



ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA

The femi(ni)cide as extreme violence against women: issues of framing and symbolic struggles

Summer School, June 11, 2025

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OSSERVATORIO DI RICERCA
SUL FEMMINICIDIO



SOCIETY AS A FACTORY OF MEANINGS

- The various 'departments' constitute the **socio-cultural sectors** where the **equipment of available collective definitions** is produced
- Competition / rivalry / conflict
- Power dynamics, size, influence, and different burdens
- ARENAS ISOLATED OR CONNECTED THROUGH SYMBIOSIS, CONFLICT, OR ALLIANCE
- FORMS OF SOCIAL CIRCULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

[Hilgartner & Bosk 1988]



PRODUCTS, DISTRIBUTED, EXCHANGED

THEY CIRCULATE AND CAN BE MODIFIED

CULTURAL OBJECTS

SHARED SIGNIFICATION EMBODIED IN A FORM

- A SIGNIFICANT EXPRESSION THAT CAN BE HEARD, SEEN, TOUCHED, ARTICULATED, AND THAT TELLS US A STORY
- THE CULTURAL OBJECT ENTERS THE DISCOURSE OF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF PEOPLE AND BECOMES A PUBLIC FACT

SCHUDSON 1991

THE «WORK» OF CULTURE

- CULTURE AS A **COLLECTIVE PROPERTY** PROVIDING TOOLS OR INTERPRETATIVE CODES, UNDERGOES **MUTATIONS**
- THEY MUST BE STUDIED IN RELATION TO CONTEXTS AND INSTITUTIONS
- THE POWER OF CULTURE IS NOT IN INDIVIDUALS' HEADS BUT IN **EXPECTATIONS OF RECIPROCITY**
- I.E., WHAT DO PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT HOW OTHERS WILL INTERPRET THEIR BEHAVIOR? [**LEGITIMACY**]
- **SYMBOLIC BATTLES FOR VISIBILITY**, MORE OR LESS RESONANT



THE FRAME

IF WE NEED CULTURAL TOOLS TO HELP US DEAL WITH SITUATIONS THAT ENGAGE US, HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO ADDRESS FEMINICIDE IN A COUNTRY WHERE UNTIL 1981 THERE WAS A LAW MITIGATING HONOR KILLINGS?

GOFFMAN (1974)



WHAT IS FRAME?

«definitions of the situation [that] are built up in accordance with the principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them»

These definitions helps people to perceive, identify and label events in everyday life



FEMI(NI)CIDE: SYMBOLIC BATTLES AND FRAMES

DIFFERENTS ARENAS, VARIOUS ACTORS & CROSS-CONTAMINATIONS

«POLITICAL»

CLAIM-MAKING

*1976 - INTERNATIONAL-
TRIBUNAL Bruxelles*

- Diana Russell
- First élites
- Feminist movements and debates
- Gender research and studies

VISIBILITY

MEDIA AND COMMON SENSE

PUBLIC VISIBILITY

- News stories
 - Investigative journalism
 - Fiction, Infotainment
 - Campaigns, advertising
- ...

INSTITUTIONS

POLICY MAKERS

Politics to combat
violence

- Parliament: legislation
- The National Commission
- Official statistics
- Courts of Justice

FÉMI(NI)CIDE



1976

Diana Russell - International Tribunal on Crimes
Against Women - Brussels

The first **public** 'political claim'

«We must realize that a lot of homicide is in fact femicide. We must recognize the sexual politics of murder. From the burning of witches in the past, to the more recent widespread custom of female infanticide in many societies, to the killing of women for "honor," we realize that femicide has been going on a long time. But since it involves mere females, there was no name for it until Carol Orlock invented the word "Femicide»

**To kill a
woman for
being a
woman**

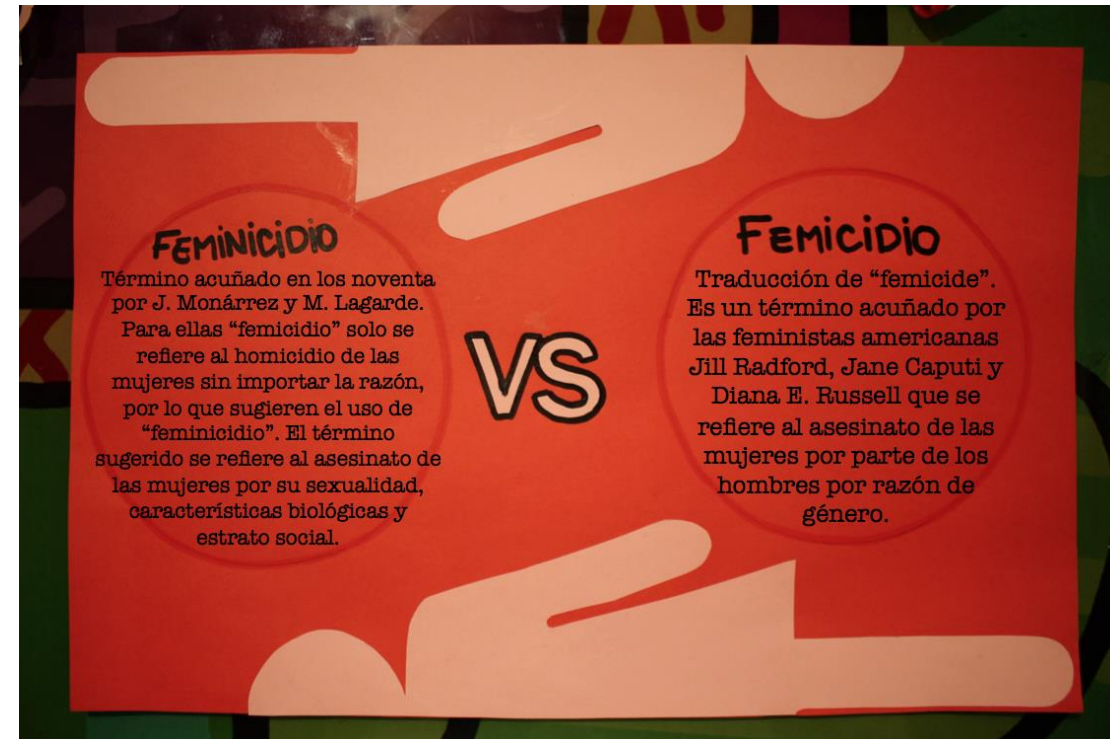
FEMINICIDE AND FEMICIDE: DEBATE [but the first term is the one that will gain public prominence]

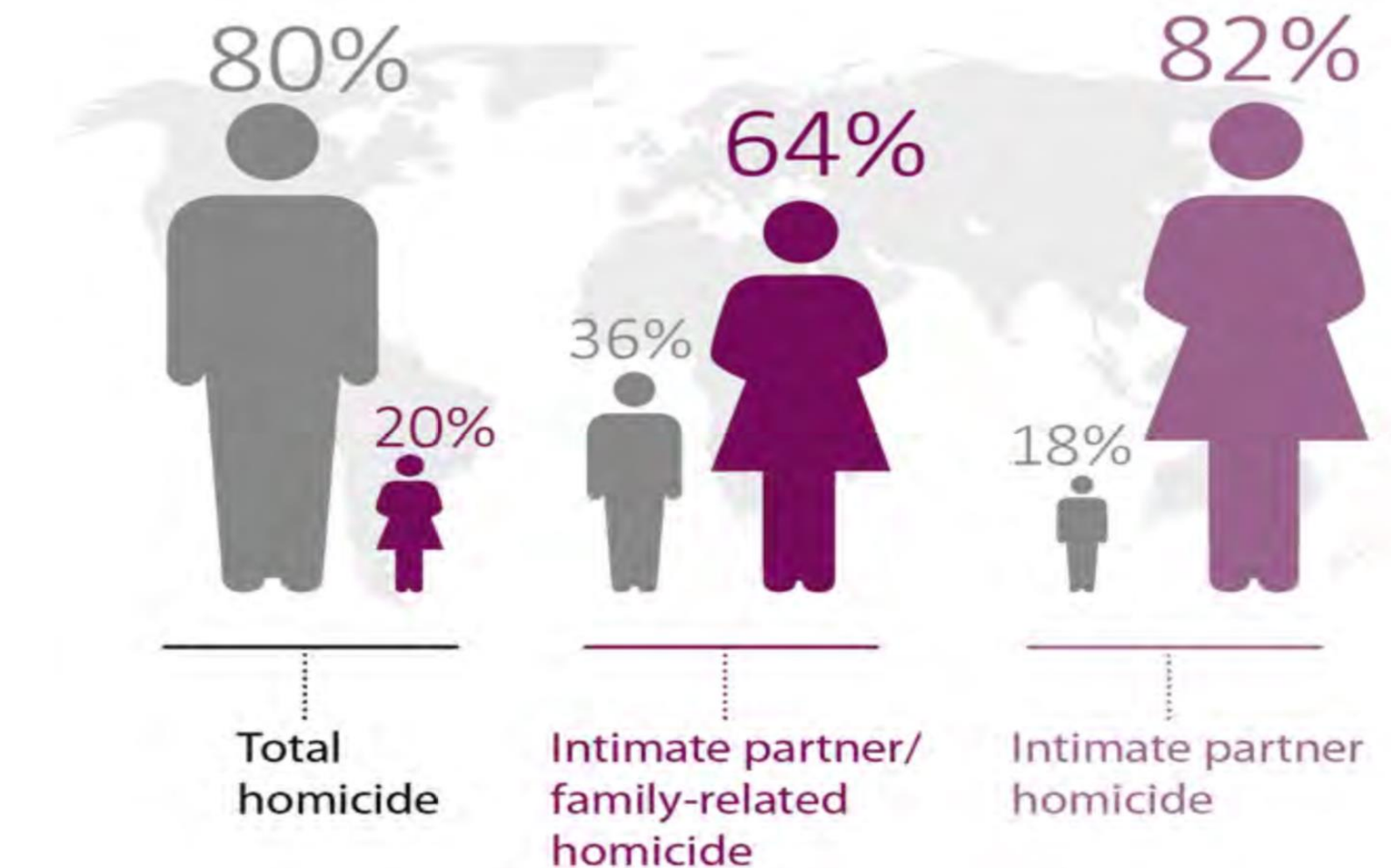
Ex.: Dual version in Spanish – Latin America and the debate between Marcela Lagarde and D. Russell

Italy: despite the 'public' version, some feminists proposed two different words, following Lagarde.

Casa delle donne per non subire violenza di Bologna (some years ago):

“The word femicidio concerns all killings of women for gender reasons (...) to distinguish this extreme outcome from those that fall under the general category of femminicidio, which includes every socially violent practice, both physical and psychological, that harms the integrity, psycho-physical development, health, and freedom of women, aiming to annihilate their identity through physical and/or psychological subjugation”





WHAT IS THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER?

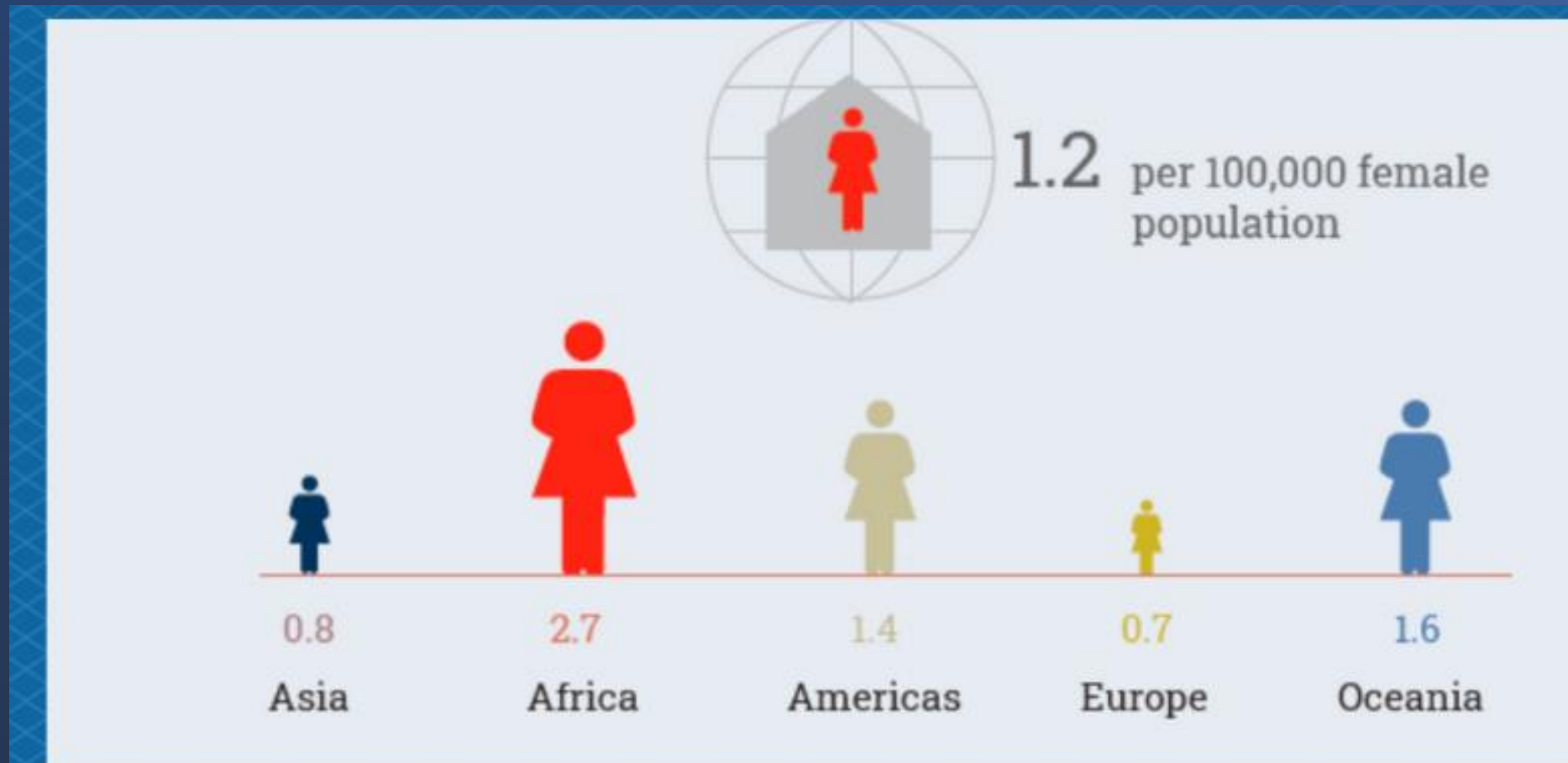
- The search for "objects" giving concrete meaning to the word
- The difference with homicides
- The demand for official data

[In Italy, until a few years ago there were no statistics distinguishing the sex of homicide victims]

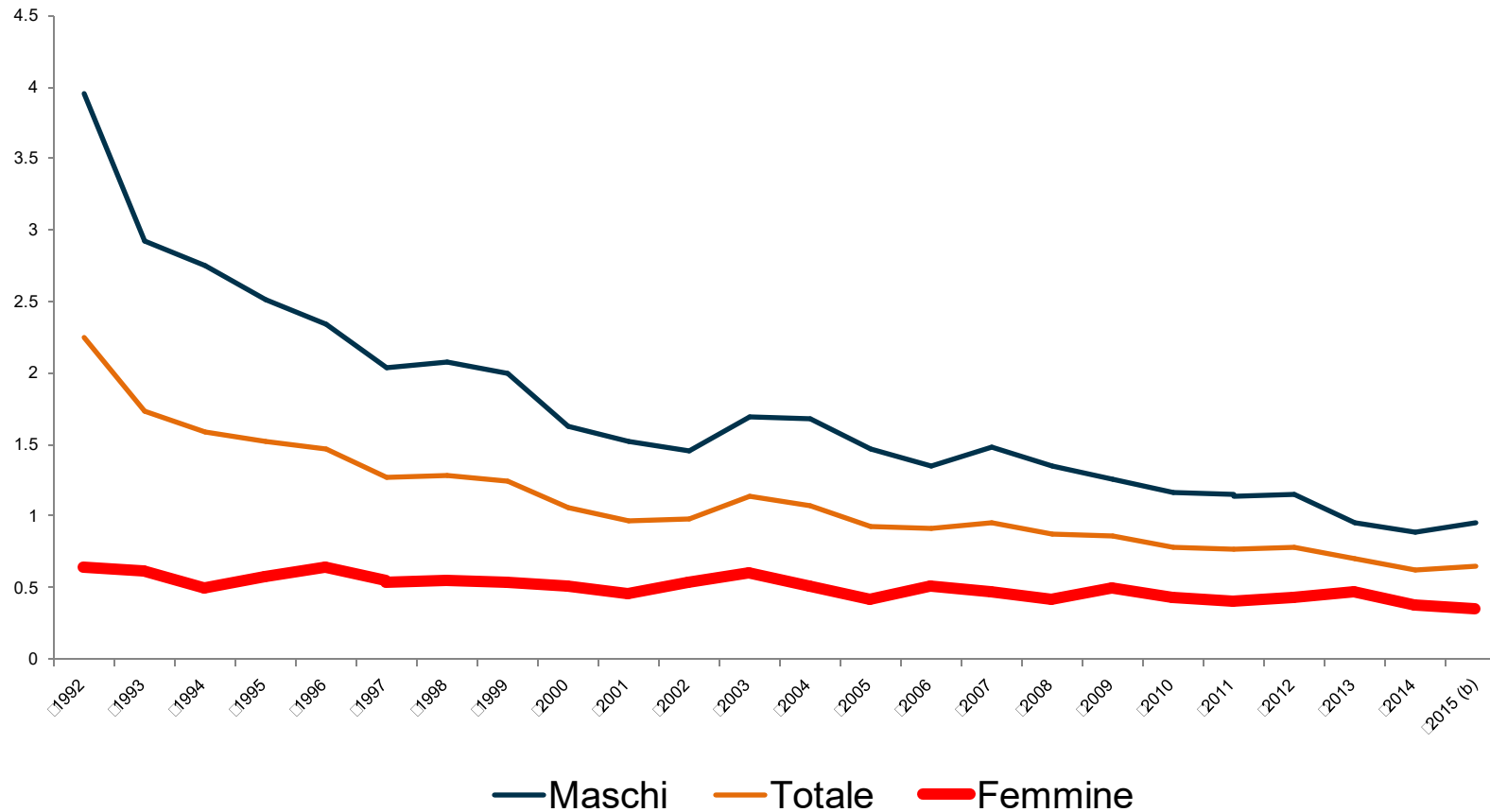
(Source: UNODC 2018)

DISTRIBUTION IN THE WORLD

Homicide rate of women within the family per 100,000 women
(UNODC 2020)



THE SITUATION IN ITALY



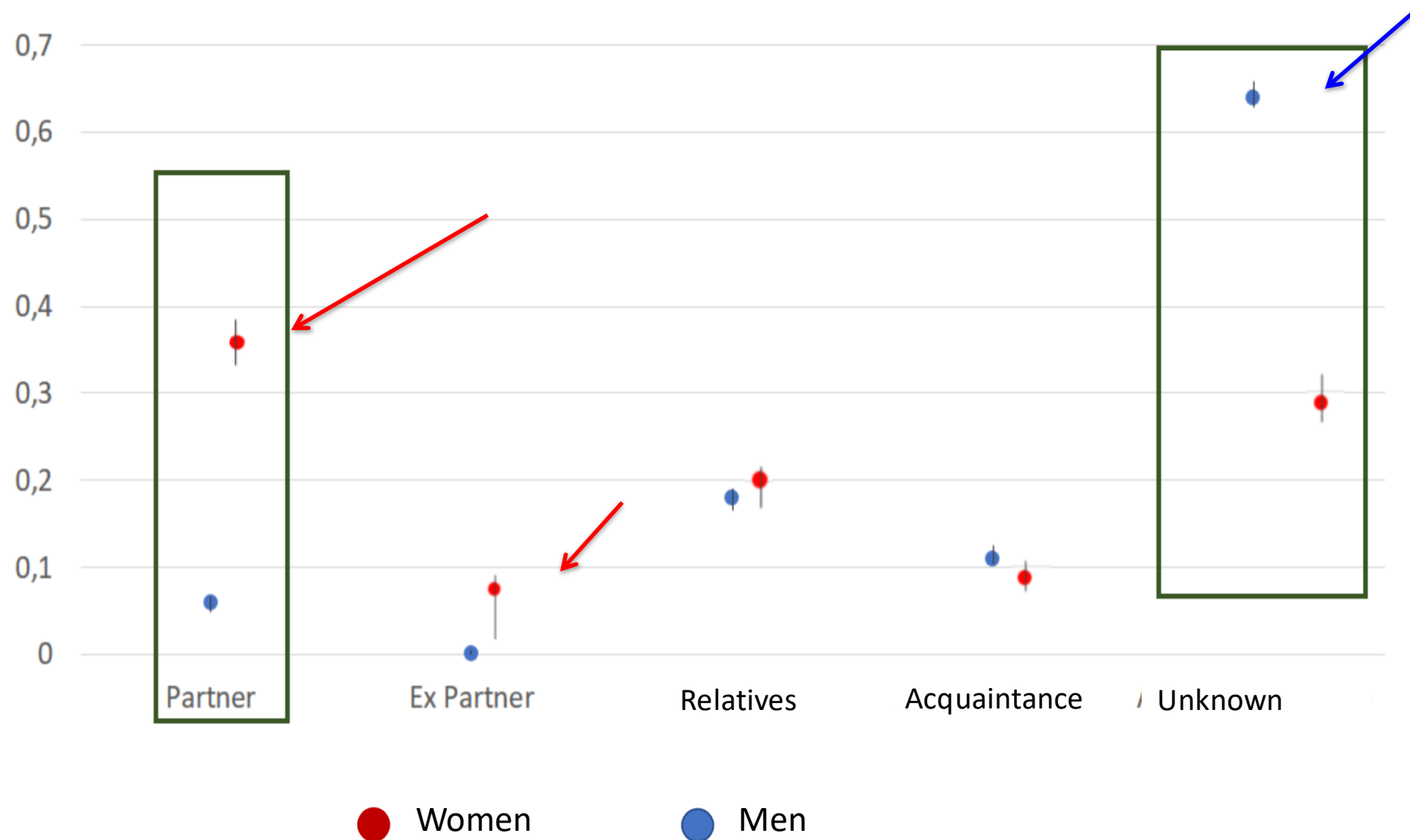
THE MALE
HOMICIDE RATE
HAS BEEN
GRADUALLY
DECREASING
SINCE THE 1990s

THIS DECREASE DOES
NOT APPLY TO FEMALE
VICTIMS: **THE RATE
TENDS TO REMAIN
CONSTANT**

VICTIMS OF MURDERS IN ITALY BY SEX 1999-2005 PER 100.000 CITIZENS
(ISTAT, 2017)

THE DATA SHOWS WHAT IS SPECIFIC: THE VICTIM-KILLER RELATIONSHIP

Predicted probabilities according to the relationship between victim and killer and the gender
(Source: Barbagli & Minello 2017)



THE COMMON BELIEF

THE FRAME WITH WHICH FEMICIDE CLAIMS MUST CONFRONT

(In a country where the “honor crime” existed until 1981)

- The murder of a woman mostly occurs within the home and must therefore be considered a “**private matter**”
- It is framed as a **crime of passion** or even a **pathological aberration**



TRACES OF THE 'HONOR CRIME'...



« The homicide is not motivated by passionate reasons, which might elicit a certain human understanding, sometimes because of the provocative behavior of the victim [...] »

Killing a woman for being a woman — in the end, is it a less “despicable” act than a “real” crime?

2014

Court of Justice ruling in L'Aquila



OSSERVATORIO DI RICERCA
SUL FEMMINICIDIO

KEY LEGAL MILESTONES

- **1975:** Family law reform
- **1978:** Law supporting maternity and abortion rights
- **1981:** Abrogation of “honour” mitigation for homicide crime and of the “reparatory marriage” (or “shotgun marriage”)
- **1996:** Rape becomes a crime against the person (no longer against public morality)
- **2003:** Measures against human trafficking
- **2013, 2014, 2015** and following:
 - Ratification of the Istanbul Convention (2011)
 - Measures against domestic violence, harassment, and female genital mutilation
 - Defined resources and standards for anti-violence centers and shelters
 - Prevention, education, protection of victims at work
 - Harsher penalties, coordination between civil and criminal systems
 - Obligation to collect gender statistics
- **2017:** Internet explicitly included in the crime of spreading deceptive communications
- **2024:** Prevention and prosecution of cyberharassment and cyberbullying
- **2025:** Presentation of a controversial project of law on «femicide crime»

THROUGH VARIOUS CONTAMINATIONS, THE WORD FEMINICIDE GAINS PUBLIC AND INSTITUTIONAL VISIBILITY

CALL
FOR
ACTION



Senato della Repubblica
XVII Legislatura 20

2017: First Senate Commission on femicide

Sei in: [Home](#) » [Commissioni e Giunte](#) » [Commissioni d'inchiesta](#) » [Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul femminicidio, nonché su ogni forma di violenza di genere](#) » [Compos](#)

Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul femminicidio, nonché su ogni forma di violenza di genere

- Composizione
- Ordini del giorno
- Schede di fine seduta

Commissioni e Giunte

Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul femminicidio, nonché su ogni forma di violenza di genere

(Delibera del Senato della Repubblica 18/01/2017, pubblicata nella G.U. n. 20 del 25/01/2017)

Commissioni e Giunte

Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul femminicidio, nonché su ogni forma di violenza di genere

(Delibera del Senato della Repubblica 16/10/2018, pubblicata nella G.U. n. 249 del 25/10/2018; proroga del termine con delibera del 5/2/2020, G.U. n. 32 dell'8/2/2020)

XVIII Legislatura (dal 23 marzo 2018)

Composizione attuale | **Composizione storica**

Presidente	<p>VALENTE Valeria PD</p>
Vicepresidenti	<div> <p>LEONE Cinzia M5S</p> </div> <div> <p>RIZZOTTI Maria FIBP-UDC</p> </div>

«Femicide: on the Miss Italia stage, Vera Squatrito, mother of Giordana Di Stefano, 20 years old, killed in 2015 by her ex, speaks as a witness to social engagement against violence toward women” » (fanpage, 6-9-2019)

Courts of Justice are faced with a new kind of public visibility



Senza volersi qui dilungare su un tema estraneo e non pertinente al processo, basterà ricordare che uxoricidio e femminicidio non sono termini equivalenti e fungibili, perché il primo contrassegna la mera uccisione di una donna, mentre il secondo, avente contenuto criminologico, si riferisce all'uccisione di una donna in quanto tale per motivi legati al genere, e ciò a causa di situazioni di patologie relazionali dovute a matrici ideologiche misogine e sessiste e/o ad arretratezze culturali di stampo patriarcale.

Dopo che il PM, diversamente da quanto opinato nell'elevare l'imputazione, ha escluso il movente della gelosia dalle possibili cause scatenanti l'omicidio, appare arduo per la Corte - sulla base di quanto emerso in dibattimento - rinvenire una dinamica "femminicida" rispetto ad una vicenda occasionata - nella prospettiva dell'accusa - da un conflitto insorto per ragioni estemporanee e contingenti, e non invece in conseguenza di un atto apicale di prevaricazione nei confronti della figura femminile.

Femicide is denied because it is considered different from individual pathology

2020 –

Court of Assizes ruling in Brescia (FOLLOWING A MEDIA DEBATE)

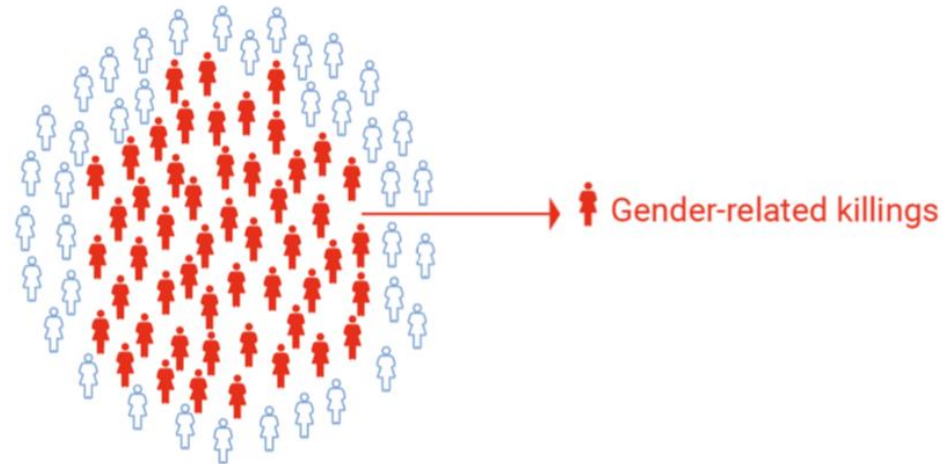


OSSERVATORIO DI RICERCA
SUL FEMMINICIDIO

Gender-related killings refer to intentional homicides of women due to gender-related motivations

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Framing femi(ni)cide by
proposing the progressive
sharing of a statistical
apparatus



Gender-related killings are motivated by underlying factors such as the ideology of men's entitlement and privilege over women, social norms regarding masculinity, and the need to assert male control or power, enforce gender roles, or prevent, discourage or punish what is considered to be unacceptable female behaviour.

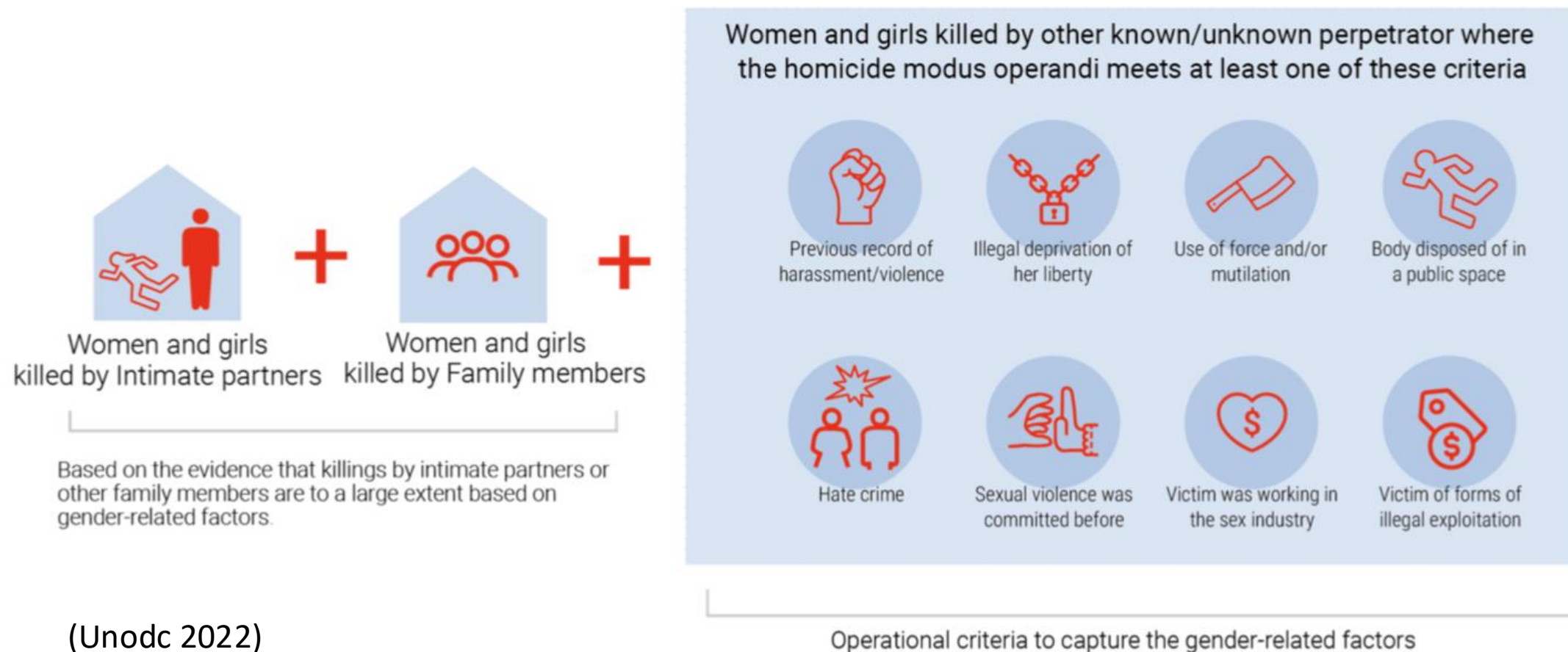
Gender-related killings can occur within different perpetrator-victim **relationships**



(Unodc 2022)

Figure 4: Statistical framework for measuring gender-related killing of women and girls (also referred to as “femicide/feminicide”)

The data blocks for collecting and aggregating statistics on gender-related killings





Eige 2021: 12 types of femicide

KILLED BY PARTNER/EX/OTHER RELATIVES	KILLED BY OTHER PEOPLE	UNINTENTIONAL KILLING
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• PARTNER OR EX PARTNER	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• SEXUAL VIOLENCE• CONSEQUENCE OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION	<p>DIED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF VIOLENCE BY PARTNER/EX</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• OTHER RELATIVES FOR HONOR / DOWRY	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CONSEQUENCE OF TRAFFICKING• CONTINUUM OF VIOLENCE (CARE, AUTHORITY, POLITICAL ACTIVITY)	<p>DIED AS A RESULT OF GENITAL MUTILATION</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• OTHER RELATIVES FOR OTHER REASONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• [AGE OF THE VICTIM > 65]• OTHER TYPES	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• OTHER TYPES

**COUNTERING THE
IDEA THAT
WOMEN'S
EMANCIPATION
CAUSES VIOLENCE**



OUR RESEARCH: SOME INSIGHTS

[YEARS 2015-2017, et 2018-2020
preceded by a pilot in 2012]



Extreme violence
against women now
forces its way into
Italian news media



Has visibility turned a
private matter into public
discourse?
Are there differences in
the “news value”
attributed to the stories?

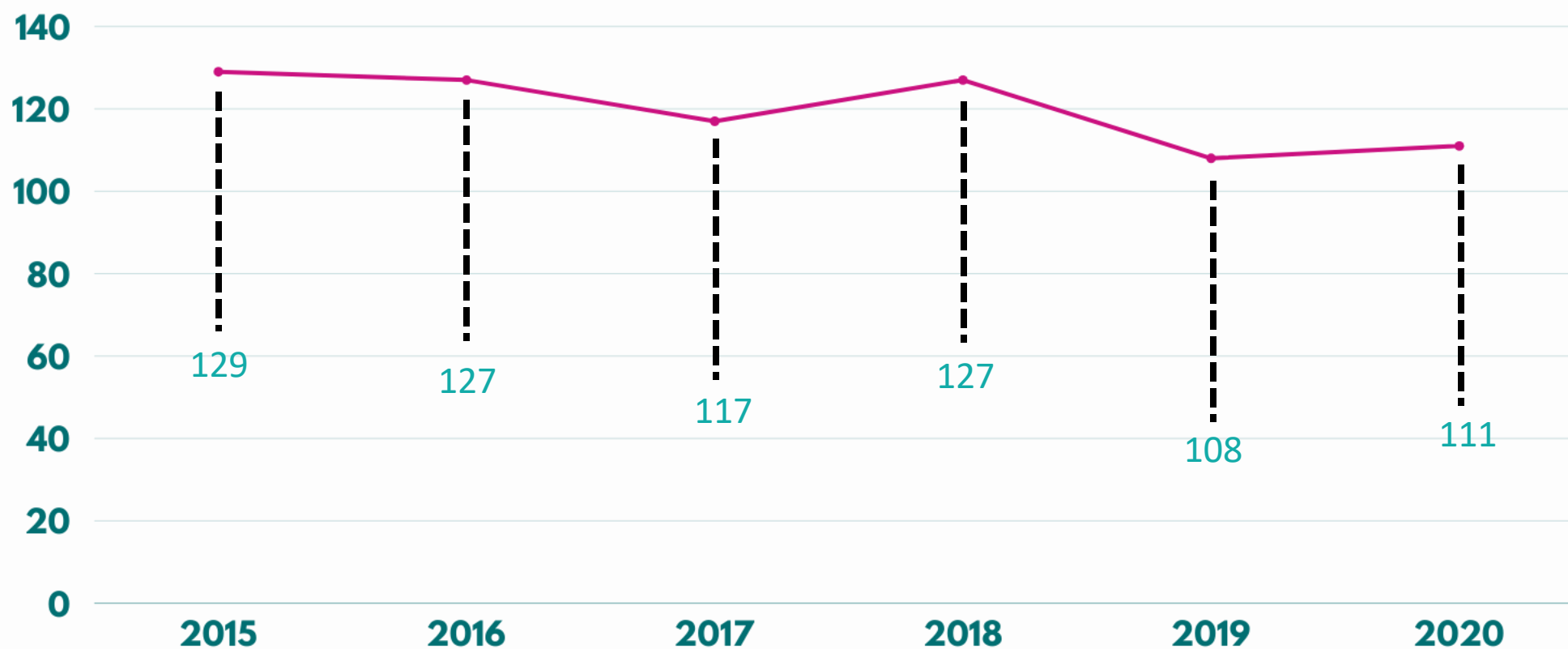


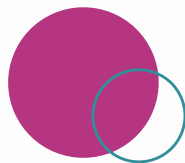
How have the media
managed to narrate
these events in a
country where the
honour crime survived
until forty years ago?



WOMEN VICTIMS OF INTENTIONAL HOMICIDE BY A MAN IN ITALY

2015-2020





● 2015-2017 ● 2018-2020

Partner/Ex partner/Amante

55.0

61.0

Connaissance

12.0

9.0

Fils

11.5

9.0

Autre proche

8.0

13.5

Client sex worker

4.0

3.0

Inconnu à la victime

3.0

2.0

Inconnu

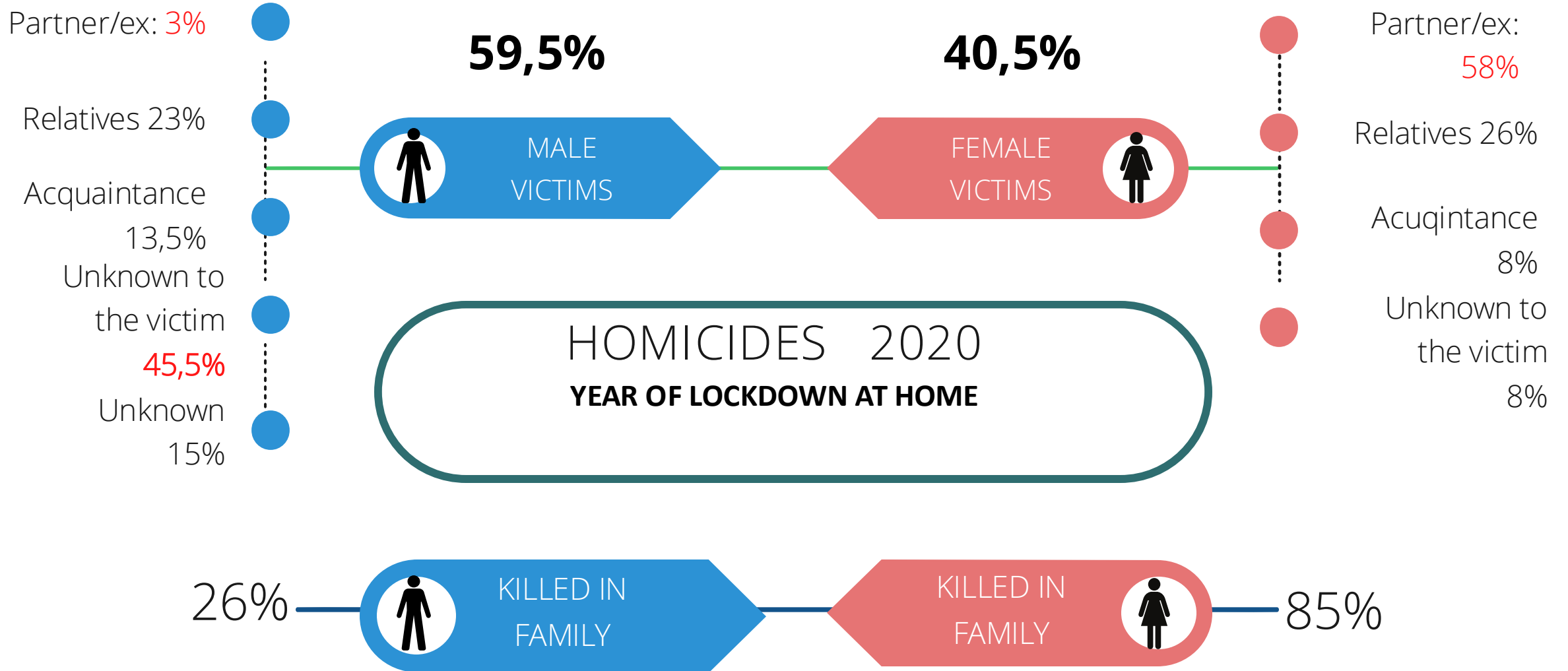
5.0

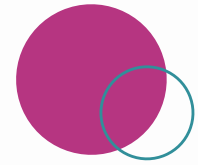
2.0

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

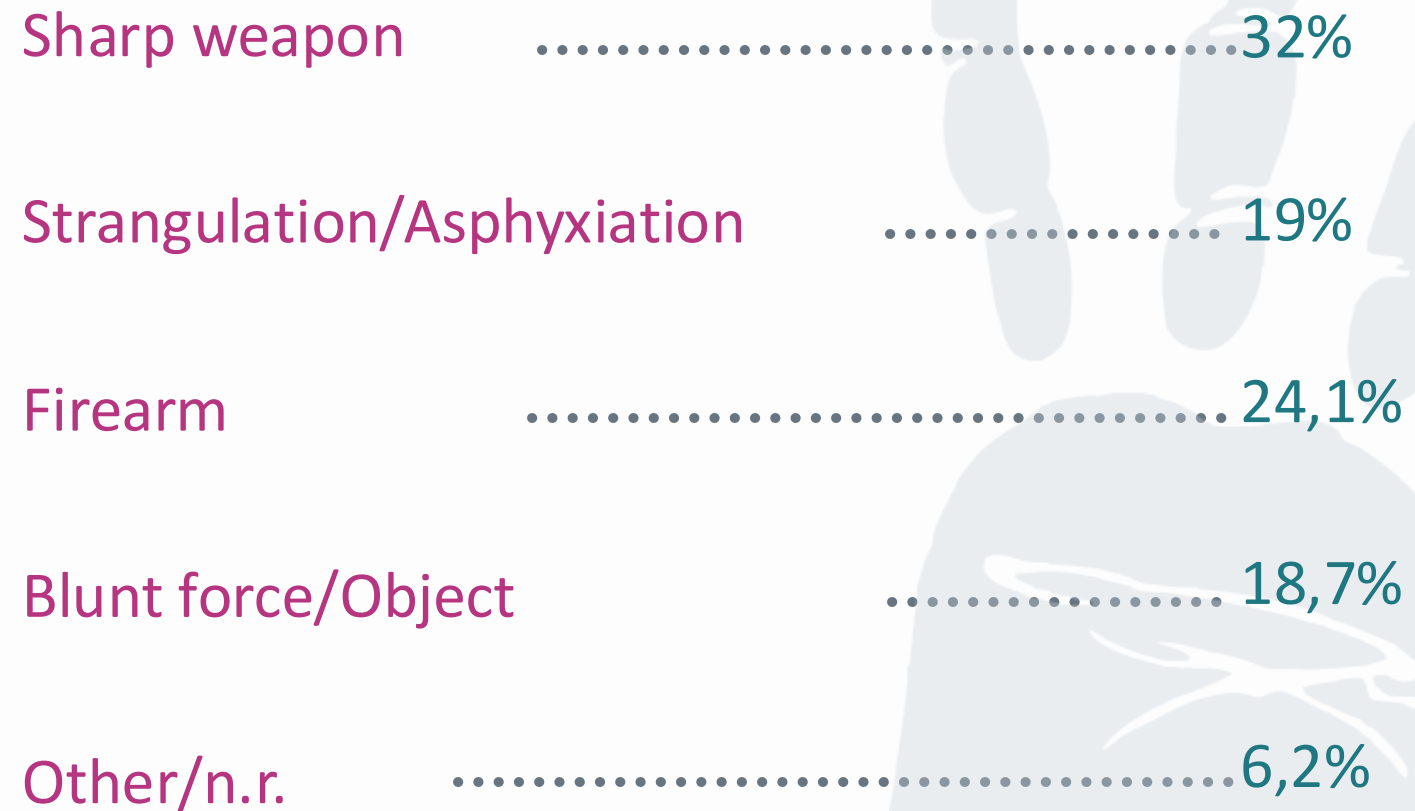
Relationship
with the victim
2015-2020

2020: 286 HOMICIDES IN ITALY





HOW ARE THEY KILLED? 2015-2020





Where are they
killed?
2015-2020



Home

76,1



Public space

9,3



Car/parking

5,7



Park/Beach

3,8

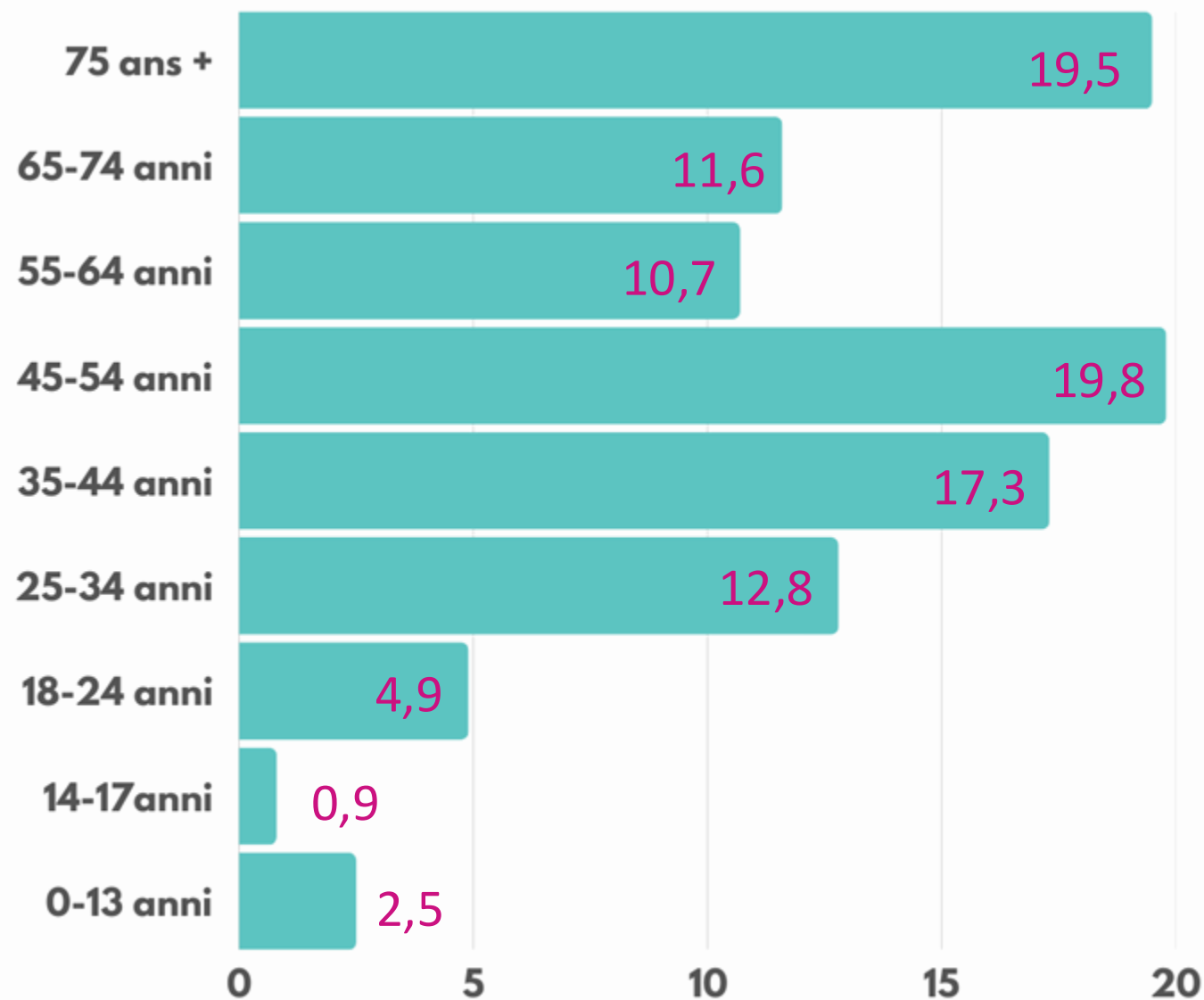


Age of the victim 2015-2020

% 2015-2017
per 100.000 inhab.:

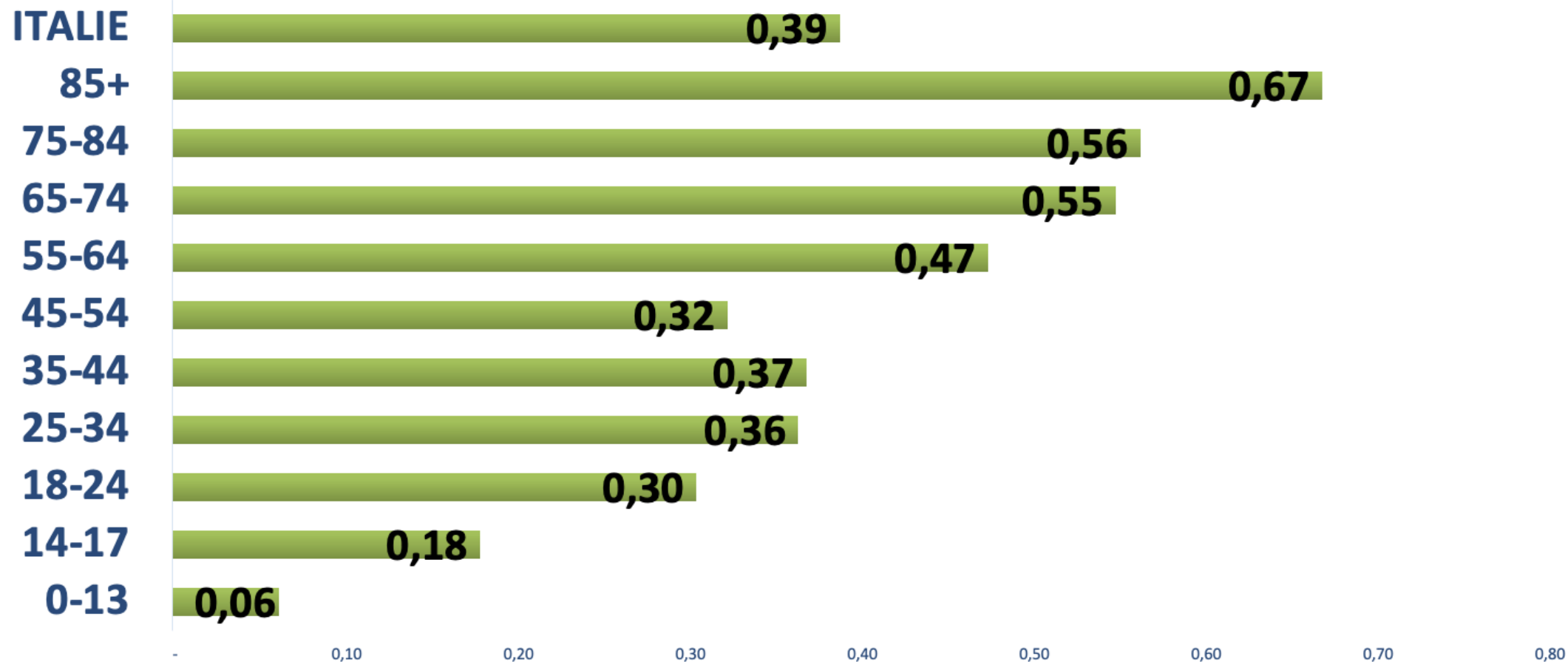
75+ : 0,57

35-54: 0,54





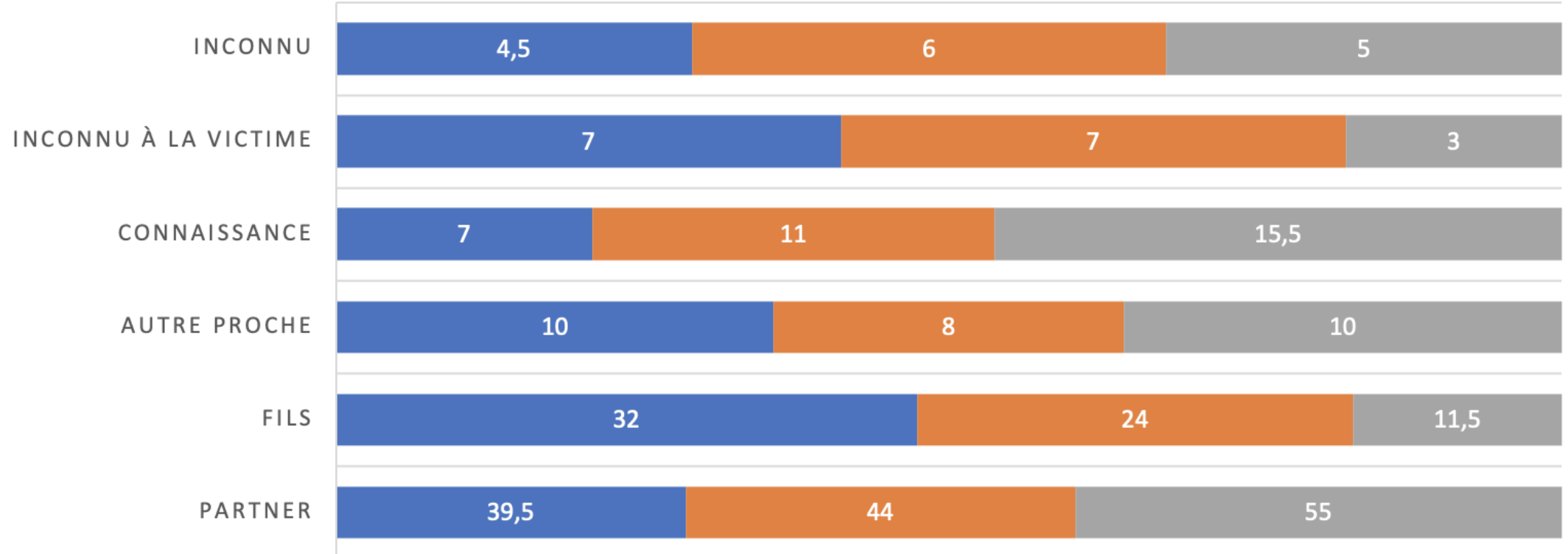
Female victims of homicide per 100.000 inhabitants per age Year 2023 (Istat 2024)





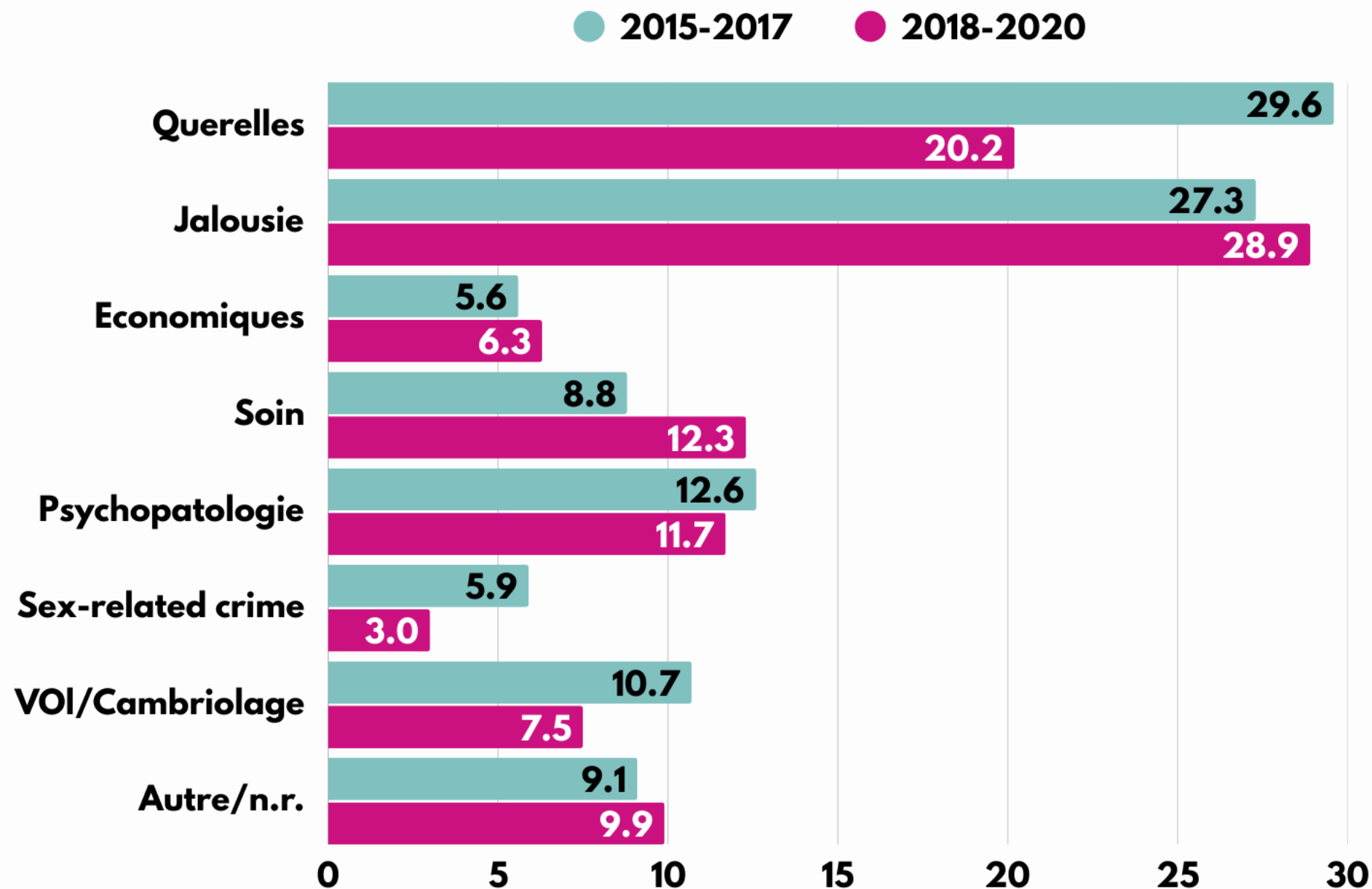
RELATIONS VICTIMES D'HOMICIDE SELON L'ÂGE 2015-2017 VAL % (N +74 = 71; +64 = 119 ; ALL N= 393)

■ 75 et + ■ 65 et + ■ Tout age





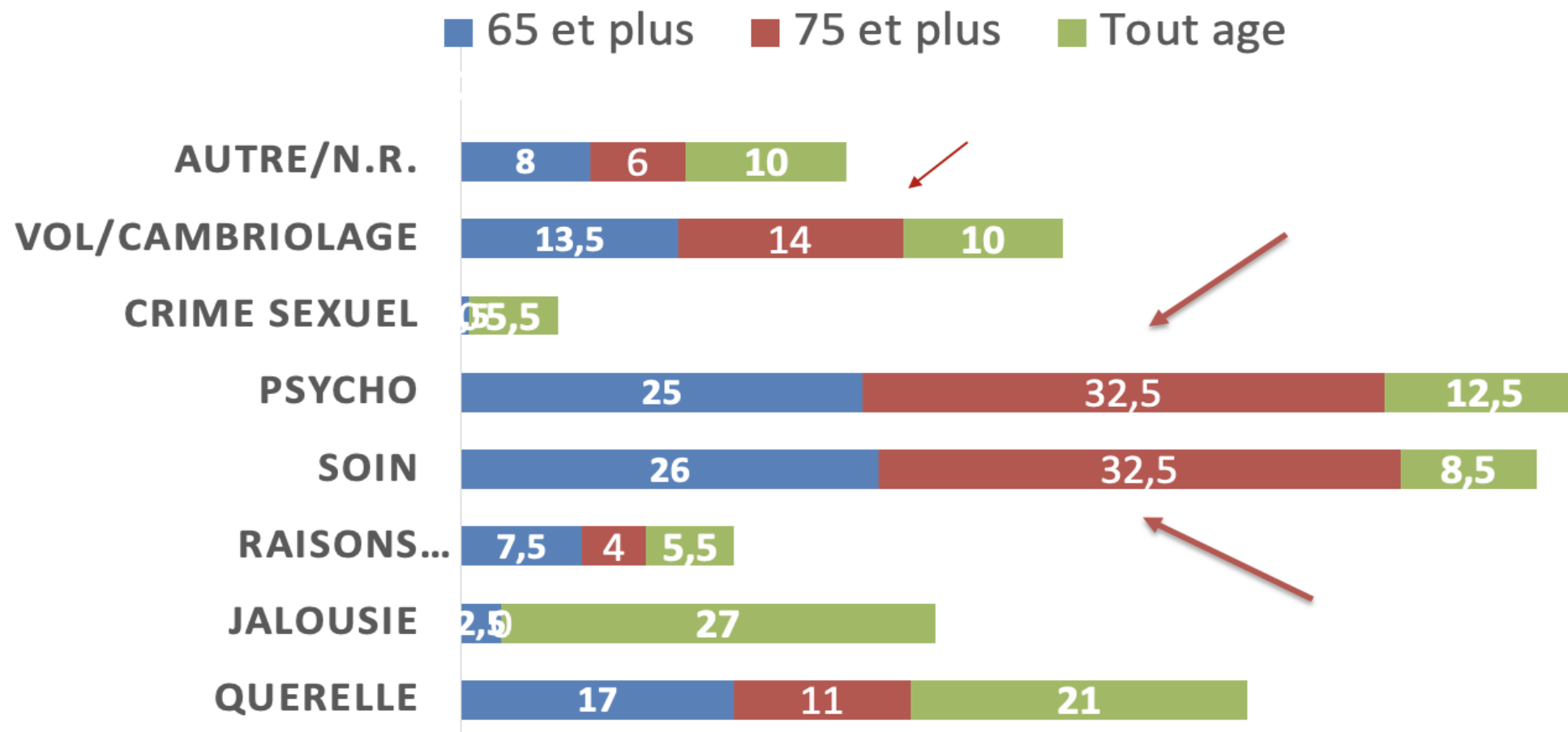
Reported
motives
2015-2017
and 2018-2020





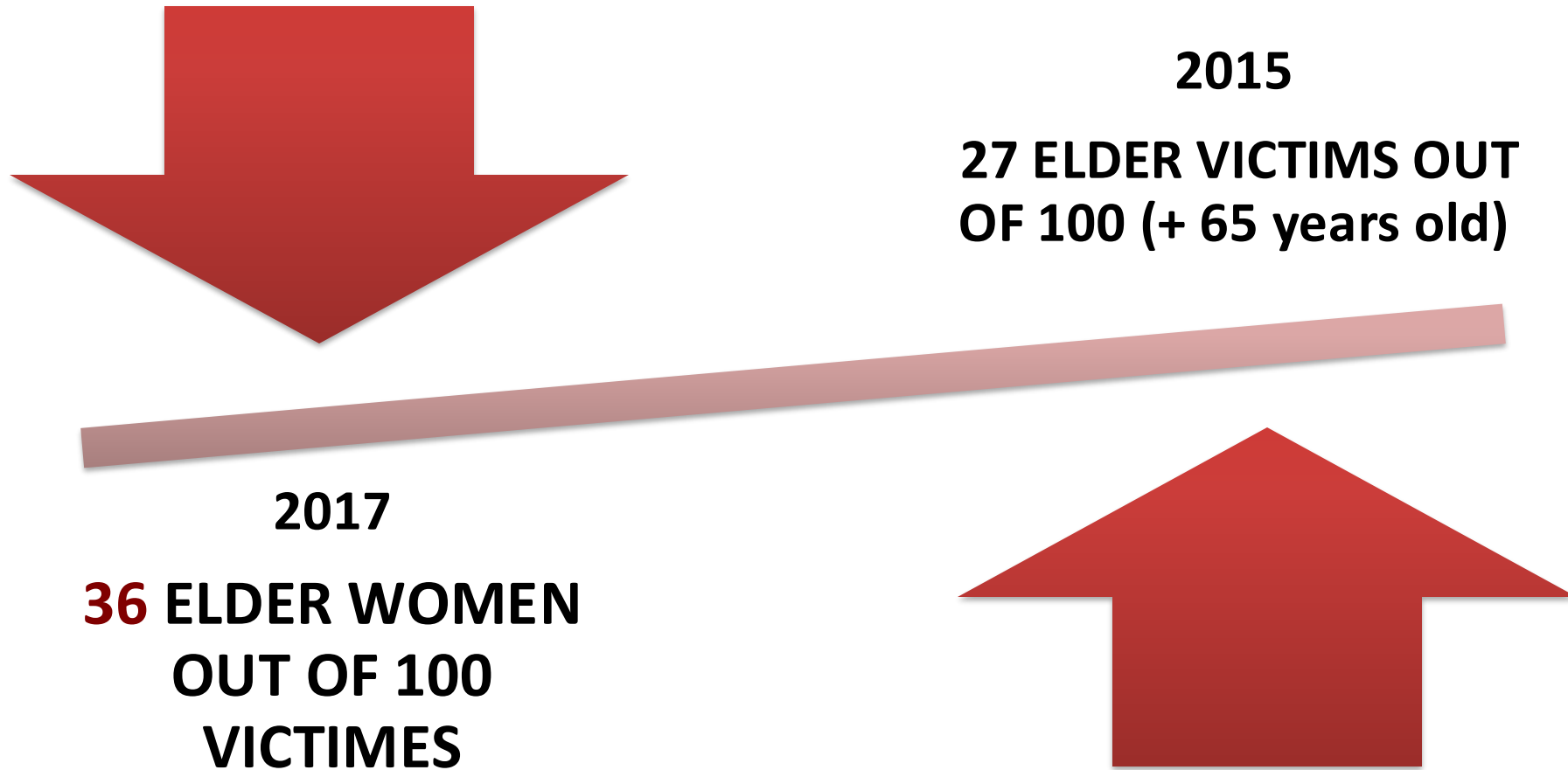
RAISONS SELON L'ÂGE 2015-2017

(VAL. % +64 N= 119; +74 N= 71; ALL N= 378)



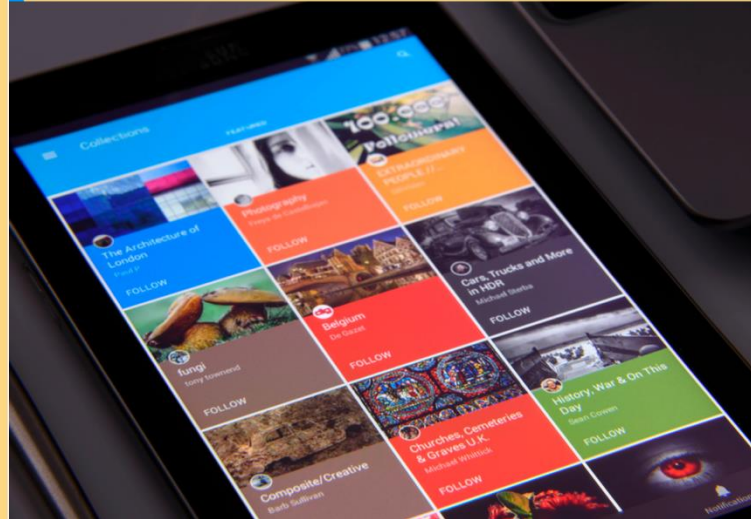
ELDERLY WOMEN: AN IMPORTANT BUT LITTLE-VISIBLE PHENOMENON

A NEW FRAME? GERONTO-FEMICIDE (?)



NEWS STORIES AS A FRAMING WINDOW ONTO OUR WORLD

**OPENING A WINDOW
ON SPECIFIC EVENTS**

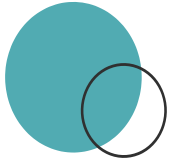


**SUGGESTING A
VIEWPOINT THAT FITS
WHAT IT'S ALREADY
KNOWN**

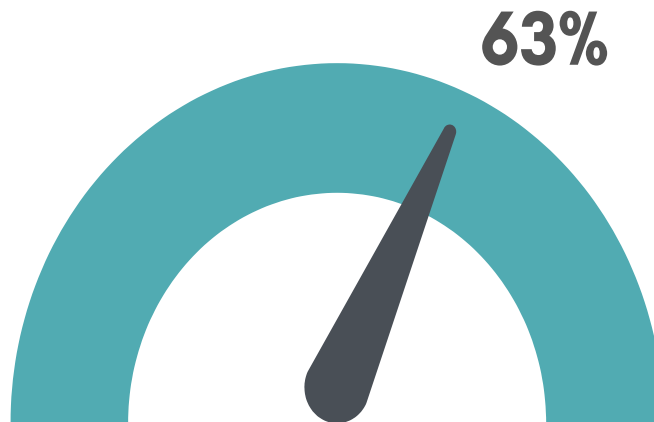
**PLACING THE EVENT IN THE
AGENDA
&
FRAMING ITS SCOPE**

**CONTRIBUTING TO
GIVE INTERPRETATION
TO THE WORLD WE
LIVE IN**

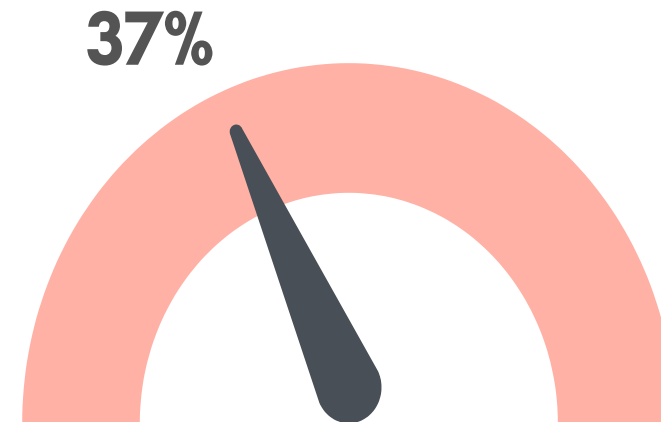




HOW MANY FEMICIDES RECEIVED AT LEAST ONE ARTICLE IN THE FOUR NATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPERS OBSERVED?



On line coverage



Print edition coverage

NATIONAL PRESS

CORRIERE DELLA SERA

Percentage based on 387 events (2015–2017)



Murders committed by **partners** are higher in number but receive less coverage compared to murders committed by ex-partners or occasional partners

The 8 cases of murder by **occasional partner** or in an **extra-marital affair** receive the most prominent coverage

MURDERS OF **SEX WORKERS** AND **VERY ELDERLY WOMEN** RECEIVE **LESS COVERAGE**

Despite representing a far rarer occurrence, **murders committed by strangers** receive on average a much greater coverage



Intimate partner femicides QUALITATIVE FOCUS

THREE DIFFERENT “NEWS VALUES” IN NATIONAL PRESS COVERAGE OF “INTIMATE” MURDERS
(i.e., committed by partner, ex-partner, or lover)

**“High-level”
femicides** (those
that “deserve” the
most attention)

**Least-covered
femicides** (those
seen as less relevant
and assumed to be
unrelated to gender)

**The typical narrative
of the “typical”
femicide**



1. HIGH-PROFILE FEMINICIDES: THE CRIME-NOVEL TREATMENT

A few femicides draw major attention; the narrative follows the pattern of a “true crime”

High number of articles
over several days

Tabloidization

Many details; **complex facts**;
serialized storytelling

Multiple or **heinous** killings;
sordid details

Very young
victim and perpetrator

Complex investigation;
uncertain perpetrator

VERY YOUNG VICTIM – VERY YOUNG PERPETRATOR (2017)

«Lecce: the discovery of the body of Noemi Durini, 16 years old »



The spectacle of the forensic investigation

Facebook photo



«Noemi Durini: violence that went unnoticed »

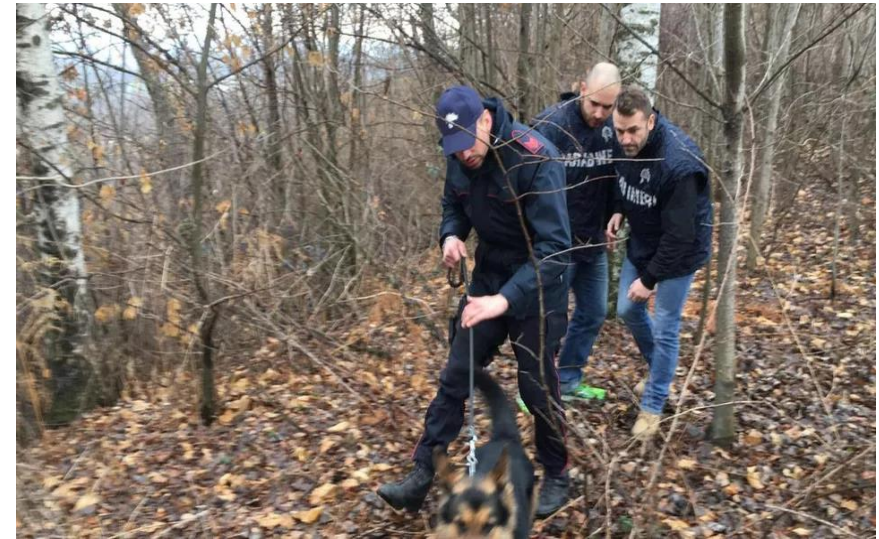
COMPLEX AND SORDID CRIME STORY – 2016

« Gloria Rosboch: a terrifying crime »

«The case of the missing schoolteacher »



«In the following days, the story adds new characters. There is a young Moroccan woman (...) and especially a 45-year-old woman (...) who had already had an affair with Gabriele »

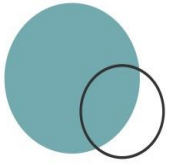


«A few hours later, it is revealed that behind the body's discovery is the confession of a man (...) who claims to be Gabriele's lover »



**IN 2023, ONE OF
THESE HIGH-PROFILE
FEMICIDES WILL
SPARK GREATER
AWARENESS AND A
MORE SIGNIFICANT
PUBLIC DEBATE**

Protest in Padua for Giulia Cecchettin :
Her voice, silenced by murder,
is revived by her sister:
«THIS IS A FEMICIDE ROOTED IN
PATRIARCHY »



2. THE “TRAGEDIES OF SOLITUDE”

Cases of elderly women killed by elderly partners received the least media attention

At most, a few lines in a very short article

No reference to gender or to the shortcomings of social and care policies

These stories are framed as **INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF DESPAIR**

**AS IF THEY HAD NO CONNECTION
WITH GENDER**



2. « TRAGEDIES OF SOLITUDE » - EXAMPLES



“It is a family tragedy, born of a man’s despair, who was also ill.”

“Carpi – elderly man shoots and kills his sick wife: ‘I could not take it anymore.’ She had been suffering from Alzheimer’s for a long time. They had been married for over sixty years.”

YET ELSEWHERE, IN ONE OF THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS... A DIFFERENT FRAME (GENDERED)



**THE SON MARK, A FAMOUS PHOTOGRAPHER,
VISITS HIS PARENTS TO DOCUMENT THE
“STRUGGLE OF THE FATHER” WITH
ALZHEIMER’S**

**“A GREAT LOVE STORY” (FROM THE SON
TOWARD THE FATHER)**

**Meanwhile, a photo shows the mother shaving
her husband, as if this were normal**

**An image reinforcing the supposedly “natural”
caregiving role expected by women**

3. THE «TYPICAL» FEMINICIDE NARRATIVE OF THE «TYPICAL» FEMINICIDE

RECURRING CASES FITTING TWO MAIN FRAMES:

→→ SICK LOVE

→→ LOSS OF CONTROL



→ INDIVIDUAL OR SITUATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS (jealousy, anger, rejection)

→ NO EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO STRUCTURAL GENDER ASYMMETRIES

→ YET WE OBSERVE AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO MENTION STALKING AND PREVIOUS COMPLAINTS
[this introduces a possible **ambivalence**]

3. WITHIN THE “TYPICAL” NARRATIVE, A POTENTIAL FRAME INNOVATION



IF THE STORY ARISES QUESTIONS ABOUT SIGNS OF STALKING, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, PREVIOUS COMPLAINTS, THIS CAN INTRODUCE:

POSSIBLE STIGMATISATION DYNAMICS



OF THE VICTIM

OF INSTITUTIONS

VICTIM BLAMING OR INSTITUTIONAL BLAMING

OR A NEW EMERGING FRAME:

ONE THAT CLEARLY **LINKS** EXTREME EVENTS TO
GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AS A PUBLIC ISSUE

3. THE TYPICAL STORY OF THE «TYPICAL» FEMINICIDE: EXAMPLES



«**An uncontrollable rage**, perhaps due to **intense jealousy**. This is how investigators explain the death of Omayma Benghaloum, 33, beaten to death by her husband »



«According to an initial reconstruction (...), **the couple had another argument**, after which **the man grabbed a rifle and shot his wife**, killing her »



«Tragedy of jealousy in Sestri Levante, near Genoa. **The man's anger exploded** during an argument **because his wife said she wanted a divorce** (...). 'Another feminicide (...). She wanted to leave me,' he **murmured as if in a trance** »

3. THE «TYPICAL» FEMINICIDE, THE « LITERARY » STYLE AND THE SOCIAL MEDIA

« **He could not accept** that **'his' Janira** had left him. On her Facebook page, the girl had changed her profile. According to **the couple's friends, jealousy was at the root of the story** »

THE PHOTOMONTAGE: THE IMAGINED AND IMAGINARY COUPLE

«On October 3, 2013, she had reported Luca (...). **On her Facebook page (...): 'One of the worst mistakes** is staying close to someone who destroys your self-esteem. One must **pay attention to words. They are sharp weapons.'** Like the knife Luca used to kill her ».



Ilenia Fabbri con l'ex marito Claudio Nanni



ROUTINIZATION OF FEMI(NI)CIDE AS CRIME NEWS ITEM



MORE VISIBILITY IN THE NEWS



THE CRIME NEWS FRAME TENDS TO:

- **INDIVIDUALIZE AND PSYCHOLOGIZE THE EVENT**
- **SEEK BEHAVIORAL ERRORS OR REASONS WITHIN THE COUPLE**
- **SOMETIMES ALIGN WITH LITERARY/CRIME FICTION NARRATIVES**

RARE ARE THE CLUES THAT THE STORY IS THE EXPRESSION OF A SOCIAL PROBLEM

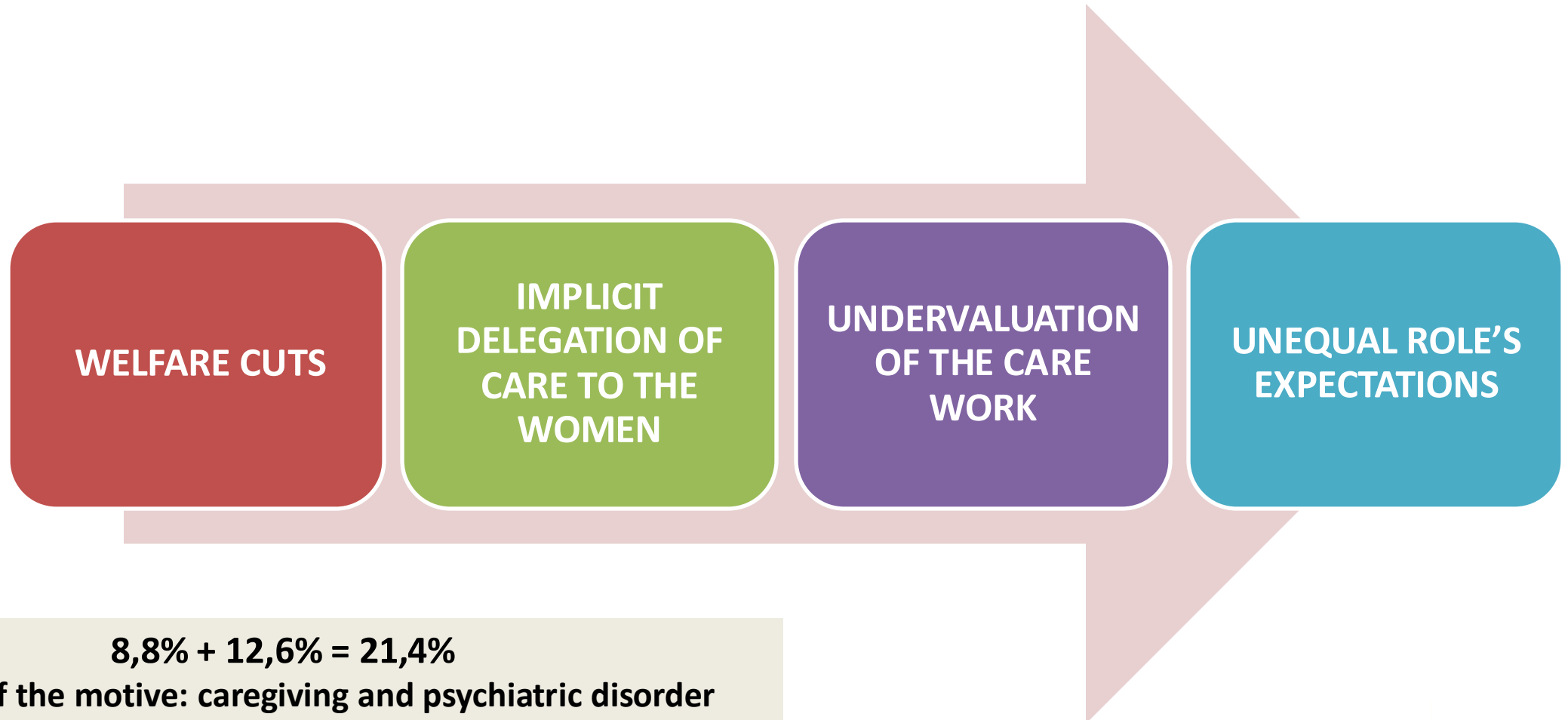
- Except for themes of **stalking** or **previous complaints**
- Even here, the narrative can oscillate between **victim blaming** and **institutional blaming**



INTERSECTIONAL FRAME IS NOT YET AVAILABLE

MUCH HARDER TO GRASP AND NARRATE:

- THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN RELATIONSHIPS, SOCIAL CONTEXTS, AND IMPLICIT EXPECTATIONS BASED ON **GENDER ROLE** (E.G., **FAMILY CAREGIVING**)



$$8,8\% + 12,6\% = 21,4\%$$

Context of the motive: caregiving and psychiatric disorder
[51% AND 65% FOR THE ELDERLY]

GERONTO-FEMINICIDE: AN INVISIBLE CRIME BORN OF SOCIAL GENDER INEQUALITY

**UNEQUAL GENDER EXPECTATIONS REMAIN INVISIBLE BECAUSE THEY
APPEAR NATURAL (QUASI-BIOLOGICAL)**

EX: WOMEN'S CAREGIVER ROLE IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED AND POORLY VALUED

- ARE WOMEN MORE VULNERABLE WHEN PUBLIC SERVICES ARE REDUCED?**
- WELFARE RETRENCHMENT** MAY INCREASE **FEMALE VULNERABILITY**, ESPECIALLY FOR THE MOST MARGINALISED GROUPS

Killing a
woman
because
she is a
woman

FEMI(NI)CIDE

PRESENT FRAME'S INDICATORS AND INTERSECTIONS

Male perpetrator

Relationship victim-killer

Socio-cultural context of the motive

Intersecting gender-role dispositifs



In the end, love, anger,
jealousy, passions, human
drama are merely convenient
masks that hide deeper
social inequalities

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

*femicide is a heinous CRIME
concerning gender inequalities*

- **ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES**
- **SOCIO-CULTURAL
INEQUALITIES**



- **WORK POLICIES**
- **SOCIAL AND HEALTH POLICIES**
- **WIDESPREAD CULTURAL POLICIES**

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

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OSSERVATORIO DI RICERCA
SUL FEMMINICIDIO



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