastised knee trousers and sober jeans” (*REP*, 25 October 2008). The fact that many street prostitutes are “dressed like normal young girls” (*REP*, 31 October 2010) results into an increasing difficulty for law enforcers to distinguish between street prostitutes and “normal women” (which is a judgment that was originally made by them on the basis of women’s clothing) and, therefore, to impose administrative fines on them. This difficulty is made clear

in the following two fragments. While in the first one a young woman speaks after being accused by two police officers of soliciting in front of a church, in the second the police are given a voice:

“I am speechless, I cannot believe that they dared confusing me with a prostitute: I am a normal girl, dressed in a skirt and a shirt” (REP, 14 August 2008).

“one of the police unions [...] invites “the women of Rome not to dress in skimpy clothes”” (REP, 16 September 2008)

The dressing style of street sex workers is problematized especially in particular wealthy areas of the city, which tend to be residential areas, historic districts, city centres and, more generally, places attended by families (such as schools, churches, parks etc.) and tourists. In these areas the unsightly presence of street prostitutes is negatively assessed as it challenges what Ferrell (1997) called “cultural space”, or, put simply, the expectations that majority groups have for how people should appear and behave in the public space. An illustrative example is provided by the fragment below, where the conflict between the aesthetics of street sex workers and the aesthetics of an historic district – on which aesthetic expectations of majority groups are built – is made apparent and sparks negative social reactions:

“we cannot accept that semi-naked women transform and disfigure the spaces that we have so meticulously recovered” (REP, 13 May 2008)

#### *b) Solutions*

To solve the problem of “ugly” street sex workers in areas attended by middle classes, local actors in the news invoke the need to sanctions prostitutes (and their clients) through administrative fines and to entrust local authorities with more powers to sanction them. Local sanctions have been framed as a necessity to “improve the quality of life” of people and the “liveability and safety” of spaces (REP, 14 July 2012), as well as to “defend” city centres and the historic and artistic heritage (REP, 23 April 2009).

### **6. Discussion and conclusive thoughts**

The national press covered stories on the regulation of prostitution in the main northern Italian cities (including Milan, Genoa and Vicenza) and in Rome, which are cities that have adopted punitive regulations against street prostitution. It has done so by mostly giving a voice to local politicians, and particularly to politicians of the right-wing political party Northern League, and the police. Press news tend to mostly report on the adoption of punitive anti-prostitution orders, rather than to critically comment on them also by making reference to other non-punitive examples where street prostitution has been managed at the local level, for example through coordinate stakeholders’ efforts (as in the case of Venice mentioned above).

In most of the press news, street prostitution is alone hardly the matter of concern; it is the presence of street prostitutes *coupled with* social and physical disorder in middle class areas perceived to be degenerated (or worse off than in previous years), that is represented as the problem that needs to be addressed. In this sense, street prostitution seems to act as a “signal” (Innes, 2014) of “risk”: it is linked to other forms of disorder and crime, which (cumulatively) suggest that the area is “deteriorating”. The sight of street sex workers in certain (residential, shopping and touristic) areas attended by middle classes, therefore, makes people feel unsafe and challenge the adequacy of social control in the area – making them want different (more punitive) interventions (Innes, 2014). The fact that physical disorder and social disorder are *added* to the picture and contribute to the press construction of the problem of street prostitution is an important element, which was not found in previous studies on the topic. Research on press representations of the anti-social and of incivilities regulation has revealed that the press has tended to associate the “problem” with a particular type of disorder, being it physical (XX, 2016) or social (Pavel, 2016; Peršak, 2017a). Therefore, by describing neighbourhoods as plagued by street prostitution *and* by incivilities and crime, the Italian press has supported the adoption of tough, war-like, approaches against street sex work. The link between disorder and crime, which in some municipalities (for example, in New York under the Giuliani administration in the 1990s) has justified the enactment of zero-tolerance approaches against low-level incivilities, also resonates with the Broken Windows theory (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). This theory, however, and particularly its advocated link between incivilities and crime, has highly been debated and challenged in more recent studies (e.g., Sampson and Raudenbusch, 2004; Sampson, 2009). In addition, it goes without saying that lumping different problems together in media discourses carries many dangers, not least the further stigmatisation of already marginalised social groups, including street sex workers.

The problem of street prostitution has also been associated with the “indecent” way sex workers are dressed in certain city areas, which include city centres, historic districts, residential areas, and areas attended by families (such as parks and areas surrounding churches or schools) and tourists. Clearly, this aesthetic presence opposes to the aesthetic expectations that (middle class) groups with political capital, and whose opinions are represented in the press (such as the ones of residents, which are mainly voiced by local politicians) have for that space. In 1997, Ferrell coined the term “cultural space” (Ferrell, 1997) to explain how different social groups may differently interpret how the urban space should be used by people and how systems of social control are adopted by majority groups against the “deviant” behaviour and unsightly presence of minorities. In essence, style is criminalised when it deviates from the aesthetic standards of majority groups and is used as a catalyst for law enforcement (Ferrell and Sanders, 1995; Ferrell, 1996, 1997).<sup>24</sup> The results of this study also point at how street sex workers oppose to the aesthetic and moral orders upheld by the majorities and, by changing their outfits to avoid being sanctioned, play with the aesthetic expectations of majority groups (for an example of urban interventionism challenging dominant aesthetic orders, see Millie, 2017). These playful attitudes are important as they remind us that the urban space is also a site of resistance, where norms and meanings are negotiated and contested between different social groups.

The results of the research, moreover, show the importance of context and, particularly, of urban areas in the shaping of press representations of the problems and solutions associated with the local regulation of street prostitution. In this, the research aligns with other studies, which have shown the importance of context in the understanding of the social control of incivilities (e.g., Whitehead, et al. 2003; Millie, 2008, 2017; Burney, 2009; XX, 2014; Vanderveen and van Eijk, 2016). In particular, this research has shown that street sex workers have been considered as disorderly (and their presence as alarming and conducive to further crime) and as “ugly” and “out-of-space” in areas attended by middle classes. In these areas, the represented solutions to these “problems” are, to be sure, very punitive: they rely on tough and armed law enforcement (against street prostitution, when it adds up to physical and social disorder and crime) and on administrative sanctions (imposed on “ugly” and “out-of-space” sex workers).

The local context (the city) is, of course, also an important unit of analysis when it comes to the understanding of punitive solutions to the “problems” said to be caused by street prostitution at the local level. The local framing of “problems” and their solutions, which is also carried out by relevant actors in the local press (sometimes recalling the dominant national press frames), has much to offer in terms of understanding and explaining local policy approaches against street sex work. Further research should, therefore, analyse how the local press (by reflecting context-specific factors) has represented the local regulation of street prostitution as this would allow to better understand how the local press framing of the “problems” of street sex work has affected local solutions. Future research should perhaps also attempt to do so in a comparative fashion, for example by comparing local press framing in cities and regions that have, and have not, adopted punitive local orders, and that have been governed by different political parties and coalitions. Local politicians, who have been found by this study to be the most vocal actors in the (national) press, may, in fact, differently frame problems (e.g., by playing with people’s fears) and influence the adoption of uneven policy solutions at the local level.

Essentially, the solutions offered by the national press, and particularly by local politicians in the press, to solve the “problems” posed by street sex work tend to support its local penalisation and, ultimately, to legitimise an extended use of local public order powers, whose exercise was substantially curtailed by the Constitutional Court in its 2011 judgment. This judgement, however, has not only barely been covered in the news (which have problematized it only to a limited extent); it has also not contributed to shaping regulatory decisions at the local level (nor at the national level, see below), as local authorities have kept on issuing and applying illegal/unconstitutional administrative orders after this decision.

The press framing of street prostitution as a public order problem “deserving” of local punitive interventions to re-establish or protect order, decency and decorum in areas attended by middle class families and tourists is also reflected in the framing of the “problem” by the recent law decree of the Italian government (No 17 of 20 February 2017). Largely in defiance of the Constitutional Court’s ruling, the decree has introduced new expanded public order powers that municipalities may use to penalise street prostitutes (along with other minorities). To an extent, this decree is in line with the governmental strategy against street prostitution initiated by the 2008 “Security Package”, which has framed street prostitution as a public order and security problem and

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<sup>24</sup> Recent literature has highlighted the importance of aesthetic (alongside moral and economic) judgments in understanding societal attitudes towards graffiti and street art (see, for example, Millie, 2011, and Vanderveen and van Eijk, 2016).

has penalised it through local public order regulations. The novelty lies here in the expanded definition of security, which has been stretched to more bluntly include *non-criminal incivilities*: what can be regulated and sanctioned at the local level is the behaviour of people (or their simple presence) when it affects the “liveability” of spaces and their “decorum” (law decree No 17 of 20 February 2017, art. 8 and 9) – not, as in the 2008 “Security Package”, when it poses a “grave peril” to public safety and security (law decree No 92 of 23 May 2008, art. 6). This new expanded definition of security reflects the aims that local authorities have pursued through the use of local orders since the adoption of the “Security Package” and that feature the dominant press frames detected in this study: tackling urban decay (also said to be caused by street prostitutes and their outfits) and preserving or restoring decency and decorum in the city (Saitta, 2009).

The potential effects on street sex workers of these revamped local public order powers aimed at restoring and protecting urban decency and decorum – in both physical and moral terms – are great and worrying. These extended powers may be used by local actors not only to sanction (e.g., “indecently” dressed) street sex workers through administrative fines, but also to ban them from certain areas of the city, including parks and historic districts attended by families and tourists. In a nutshell, they offer local authorities the possibility to enforce middle class moral and aesthetic norms and neoliberal values by disciplining and punitively regulating the behaviour and bodies of street sex workers in the urban space (Simone, 2010).

In conclusion, this case shows that a very narrow and stigmatising press framing of the “problem” of street prostitution – which in Italy has been represented as a public order problem – may lead to the adoption of national and local measures that may greatly and disproportionately impact on street prostitutes, who may be further marginalised and excluded from city spaces. The adoption of punitive solutions has certainly been facilitated by the absence of alternative frames put forward by actors other than local politicians and law enforcers, whose messages have been successful in framing “problems” and in influencing policy solutions. Women’s movements, third sector and sex workers’ associations, and academics, for example, have essentially been absent (or left out) from the press debate on the local regulation of street prostitution. Although the higher involvement and inclusion of these latter groups in the press debate may not guarantee their success in shaping dominant frames and policy solutions, yet they may ensure a higher level of pluralism in news content and, ultimately, that highly punitive measures against street sex workers are challenged (if not discharged altogether) in light of their excessive and stigmatising effects. The need for a greater participation of women’s movements, third sector and sex workers’ associations, and scholars in the press debate on prostitution and its regulation should be appreciated (and pursued by the relevant actors) also in other European countries. The presence of a plurality of messages in the press may, in fact, avoid the risk that – as in the case of Italy illustrated in this article – narrow and punitive views on prostitution embraced by specific groups, such as politicians and law enforcers, negatively influence its national and local regulation, and ultimately impair street sex workers’ right to the city.

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## Appendix

### Where: regions and cities

Macro-areas in Italy	Regions	Results	%
<i>North</i>		<i>Total: 182</i>	<i>Total: 52%</i>
	<b>Lombardy</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>17,8%</b>
	Milano	57	16,4%
	Brescia	3	0,8%
	Cremona	1	0,3%
	Lombardia Region	1	0,3%
	<b>Veneto</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>17%</b>
	Vicenza	20	5,7%
	Padova	11	3,1%
	Verona	9	2,5%
	Venezia	3	0,8%
	Veneto Region	17	4,9%
	<b>Liguria</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>10,6%</b>
	Genova	34	9,8%
	Liguria Region	3	0,8%
	<b>Emilia Romagna</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3,7%</b>
	Bologna	9	2,5%
	Parma	4	1,2%
	<b>Piedmont</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1,1%</b>
	Torino	3	0,8%
	Novara	1	0,3%
	<b>General north 6</b>		<b>1,7%</b>
<i>Centre</i>		<i>Total: 125</i>	<i>36%</i>
	<b>Lazio</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>30,4%</b>
	Roma	105	30,1%
	Lazio in general	1	0,3%
	<b>Tuscany</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5,2%</b>
	Firenze	10	2,9%
	Viareggio	1	0,3%
	Pisa	1	0,3%
	Toscana Region in general	6	1,7%
	<b>Abruzzo</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0,3</b>
	Pescara	1	0,3
<i>South</i>		<i>Total: 43</i>	<i>12%</i>
	<b>Campania</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5,4%</b>
	Napoli	15	4,2%
	Salerno	4	1,2%
	<b>Puglia</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4,3%</b>
	Bari	8	2,3%
	Foggia	2	0,6%
	Lecce	3	0,8%
	Puglia Region in general	2	0,6%
	<b>Sicily</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2,3%</b>
	Palermo	6	1,7%
	Catania	1	0,3%
	Termini Imerese	1	0,3%
	<b>Calabria</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0,3%</b>



### Actors speaking

Mayor	165	26,7%
Local politicians	152	24,6%
Police	88	14,3%
Provincial, regional and national politicians	45	7,3%
Third sector associations	43	7%
Residents	40	6,5%
Sex workers and their associations	32	5,2%
Bar owners	13	2,1%
Citizens	8	1,3%
LGBT associations	7	1,1%
Academics and researchers	7	1,1%
Other (clients: 5; judges: 4; shop owners: 1; “foreigners”: 1; feminist activists: 1; lawyers: 1; doctors: 1; other: 3)	17	2,8%

### Problems

Urban decay	417	70,7%
Related problems (social and physical disorder)	181	30,7%
Specific and “special” areas	174	29,5%
Prostitutes’ clothes and physical appearance	62	10,5%
Local orders	67	11,3%
Displacement	21	3,6%
Useless, illegitimate	19	3,2%
Difficult interpretation, implementation and enforcement	18	3%
Lack of support to prostitutes	9	1,5%
Exploitation	46	7,8%
Limited police capacities	25	4,3%
Clients	14	2,4%
Constitutional Court’s judgment	13	2,2%
New prostitution bill(s)	5	0,8%
Other (HIV: 2; zoning: 1)	3	0,5%

### Solutions

Law enforcement	132	19,9%
Sanctions to prostitutes and clients	112	16,9%
Local orders	93	14%
Sanctions to clients	52	7,9%
Support to prostitutes willing to exit prostitution	41	6,2%
Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) measures	40	6%
CCTV and improved lightning	28	4,2%
Urban regeneration	8	1,2%
City cleaning	4	0,6%
New repressive prostitution laws	35	5,3%
Zoning	29	4,4%
Sanction to bars and apartment owners (indoor prostitution)	26	3,9%
Prevention	21	3,2%
Limited traffic zone or pedestrian precinct	20	3%
Extradition	13	2%
Protests	13	2%
Appeal	10	1,5%
Indoor prostitution (RLD)	9	1,35%
Invalidity of orders (established by a court)	9	1,35%
Measures against exploitation	5	0,7%

Other (benefits to bar owners complying with local regulations: 2; hearing prostitutes' voices: 1)	3	0,4%
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