Zeppelin University

Department Public Management & Governance

Global Governance

Prof. Dr. Helmut Willke

Bachelor Thesis

Challenging Invisibility
– An Analysis of the Role of Civil Society in the Sicilian Antimafia in Recent Years

Figure 1

Written by: Lea-Katharina Rzadtki

Matriculation number: 09200321

Department: Communication & Cultural Management

Semester: Fall Semester 2012

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Helmut Willke

Deadline: 6th December 2012

Abstract

Mafias in everyday life often seem to be an indefinable disease Southern Italy has to deal with. Actually nowadays mafias are as globalized as multi-national companies. Mafias spread and led to a globalized world of organized crime. Due to the 150 year-old history of *Cosa Nostra* Sicily has a great experience concerning this topic. But that does not only concern living mafias but it especially is also one of antimafia. The antimafia that emerges from civil society will be discussed here since an engaged civil society sometimes seems to be more promising than traditional political decision-making. Governance theory takes into account other than just state actors when reflecting on politics so it appears to be an applicable approach. The aim is to have a look at a mostly locally bound phenomenon, the civic antimafia activities, to analyze it through a political theory in order to be finally able to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses. Such a local experience could become a precious starting point for other countries that have not even identified mafias as an issue yet.

Inhaltsverzeichnis

1. Introduction

"[T]he mafia is a human phenomenon and just as all human phenomena it has a beginning, an evolution and it will then also have an end." (Falcone & Padovani, 1991, p.154)[1]

This sentence is probably Giovanni Falcone's most well known one. After the murder of the Sicilian judge in 1992, for many it has represented a sort of last straw in the general desperation.

A group of people very much engaged in putting an end to mafia activity is the antimafia movement. This encompasses a quite heterogeneous variety of actors. In its most general terms it includes all measures taken in Italy, and especially in Sicily, from the 1970s on, with the aim of fighting mafia-type organized crime. The research question addressed here is: How does the civic antimafia movement in Sicily deal with a modern, more invisible mafia and what chances does it have in approaching it?

When talking about mafia most people immediately think about Sicily and make use of stereotypical views such as the 'Godfather'-image which is still very widely spread (cf. Santino, 2008, pp. 14f.).[2] It is crucial, though, to raise awareness that organized crime is an international challenge, not only regarding Palermo, Sicily or Italy (cf. Forgione, 2010).[3] On the other hand Sicily is the place with most of the relevant experience. It has both experience in the life-endangering reality of mafia and in the gradual setup of antimafia instruments (cf. Orlando, 2005, p. 124; Santino, 2009, p.15). That is why this thesis focuses on the Sicilian situation. Still, it is very important for me to emphasize that this does not mean that Sicily is considered the historical origin and responsible for organized crime. Sicily can be regarded as a country that has gained a lot of experience in the field of antimafia, possibly more than any other place in the world. Therefore it seems reasonable to use the analysis of

---

[1] Translation by the author.
[2] Santino deals with different kinds of stereotypical views on mafia. Other authors mentioning stereotypical ways of seeing mafias are: Godson (2000); Schneider & Schneider (2005).
[3] 'Mafia Export' by Forgione is a detailed account of mafias' international activities, discussing spread and movement in different countries in the world. It even shows this spread on detailed maps. Other examples of authors dealing with the international level of mafias are: Jamieson (2000); Mattina (2012).

civil society action taken place here as a springboard for considerations of the international situation.

Despite the just mentioned importance of the international implications it will not be possible to discuss the international level both of organized crime and the attempts to fight it. Additionally, what will not be treated in the thesis is a general history of the mafia, a closer analysis of the legal antimafia or a detailed case study.

Besides all legal and judicial measures, the Sicilian case of civic antimafia could be an example for fighting organized crime. The explicit aim is to give an overview of the history of the civic antimafia as well as of the current situation of it. Governance theory will be used as the glasses through which analysis will be conducted. It deals with a broader concept of political actors and new political forms evolving from them.

Summarizing, the main question is how civil society activity reacted to the evident transformations of organized crime, especially regarding the last twenty years. If mafia by now is a global actor, if mafia does not correspond to easy stereotypes any more, if mafia does not kill as prominently as it ones did – how can a civic antimafia act on a local level to fight this more and more invisible enemy? The thesis, thus, is about an evaluation of the situation as well as an analysis of the potential transformations which have already happened or are still to happen.

This topic of civic antimafia activities is of high academic relevance for various reasons. At present mafia is a very common topic in research that especially in the last years gained in attention, not only in sociology but also in political sciences, in psychology and economics (cf. Allum & Siebert, 2003, p.6). Starting from a few Italian publications beginning at the end of the 19th century, in the 70s some international studies joined to observe the, at this time mostly Sicilian, phenomenon[4]. This led to a much broader research field including a large number of scientists, disciplines and perspectives (cf. Lupo, 2004). Today, for

---

[4] Additionally, it was often treated as a peculiarity of Sicilian culture. This culturalist perspective is discussed by various authors (La Spina 2005; Lupo 2004; Mattina 2012).

instance, von Lampe even talks of organized crime studies as an own discipline (cf. 2006). What is emphasized in recent publications is the importance of integrating social, economic and political elements in the study of organized crime. In the past, many researchers would only focus on one of these aspects disregarding important interdependences (cf. Scalia, 2010).[5]

Even though it will not be treated here explicitly, organized crime nowadays is an international challenge. The fact that many European countries partly seem not even to be aware of the problem only makes it more urgent (cf. Forgione, 2010, p. 33). Thus, it is very important to do research in this field and get to know the phenomenon for further international considerations. In this regard it means that also a locally focused reflection is relevant for the academic research, as the following quote by Forgione underlines: "The lesson can be drawn from 150 years of Italian history but as we have seen it is valid for the whole world" (ibid., p. 240).

This is true for antimafia as well. On the other hand one can notice that there are only few studies concerned explicitly with antimafia. Depending on the focus of research some studies of organized crime include a chapter on antimafia (cf. Lupo, 2004), but proper publications are clearly scarcer. Focussing furthermore on civic antimafia the specialized literature gets very rare.[6] When reading this specialized literature one sees that all studies describe in detail the antimafia movement and its activities, but all end their analysis by the year 2000 at the latest. One exception might be the epilog in the Italian edition of Schneider and Schneider's 'A reversible destiny' (2009) since they add some considerations compared to the American edition of 2003. But still they do not go into much detail about the last ten years. The step of combining governance theory with the antimafia movement apparently is a new approach. Concerning all the literature treated by the author there could be found only one publication that mentioned governance in the antimafia context.[7]

---

[5] Scalia names for instance Gambetta mainly focusing on the economic side (2010, pp. 285f.) and Paoli analyzing only the cultural elements (ibid. p. 287). Mattina (2012) also deals with the necessity to combine these different elements.

[6] Publications considered by the author as meeting these criteria are the following: Allum (2008); Cayli (2012); Jamieson (2000); La Spina (2008); Santino (2009); Santino (2000) and Schneider & Schneider (2009).

[7] This publication is: Cayli (2012).

These apparent gaps in the specialized literature lead to another focus of this thesis: Has there simply been no activism since 2000 or has this time not been treated yet? And what forms does this activism take considering particular characteristics of governance. The aim is to analyze this situation of recent years in a limited but reflective way taking also the previously mentioned transformations of organized crime into account.

The main approach to do that is a theoretical one, meaning that the attempt will be to integrate governance theory with the existing literature on antimafia to analyze what is described above. What might enrich my thesis to some extent is that I stayed two months of the time working on it in Sicily. On this occasion I was able to conduct interviews with people active in the field in one or the other way. I did not use selection criteria to choose with whom to speak but I took any chance. Finally, this makes up a group of two social scientists, three journalists, two representatives of activism associations and a teacher. I conducted these interviews qualitatively and used them as background material. Especially for the evaluation of the current situation such a qualitative supplement is useful. It gives up-to-date estimates, which, as explained before in the specialized literature mostly are not present.

I would like to add in this place that I am aware of the fact that especially concerning this topic the researcher has to bear in mind his own potential emotional involvement. Mattina points to something quite similar when he says that one has to differentiate between judicial works about the mafia and the ones done by scientists. The former are actively involved in the fight while the latter should always keep a rather neutral perspective (2012, pp. 241f.). In fact, large part of the literature about the phenomenon is written by people involved in it. This will be taken into account when dealing with the topic since the degree of personal involvement can significantly influence the research findings.

The thesis starts giving a short introduction of the field of organized crime, explaining especially how certain terms will be used. This chapter is put before other chapters because it serves as premise. In the subsequent chapter I will

depict the current state of research in governance theory to offer the frame for the analysis. Getting to the heart of the matter the next chapter deals concretely with antimafia, terminology, history and forms. The integration of theory and practice will take place directly afterwards, to give way to the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis.

2. Organized crime

"Although, because of the scant evidence available, there still exists some scepticism among academics about the very existence of organized crime, it is not because we have difficulty proving it or studying it that it does not exist." (Allum & Siebert, 2003, p. 1)

As the statement by Allum and Siebert illuminates a basic problem for all those that deal with organized crime is that there are still people who believe that it does not exist – sometimes geographically limited. Still, both emphasize that this cannot possibly be a reason not to research it. Organized crime is a reality that very easily can be overlooked if one refuses to believe in it in a certain context. Such attitudes can lead to underestimation in the best case, therefore the two authors are right in highlighting the importance to study especially a blurry topic like organized crime.

Organized crime is a very generic term while this chapter will discuss some other terms too. It will in fact deal with various labels which will be explained and differentiated. Additionally, the most recent transformations will be outlined and the chapter finishes with a short depiction of the specific Sicilian situation. It is a part that does not belong to the core of the thesis, but is necessary since it is a vital premise in order to discuss the topic of antimafia.

Salvatore Lupo, a Sicilian historian, offers an excellent formula for the situation concerning terminology around organized crime. When talking about the term *mafia* he observes that it "refers to different facts depending on contexts, circumstances, intentions and interests of who is using it" (2004, p. 11)[8]. That is an appropriate introduction. It is not an exception when terms are not defined in one 'right' way, especially in social sciences. However, in this case there cannot

---

[8] Translation by the author.

be deduced any uniformity in the specialized literature.

Nevertheless a classification will be attempted here to explain the following usage of the terms.

Organized crime is the most generic term including legally any crime that is organized but it does not necessarily include other characteristics of mafia activity (cf. La Spina, 2005). It can be and it is used[9] but it normally does not comprise continuous relations to politics and neither victims nor civil society need to know of potential activities before these are taking place (cf. ibid, p. 46). The UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime defines it as follows:

> "'Organized criminal group' shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit" (United Nations Office On Drugs and Crime, 2004)

Mafia is beyond question the most abundantly used term. As Lupo stresses that should be treated carefully since "[i]f everything is mafia, nothing is mafia" (2004, p. 13)[10]. The term first appeared in a published document in 1876 written by Leopoldo Franchetti (cf. ibid.) and ever since it has made its career. In fact in colloquial language it is used for any phenomenon that comes close to organized crime (cf. Mattina, 2012, p. 229)[11]. Apart from that *mafia* is readily associated with Sicily and in most cases used to speak about the Italian mafias. There is no consensus about when to use it exactly or what is meant with it. *Mafia* has been treated – both in popular and specialized literature – as a cultural character[12], as an economic enterprise[13], as a counter-state[14] or in its

---

[9] Cf. for instance: Allum & Siebert (2003).
[10] Translation by the author.
[11] An example of such a use would be corruption which is often associated with the term mafia.
[12] Cf. for example: Blok, A., *Die Mafia in einem sizilianischen Dorf: 1860 – 1960*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1981*;* Paoli, L., *Italian Organised Crime: Mafia Associations and Criminal Enterprises*, In: Global Crime, 2004, *p. 19-31*.
[13] Cf. for example: Gambetta, D., *The Sicilian Mafia: the business of private protection*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1993; Sciarrone, R., *Mafie vecchie, mafie nuove. Radicamento ed espansione*, Donzelli, Roma 1998.
[14] Santino discusses this perspective as a common stereotype (2008, p. 9).

organizational character[15], which brings us back to the problem of the blurring term. In this thesis it will be used referring to the 'paradigm of complexity' conceptualized by Umberto Santino. He uses it to explain *mafia* as the following:

> "Mafia is a together of criminal organizations […] that act within a system of relationships and perform violent and illegal activities but also formally legal ones. These are aimed at enrichment and at the acquisition and administration of power positions. It makes use of a cultural code and enjoys a certain social consensus." (2008, p. 23)[16]

What is emphasized here is that the term is used for the Italian groups. This does not of necessity exclude the use for other criminal organizations, but those would have to correspond to certain substantial characteristics mentioned in part by Santino here.

That leads to the term of *mafia-type organized crime*. It is a judicial term that was introduced to Italian law in 1982 (cf. Santino, 2009, pp. 314f.) to differentiate it as an *actus reus* from organized crime – this law represents a landmark in the history of the judicial antimafia. The legal definition is summed up very appropriately by Alison Jamieson, explaining that "[w]heras an ordinary criminal association has the sole objective of committing crimes, the Mafia association may be focused on other aims such as gaining unjust advantages or monopoly-type privileges" (2000, p. 29).[17] That is, an ordinary criminal association might rob for instance any of the supermarkets in town because it is only interested in the profit it gains from it. A mafia-type group, instead, will decide more carefully on which supermarket to rob (or nor to rob) because the goal is not solely financial. It could be important here who owns the supermarket, or the like. This definition is quite close to the *mafia* usage depicted above but the law text makes it more reasonably usable in the judicial context.

---

[15] Cf. for example: Ciconte, E., *'Ndrangheta*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubettino 2008; Sales, I., *La camorra, le camorra*, Editori Riuniti, Roma 1988.
[16] Translation by the author.
[17] To consult the original wording of the law: http://www.testolegge.com/codice-penale/articolo-416-bis.

Cosa Nostra finally is the name given to the Sicilian mafia. In Italy one officially distinguishes between four or five mafias: *'Ndrangheta* in Calabria, *Camorra* in and around Naples, *Sacra Corona Unita* in Puglia and sometimes acknowledged as the fifth one *Basilischi* in Basciliata (cf. Forgione, 2010, p. 11). *Cosa Nostra* used to be the most powerful one, while some state that nowadays it is rather the *'Ndrangheta* holding this position. What is important to emphasize is that in none of the cases there is total clarity as about their nature, peculiarities and organization. Actually, this might be one characteristic in common concerning mafia-type organizations too: For outsiders the peculiar shapes and structures are not visible. There has been some insight particularly through witness statements of collaborators in court proceedings but still there is no total certainty on it (cf. Allum & Siebert, 2003). Anyway, if talking about *Cosa Nostra* Sicilian mafia organization is meant.

In this thesis *mafias* is the term that will be used when talking about the organized crime phenomenon. Being in plural it clearly refers to other mafia organizations which in the context of antimafia activities is of importance to the author. *Cosa Nostra* is in any case based on the elements discussed above in the context of Santino's definition of *mafia*. *Cosa Nostra* will not be used but when relating explicitly to the Sicilian organization. By speaking of *mafias* the proximity to other territories with similar phenomena should be underlined. On the other hand a too generic term as *organized crime* is avoided when speaking about a – in this case – territorially bound phenomenon.[18]

Finally, Anton Blok formulates the idiosyncrasy of the term *mafia* as follows, quite alike Santino's words:

> "To contain the growing inflation of the terminology, one may restrict the use of the term 'mafia' to denote a form of organized crime that includes collusion and contiguity with persons who represent public institutions." (2008, pp. 12f)

Thus, one can say that there is no consistent application of the terms, but that *mafias* can be delineated fairly reasonably when used reflectively. *Mafia* might

---

[18] Nevertheless it shall be mentioned here that during my research I met some people that were active on an international level. They often stressed to prefer this term, because in their experience using *mafia* would often immediately reduce the topic to a Sicilian question.

still appear in geographically bound discussions, while for the rest *mafias* will be the term used.

2.1 Different invisibilities as key features of the mafias

"The mafia phenomenon is embedded in a continuous process of renewal" (Sciarrone, 1998, p. 23)[19]

Without going too much into detail it is important to have a look at the developments the mafias and especially Cosa Nostra have gone through. At first sight it seems to be a history of large changes, while actually there are similarities that are not so different over time after all, or as Sciarrone calls it "continuous […] renewal" (ibid.). For this observation *invisibility* will be used as a golden thread because it is one of the characteristics that exacerbates antimafia activity most. Some claim that there is no invisibility at all. However, if considering invisibility as something not necessarily 'real' but rather something quite subjectively depending on the ability and willingness of someone to see, there has always been invisibility even if in changing forms. This is not a complete chronological history but some selected evolutionary steps considered of importance for the following analysis.

2.1.1 Invisibility through apparent 'non-existence'

It is fairly agreed that mafia in Sicily evolved around the time of Italian Unification in 1861 (cf. Lupo, 2004).[20] It was a time that particularly in Sicily was characterized by uncertainty, chaos, big changes like the shift away from the feudal system and poverty. Allum and Siebert even generalize such a situation stating that most criminal groups "appeared and developed in situations of political upheaval, economic chaos and/or social confusion" (2003, p. 4). A common example to consider this time is the change in the right to use violence, as Lupo explains at one point of his analysis of the history of the mafia: „the right to use forces, first in the hands of the aristocracy, is *legally* transferred to the State, but *effectively* stays in the hands of privates" (2004, pp.

---

[19] Translation by the author.
[20] For further information on the emergence of the Sicilian mafia: Jamieson (2000); Lupo (2004).

51f.)[21]. This happens since the state is not able to claim its monopoly on the use of force.

The point is that apart from some exceptions mafia during this time was not largely considered as a problem[22], so in fact it was practically non-existent. A good example to look at this kind of invisibility the other way around is a sentence written in a book from 1987 by Arlacchi and Dalla Chiesa which state: „[E]ven invisibility is finished. Who would ever sustain that the mafia doesn't exist?" (p. XV). Leaving aside the fact that there are still people (albeit only few) claiming that, it shows that for this first long period of existence invisibility means not recognising the mafias' existence. This concerns the state at the time as well as the public.

2.1.2 Invisibility through spreading to new territories and new fields of activity

"The globalization process has clearly had direct impact on the structure, activities and alliances of organized crime groups." (Allum & Siebert, 2003, p. 4)

The best known example of mafia expansion is the one to the United States, but nowadays Italian mafias have reached all parts of the world (cf. Forgione, 2010). The step of internationalization or globalization is important. It means a new invisibility in broadening to activities that are not recognized yet as 'infected' by organized crime. Santino declares the 60s and 70s to be the time of a shift from the agricultural sector to the "urban-entrepreneurial" one (2009, p. 257). Also the first reflections on mafias as an enterprise were then emerging. The invisibility realized here is quite close to the invisibility through apparent non-existence. That is because by getting the geographical area and the fields of activity wider mafias can still act as 'non-existent' in these new fields. On the other hand it adds a new level of invisibility by introducing new methods and instruments – such as communication technologies.

2.1.3 Invisibility as a strategy of avoiding to be seen

The period that perhaps made the Sicilian mafia known all over the world is the

---

[21] Translation by the author.
[22] Examples of these exceptions are the already mentioned Franchetti publication or Cesare Mori, the prefect of police during Mussolini regime.

one which is known in Italy as the time of massacres. There is no exact starting point – but it is for sure in the late 70s (cf. Jamieson, 2000, p. 25). Generally it indicates a period when the mafia killed several state representatives. There have been hundreds of victims of mafia crimes, involved or not involved in their activities (cf. Santino, 2009, p. 313). But the particularity is that there was an accumulation of such murders that explicitly challenged the state. Anton Blok puts it as follows: "The mafia's peaceful coexistence with the state came to an end. Terror replaced accommodation" (2008, p. 10). This period ends with the murders of two popular antimafia judges from Palermo, Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino. These last murders provoked such a strong civil and judicial reaction that commonly this period is seen to have ended in an 'own goal'.

> "The criminal organization skillfully alternates periods of strident visibility, marked by many murders, with periods of apparent non-existence" (Siebert, 2003, p. 45)

What is clear and important in this context is that afterwards mafias returned to the most obvious invisibility, as illustrated by Siebert. Therefore, here we talk about an even more intentional invisibility that is constituted by not attracting public attention. It is an invisibility that is a clear consequence of previous happenings. Mafias act in the shadows of their relations and possibilities that are able to make them invisible.

2.1.4 Invisibility through constructing complexity by pretending the legal

Nowadays the situation is based on the previous starting point but it particularly relies on the ability of the mafias to act in a complex network of local and global activities that is difficult to perceive as a whole – or, maybe better, is quite easy to ignore by handing over responsibilities. Nowadays one can speak of financial and globally acting mafias that often keep their local roots as a basis (cf. Allum, 2008, p. 171; Santino, 2008, p. 190; Scalia, 2010, p. 291). Mattina claims that today's mafias are essentially based on both, they "[need] both local markets and social and political legitimacy in [their] territories […], but at the same time [...] the expansion, diversification, and sometimes normalization [...] of its activities and markets" (2012, p. 231).

There is no consensus about the actual situation, especially of Cosa Nostra. Some say indeed that it has been strongly weakened by repressive state action (cf. Forgione, 2010, p. 180). Others acknowledge this but underline that by far it does not mean that it is defeated (cf. Scalia, 2010). Siebert speaks about "a functional adaption in order to perform more complex tasks" (2003, p. 41), while La Spina remarks the situation „of a mafia that avoids visibility" (2005, p. 153)[23]. What is crucial about this situation is the blurring of illegal and legal activities[24]: It is a fact that makes the spread of mafia activity very difficult to identify and to oppose (cf. Allum & Siebert, 2003, p. 3). Scalia in fact refers to „networks between the mafia and the legal world" (Scalia, 2010) which makes it even more convincing that the point is less the actual invisibility because of complexity but rather the construction of a false invisibility through contacts and complexity. This complexity and the power to become invisible today lies here:

> "the presence of the mafia insinuates itself into the social network, into relationships between people; behind the face of sensational and extraordinary acts is hidden, in silence and with efficacy, the most dangerous aspect of mafia organized crime: the habit to abuse power and the tolerance of threats and extortion." (Siebert, 1996, p. 8)[25]

Hence, invisibility nowadays is a result of intelligent interweaving of legal and illegal activities and the embeddedness in societal reality through certain habits and mechanisms. Santino states that in part this kind of invisibility still relies on the diffused image of the killing mafias

2.3   The Sicilian Situation – Italy

Sicily is one of the Italian regions traditionally included in the *Southern question*[26]. It basically refers to the fact that the Southern regions have a problematic economic development, problems of unemployment and of course the mafias (cf. Schneider, 1998, p. 1). It is a historical consideration since from the beginnings of the Italian state these were the most agricultural and especially the poorest regions (cf. La Spina, 2005). This is not a very

---

[23] Translation by the author.
[24] Forgione gives an interesting remark in illustrating that between 50 and 60% of mafias' earnings come from 'legal' economy (cf. 2010, pp. 21f.).
[25] Translation by the author.
[26] A publication dealing with this topic in detail is: Schneider (1998).

appropriate discussion, though, because it focuses on obvious problems without considering strengths. In any case, Sicily has had two presidents of the region that have been convicted for mafia-connected crimes lately. Also when looking at numbers and data about the island the situation can easily appear quite desperate.

One problem in Sicily lies within the schools. As brought up by Jamieson especially in the Southern regions there are for example "[m]isallocation and misspending of educational resources" (2000, p. 148), as well as nearly doubled numbers of students not completing compulsory school years (ibid.). To give an idea on the mafia background this region has, some numbers that Schneider and Schneider list are very memorable. In this case they talk about the period between 1978 and 1992: "In this time in Palermo, on a population of 700.000 inhabitants, approximately 100 murders per year were counted, excluding the persons that simply disappeared" (2009, p. 13)[27].

According to Francesco Forgione the billing of the mafias in Italy is between 120 and 180 billion euros, their industry employs 10 percent of the working population and only the income of the protection money counts 250 millions per day (cf. 2010, pp. 21f). In fact La Spina speaks about numbers concerning only Sicily that confirm this kind of estimations:

> "[T]he CENSIS [an Italian research center] estimates that the criminal organizations drain about 7,5 billion euros per year, which would represent a missing growth of the Southern GDP of 2,5%, which justifies the gap between South and Center-North of the country." (2008b, p. 29)[28]

Although numbers always have to be considered carefully, it might seem ironic to speak of invisible mafias when seeing such data. However, the strength of the mafias today is exactly this capacity of getting invisible through various mechanisms described above that even manage to conceal such numbers.

2.4   Four pillars of power

After this condensed summary of the history and logic of mafias through the last 150 years it makes sense to take a closer look onto the power system that

---

[27] Translation by the author.
[28] Translation by the author.

sustains them. The following is based on a model developed by Sanfilippo that he in turn developed from a concept of Armao. Sanfilippo calls his a 'systemic model of mafia's centrality' (2005, p. 14):
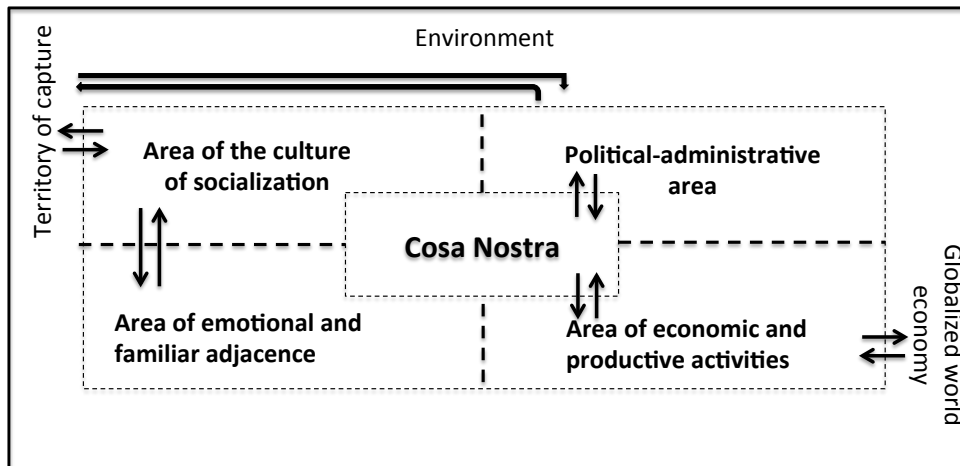
Figure 2: English reproduction by the author of Sanfillipo's model

This figure mainly gives an idea of the different spheres mafias (in this case it represents Cosa nostra) are actively involved in. It is formed by four fields of activity that show where mafias gain their powers from. The level of familiar affiliation represents the most known resource of power. The area that regards society is quite close to it, since it is still based on social relations – on a less membership-oriented but therefor larger basis. The political area shows the dependence of mafias on political contacts which open completely new possibilities. The last but certainly not least important area is the economic one. It gains power through convenient mechanisms that already involve a global level.[29]

All these aspects that give power to the mafias are closely related to a concept often called *grey area*. The grey area describes the amount of people that is not involved through active membership in mafias but that does not take clear position against them (cf. Forgione, 2010, pp. 240f.). It is the large part of society that sees, tolerates, sometimes collaborates.

3. Governance theory

Governance constitutes the theoretical frame of this work and it is thus

---

[29] The different power mechanisms will be developed further in chapter 5.1.

important to get an overview on it before applying it to the topic in question. In this context the term frame is referred to as a lens through which antimafia activities will be observed and analyzed. The chapter will aim to give an idea on what is commonly understood as governance in research, on what might be linkages to the field of social movements, and it will reflect on the choice of this particular theory.

3.1 State of research

> "Governance has the potential to link people, places and things together in radical new ways" (Evans, 2012, p. 219)

Traditionally, there is a strong distinction between the public and the private in political science (cf. Sarkar, 2011, p. 69). Scientific theory needs categories and concepts that are clearly defined but over time these also become outdated. Considering politics in terms of *the* public – being the state – and *the* private – being everything a private person does – and without anything in between is such as case.

Maybe politics have never been that easy but for sure today both in science and political reality new categories need to be found, for there is too much interaction between the public and the private and too much blurring in their once apparently clear distinction (cf. Kooiman, 1999, p. 73). People do not elect a government and then let it do whatever it wants for years – they engage in groups, organizations or as individuals and confront and interact with politics. At the same time the state is not only public either since it intervenes in fields that were once the most private of all[30]. Furthermore, there are situations in which the categories are blurring due to deviant actions. Thinking about corruption or lobbying, is that anything different than the public becoming private and the private behaving as public?

In the last decades – maybe for an incomplete theory, maybe because of a certain political reality that actually was and is becoming more complex and that is changing in certain ways, especially through international contexts (cf. Torfing

---

[30] Think of what Foucault calls biopolitics for instance: Cf. *Foucault, Michel*: Der Wille zum Wissen, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2008.

et al., 2012) – a theoretical approach re-ordered this image of politics. Governance is a concept that evolved both in political science and in economics (cf. Lattemann, 2007), and in some aspects it directly responds to the needs just mentioned. Basically, governance approaches stand for a broadened understanding both of politics and of political actors, extending the latter in particular to non-state actors (cf. Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992, p. 4). Often it is explained in contrast to the term *government* and in fact this comparison can be helpful to delineate the main points:

- *Governments* are elected institutions, organizations, that are engaged in representing a political entity and in leading it through unilateral political decision-making (cf. von Blumenthal, 2006, p. 7).

- *Governance* on the other hand goes a step further in overhauling the state as the only political actor. It sees policy making as a process of interactive dynamics by many actors important for the political entity in question. It is not about selecting one new unit – companies for instance – and have them taking the power position but about approaches that involve different actors and make them work together.

Rosenau and Czempiel call *governance* "a more encompassing phenomenon than government" (1992, p. 4). They emphasize that beyond formal mechanisms governance also relies on informal procedures that include a larger variety of actors – "persons and organizations" (ibid.) – which act according to them (cf. ibid.). Still this approach is far from claiming a total abolition of governments, as Kooiman illustrates:

> "A reshuffling of government tasks and greater awareness of the need to co-operate with other societal actors does not render traditional government interactions obsolete. It merely implies a growing awareness of the limitations of traditional government 'command-and-control' interventions." (1999, p. 73)

The actors that are most commonly associated in this context are NGOs but certainly they are not the only ones. When Kooiman in the previous quote states that traditional governmental interventions are limited it suggests that there are or should be new ways of citizen participation. These point for instance at the single individual as a further actor. Other kinds of organizations,

from the whole economic complex of companies and federations, can be included too. Also the very important level of international organizations should be involved in such considerations.

As Benz states governance is not really a theory (cf. 2007, p. 16), or at least, it is difficult to clearly define what are the factors that constitute governance. Rather governance can be seen and used as „an analytical toolbox to describe and understand collective action" (ibid., p. 18)[31], as Benz himself remarks. A conceptual tool, thus, that can be used in combination with others changing focus or perspective. Furthermore, governance is an interdisciplinary approach that can be found in political science, economics and social sciences. By now it is such a widespread term that it is also commonly used in everyday life for "partially quite heterogeneous phenomena of institutional and interactive arrangements" (2007, p. 17), to say it with Budäus' words[32].

In the following there will be presented some of the most known forms and concepts of governance. The different kinds of approaches – that give different importance to different elements – will be classified through three points of reference developed by Brunnengräber, et al. (2004, pp. 5-7). They manage to order the most important aspects concerning current research on governance. These three points of reference are no objective distinction that strictly separates one approach from another, but they basically distinguish ways of handling governance.

Generally one should always keep in mind that governance is an approach that offers a new perspective. It enlarges all kinds of terms that one is used to take for granted without thinking twice about it. Kooiman and Jentoft summarize these attributes of governance in the following way:

> "[The] assumption [is] that societies are governed by a combination of governing efforts by all kinds of actors and entities, public as well as non-public" (2009, p. 820)

The authors are right to speak about an 'assumption' since it has not been proved so far whether governance approaches are actually more or less

---

[31] Translation by the author.
[32] Translation by the author.

effective than others. Still, Lovan et al. who emphasize in particular the role of civil society establish that "[c]ivil society as an organizing idea for participatory governance has the potential to confront uncertainty and disillusionment and be the engine for democratic renewal" (2004, p. 8). This highlights at least a certain being up-to-date of this theory.

3.1.1 Specific application fields

When speaking of specific application fields Brunnengräber et al. mean what others call types of governance, that is, ideas of governance that concern one particular domain. The authors explicitly speak of *corporate governance*, *good governance*, *public* or *administrative governance* (cf. 2004, pp. 5f.) to which *global governance* and *network governance* will be added. All these types will be shortly discussed here especially in order to emphasize which perspectives are examined in research. Not all of them are relevant in this specific context. Nonetheless, they are important to see the scope of governance approaches and to understand which one instead might be most suitable to the topic.

Corporate governance is an economic perspective that probably is the most commonly known economic theory regarding governance. It has been discussed since the early 90s and in 1999 the OECD published principles on this topic, including those on international financial stability (cf. OECD). Normally *corporate governance* is used to promote 'good' business management based also on ethical demands. According to Jürgens it comprises: "questions of the constitution of the enterprise, the tasks and goals as well as control of the management" (2006, p. 47)[33]. The background here is to create more transparency to satisfy increasing demands by the shareholders. Meanwhile it is sometimes expanded to comprise stakeholders too, and is then combined with sustainability principles (cf. ibid., pp. 47f.). Since here the aim here is not to analyze economic enterprises, *corporate governance* is not applicable in this case.

On the other hand *good governance* is a rather political governance approach,

---

[33] Translation by the author.

which mainly concerns development policy. It includes international discussions and guidelines about textual conditions like constitutionality that shall be fulfilled in order to get support by development policies. It is a concept referred to for instance by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (cf. Hill, 2006, pp. 220f.). Hill calls it a "regulatory general term to describe a certain quality of administrative-political circumstances" (ibid., p. 221)[34]. This type of governance refers mainly to an international level and is therefore not of major importance in the discussion about Sicilian antimafia policy.

Public or *administrative governance* is a concept that addresses administrative dynamics mostly within one administrative unit that can be on a national, regional or local scale. Sometimes it is depicted as a counter draft to New Public Management, trying to approach 'cutting-back' on administrative procedures (cf. Brunnengräber, et al., 2004, p. 6). *Public governance* could certainly be part of a debate concerning antimafia and governance and concerning institutional antimafia it might be included in the analysis.

Global governance is the approach common in International Relations and political science studies. It treats transboundary problems, which have to be treated on an international level. A representative example is the topic of climate change. Within this complex subject governments apparently have not yet come to decisive steps over the last fifty years and society mainly represented by NGOs has become more engaged and claims for new ways of contributing and participating (cf. Evans, 2012). Brand and Görg speak of "a rejection of the idea that 'world problems' can be solved from above, by experts and cooperatively" (2008, p. 29). *Global governance* studies deal with this kind of international integration of non-state actors into crucial themes of our times. Willke puts it in the following way, focusing on collective action:

> "[it] means that a complex knowledge society needs an array of distributed and decentralized loci of collective intelligence […], and that the job of the political system is to coordinate and moderate a productive form of interplay between these autonomous units."

---

[34] Translation by the author.

(2009, p. 119)

Global governance is certainly a special case since it covers world affairs. This is of importance with regard to antimafia because mafias are an international challenge and it can be assumed that antimafia should be lifted to this level too. But due to the focus of this work on Sicily *global governance* is not the approach dealt with, even though it is essential for the topic.

Finally, there is a tendency called *network governance* which is quite similar to the main characteristics just described concerning *global governance*. However, it is not necessarily focused on transboundary political challenges. According to Sørensen and Torfing governance networks basically are:

> "relatively institutionalized frameworks of negotiated interaction within which different actors struggle with each other, create opportunities for joint decisions, forge political compromises and coordinate concrete actions" (2007, p. 27)

This last type of governance might be regarded as the one best fitting antimafia governance. It most focusses on the variety of actors and does not determine the geographical level which makes it even adaptable for following research.

All these types of governance approaches are not completely separate from each other. Some are closer to each other than others, there are even clear overlaps. On the other hand, each one of the described types follows a specific direction. If in this case *network governance* seems to be best applicable it does not exclude others necessarily. It is rather a matter of clarity and comprehensibility. Of course there are as well other concepts or types of governance. However, the ones mentioned are accounted to be the basic ones that furthermore give a helpful overview of the situation in current governance research. The last two types are the ones most valuable for the thesis at hand, even though the topic of antimafia cannot be approached on an international level within this scope. All the types described here can work together with the next points of reference.

3.1.2 Political geography

The point of reference named *political geography* is a classification that makes

a distinction of various geographical levels. It reviews a vertical governance approach, concerned with the levels of the local, the regional, the national and the global addressing the interplay between them. This complex is generally called multi-level governance. It is a very important issue since often problems or topics cannot be treated solely on a local or merely on a global level, but there needs to be an interaction between the two. Often the European Union is discussed in this context (cf. Benz, 2006, p. 95). Another example can be once again climate change, where often the involvement of the local population is said to be helpful if cooperating with internationally acting organizations (cf. Robertson, 1998). This is also known through the slogan 'think globally act locally', which Lipschutz formulates as "locally active but globally connected" (2004, p. 134). As mentioned before this approach does not necessarily exclude others. The example of climate change shows that quite well since it combines *global governance* with a vertical perspective.

3.1.3 Political interaction

This point of reference is probably the one closest to the application of the thesis, since it directly treats the variety and interaction of diverse actors:

> „Through networking and procedures of participation and stakeholders political processes and negotiations with and without state agencies emerge." (Brunnengräber, et al., 2004, p. 7)[35]

The authors name the state, private business sectors, and civil groups, such as the Church, NGOs, or labor unions (cf. ibid.). This perspective matches horizontal governance since it does not only identify various actors but explicitly deals with their working together for a common purpose, or at least interacting regarding a topic somehow of interest to all.

Here the shift away from a strict *public versus private* distinction appears even clearer than before since the actors that see their role changed the most are the private actors. They are now increasingly seen as "co-governors that possess competences and resources, crucial for formulating and implementing strategies for solving wicked governance problems" (Torfing, et al., 2012, p. 162). In most cases the state is assigned a kind of coordinating task, called for

---

[35] Translation by the author.

instance the *enabling state*[36].

It might seem that such an approach makes the whole of policy-making or political decision-making even more complicated than it already is, but certainly for specific topics, if not in general, politics need at least the assistance of society, which can be expressed in information, skills, resources or other forms. This chapter shall be closed with an invitation of Benz who asks one more time for a greater open-mindedness:

> "[W]e have to regard governance as a dynamic strategic game between autonomous actors" (2010, p. 18)

3.2   Criticism

Apart from these positions that all see governance as a mainly promising approach, there is naturally also criticism on it that should not remain unmentioned. The most frequently stated criticisms concern effectiveness and legitimacy (cf. Börzel, 2010, p. 5). On the one hand it is difficult to prove that governance is really worth the increasing complexity that comes with more actors. Furthermore, these new actors are not elected as traditional political actors, that is governments, are. Legitimacy is a crucial aspect here since it is an essential aspect of democracies.

Considering this governance still seems to be a promising approach in this context for an innovative understanding of things that still has to be tested in reality but well deserves the chance.

3.3   Linkage to social movements

This section will not mix up two different branches of scientific research. Yet, since social movements have some connection with the topic of antimafia some basics should be mentioned here.

Edelman summarizes that "[t]heories of collective action have undergone a number of paradigm shifts, from 'mass behavior' to 'resource mobilization', 'political process', and 'new social movements'" (2001, p. 285). If nowadays we speak of (new) social movements, even though scientific unity does not exist, all have in mind common examples of the time, now probably the *Arab Spring*, *Indignados* and *Occupy*, etc. While Tilly and Wood speak of a "distinctive form

---

[36] Cf. e.g. Benz (2010); Willke (2009).

of contentious politics" (2009, p. 3), Touraine defines them "conflicts between organized actors over the social use of common cultural values" (2002, p. 90). The latter idea is quite interesting since the scale of organization is an aspect often discussed regarding social movements.

Furthermore, Touraine distinguishes three different types of social movements: social in the strict sense, historical and cultural movements (cf. 1985). The first and the third are the ones interesting in our context. While social movements are struggles "to control cultural patterns" within a specific society, in cultural movements the "transformation of cultural values" is pivotal (ibid., p. 776). Both of these definitions could fit the antimafia context somehow, whereas the last one might be still more suitable since it especially concerns the shift in values which is central to antimafia. Santino discusses antimafia as a social movement and has good reasons for this. At the same time he describes the antimafia movement as „a heterogeneous together of voluntary groups, pieces of parties and labor unions, individual citizens that organize various different activities, getting active especially on the crest of a wave of great ethic-emotional impacts" (2000, p. 8)[37].

In this thesis the term used shall be activity instead of social movement, not to deny antimafia the status of a social movement, but to not evoke the idea of *one* movement, because as Santino emphasizes it is all but a unity.[38] Still, it is appropriate to point out that by adding this subchapter also a connection between governance and social movements may be drawn because actually both recognize, to a different extent, the role civil (or *private*) actors can play in politics. By speaking about *antimafia activities* the focus lies on civil society activities without suggesting them to be one *movement* or treating all *civil society* as one actor. Moreover speaking of civil society would completely exclude institutional antimafia. This differentiation will be drawn in the following

---

[37] Translation by the author.
[38] It would be very interesting to contrast antimafia with other social movements regarding their aims or their enemies, since antimafia has a particular position here in fighting a more invisible enemy while most others can blame someone in specific. However, going more into detail here would go beyond the scope of this work.

chapter. The point here is to describe various terms while explaining the decision for one in specific.

3.4   Why apply governance to antimafia?

As already mentioned before, antimafia activities are very heterogeneous, not only in terms of types of action but especially also in terms of actors. The details will be discussed in the next chapter. The main point why governance is used to analyze antimafia in this thesis is that it is a theory that is able to encompass all the actors and activities to be found in this context. Through governance all these can be recognized and thus, also be analyzed adequately.

Besides governance offers the potential expansion of such an analysis since it is able to include different geographical levels which in modern antimafia might arise in the next years. The three reference points used to give an order to different forms of governance approaches can be used in different combinations. This offers further possibilities for additional considerations.

> "Political decisions cannot reach the most important resource of society, nor can they resolve even the most acute inequalities and asymmetries of the distribution of knowledge and expertise." (Willke, 2009, p. 123)

Additionally, this quote by Willke refers one more time to the constraint of just state action. He speaks of "asymmetries of the distribution of knowledge and expertise" (ibid.), which transferred to the antimafia context could emphasize the specific position civil society holds concerning mafias. A shopkeeper is affected differently than a student or a journalist. Thus, the knowledge and the willingness of civil society actors is essential for governance, and in particular with regard to antimafia.

4.   Antimafia

> "But if we want to combat mafia effectively we don't have to transform it into a monster neither think that it is an octopus or cancer. We have to recognize that it is similar to us." (Falcone & Padovani, 1991, p. 83)[39]

Antimafia as the name shows is the fighting of mafias. This thesis will focus on

---

[39] Translation by the author.

the antimafia in Sicily. As one of my interview partners, Umberto Di Maggio who is the president of the Sicilian section of *Libera*, an important antimafia association, told me, Sicily has always been known as the island of mafia. "But", he continues, "it is also the ground of antimafia, better yet, it is especially the ground of antimafia" (Di Maggio, 2012)[40].

This chapter is the heart of this work since the aim is to reconstruct a quite detailed overview about antimafia in Sicily, that means discussing the term, tracking its history and especially developing an understanding of the role civil society plays in this context. What I will try to do in the end is to draw conclusions from the interviews I conducted in Sicily. They will concern the current situation of antimafia that is not much covered in specialized literature.

4.1   Antimafia in its whole

Antimafia is not only state action and it is neither only civil society action. The 'New Dictionary of mafia and antimafia' differentiates between an institutional antimafia referring to state institutions, and a social antimafia (cf. Allum, 2008, pp. 27f.). This thesis will stick with the first of these terms and will use the second one concerning the substance but speaking about *civic* antimafia.

Other authors make this distinction too, even if sometimes named differently. For instance Cayli outlines direct and indirect policies, the former being performed by state actors, the latter by non-state actors. Additionally he draws a distinction between those policies trying to affect civil society (top-down), and those approaching governments (bottom-up) (cf. 2012). Even La Spina distinguishes these antimafia forms, speaking of indirect strategies and repressive measures (cf. La Spina, 2008a).

The civic antimafia will be discussed in detail while the institutional one is only outlined here. What is mainly included in the latter is of course legislative and judicial action confronting mafias. Some believe that the Italian antimafia legislation is the most advanced worldwide[41]. That is beyond the evaluation in this case, but for sure Italian experience in confronting mafias legally is broad

---

[40] Translation by the author.
[41] Cf. e.g. La Spina (2008a).

and years old. Some of the most important laws will be mentioned in the historical overview. La Spina calls attention to the fact that even direct repressive legislation is not the same concerning normal crime as in the case of mafias:

> "[I]t is possible that a given individual behaves in a certain way […] which is not per se directly and immediately harmful to somebody, but can be punished anyway because it is the organization that is the target." (ibid. p. 196)

In fact there are voices stating that the Italian laws regarding mafias are somehow similar to anti-terrorism legislation especially in terms of their „constitutionally problematic nature" (Müller, 1994, p. 39)[42]. All these distinctions might seem very much like the ones criticized when introducing the governance approach but in this case the difference is used to analyze distinctively one of the actors. The distinction Jamieson uses is somewhat more sophisticated by making out *political measures*, *law enforcement*, *civic or grassroots antimafia* and *international action* (cf. 2000), but since the last one does not enter the focus of this thesis, the step to merge political and law is reasonable.

Two arguments seem worth mentioning regarding institutional antimafia. The first concerns a currently very much discussed issue in the Italian public – connections between mafias and politicians (cf. Jamieson, 2000, p. 23; Mattina, 2012, p. 237).[43] It is an important issue when reflecting both on institutional and civic antimafia since there have been such linkages and there probably still are. So it is crucial to always keep that in mind when trying to understand and analyze antimafia both in its apparent failures and successes.

Secondly, a consideration shall be brought up that is often observed especially by Italian writers. It is a question of politics and legislation that might be related to the precedent reflection. It is the question of most laws being enforced right after great acts of mafia violence.[44] As Falcone observes, defining it a typically

---

[42] Translation by the author.

[43] From the legally sentenced corruption scandal *Tangentopoli* in the early 90s, to over and over discussed Berlusconi to other suspicious facts it is always an issue of controversy. Right now the debate regards scandals that go back to 1992 and interrelations of politicians in the murders of this year.

[44] ‚What impact has the Mafia-political nexus had on antimafia efforts?' would be an interesting research question on its own, but it goes beyond the research scope of this work.

Italian way of acting, it is a "logic of emergency", if "each time mafia violence explodes with alarming signs or public order seems threatened, with exact precision a [law] is adopted […] but just as the situation returns to an apparent normality, all falls into oblivion" (Falcone & Padovani, 1991, p. 154)[45]. Such dynamics can be found in civic antimafia as well, which will be addressed later.

Generally institutional antimafia is a very important basis for civic action. Already from this general reflection on two necessarily co-operating actors the reasoning why governance theory is integrated in this topic becomes clearer.

> "The struggle against mafia: like a fight on more than one frontline. On the one hand […] the determined answer of the State, contested – with the arms – through its monopoly of legitimate use of force. On the other hand […] the mafia threatens in a particularly mellifluous way civil society whose values and qualities can't be preserved solely by arms. Something else is needed. This is needed which appropriately has been defined *civil resistance*." (Siebert, 1996, p. 109)[46]

This extract from Siebert's publication accurately outlines the distinction of state and non-state action that has been discussed. Summarizing one can say that it makes sense because of different kinds of actors and because of the differences in the way of acting. Still, Siebert highlights that no one of the two would be enough on its own and that is where governance comes into play. Governance theory observes the limitedness of state action and broadens its considerations to other actors, just as Siebert's reflection with regard to antimafia.

4.2   Historical overview of civic antimafia

Santino states that "in Sicily there has been and there is mafia, and there has been and there is the struggle against mafia", underlining that the latter "hasn't started only some year ago but is more than a century old" (2009, p. 15)[47]. This position shall not be contradicted here in starting the timeline much later. The focus of this work, though, is not a history of antimafia but an inventory of today's situation. To come to this a chronological outline is essential but it will

---

[45] Translation by the author.
[46] Translation by the author.
[47] Translation by the author.

mainly go to the last thirty years. The timeline will clearly concentrate on civic antimafia but might mention legislative or judicial landmarks when considered of importance. It covers the time till the time around the millennium. In the following it will be the basis for a close analysis of the situation after 2000.

4.2.1 Time until 1982: Single combatants

Roughly speaking, one can say that this period corresponds to the phases of Sicilian mafia before nominated *non-existence* and *spread to new territories*, since it handled great economic trade in this period without being perceived by the public at large nor contrasted by law. It is basically a period of single personalities trying to contrast the mafias on their own and mostly being left alone. Leoluca Orlando, this year re-elected mayor of Palermo, known for his antimafia engagement, observes that mafias enjoyed mainly two advantages: „to be a power system without being perceived as a power system" (2005, p. 122).

Individual acts of antimafia can be found in various fields of activity: Pio La Torre, a communist politician, and Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, general and prefect – both lonely combatants that were murdered in 1982. Peppino Impastato was a young activist and politician that was born in a mafia family and mainly confronted the local mafia by opening a radio and engaging in politics. He was murdered in 1978 and Santino nominates him „together the heir of the old antimafia movement and the pioneer of the new period of struggle" (2009, pp. 299f.)[48]. According to Santino he still used the old values of the peasants rebellions (defined by Santino as the first antimafia) but he fought for them with new measures (cf. ibid.).

So mainly it is civic antimafia not because of large movements, but rather because of lacking state action and individuals (in part members of state institutions, in part civil) getting active on their own. When talking about the years between 1979 and 1982 Jamieson notes that „*Cosa Nostra* systematically assassinated the most committed political, institutional and judicial representatives of state power in Sicily" (2000, p. 25). In fact, exactly this

---

[48] Translation by the author.

attitude brings us to the next phase of antimafia.

4.2.2 1982 – 1992: Public awareness

As already mentioned in 1982 La Torre and Dalla Chiesa were both murdered in Palermo and by many these massacres are considered the starting point of repressive state measures against the mafias. The law adopted right after Dalla Chiesa's death is known as Rognoni-La Torre act and „[f]rom that moment onwards, the range of repressive measures expanded to a level which does not compare with any other European country" (La Spina, 2008a, p. 195). The importance of this law lies in acknowledging mafia association as a crime on its own which gives the judiciary system the measures to finally approach members of Cosa Nostra:

> "By removing the requirement on the part of the prosecuting magistrates to provide direct evidence of a specific crime, and declaring simply that being a member of the association was a crime, the authorities were able to get around the obstacles erected by the Mafia, in its specific ways, against judicial sanctions" (Briquet, 2003, p. 193)

The new law brought with it the first maxi-trial, which took place in 1986 and 1987 and dealt with the accusation of more than 400 persons for mafia-type association (Santino, 2009, p. 344). This first phase of institutional antimafia also brings along some more civic activity. In fact from the 80s on not only do the first antimafia organizations arise, but there are described first cultural changes (cf. ibid). This can be seen for instance in a fact that I encountered several times when speaking with people that experienced these times. One of them was Enrico Bellavia, a journalist of the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* who said: "Consider that in the 80s it was still an extremely rare thing to speak about mafia" (Bellavia, 2012)[49].

So perhaps one could state that this phase through the first representative murders and through the first strict state action is the phase when a larger public gets aware of the mafias as a problem or a threat that can be addressed. Indeed Santino and others consider this period as the one when new

---

[49] Translation by the author.

„dimensions of mass" (Santino, 2009, p. 17)[50] arise, in particular in the form of „debates, conferences, petitions, [...], processions, [...] centers, associations, committees" (ibid.)[51] etc. For instance in 1982 the first lasting antimafia association was founded, the Association of Sicilian Women against the Mafia. Giovanna Terranova was the wife of a judge murdered in 1979 and her association in particular encouraged women in the fight against mafia and it still is highly considered when talking about mafias and women (cf. Jamieson, 2000).[52]

Still, or maybe exactly because of this growing awareness and activity the mafia violence increased. The report by Schneider and Schneider has already been mentioned (cf. chapter 2.3). The numbers clearly show the incredible dimensions homocides reach in these times (cf. 2009, p. 13).

4.2.3 1992 – 2000s: Emotional masses

> "The most persistent trauma occurred in the summer of 1992"
> (Cayli, 2012, p. 19)

One of my interview partners told me that I could probably ask any Sicilian person about the two dates referred to and that they could tell me more exactly what they did on these days than on their marriage day or some similar day of personal importance (cf. Di Maggio, 2012). On 23rd May, 1992, Giovanni Falcone was murdered by a bomb on the high way, while soon after, July 19th, Paolo Borsellino died in a car bomb put in front of his mother's place in Palermo. Both were known as the heart of the judicial antimafia pool that conducted the maxi-trial and developed new working methods for the judicial system in the context of antimafia. They were symbols, and their death – more than any other representative death – provoked a civic reaction never seen before. The Schneiders notice that "a different atmosphere sunk on Palermo while rage and despair were exploding with intensity" (Schneider & Schneider, 2009, p. 177), and Cayli even speaks about a „catalyst for anti-mafia

---

[50] Translation by the author.
[51] Translation by the author.
[52] For further literature on the topic of women and mafias: Siebert, R., *Le donne, la mafia*, il Saggiatore, Milano 1994; Fiandaca, G., *Women and the mafia*, Springer New York, New York 2007.

movements" (2012, p. 20). The slogan predominating most others was: „They haven't killed them – Their ideas will continue to walk on our legs" (Jamieson, 2000, 128). In the following time people engaged in many antimafia activities, be it commemorations, debates, processions or school activities. This has been the period where for the first time larger numbers of people were on the streets:

> „The massacres of Capaci and Via D'Amelio produce an explosion of overwhelming popular indignation and a capacity of organization that makes of the Palermitan and Sicilian antimafia a reference and a symbol in all the Mediterranean and for all the world." (Orlando, 2005, p. 124)[53]

In the following years also the judicial had some successes in arresting important mafia people and thus heavily weakening the military part of Cosa Nostra. Around the time of 1999 especially in the political environment there could be found some enthusiasm. Hillary Clinton who speaks on a conference in 1999 took Palermo as an example and stated that "those who doubted the ability of a citizens' movement to build democracy need only come to Palermo" (Orlando, 2001, p. 152).

Simultaneously, with the first Berlusconi legislations coming and with a natural calming of rage and despair activities declined and became smaller. Di Maggio in our interview evaluated the situation at the time through a metaphor, saying that large parts of population could not be stabilized: "We weren't able to do an orchestra" (Di Maggio, 2012).

Considering this time line of more than thirty years a dynamic appears that has already been referred to. Increasing activities – state or non-state – did most times follow emotions related to a murder. This is an important aspect for the estimate of the current situation since after the big judge murders mafias have changed strategy again and there has not been 'prominent' murders anymore.

4.3 The role of civil society

> "If most entrepreneurs and shopkeepers refused to pay extortionists but rather reported them to the police, if citizens stopped voting for political figures who are known to be directly or indirectly linked to the mafia, if eyewitnesses decided to give their testimony regardless of retaliation, if all the "white collars" (professionals, civil servants, politicians, entrepreneurs, opinion makers) avoided favoring the

---

[53] Translation by the author.

> mafia in any way, if enough ordinary citizens engaged in grassroots anti-mafia activities, and if enough mafia men chose to collaborate with the police and public prosecutors, then after some time the mafia would disappear, because its members would frequently be exposed and apprehended, and the organization would lose its sources of income and eventually collapse." (La Spina, 2008a, p. 196)

Exactly this scenario is the potential of civil society. Awareness and activity by all parts of society on a regular basis – that is clearly more than any state or government could impose. However, as mentioned in the governance chapter the aim is not to delete governments but as Borsellino puts it "the solution is to make the state work" (Cited by Jamieson, 2000, p. XXI). That politics in Italy are a problematic subject per se is not a secret. In some cases it is obviously also related to mafias. All the more – if the state is not working as it should – it is civil society that has to take action for adjusting the situation. When looking at the quote of La Spina it seems quite easy: Every single one simply has to contribute something. And this is mainly what antimafia aims at in Sicily. The objective often is, apart from concrete goals approaching one specific problem, to „create a new culture of lawfulness" (Cayli, 2012, pp. 21f.). Mafias are not only criminal organizations nor only economically interested groups but they are especially deeply rooted in the territory and that's why they have to be fought right there (cf. Siebert, 2003). That can happen for instance through „demonstrations, cultural initiatives, conferences, research, documentation, [and] presence in schools and on the territory" (La Spina, 2005, p. 148)[54]. Lovan et al. define civil society as "the social space in which individuals are able to engage in a range of activities through informal associations" (Lovan, et al., 2004, p. 8). They observe its essentiality in the potential to be "the conceptual glue that can bond together government, citizens and the market" (ibid.). It is thus central to consider the various forms of civil society engaging in antimafia. According to Santino the three most important fields of civic antimafia are school activities, antiracket activity and the social use of confiscated goods (cf. Santino, 2012), which will all be discussed. The chapter will present different actors and different activities that can be found in Sicilian antimafia. Additionally

---

[54] Translation by the author.

there will be a reflection on the time of activity, be it in terms of regularity or in terms of duration.

4.3.1 Who? – Main actors

Who does antimafia? This section will have a look at the most important actors in antimafia. Concerning the composition of the civic actors, Santino remarks that the middle class realizes the largest part of activities (cf. 2009). In particular that includes "students, professionals, especially teachers, employees, [and] merchants" (ibid., pp. 429f.)[55].

4.3.1.1 Entrepreneurs

What entrepreneurs as a societal group affected by mafia activity are mainly concerned with is racket, the *pizzo* (protection money). *Pizzo* can be claimed in various forms as the antiracket organization *Libero Futuro* explains on its website:

> "the extortive practices do not only consist in paying sums of money but can also substantiate in misappropriation of goods, compliant accounting for inexistent operations, […] in the enforcement to acquire products or services [etc.]" (Libero Futuro)[56]

The phenomenon of organizations opposing these extortions started in the 90s. The principle lies in uniting entrepreneurs not to let them stand on their own because the past shows that those combating alone have often been the first to be killed (cf. La Spina, 2008b, pp. 305f.). La Spina explains that these organizations basically "create a sort of protective shield, behind which the entrepreneur finds the courage to abandon his isolation" (ibid., p. 157)[57]. Similarly, Tano Grasso, who with others in 1990 established the first anti-racket foundation, stresses that „the man who is a symbol in the struggle against the mafia becomes a target" for than concluding that instead, „[i]f the rebellion is of all there is no target anymore" (1992, p. 19)[58].

The sector of antiracket organizations, thus, is very important especially for the entrepreneurs themselves. Progress can be seen, for instance in Palermo an

---

[55] Translation by the author.
[56] Translation by the author.
[57] Translation by the author.
[58] Translation by the author.

organization has emerged recently.

There are also attempts of legislation, or for example the association of Italian industrial entrepreneurs *Confindustria*, to promote such activities. On the other hand La Spina objects that „the racket resistance still remains a quantitatively rare choice" (2005, p. 138). And in the end the choice is of the entrepreneur and one should remember that according to *SOS Impresa*, in Sicily 80% of the shops still pay the *pizzo* (2007, p. 9).

> "The full square is fundamental […] but who really has to rise up is the shopkeeper who doesn't pay the pizzo and the youngster who lives in the neighborhoods." (La Spina, 2012)[59]

4.3.1.2   Schools

Antimafia also means information and education and in these elements schools are essential. If there is more knowledge and awareness about mafias today that is also because of the work realized in schools.

> "The Antimafia awareness that has developed since 1992 has had one undeniable effect – there can be few, if any, schoolchildren in Italy who do not know who Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino were, what they stood for and why they were killed. The fight against the Mafia – which will undoubtedly continue for many decades more – may be led in the future by those who began to study the phenomenon in 1992" (Jamieson, 2000, p. 152)

School work stands for making antimafia enter in the daily lives of children and young people to show them alternatives and to contrast a way of thinking and valuating things used perhaps at home. The interview I conducted with Pia Blandano, who is the headmaster of a secondary school in Palermo, showed an emphasis on the one hand concerning the need for continuous activity and on the other hand the overwhelming reality in the lives outside of school. In fact she told me the following:

> "A mentality, a culture, is to be unhinged here. We have to do a work through which the children when leaving the school will in turn have the ability to carry forward a model, a different message, also in the territory and in their families." (Blandano, 2012)[60]

Especially this cultural and social component clearly makes it difficult to confront this topic but as Blandano underlines, antimafia work in schools is essential not

---

[59] Translation by the author.
[60] Translation by the author.

only for antimafia in general but also for the very formation of every child, able to acknowledge different values and make use of them (cf. ibid.).

4.3.1.3 NGOs

In the following two NGOs will be presented in particular, *Libera* and *Addiopizzo*. Of course there are many more, spread all over Italy while concentrated in the Southern regions (cf. Santino, 2000, p. 8), but these two play an important role and are perhaps the most popular ones.

4.3.1.3.1 *Libera. Associations, names and numbers against mafias*

> "Libera is presently a network of more than 1,200 associations, groups and schools, committed to build up organizational synergies between the political and cultural local realities capable of promoting a culture of lawfulness." (Libera)

As *Libera* states on its homepage it is an organization that reunites antimafia activities all over Italy, which is actually an aspect that is often perceived as missing when talking to the activists in various fields.[61] *Libera* was founded in 1995, so it still belongs to the first wave of activism after the big massacres. It was founded by Don Luigi Ciotti, a cleric who also publishes a monthly magazine which especially deals with mafias and their involvement in narcotrafficking (cf. ibid.).

Libera is mainly engaged in two areas. First, *Libera Terra* (a sector of *Libera*) engages in the social use of confiscated goods and promotes for instance production of biological products on confiscated grounds. It enforced a law concerning the use of confiscated goods through a petition. Indeed nowadays this law prescribes that all goods confiscated for mafia association shall be returned to society by using them socially, meaning that social projects can apply for them (cf. Jamieson, 2000, p. 144). *Libera* promotes these activities and in fact there are a large number of grounds that are cultivated by *Libera* initiatives that often bring Northern students to work there during summer break and learn about mafias. As a matter of fact, the second important working area is schools since *Libera* is strongly engaged in cooperating with schools and

---

[61] Cf. e.g. Blandano (2012), Di Maggio (2012).

diffusing information and knowledge. As NGO it strongly relies on volunteers (La Spina, 2008a, p. 204).

Santino emphasizes *Libera*'s importance particularly regarding international contacts and names it "certainly the most significant point of reference within the panorama of antimafia associationism" (2009, p. 414)[62]. Although it is perhaps the largest NGO and has both many cooperations and a good range of people involved, Di Maggio told me that the main problem is that there is far too little activism and that the major challenge from his point of view is getting more people involved.

4.3.1.3.2   *Addiopizzo*

Addiopizzo is a NGO that basically is very close to antiracket organizations except that it does not only work *against* the pizzo but above all *for* critical consumption. The essential assumption is that the responsibility does not lie solely with the entrepreneur that has to denounce the pizzo but instead also with society in looking closely at where to do daily shopping. It started as a night operation realized by a group of students. In 2004 they attached stickers all over the city of Palermo that said: 'A whole people that pays the pizzo is a people without dignity'. The next initiative was a list of 100 shopkeepers that by this publically announced not to pay the pizzo (cf. Addiopizzo). Bellavia and De Lucia write that "now this index of 323 shops is a book that is also distributed in hotels" (2009, p. 180) while the number of simple citizen members is about 10,000 (cf. ibid.). When I talked to two volunteers of *Addiopizzo* they described this shift from antiracket to a responsibility including society as follows:

> „The consideration is that for not paying it a union of merchants would be needed: All merchants saying no. How to do that? Through a mobilization also of the citizens." (Di Trapani & Cassata, 2012)[63]

This is a totally new approach in antimafia activism and it is essential in involving the daily lives of every citizen into the struggle against mafias. Since it was only founded in 2005 it could also be taken as a sign for new antimafia

---

[62] Translation by the author.
[63] Translation by the author.

activities evolving nowadays. *Addiopizzo*, just as *Libera*, puts an emphasis on cooperations with schools.

4.3.2 What? – Central topics

Since it would be too much to present all NGOs and initiatives active in antimafia in Sicily, in this section some main themes will be presented instead that seem central for various actors.

4.3.2.1   Information

Information always plays a crucial role because through information people can change their mind. Even if they choose not to make use of the information provided, at least they do not have a legitimate excuse anymore: "[Y]ou cannot not know. The justification 'I don't know, no one told me' doesn't exist anymore." (Di Maggio, 2012).

Somehow information is promoted by all antimafia activities because it actively deals with subjects sometimes still rarely discussed. Additionally journalism is of importance here. Rosenau describes it as a role of enabling, of creating the right background: "[J]ournalists do not mobilize people in any direct sense. Their reporting can have the consequence of energizing publics and enabling activists more easily to mobilize support" (2008, p. 112). To what extent Italian journalism is able to do that at the moment would have to be discussed at another occasion but journalism is surely central for providing information in the antimafia context.[64] One contrary example is *Antimafia 2000*, a magazine entirely dedicated to information on mafias. But as vice-director Lorenzo Baldo emphasizes in the interview it was founded exactly for this reason: „an insufficient, incomplete and too often manipulated or counterfeit information"(Antimafia Duemila)[65].

Furthermore, centers of documentation and research would be examples for this, for instance the *Centro Impastato* founded in Palermo in 1977 by Santino (cf. Jamieson, 2000). According to Ingroia there is „a common awareness on

---

[64] Marco Travaglio, journalist himself, addresses the issue of Italian journalism in several publications.
[65] Translation by the author.

what is mafia that is much higher" in contrast to twenty years ago (2012)**.**

4.3.2.2　　Mobilization

> "If we do not recognize the profound implications that the presence
> of the Mafia implies for the life of all citizens in everyday life, we
> circumscribe the phenomenon to the sphere of the State or the
> economy and reduce it to a criminal pathology." (Siebert, 2003, p.
> 52)

As Siebert implies in this quote, not only the mere fact of involving civil society is important but the responsibility carried by it. The aspects of 'everyday life', 'involving all citizens', and of 'responsibility' emerge over and over in discussion, publications and interviews. The mobilization of single citizens might be central for the ongoing of antimafia activities. In fact it is often perceived as a main challenge, too. Di Maggio describes mobilization as the next step after awareness (cf. 2012).

4.3.2.3　　Alternatives

An aspect that matters especially in the work with young people and in formation is the opening of alternatives. As was already mentioned concerning the interview with Blandano it is fundamental to show children other ways of thinking, valuating and acting – ways they normally would not encounter.

But it does not only matter for children, rather generally all parts of civil society that tolerate mafias in one way or the other, "ordinary citizens, not properly Mafiosi but still contiguous to the Mafia" (Siebert, 2003, p. 152): Be it by not denouncing thefts but approaching other instances of help, or be it the simple fact of buying without reflecting. These ordinary attitudes are a vital part of the so-called grey zone. It is to the people of this grey zone that alternatives have to be shown as well. Contrasting habits through new models is essential, as can be deduced also from this quote from the interview to the Italian journalist Rosario Tornesello:

> "The struggle, before being fought in the barracks and in the rooms
> of justice, is to be played on the steep cultural level, where the
> dynamics of 'favors', in the form of small daily helps or in the more
> subtle ones of manipulating the placing of orders, have produced

convergence of criminal environments." (Tornesello, 2012)[66]

He highlights that being part of the grey area does not necessarily mean that a person 'likes' mafias. People can benefit from mafia activities in various ways, be it financially or intangibly, and sometimes it might actually be difficult to see alternatives from a certain perspective. In fact, Sanfilippo observes that change depends on the peoples' "consciousness […] of the potentiality of change" (2005, p. 23)[67], and thus of the alternatives. So an important task of antimafia activity is to contribute creating these.

4.3.3 How? – Frequency and intensity

4.3.3.1   Masses

The masses, that is to say large parts of society, have mainly only been seen after the killings of Falcone and Borsellino, at their funerals and at the time directly after.[68] As the Schneiders put it, "the movement was able to reply with strong mobilizations to the dramatic events" (2005, p. 137)[69].

Compared to actively involved people in specific antimafia initiatives, masses might not seem that important (cf. La Spina, 2012). Still, *masses* does not only mean visible masses on the market place but also actual masses engaged. According to the volunteers from Addiopizzo to whom I spoke that is a main objective, involving as many people as possible:

> "It is our objective, the objective of any organization that works in this field, to succeed in reaching these dimensions, many people. Because only then you get concrete and you involve most part of society." (Di Trapani & Cassata, 2012)[70]

The point to differentiate in fact is that in 1992 and in the years after the masses at the commemorations were needed to show presence, but that nowadays perhaps what is needed is another kind of mass activity that is "still pretty far

---

[66] Translation by the author.
[67] Translation by the author.
[68] It shall be mentioned that even here people stated that there were only the ‚usual' antimafia groups. Cf. e.g. an article published in 1992: Longo, A. (26th May 1992), Applausi ai morti insulti per I vivi, in: *La Repubblica*; retrieved from:
http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/1992/05/26/applausi-ai-morti-insulti-per-vivi.html?ref=search (14th November 2012).
[69] Translation by the author.
[70] Translation by the author.

off" (Bellavia, 2012)[71].

4.3.3.2   Everyday life

Therefore, one big challenge that is faced in all antimafia activities is the one to create a continuous work that involves as many people as possible. Ingroia already perceives a change in stating that conferences like the *Festival of legality* hold each year in Palermo (mainly for students) show a daily involvement that "wasn't even thinkable twenty years ago" (Ingroia, 2012)[72].

At the same time, the numbers are still quite small, and in the end, as La Spina describes, "the reliable knowledge we have on the opinions, the expectations and values of the civil society […] isn't much" (2005, p. 207)[73].

> „it is in everyday life – in a Sysiphean challenge – that one fights against the mafia dominion" (Siebert, 1996, p. 9)[74]

4.4   Today - Reconstructing antimafia from the 2000s until now

As was previously brought up, the specialized literature has little to say about the recent developments of antimafia. This section will try to reconstruct this period since it appears useful for the following consideration of governance in antimafia, to have a full idea of antimafia's current situation. In the first part the estimates that can be found in literature will be depicted in order to give a frame for the evaluations of the interviewees than.

4.4.1 The current situation evaluated through the specialized literature

The issue that most easily jumps to the eye is the different behavior of mafias particularly regarding the best known period of the 70s and 80s that still makes up most of the ideas about mafias. Mafias that do not kill so openly any more on the one hand they have changed their way of acting but on the other hand through this they become easier not to be noticed. The reasoning here often is that this change of mafias must have had some impact on antimafia too, meaning that if the issue you are fighting changes it is likely that you adapt to a

---

[71] Translation by the author.
[72] Translation by the author.
[73] Translation by the author.
[74] Translation by the author.

certain degree in your way of fighting it. Some speak of invisibility in this case (cf. Lodato & Grasso, 2001), others of immersion (cf. Allum, 2008), and still others prefer speaking of a return to earlier ways of acting (cf. Ingroia, 2008). Piero Grasso, the current national antimafia procurator, in the interview-book realized with the journalist Lodato, stated already in 2001:

> „We are used to fight a mafia that shoots, that commits massacres, that regulates the internal accounts leaving dozens of carcasses on the streets. We are not used to confront the mafia when it immerses itself, when it spins a spider web of interests, compromises and relations, when it rediscovers the vocation to dialogue with the institutions." (Lodato & Grasso, 2001, p. 161)[75]

This is because on the one hand it is easier for obvious reasons to mobilize people after a homicide than any ordinary day, and on the other hand it makes mafias easier to ignore – you simply do not have to see them any more (cf. Santino, 2009). On the other hand Grasso himself remarks another factor that causes difficulties in today's antimafia, which is the fact of getting tired "of those who cannot be eternally compelled to remember […] who no longer manage to imagine an own commitment against an enemy that has become so invisible" (Lodato & Grasso, 2001, p. 154)[76]. Even Allum states that „a mafia so silent stirs less alert [...] and the activity of sensitization gets more awkward because it has to counter not only self-interested idleness, but also a certain resigned indifference" (2008, p. 36)[77].

Still, it has to be mentioned that there are differing opinions on this changing invisibility and the impact it might have on dealing with the mafias. For instance, Schneider and Schneider remark that it is quite normal for social movements to have changing levels of attention and of activity, finding thus no substantial shift in the general circumstances (cf. 2009, p. 269).

Additionally, they mention another factor that might influence the declining intensity in the development of antimafia, which is the period of the „Berlusconi regime", his longest premiership between 2001 and 2005 (cf. 2005, p. 509). Still, they observe that such a period of deceleration should not be taken for a defeat of antimafia (cf. ibid.).

---

[75] Translation by the author.
[76] Translation by the author.
[77] Translation by the author.

Concerning the current situation it can be summarized that the numbers, be it of activists, be it of collaborating shopkeepers for instance, are not very high (cf. Bellavia & De Lucia, 2009; Santino, 2000). But, at the same time, there are new activities emerging that can „[give] the comforting impression of the onset of a healing process difficult to stop" (La Spina, 2008b, p. 10)[78]. Allum outlines the situation in the following way:

> "It is a transition period, in which an update of the antimafia strategies would be needed to adapt to the new choices of criminality […] and from which one expects a new antimafia which is more conscious and more endued with continuity and efficacy." (2008, p. 36)[79]

The conclusion that can be drawn from the literature, thus, is mostly one that perceives the current period as a difficult one because of certain changes of the mafias that complicate antimafia activity. A central consequence derived from this development is the necessity of antimafia to adapt to these changes, as for example can be seen in the quote by Allum. This change of antimafia apparently has not yet been accomplished.

4.4.2 The evaluation of the interviewees

Because of the lack of literature and the opportunity to speak to people actively involved in the field, this section shall provide an overview of the perspectives and evaluations that can be abstracted from these interviews. The variety of opinions shall be outlined under the main categories of 'successes', the evaluation of a 'trend' and the 'problems'.

To a certain extent the biggest success seems to be the defeat of the military wing, mainly of Cosa Nostra. This defeat is due to the state action beginning in the 80s and tightening after 1992. To what extent this is estimated as proper success varies. Santino highlights that with the military part being weakened mafias do not lose any of their threat since they are not only a criminal organization (cf. Santino, 2012), while La Spina sees in the defeat especially a

---

[78] Translation by the author.
[79] Translation by the author.

cause for a strategic shift to secrecy. On the other hand Di Maggio speaks about this being more secret and invisible not as a matter of weakness but rather as one of power, in suggesting that mafias do not kill as they killed before „because they have found an equilibrium" (Di Maggio, 2012)[80]. This last is a less frequent estimation but it is essential to remember that the simple fact of not seeing mafias as clearly as in some other period does not prove their not existing, nor that they are weakened. Even Tornesello goes in this direction when describing how mafias act nowadays:

> „From commerce and affairs, obviously illicit ones, they try to obtain the greatest benefit at a minimal bloodshed. The less one strikes attention the better. Pestering the circles of proper interests with machine gun fire, signing the map of the own influences with bombs and grieves only serve to give valuable evidences to the investigations." (Tornesello, 2012)[81]

What rather resulted as a success in the interview with Di Maggio is the progress towards a more informed, perhaps a more concious society respective mafia issues (cf. Di Maggio, 2012). This could be partly linked to the increasing use of new technologies of communication, though it is not a connection often mentioned. Baldo at least states that „instruments such as Internet, the social networks, etc., have been and are of use for mobilizing people" (Baldo, 2012)[82].

As related to the evaluation of the developments of the last years, for instance with respect to the period after 1992, the opinions seem to differ even more. On the one hand there are some that see this last factor of a growing awareness as the main development of the recent years (cf. Di Maggio, 2012). On the other hand there are those who perceive a development that can be described as wave-like, seeing a peak in the years following 1992 and afterwards a decline of activity. For instance Blandano depicted an increasing support for the antimafia formation work done in schools, while she perceived a regression around 1996/1997 (cf. Blandano, 2012). Still, she observes that lately, partly due to *Addiopizzo*, there is a new trend upward. Di Maggio formulates this in a figurative way pointing out a Sicilian peculiarity:

---

[80] Translation by the author.
[81] Translation by the author.
[82] Translation by the author.

> „Carmen Consoli [a Sicilian singer] always says that we are in an environment that is used to easy enthusiasms and sudden discouragements, a kind of wave." (Di Maggio, 2012)[83]

In fact he perceived the period after 1992 as one of enthusiasm that was fairly soon followed by the mentioned discouragement and decline in activity. However, the overall trend seems to be estimated positively by him. Quite unlike La Spina who does not perceive much change at all (cf. 2012). That is to say that after 1992 there was a large mobilization putting in evidence work that had already been started in previous years by various actors. Meanwhile, in the years from 1992 to today there was a steady development since new actors and organizations continued to emerge. He believes that civic antimafia basically became more invisible too, since as he says „the crowded square is important"[84] but the real effort has to be done elsewhere and it might not be as visible and recognized as the one of the masses (cf. ibid.).

Finally, as to the problems these are often related to the developments. What appartently is a problem is bringing forth the work and keeping people believe in it. Again, „tiredness" (Santino, 2012) was mentioned. Further, La Spina adds that there seems to be a lack of „conviction that mafia can be defeated" (La Spina, 2012) in referring to a study realized at Palermo university[85]. Concerning the atmosphere with the local population also another remark seems interesting. The volunteers from Addiopizzo mention as most limiting external problem „the mentality, the reasoning, the sedimentary thoughts within the population" (Di Trapani & Cassata, 2012).

This is strongly connected with the problem of missing masses that was brought up by many of the interviewees. Bellavia calls it "fundamental limit of modern antimafia" that actors are basically all from the middle-class, while due to other exigencies the popular level is not included (Bellavia & De Lucia, 2009). Besides, because there are no clear numbers it is difficult to state whether there are no masses today or if as La Spina says antimafia is simply more invisible too. Certainly, the problem on the one hand is the missing visible masses, but in

---

[83] Translation by the author.
[84] Translation by the author.
[85] Scaglione, A., & Frazzica, G. (2010). *Discorsi sulla mafia.* Palermo: Collana studio e ricerca.

fact as well a larger mobilization of people for the continuous activity. Santino sees a very characteristic reason in the following: "The continuous activities accumulate minorities because it is difficult, it is tough, it is exhausting to work on a daily basis" (Santino, 2012)[86].

Another difficulty raised in particular by Blandano and Di Maggio is the perception of all activists doing their work on their own without trying to integrate it into a bigger activity. Blandano says that "one starts seeing something", but basically the problem remains:

> "[E]ach one of us would need to get out of his small garden. We would need to cede something to take something from the others. […] I believe that the effort to be done is just that." (Blandano, 2012)[87]

Generally it was interesting to notice that many integrated the whole antimafia fight into a somewhat larger fight *for* something. In other words, the work to be done today by most of them is seen firstly, in organizing better the interaction between the various activities and by making them pull together. Secondly, it is to work together for an encompassing project that not only fights the mafias but also other phenomena threatening democracy such as corruption, etc. The words used to describe this vary (Santino said "democratic project", Blandano "network", Di Maggio "orchestra", Baldo "union" and Bellavia claimed the need for a shift in the political culture of the whole country) but the essence remains the same. Still, not one of them seemed actually convinced of such a project already taking place or of seeing at least traces of it.

A quote from Di Maggio shows very well an ability of the mafias that has to be kept in mind when fighting them and that, I think, is crucial not only in Sicily but on a very much larger scale. He speaks about a scene from a movie (*The Usual Suspects*) that according to him fits the discussed situation very well:

> "'The greatest trick the Devil ever pulled was convincing the world he didn't exist.' The greatest trick, well, the second greatest trick that we are suffering from is the one by mafias and corruption. They are convincing us that since there is no representative homicide, since there is no blood and shit, since there is nothing of what cinematically, popularly could appear to be the mafia, the mafia seems to be defeated." (2012)[88]

---

[86] Translation by the author.
[87] Translation by the author.
[88] Translation by the author.

A difference that I perceive regarding the conclusion drawn from the literature is that the evaluation cannot be broken down so easily into 'mafias are less visible, thus antimafia is more difficult'. In fact, the volunteers of Addiopizzo explicitly pointed to the fact that antimafia has never been easy (cf. Di Trapani & Cassata, 2012). This fits the consideration made in the second chapter concerning different forms of invisibility used by mafias all over their history. There are changes in the mafias, just as there are changes in other issues of political and global interaction. The point instead of being a missed chance of adapting to mafias rather seems to be the missed chance to work effectively together. This last argument has been mentioned repeatedly by almost all of the interviewees. In the next chapter this reasoning will be related to governance.

5.   Integration of governance theory and antimafia activity

The aim of this chapter is to connect the until now rather loosely related theoretical perspectives of governance and antimafia. This integration shall be undertaken in three steps. In the first step I will illustrate my impression of the situation. The second step will consider to what extent governance features can be found in antimafia activities. And finally, the third step will be to accomplish a more normative integration by approaching the question of how still missing governance elements might be able to help improving the current situation.

5.1   Convenience, coexistence and connivance – a new approach

In this section I want to present a figure that I developed during my studies and that is basically concerned with three concepts. My assumption is that with the new figure that results from this reflection it is possible to illustrate both mafias' functioning and essential starting points of antimafia activities. It could be used to analyze at what point antimafia might stand and which activities should be addressed next. The three concepts all appear in literature sometimes, not always with the same labels, but I have not found them connected yet. So, it mainly is a reflection by the author. The consideration of these concepts was initially based on Sanfilippo's model discussed in chapter two. Even though there are similarities the three concepts are detached from this first model. I will

discuss and review this new figure to give way to the integration of antimafia and governance.

Interestingly, it always somehow comes back to 'invisibility': It is an ambivalent term since it was emphasized that mafias are not really invisible themselves, because their invisibility also – or especially – depends on the will of the people (not) to see them. Yet the conclusion had been drawn that the mafias can be considered invisible in terms of the way they more or less successfully carry out their strategies. I want to cite Ingroia at this point because at the moment not only is he one of the judges having most experience in mafia crimes, but he is also one of those most violently attacked by the media and politics for his public speeches. This is a highly political issue and it is only one example, so it cannot be taken as measure of all things. However, it is considered to be a suitable example of how far politics, media and obscurely involved other parts work together against an independent representative of the judicial in this case.[89]

> "So the mafia above all attends to affairs, to financial affairs. What is the risk, thus? The risk is that perhaps a bit one does not see and a bit one prefers not to see. Because anyway this mafia is apparently more innocuous and less dangerous and it allows to conduct affairs thanks to accesses to politics […] and through the widespread corruption system has been found a new way for coexisting with the mafia. A coexistence with the mafia that is based on the convenience to stay with the mafia." (Ingroia, 2012)[90]

Here Ingroia already mentions and relates two of the concepts that shall be addressed here, coexistence and convenience. Connivance is the third concept that is as important as the others from my point of view. First based on Sanfilippo's model I associated each of the three concepts with exactly one of the areas *society*, *politics* and *economics*. I relativize this to some degree since all three concepts work with all three areas to a certain extent. This makes sense because all are interweaved and partly difficult to distinguish.

---

[89] It has been a public issue in Italy through the last months. Ingroia and other judges started an investigation on connections between mafias and State representatives. Without getting into judging it seems conspicuous that the most popular of the judges is sharply and personally attacked from this point on. It is a matter that cannot be treated in detail here but that gives an idea of potential mechanisms that are strongly concerned with issues of invisibility. Cf. e.g. Alfano, S. (26th September 2012), Ingroia, cronaca di una minaccia annunciata, in: *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, retrieved from: http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2012/09/26/ingroia-cronaca-di-minaccia-annunciata/364129/ (15th November 2012).
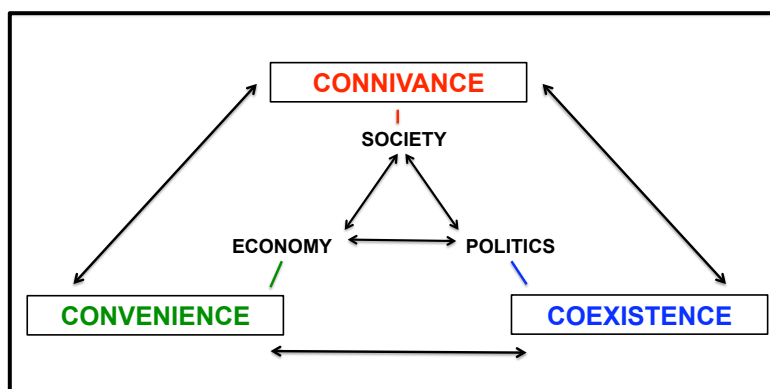
[90] Translation by the author.

Figure 3

Convenience is maybe the one most easily to explain since if there is financial exigency one might be tempted to take the easiest way. *Convenience* can mean a financial benefit from staying with the mafias, as well as it can mean an immaterial advantage. The statement by Ingroia can support this concept as a basic power source of mafias, since he says that mostly the act of tolerating mafias is reasoned in the "convenience to stay with [them]" (ibid.)[91]. An example that might illustrate this is the *pizzo*: A shopkeeper in most cases does not pay it voluntarily because he thinks the mafias have the right to require it. Different kinds of *conveniences* convince him. His shop is in financial difficulties and mafias can offer him a cheaper company to do his transports for instance. Other *conveniences* can also be fear and family boundaries, but Tornesello for example suggests that "more than fear, it is the convenience that favors the perpetuating of criminal logics" (Tornesello, 2012)[92], referring to financial and economic *convenience*.

Because of this proximity to the *pizzo*-phenomenon one could declare *convenience* to be related to economic questions. Still, being dependent on someone for economic reasons readily brings along other kinds of dependencies. This point already alludes to the fact that clearly *convenience* is not only a matter of economics. Simplified in a figure I would still associate them, also because the legal facet for illegal activities is crucial for the mafias. Anyway, it should not be taken as a fixed combination.

Convenience especially in the economic field shows up an essential task for antimafia. This complex is partly realized through the antiracket associations

---

[91] Translation by the author.
[92] Translation by the author.

since these try to offer alternatives to the entrepreneurs. For alternatives to be accepted and followed they clearly have to be convenient, too. According to Santino this *convenience* is something that is still mostly missing (cf. 2012). Santino, as well as Orlando (cf. 2005, p. 125), believes that modern antimafia has to construct its own *conveniences*, especially economically speaking. Traces of this can be found in the work of *Addiopizzo* and *Libera*, which publically label those products that are in no way mafia related. Through their activities they are trying to create an own market that for entrepreneurs might be convenient[93] – maybe through a new ethical level involved even more convenient than mafias' *conveniences*. However, this seems to be in the beginnings because of the mentioned numbers by SOS Impresa (cf. 2007).

The English term *coexistence* does not fit the Italian one (*convivenza*) exactly. What is meant is the living side by side of different actors or phenomena. While *coexistence* might suggest a rather passive way of doing that, *convivenza* does normally also include more active ways of shaping this living together. It does refer to the fact that some parts of politics do not really want to see mafias which is expressed through an attitude of non-intervening, of deciding not to see. But they do that for a reason so *coexistence* cannot only concern these passive ways of favoring mafias. Sometimes *coexistence* means using contacts in an apparently innocent way, sometimes it means buying votes, sometimes assigning jobs. This concept is strongly linked to phenomena such as corruption and malpractice, which at times are difficult to distinguish. In the literature coexistence is mostly associated with politics, just as I attributed it to this field. For instance Santino says that "the relation of the mafia with sectors of the institutions is constitutive of the mafia phenomenon" (2008, p. 9)[94]. Basically, the attitude of *coexistence* can also be found in other areas, since the *pizzo* phenomenon could be regarded as some kind of coexistence too. Still, when performed by someone with a political assignment it is lifted to a different level. Politicians do not properly accomplish their job of serving its people the best

---

[93] As well as eco-products lately are not only a ‚way of life' but also a business model. By claiming for critical consumers they create demand, which could be a strong incentive for more shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, etc., to join the movement.
[94] Translation by the author.

way they can when they *coexist* and work for their own benefit to society's disadvantage. Bellavia refers to it in the following way: "The category is not the one of the frontal attack of threat but of the coexistence of interests" (2012)[95]. He adds that it is "an important piece of the political reasoning of large parts of the ruling classes" (ibid.)[96].

Somehow *coexistence* is even tougher to address since the main influence of citizens on politics is through elections and the laws are made and readjusted by the political class for the political class. This is the democratic situation described several times by the interviewees. What is needed is not only a fight against the mafias but also a fight against this kind of politics. The responsibility to fight against *coexistence* clearly lies with politicians, but two important issues to fight it from the side of the citizens are probably information and education. By increasing qualitatively the flow of information and by broadening access to education a greater public consciousness could evolve. NGOs and teachers do a great job in spreading these topics, speaking about them critically and accusing such practices but they can only reach a certain amount of people. It becomes very clear that these suggestions are on a very general and normative level. Maybe antimafia in this context has to move more into the bottom-up direction mentioned by Cayli, civil society activity directly approaching the political level (cf. Cayli, 2012). To do this a more aggressive approaching of state instances on the one hand, and on the other hand a growing reach in claiming citizens' responsibilities in these matters might be needed. One needs the large public to change a political culture since as long as there is not enough pressure from below, the one who is above will never change his practices. One reference point here is journalism that not only from my point of view in large parts does not what it should do in Italy (informing independently, detached from relations and parties, etc)[97].

Connivance might be the most alarming element since it directly touches all of society. It does not only refer to the cultural pattern of *omertà* (the principle of

---

[95] Translation by the author.
[96] Translation by the author.
[97] For instance the Freedom House classes Italy's press freedom as only partly free (cf. Freedom House, 2011), while *Reporters Without Borders* in 2011 rank it clearly below other Western European countries on position 61 (cf. Reporter ohne Grenzen, 2011).

the 'wall of silence') but includes the classic phenomenon of 'not seeing, not hearing, not talking', while seeing, hearing and knowing pretty much everything. It is very close to what some tend to describe as social consensus or tacit consent, since it is not merely passive non-looking but active in non-resisting.[98] It was first linked to society, even though it can be found in all three areas, because it easily involves each person. Even here it is not necessarily an active action favoring mafias that constitutes *connivance* but it is enough to buy in places where one could imagine that shopkeepers pay the *pizzo*. It is just the same concerning the political situation: Everyone knows and everyone is somehow annoyed of the political situation but whether it is for idleness, benefits or hopelessness, most people tacitly tolerate what is going on and take no responsibilities. Sanfilippo states that "the mafia social system is not *the reality*", but it becomes that when people "assume it as a [way of reading] the world" (Sanfilippo, 2005, p. 23)[99]. This is crucial: *Connivance* is accepting mafia-type ways of handling business, politics and daily life, and it probably is the most difficult concept to fight. This difficulty appears often in the literature when it comes to strengths of mafias and their threat to antimafia.[100] It is again a field where information and education are crucial to show new ways but also to assign responsibilities. This points to most civic antimafia activities because a large part addresses society and mainly tries to inform and involve young people and children. In my perception of the situation, *Addiopizzo* is perhaps the first one that properly addresses this issue in a more offensive way. It does not confine itself to information, but claims a responsible society and shows how each citizen can contribute to the project without much effort. In the past the subversion of *connivance* happened through the indignation after a homicide when silence became unbearable. Today another way of dealing, of 'awaking' people, has to be found. The knowledge about what is happening has to get unbearable through the awareness of one's own responsibility. It is not enough to commemorate and not to be a member of mafias: The responsibility of each citizen should be to get active.

---

[98] Cf. e.g. Santino (2008), p. 53; Siebert (2003), p. 40.
[99] Translation by the author.
[100] Cf. for example Allum (2008); Arlacchi & Dalla Chiesa (1987); Bellavia & De Lucia (2009); Blok (2008); Sanfilippo (2005); Santino (2008); Siebert (2003).

This is extremely difficult and it is very difficult to outline concrete proposals. A further developed version of the previous figure shows the fitting of the concepts to more than one area and especially specific actors that have to be approached and involved by antimafia.
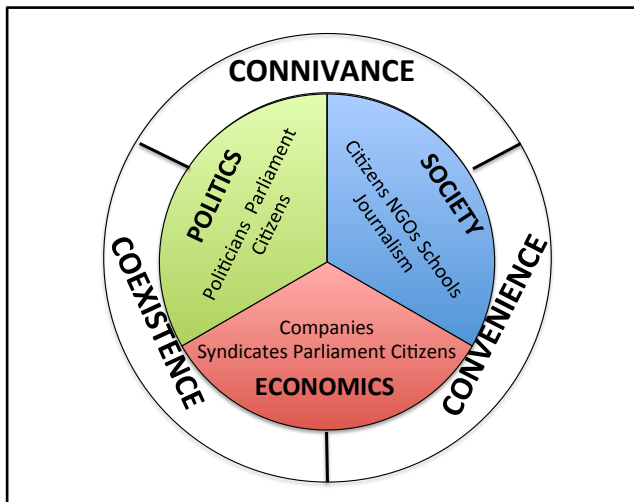

Figure 4

The figure is not a practical instruction that explains what antimafia should do in detail, but it is a theoretical conceptualization of what kind of issues and actors should be approached. It clearly points to the fact that to arrive at an effective antimafia a close cooperation between the various actors is essential. Basically because these actors are involved somehow in the functioning of mafias and because they stay at crucial points where antimafia could approach them. That brings us to governance.

5.2 Theoretical integration

Cayli states that what antimafia needs first of all is cooperation, more concretely he speaks about a governance network (cf. 2012), so the purpose will be to review in how far antimafia matches with the main characteristics discussed concerning governance. It is worth mentioning here that apart from this remark by Cayli there has not been found any example of this integration in the specialized literature.

5.2.1 Looking at antimafia through the lens of governance

> "The institutional antimafia is not enough. Because if it had been we would have already defeated the mafia." (La Spina, 2012)

Already this quote can serve as a first hint to governance since it strongly

suggests that in the field of antimafia state action is not sufficient. As a matter of fact it was repeatedly mentioned as a main criterion of governance that both state and non-state actors are involved. From the fourth chapter on antimafia, one can deduce that state-actors involved in the field are from all parts of state division of powers: Legislative through the Parliament, executive through governments and for example the police forces, as well as judiciary through the courts. On the other hand non-state actors are involved in antimafia likewise. We find examples of NGOs (*Libera*)[101], syndicates (*Confindustria*) and other organizations engaged (entrepreneurs' antiracket unions, or the Church)[102], as well as single citizens involved in concrete activities, such as teachers, researchers or journalists.

From this perspective the claim of governance for a broadened understanding of political actors is fully complied. Antimafia is a policy field with a variety of different actors engaged. Budäus indicates the "complexity and diversity of institutional framework conditions and interactions" (2007, p. 17)[103] as main features of governance. These can be taken as first evidences to check in the field of antimafia. For instance one can discern from this passage that governance stands for a variety of procedures too. That is to say that governance does not only include traditional political mechanisms mainly realized between state actors, put in power through the classical citizens intervention of election. Rather it should additionally comprise new or other forms of political workings. That would be for instance new forms of participation, such as referenda on a larger scale, petitions, internet involvement, integration of citizens into information, planning and decision dynamics.

Concerning antimafia one can find some examples of such involvement. *Libera* once again can be taken as a successful example of inclusion. Right after their foundation they proposed a draft law regarding confiscated goods and were

---

[101] Other examples are: *Addiopizzo*, *Association of Sicilian Women against the Mafia*, *Movimento di Volotariato Italiano*, *Movimento Agende Rosse*.

[102] Besides the variety of different groups emerging from religious or school backgrounds, there is also a great number of foundations, such as *Fondazione Falcone*, or *Fondazione Rocco Chinnici*. Additionally one could also list research centers as the *Centro Impastato* of Santino or the *Centro Studi 'Pio La Torre'*.

[103] Translation by the author.

eventually able to make the law pass in 1996 (cf. Jamieson, 2000, p. 144). On the other hand one can find many examples where civic antimafia relies on state preconditions, but what they actively do does not really affect state action. Staying with laws a popular example could be the corruption law that has been required by various organizations for years and that still has not been implemented. Of course the judicial independency is not to be challenged, however, a closer cooperation to reinforce judicial activity would not be inconceivable. But in fact Schneider and Schneider observe:

> "[T]he diversity of the organizations and associations that constitute the movement results in the theme not always being able to communicate effectively together, without considering the never complete accordance in ideas and objectives" (2009, p. 137)[104]

Nevertheless, Tano Grasso the founder of the first antiracket organization, perceives "a new collaboration, in many respects unknown, between judges, police powers, scholars, labor and entrepreneur organizations and young people" (Grasso & Vasile, 2005, p. 37)[105].

Another component of governance has been stated to be the fact of working simultaneously on multiple levels. That is, for instance the integration of local and global activities. There are actually some signs of multi-level activity in antimafia. Interaction between the local or regional with the national level is common, since legislation on mafia questions is national but affects locally. Additionally, there are organizations as *Libera* that work overarching different regions. There even seem to be first activities engaged on an international level, as for example *Flare* (Freedom, legality and rights in Europe). It was founded in 2008 and defines itself „a network of civil society organisations committed to the social struggle against transnational organised crime" (Flare). Tornesello in the interview mentioned exactly this multi-level challenge of antimafia:

> „In this, social antimafia finds itself in the need to operate on a local level to sensitize awareness [...], and on a supranational level for the acquisition of a necessary capital of knowledge regarding the new systems through which mafia associations [...] take money out

---

[104] Translation by the author.
[105] Translation by the author.

of human weaknesses." (2012)[106]

Tornesello, thus, attests antimafia the characteristic of being active on various political levels, at least to a certain degree. Even though there might still be much to do to improve cooperation between them, this vertical governance seems to be the best realized example of governance in the context of antimafia. Horizontal governance in terms of cooperation between various actors seems to be more restricted on the other hand.

As one could understand from the conclusions drawn from the interviews, many actors perceive the cooperation between different actors as deficient if not missing. Certainly there could be more joint activity and communication. Still, the main lack concerning governance seems to be the cooperation between state and non-state actors. Non-state actors often depend on state preparatory work, for instance in terms of laws or because they get financial support through national or European fundings. Sometimes state actors might benefit from non-state activity too. However, this cannot be called a proper cooperation. According to Cayli the greatest problem lies in this, he even states a "clash" between the two. He explains it through missing trust in the state institutions (2012, p. 26).

A list of potential examples for new ways of political participation was presented before, mentioning among others petitions and more integration through the internet. These new forms are missing in the Sicilian antimafia activities so that at times the large number of different actors rather seems to each carry its own stone of Sisyphus than all working on it together. To what degree this could be improved will be analyzed in the next chapter by discussing proposals for solutions.

5.2.2 Objections

In some points antimafia activities in Sicily might differ from the governance approach or the latter simply might not fit exactly the antimafia field. For instance Mayntz writes in a publication about governance that "disparaging phenomena such as malpractice, corruption and organized crime are not topic"

---

[106] Translation by the author.

of it, reasoning that those basically are "constraints or occasions for attempts of collective regulation" (2009, p. 13)[107]. Additionally in the same section Mayntz states that governance bases on „the existence of a political democratic system, an assertive and legitimate government and a well organized civil society" (ibid., p. 12). All features she mentions here – apart from the demoratic system perhaps[108] – would be arguable in Sicily. So some authors might deny a potential existence of aspects of the governance theory in our field of study already because of formal circumstances.

Another matter that shall be brought up here is the character of a social movement antimafia sometimes seems to have. It is not to decide whether or not antimafia is a social movement nor if social movements belong to governance procedures. Still, antimafia seems to be too much of a social movement in order for it to be integrated in a governance reasoning. That is especially because it often has a role that acts partly against state actors – for reasons mentioned earlier – forming an „ambivalent behavior" (Santino, 2009, p. 437)[109]. Santino delineates the following:

> „On the one hand a reform of the system is wanted, in a more or less explicit and conscious way; on the other hand it bases itself on the principles (as justice, legality, transparency, etc.) that are, or at least should be on paper, constitutive of the system." (Santino, 2009, p. 437)[110]

Certain state actors, being most in conflict with their role sometimes, clearly have to be opposed. But all in all that is not even a problem since governance is not necessarily based on actors that want exactly the same. It is rather a system of decision-making that is based on interaction, thus, also on ambivalent relations. Besides, even though taking contrary positions to state actors at times, antimafia activities are strongly dependent on state activities too.

---

[107] Translation by the author.
[108] But even here Italy can appear unsteadier than could be expected. For example the *Economist Intelligence Unit* rates it as a "flawed democracy" behind countries like Greece or Costa Rica (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010, p. 3).
[109] Translation by the author.
[110] Translation by the author.

5.3   Normative integration

As was illustrated in the previous sections the antimafia situation in Sicily has some clear resemblances with the governance approach. Still, it is far from being finally successful in defeating the mafias. Of course, governance is not a guarantee for success but it might be helpful to take a look at the features that antimafia governance in Sicily is missing and to approach them.

In the literature and in the interviews it became clear that one of the main problems seems to be the lack of working together. It appears, thus, that while different governance actors are existent and also active what does not really work are the mechanisms and the procedures, that is, the linkages between the various actors. Santino observes that an encompassing project is what is basically missing (cf. 2008, p. 158). And Roy Godson, an American professor of government, in 2000 on a symposium in Sicily declares that the progress would be „bringing about coordination between political leaders, law enforcement, schools, cultural, mafia, and community activists" (2000, p. 101). There are all these groups of people active in the fight against mafias as has been shown previously. Clearly there are also traces of cooperation and examples of successful ones. A proper governance structure of dynamics and processes still seems to be missing though. This lack on the one hand concerns cooperations between civic actors and on the other hand interaction between civic actors and state actors.

When speaking about governance as "communicative interaction" (2006, p. 453), Schuppert distinguishes three kinds of it: top-down, bottom-up and networks (ibid, pp. 455-457). The first one includes an interaction based on unilaterally communication from the state to civil society, while he describes the second as „self-coordination of concerned", thus civil actors expressing themselves to the state (ibid., p. 456). The last type of interaction includes communication in both directions, which according to Schuppert makes networks „institutionalized communication processes" (ibid., p. 457). Interaction between different civic actors forming bottom-up communication exists in the field of antimafia, for instance both *Addiopizzo* and *Libera* work close together with schools. Still, most of my interview partners talked about the need of a joint

project. Thus, there seems to be such interaction but a joint *self-coordination* is missing. If this step of joining powers in the civil sector is to be accomplished it will need the strength of the bigger NGOs and of known leading figures. A common project is more than some cooperations, it is overlooking some distances in the face of a common goal. It is difficult to give clear suggestions on how governance would advance concretly the situation but a joint project could lead to more governance procedures like public conferences, a greater involvement of citizens, maybe also into decision-making concerning a general alignment. It could also strengthen the position of civic antimafia towards the institutional one.

In fact the relationship between civic antimafia actors and institutional actors is the one that impedes a proper governance field – be it successful or not – to start working. Here is what Schuppert calls networks. Concerning antimafia we saw that both depend on the other to a certain extent, but that especially the institutional does not open further to civil actors. On the one hand on the part of organized civic antimafia there should be more offensive claiming for new involvement. On the other hand the realization lies with the state actors. There are many examples of how governance mechanisms could be established and could help implementing an antimafia governance field.[111]

In terms of citizen involvement the antimafia field is not the only occasion where it is discussed. New ways of political participation regard modern democracies in general and are a whole topic on its own. For instance internet usage is an important step that could firstly increase trust from the citizens through transparancy. Additionally referenda are a possible way to involve citizens. Clearly they cannot be done about each issue and especially antimafia is a difficult matter for this but to consider it and evaluate the possibilities should be an option.

A last example I want to give is the role NGOs can play in the whole political

---

[111] Generally governance does not have to be the only lens used here, since especially considering new forms of political participation and citizens' involvement through democratic mechanisms is an issue that is addressed by other theories too. Governance is one way of conceptualizing activities and problems here and to include others would go beyond the scope of this work.

decision-making process. If looking at global climate governance one can see that the recognition of them has changed over the years. From being accepted as a valuable source of information and knowledge they have arrived at being an at least tolerated part in any climate conference (cf. Betsill & Corell, 2008, pp. 1f.).

These are first steps how different kinds of actors can get closer together and start learning and benefitting from each other. Cayli summarizes this recurring argument of *joint action* by suggesting that antimafia should adapt some strategies mafias have performed for long:

> "[spread] the risks among multiple circles of […] activities, establishing close networks with other certain actors – politicians, international contacts, and local people – , dividing certain duties among particular members, focusing on the target, and idealizing the identity" (2012, p. 30)

I would state that to a certain extent this is already realized (consider multiple circles of activities and actors) and that the main argument he discusses is the fact of adapting this to state and non-state actors together. Strategies and activities have to be decided collectively and for this to happen mafias have to be recognized as "a reason for unification of the different stakeholders" (ibid.).

That leads us back to what Schuppert describes as a balanced communicative interaction forming a policy network (cf. 2006). I think that a development towards such a governance field of antimafia would be positive.[112] With the precious variety of actors that already exists and a growing acceptance and appreciation of the others this might be the challenge for the next twenty years:

> "Us Sicilians have to challenge ourselves and the State. The indignation isn't enough. We have to go further. [We have to] progress through small actions of behavior that everyone of us can and has to accomplish individually." (Grasso, 1992, p. 24)[113]

6. Conclusion

The aim delineated in the introduction is to answer the question on the role civil society plays in today's antimafia, considering especially recent transformations of mafias and possibilities to fight them successfully. To approach this question

---

[112] If this is then called *governance* or otherwise is actually subordinate.
[113] Translation by the author.

first of all an inventory was needed. That means that through a historical consideration of mafias and antimafia an evaluation of the current situation was deduced. The theoretical background that should address civil society as a political actor was governance theory. The aim here was to integrate governance into the consideration to be able to come to a conclusive evaluation.

The result that all in all arose out of these steps is: civil society as a political actor is crucial for antimafia but it does not seem to have properly reacted to the transformations of mafias, such as globalization and mingling of legal and illegal activities. There is a great variety of civil actors, but an own governance network that connects them with institutional antimafia has not emerged. In the following this answer will be explained, the problems that appeared during research will be illustrated and the prospects and the starting points for a possibly following research will be pointed out.

First of all when reflecting my research question critically it became clear that not all underlying hypotheses seem to proved to be true. During research it became clear that the assumption of the antimafia adopting way more to the transformation of mafias does not hold to be true in each sense. This reflection is especially based on the interviews which imply another perspective on this relation: Approaching modern antimafia is not that much about the antimafia adapting to mafias' changes – but rather about a jointly working antimafia. That is for several reasons:

Antimafia is always difficult because in some way it is often dangerous and it always fights an enemy that in one way or the other is invisible.[114] Another question is whether antimafia really can be said to be declining because there are less people protesting in the streets. Here, an observation that came along in the interviews was that of course commemorations became less intense[115], but that on the other hand association work increased. In fact, *Libera* and *Addiopizzo*, the NGOs that were mainly discussed, were both founded after the

---

[114] The early assumption is that nowadays mafias are more invisible than in previous times. In the end the author herself discussed various ways of mafias getting invisible over time. Cf. chapter two.
[115] The fact of no more public homicides explains that.

direct time of the 'after 1992'. A difficulty is that there are no numbers about engagement in the various forms of civic antimafia, which complicates the evaluation of a development. On the one hand there has been made large progress[116], on the other hand especially from an external perspective this seems to be going too slowly. Maybe, as Di Maggio said, there was a chance in the time after 1992 because of a somehow weakened mafia and an at least partly furious society, but this opportunity was missed. Still, that does not mean that antimafia should change because of changes of the mafias. After the work on this thesis the perspective gained is rather that what always has been and still is the main problem of antimafia is a matter of collaboration and communication amongst the different actors and groups. Actually Di Maggio remarks this too when talking about the missed chance, because he says, "we weren't able to do an orchestra" (2012)[117].

All this is not to say that transformations of the mafias do (and should) not have any influence on antimafia activities, they certainly have. If you combat something and this changes shape, constitution or strategy you have to take that into account for sure. The internationalization of antimafia might be an example here. But in this case, in researching the role of civic antimafia in the last years the research question evolved more into the following: What role does the local civic antimafia play in Sicily and what potential does it have in combating a contemporary transnational mafia?

An element of multi-level and of global governance comes into play here, since the connection of the local and the global is definitely discussed. There are changes in the civic antimafia considering the last twenty or thirty years and they also have to do with changes of the mafias, but the interesting point is rather how contemporary mafias can be confronted by civil society to begin with. Certainly, there is not one right answer to it. But the answer that developed through this thesis is that the local work of civic antimafia is essential also in combating a highly transnational phenomenon. That is because civil

---

[116] The only circumstance of people talking about mafias and civil society associations dealing with this topic openly has been discussed in this context.
[117] Translation by the author.

society has another potential of ways of acting, especially concerning citizens involvement and engagement on a daily basis.

Civic antimafia was understood to include all kinds of activities that are not organized by the state. There are the most different ones, considering origin, constitution and work and it is difficult to analyze them all together. The thesis focused on the best-known examples of NGOs but through the interviews it also included differing perspectives and also actors not engaged in NGOs. From my point of view civic engagement represents a great potential because when discussing mafias one always comes back to the point that it is not enough to contrast it on an economic level, nor on a criminal one. Mafias are strongly bound culturally and socially and that is where awareness has to grow. It is also important to create economic alternatives and to have appropriate laws. But in the end a society that allows politicians to be corrupt, entrepreneurs to choose the easy way and citizens not to feel responsible has no chance. Once again, this is not an observation regarding only Sicily, but in my view it is not so far off in other European regions. It seems a lost fight at times, on the other hand if the progress observed was achieved that is a prove there could be achieved more. What is always faced when it comes to civic engagement is described by Arlacchi and Dalla Chiesa as "one of the most alarming powers that are known": "the habit of millions and millions of people" (1987, p. XI)[118]. Even though this might be a true statement it should not be taken as the only truth. This habit might be the most alarming power regarded as a difficulty of civic antimafia, but it might as well be its strength. The assumption that civic antimafia is central in fighting mafias has been affirmed by this research.

All in all, considering both civic and institutional antimafia one cannot label one as more important than the other. They are both crucial and no one can win the mafias without the other for several reasons, upon which the thesis has already touched. Thus, the potential seems to be to reunite the powers both have. This appears to be more difficult than one would suppose since it did not happen in the last thirty years. Most publications dealing with antimafia mention both, but

---

[118] Translation by the author.

do not come up with joint activity and as already shown most of the interviewees see this as the one big challenge.

Difficulties have been discussed in chapter 5 and even though it sometimes seems desperate when looking at the phenomena historically the conclusion I would draw especially from the integration with governance theory is the following: The working together of state and non-state actors, or the real blurring of the private and the public discussed in chapter 3, is a rather recent phenomenon. It appears in antimafia, but also in other policy fields. Thus, a possible perspective would actually be that antimafia right now faces challenges that other areas of modern democracy and policy-making are facing as well. There still are peculiarities of antimafia activities because the aim is another than in other policy fields, and especially the fact of mafias being part of the institutions and society and economy too, makes it much harder[119]. Exactly because antimafia fights an increasingly more complex and intertwined social, political and economic enemy the need for cooperation amongst each other is extremely high. Only when a closer cooperation between the antimafia agents can be assured a confrontation with the contemporary, transnational mafia is possibly feasible.

The prospects of antimafia are to some degree related to possible further research. On the one hand even though this thesis did not approach the international level of mafias it was repeatedly mentioned that nowadays mafias have to be accepted as a global issue. Apart from the fact that this will probably be intensifying in the next years, an international approach in institutions as the European Union and in civic forms is a starting point for future research. In this context there can still be discussed the role civic activities can play in a multi-level policy field. Also the factor of cooperation brought up here is certainly an issue on the international level too. An important element that should be addressed in research as well as in politics is the possibility of the working together of different nation states with different backgrounds and especially

---

[119] The issue of the interweaving of politics and mafias have been discussed in various chapters, cf. e.g. chapter 5.1.

different legal systems in such a field.[120] Generally it is an interesting question whether especially a civic antimafia can evolve in other countries that first have not lived the violent experience of Sicily or Italy, and that secondly, do not even accept the existence of the modern forms of mafias in their territory yet.[121]

Furthermore, it would be promising to continue to relate antimafia with current theories and debates in international research. As mentioned the challenges it addresses are not always antimafia-specific but are often challenges that commonly occur in modern democracies, including new forms of political participation as well as multi-level cooperation concerning certain policy fields. Mafias remain an important issue to conduct research upon since they are constantly changing and probably one of the actors most rapidly using new possibilities in global acting. Still, from my point of view, antimafia itself or as one would be willing to call it on an international level, is a topic very important to address in international research. That is because it can give support to realized international politics by comparing different ways of dealing with the issue of mafias in different countries and by studying potential forms of cooperation.

All in all, for future research the international level clearly seems to be essential to integrate. From my point of view a locally focused reflection as this thesis can be a useful starting point for that. Still, one should always keep in mind certain Sicilian or Italian idiosyncrasies[122], not with the aim of delegating the problems to these regions but to be able to cope with the specific challenges of each region.

Concluding, I would say that my interviewees were right when emphasizing that Sicily is no more only the island of the mafia but also the island of antimafia. It might seem natural, but from my point of view this is a great achievement and it can point to positive developments in the future. It is hard to give concrete

---

[120] For instance interceptions are permitted in Italy already at the first suspicion of mafia association, whereas in Germany due to another historical background and differing circumstances it can be doubted such a law would pass easily.
[121] This element is actually a parallel to the Italy of some decades ago.
[122] I would relate to the historical background of Sicily here that certainly includes a very different rootedness of mafias than it would include for instance in Germany. Additionally the democratic or political situation in Italy should be taken into account too.

estimations on the developments since on the one hand one can find successes like the only emergence of *Addiopizzo*, but on the other hand the whole fight against mafias seems to be a stone of Sisyphus as brought up by Siebert. What seems crucial to me is that an international antimafia should be able to learn from the Sicilian one, on a civic and on a legal level. The traces of global invisibility that can be found all over the world should be approached as such not to repeat the Italian history on a larger scale.

> "Of course we will still be faced with mafia-type organized crime for a long time. For a long time, not for eternity." (Falcone & Padovani, 1991, p. 154)[123]

---

[123] Translation by the author.

List of literature

Addiopizzo. *Addiopizzo.* Consulted online on 2012-11-14:
 http://www.addiopizzo.org/english.asp.

Allum, F. (2008). *Nuovo dizionario di mafia e antimafia.* Torino: EGA Editore.

Allum, F., & Siebert, R. (2003). *Organized Crime and the Challenge to Democracy.* London: Routledge.

Antimafia Duemila. *Redazione.* Consulted online on 2012-11-05:
 http://www.antimafiaduemila.com/200408195/la-rivista/redazione.html.

Arlacchi, P., & Dalla Chiesa, N. (1987). *La palude e la città: si può sconfiggere la mafia.* Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori.

Baldo, L. (2012-10-23). 8. Interview Lorenzo Baldo. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer) Palermo.

Bellavia, E. (2012-09-26). 6. Interview Enrico Bellavia. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer) Palermo.

Bellavia, E., & De Lucia, M. (2009). *Il cappio: pizzo e tangenti strangolano la Sicilia.* Milano: Biblioteca universale Rizzoli.

Benz, A. (2006). Governance in Mehrebenensystemen. In G. Schuppert, *Governance-Forschung: Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien* (pp. 95-120). Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Benz, A. (2007). *Handbuch Governance: Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendungsfelder.* Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Benz, A. (2010). Governance in Connected Arenas - Political Science Analysis of Coordination and Control in Complex Rule Systems. In: D. Jansen, *New Forms of Governance in Research Organizations* (pp. 3-22). Dordrecht: Springer.

Betsill, M., & Corell, E. (2008). *NGO Diplomacy. The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in: International Environmental Negotiations.* Cambridge Massachusetts: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Blandano, P. (2012-09-18). 4. Interview Pia Blandano. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer)

Palermo.

Blok, A. (2008). Reflections on the Sicilian Mafia: Peripheries and Their Impact on Centres. In: D. Siegel, & H. Nelen, *Organized Crime: Culture, Markets and Policies* (pp. 7-13). New York: Springer Science + Business Media.

Börzel, T. A. (2010). *Governance with/out Government - False Promises or Flawed Premises?* Consulted online on 2012-10-05: SFB (Sonderforschungsbereich)-Governance Working Paper Series Nr. 23: http://www.sfb-governance.de/publikationen/sfbgov_wp/index.html.

Brand, U., & Görg, C. (2008). Sustainability and globalization: A theoretical perspective. In: J. Park, K. Conca, & M. Finger, *The Crisis of Global Environment. Towards a new political economy of sustainability* (pp. 13-33). Abingdon: Routledge.

Briquet, J.-L. (2003). Organized crime, politics and the judiciary in post-war Italy. In: F. Allum, & R. Siebert, *Organized Crime and the Challenge to Democracy* (pp. 188-201). London: Routledge.

Brunnengräber, A., Dietz, K., Hirschl, B., & Walk, H. (2004). *Interdisziplinarität in der Governance-Forschung.* Berlin: Zentrum Technik und Gesellschaft.

Budäus, D. (2007). Von New Public Management zur Governance. In: D. Wagner, C. Lattemann, S. Kupke, & A. Legel, *Governance-Theorien oder Governance als Theorie?* (pp. 15-28). Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin.

Cayli, B. (2011). Anti-Mafia Policies in Italy: The Need for Collaborative Governance and Transition of the Policy Actors from Isolation to Coalition. *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice* (19), 15-36.

Di Maggio, U. (2012-09-13). 3. Interview Umberto Di Maggio. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer) Palermo.

Di Trapani, G., & Cassata, D. (2012-10-01). 7. Interview Addiopizzo. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer) Palermo.

Economist Intelligence Unit. (2010). *Democracy Index 2010. Democracy in retreat.* The Economist.

Edelman, M. (2001). Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of

Politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology , 30*, 285-317.

Evans, J. (2012). *Environmental Governance.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Falcone, G., & Padovani, M. (1991). *Cose di Cosa Nostra.* Milano: Rizzoli.

Flare. *Who we are.* Consulted online on 2012-10-18: Flare Network: http://www.flarenetwork.org/fight/who/who.htm.

Forgione, F. (2010). *Mafia Export - Wie 'Ndrangheta, Cosa Nostra und Camorra die Welt erobern.* München: Riemann.

Freedom House. (2011). *Italy.* Consulted online one 2012-11-15: Freedom House: http://www.freedomhouse.org/country/italy.

Godson, R. (2000). Guide to Developing a Culture of Lawfulness. *Trends in Organized Crime ,* 91-109.

Grasso, T. (1992). *Contro il racket: come opporsi al ricatto mafioso.* Roma: Laterza.

Grasso, T., & Vasile, V. (2005). *Non ti pago! Storie di estorsioni mafiose e racket.* Roma: Nuova inizitiva editoriale.

Hill, H. (2006). Good Governance - Konzepte und Kontexte -. In: G. Schuppert, *Governance-Forschung: Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien* (pp. 220-250). Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Ingroia, A. (2008). Antimafia. In: F. Allum, *Nuovo dizionario di mafia e antimafia* (pp. 27-36). Torino: EGA Editore.

Ingroia, A. (2012-10-04). Festival della legalità. *Public Discussion*. Palermo, Italien.

Jamieson, A. (2000). *The antimafia: Italy's fight against organized crime*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Jürgens, U. (2006). Corporate Governance - Anwendungsfelder und Entwicklungen. In: G. Schuppert, *Governance-Forschung: Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien* (pp. 47-71). Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Kooiman, J. (1999). Social-political governance. Overview, reflections and design. *Public Management: an international Journal of research and theory*, 67-92.

Kooiman, J., & Jentoft, S. (2009). Meta-Governance: Values, Norms and

Principles, and the Making og Hard Choices. *Public Administration* , 818-836.

La Spina, A. (2005). *Mafia, legalità debole e sviluppo del Mezzogiorno.* Bologna: il Mulino.

La Spina, A. (2008a). Recent Anti-Mafia Strategies: The Italian Experience. In: D. Siegel, & H. Nelen, *Organized Crime: Culture, Markets and Policies* (pp. 195-206). New York: Springer Science + Business Media.

La Spina, A. (2008b). *I costi dell'illegalità. Mafia ed estorsione in Sicilia.* Bologna: Il Mulino.

La Spina, A. (2012-09-11). 2. Interview Antonio La Spina. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer) Palermo.

Lattemann, C. (2007). Forschungsfeld Governance. In: D. Wagner, C. Lattemann, S. Kupke, & A. Legel, *Governance-Theorie oder Governance als Theorie?* (S. 29-61). Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin.

Libera. *Chi siamo.* Consulted online on 2012-10-16: Libera. Associazioni, nomi e numeri contro le mafie:
http://www.libera.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/70.

Libero Futuro. *Il fenomeno racket.* Consulted online on 2012-10-15:
http://www.liberofuturo.org/il_Fenomeno_Racket.html.

Lipschutz, R. (2004). *Global environmental politics : power, perspectives, and practice.* Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Lodato, S., & Grasso, P. (2001). *La mafia invisibile. La nuova strategia di Cosa Nostra.* Milano: Mondadori.

Lovan, W., Murray, M., & Shaffer, R. (2004). *Participatory Governance. Planning, Conflict Mediation and Public Decision-Making in Civil Society.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Lupo, S. (2004). *La storia della mafia. La criminalità organizzata in Sicilia dalle origini ai giorni nostri.* Roma: Donzelli.

Mattina, C. (2012). The transformations of the contemporary mafia: a perspective review of the literature on mafia phenomena in the context of the internationalisation of the capitalist economy. *International Social Science Journal*, 229-245.

Mayntz, R. (2009). Governancetheorie: Erkenntnisinteresse und offene Fragen.

In: E. Grande, & S. May, *Perspektiven der Governance-Forschung* (pp. 9-19). Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Müller, P. (1994). *Die Feinde der Freunde. Die Antimafia-Bewegung in Italien.* Hamburg: 2a, Akademie freier Autoren e.V.

OECD. *OECD Principles of Corporate Governance.* Consulted online on 2012-11-14: http://www.oecd.org/daf/corporateaffairs/oecdprinciplesof corporategovernance.htm.

Orlando, L. (2001). *Fighting the Mafia and renewing Sicilian culture.* San Francisco: Encounter Books.

Orlando, L. (2005). La nuova antimafia. *LiMes - rivista italiana di geopolitica*, pp. 121-126.

Reporter ohne Grenzen. (2011). *Rangliste 2011.* Consulted online on 2012-11-15: Reporter ohne Grenzen: http://www.reporter-ohne-grenzen.de/ranglisten/rangliste-2011/.

Robertson, R. (1998). Glokalisierung: Homogenität und Heterogenität in Raum und Zeit. In: U. Beck, *Perspektiven der Weltgesellschaft* (pp. 192-220). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Rosenau, J. N. (2008). *People Count! Networked Individuals in Global Politics.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Rosenau, J. N., & Czempiel, E.-O. (1992). *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sørensen, E., & Torfing, J. (2007). *Theories of democratic network governance.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sanfilippo, V. (2005). *Nonviolenza e mafia. Idee ed esperienze per un superamento del sistema mafioso.* Trapani: Di Girolamo.

Santino, U. (2000). Movimenti sociali e movimento antimafia. *Città d'Utopia*, pp. 11-21.

Santino, U. (2008). *Breve storia della Mafia e dell'Antimafia.* Trapani: Di Girolamo.

Santino, U. (2009). *Storia del movimento antimafia.* Roma: Editori Riuniti University Press.

Santino, U. (2012-09-10). 1. Interview Umberto Santino. (L. Rzadtki,

Interviewer) Palermo.

Sarkar, A. (2011). Global Climate Governance: Emerging Policy Issues and Future Organisational Landscapes. *International Journal of Business Insights and Transformation*, 67-83.

Scalia, V. (2010). From the octopus to the spider's web: transformations of the Sicilian mafia under postfordisms. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 283-298.

Schneider, J. (1998). *Italy's "Southern question": orientalism in one country.* Oxford: Berg.

Schneider, J., & Schneider, P. (2005). Mafia, Antimafia, and the Plural Cultures of Sicily. *Current Anthropology*, 501-520.

Schneider, J., & Schneider, P. (2009). *Un destino reversibile. Mafia, antimafia e società civile.* Roma: Viella.

Schuppert, G. (2006). *Governance-Forschung: Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien.* Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Sciarrone, R. (1998). *Mafie vecchie, mafie nuove. Radicamento ed espansione.* Roma: Donzelli.

Siebert, R. (1996). *Mafia e quotidianità.* Milano: Il Saggiatore.

Siebert, R. (2003). Mafia and anti-Mafia. The implications for everyday life. In: F. Allum, & R. Siebert, *Organized Crime and the Challenge to Democracy* (S. 39-54). London: Routledge.

SOS Impresa. (2007). *Le mani della criminalità sulle imprese - Decimo Rapporto.* Roma: Confesercenti.

Tilly, C., & Wood, L. (2009). *Social movements, 1768-2008.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Torfing, J., Peters, B., Pierre, J., & Sørensen, E. (2012). *Interactive Governance. Advancing the Paradigm.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tornesello, R. (2012-09-18). 5. Interview Rosario Tornesello. (L. Rzadtki, Interviewer).

Touraine, A. (1985). An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements. *Social Research*, 749-787.

Touraine, A. (2002). The Importance of Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies*, 89-95.

United Nations Office On Drugs and Crime. (2004). *UN Convention Against*

Transnational Organized Crime And The Protocols Thereto Art. 2a. Consulted online on 2012-10-02: UN Office On Drugs and Crime: http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20 Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf.

von Blumenthal, J. (2006). *Von Government zu Governance: Analysen zum Regieren im modernen Staat.* (S. Bröchler, Hrsg.) Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

von Lampe, K. (2006). The Interdisciplinary Dimensions of the Study of Organized Crime. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 77-95.

Willke, H. (2009). *Governance in a Disenchanted World. The End of Moral Society.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

List of figures

Figure 1: Comic on the Mafia. Front page and appendix. Source:
Kleist, R. (2012-10-24). *Comic-Transfer.* Consulted online on 2012-11-28: Goethe-Institut:
http://blog.goethe.de/comic-transfer/uploads/Mafia1.jpg and
http://blog.goethe.de/comic-transfer/uploads/Mafia2.jpg.

Figure 2: English reproduction by the author of Sanfillipo's model; p. 14. Source:
Sanfilippo, V. (2005). *Nonviolenza e mafia. Idee ed esperienze per un superamento del sistema mafioso.* Trapani: Di Girolamo. P. 14.

Figure 3 + 4: Figures developed by the author.

Appendix

1) Figure 1.

2) Consent Forms of the interview partners.

3) Reproduction of Interview No. 7 with Rosario Tornesello (the interview was conducted via mail).

4) Reproduction of Interview No. 8 with Lorenzo Baldo (the interview was conducted via mail).

5) All the other interviews in audio format are to be found on the DVDs submitted with the print versions to the supervisor and the examination office.

Umberto Santino

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want that my interview will be anonymized.

☐ I agree that the researcher can use the interview also for other research projects or publications with clear references.

_____   10.09.2012

(Signature)   (Date)
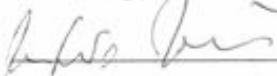
Antonio La Spina

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized

_____   11/9/2012

(Signature)   (Date)

Umberto Di Maggio

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized.

_____   13/9/2012
(Signature)   (Date)

Pia Blandano

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized.

_____   18/09/2012
(Signature)   (Date)
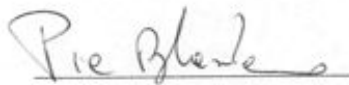
Enrico Bellavia

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized.

(Signature)   26.09.2012

(Signature)   (Date)

Addiopizzo

Davide Donata
Giuseppe Enrico G. Trapa

_____ 01/10/2012

(Signature)   (Date)

Rosario Tornesello

Informed Consent Form

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized.

_____ 18. 9. 2012
(Signature)   (Date)

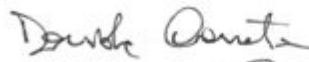## Informed Consent Form   Lorenzo Baldo

Bachelor Thesis; Lea Rzadtki; working title: "The Role of Civil Society in the recent Antimafia-movement in Sicily"

I agree to take part in the research project related to the above mentioned bachelor thesis. I have had the project explained to me. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to be interviewed by the researcher and allow the interview to be audiotaped.

I understand great care is taken and that the interview will only be used with clear references.

I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project.

☐ I want my interview to be anonymized.

_____ 23/10/2012
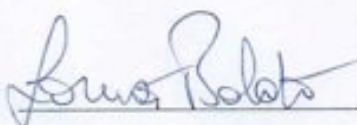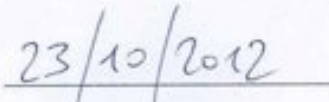(Signature)   (Date)

Interview Rosario Tornesello

-   Come hai incontrato la tematica del crimine organizzato nel tuo lavoro? La confronti diversamente di altre tematiche?

«L'approccio è stato così diretto da sembrare brusco. Prima corrispondente da una cittadina della provincia di Lecce, Gallipoli, alle prese con la presenza di un agguerrito clan affiliato alla Sacra corona unita; poi – fresco di assunzione nella redazione di Lecce del Quotidiano – assegnato alla cronaca giudiziaria e, subito, al resoconto del secondo maxiprocesso alla Scu, avviato nel 1994. Uno scenario surreale: una palestra trasformata in aula di Corte d'Assise, in una scuola media requisita dallo Stato per esigenze di giustizia, nella zona 167 del capoluogo salentino presidiata dalle forze dell'ordine e pattugliata con auto, blindati ed elicotteri. Il grigio del pavimento riflesso nel grigio delle gabbie, rimbombo di voci in un'acustica improponibile e la sfilata dei primi collaboratori di giustizia a raccontare la guerra di mafia che, dall'86 al '92, aveva disseminato di lutti il territorio provinciale: 42 morti ammazzati, più una raffica di agguati riusciti a metà e attentati compiuti o falliti, tra cui quello all'espresso Lecce-Zurigo con mille persone a bordo. Raccontare omicidi ed esplosioni richiede un'attenzione particolare: da una parte il rispetto della dignità della persona, dall'altra la descrizione della malvagità umana. Su un piatto l'efferatezza dei fatti, sull'altro le esigenze di tutela e salvaguardia dei diritti di difesa e della presunzione d'innocenza. E, su tutto, il coinvolgimento dell'osservatore, di gran lunga superiore rispetto al racconto di qualsiasi altra vicenda».

-   Quali sono stati i cambiamenti più importanti del crimine organizzato negli ultimi anni?

«In un certo senso, la deposizione delle armi. Il cambio di strategia è nella logica dell'inabissamento, declinata diversamente a seconda delle latitudini. Ma la sostanza è pressoché simile dappertutto: stop alle contrapposizioni tra clan e alle lotte lungo i confini di territorio o lungo le rotte dei traffici. Da commerci e affari, ovviamente illeciti, si cerca di lucrare il massimo vantaggio con il minimo spargimento di sangue. Meno si dà nell'occhio e meglio è. Punteggiare di raffiche di mitra i circuiti dei propri interessi, segnare con bombe e lutti la mappa delle proprie influenze serve solo a dare utili indizi alle investigazioni. Il ricorso ai kalashnikov è divenuto residuale. E quanto alla stagione delle stragi, appartengono a un passato di cui ancora sfuggono i contorni e le logiche, nell'attesa che le indagini sulla tanto discussa ipotesi di trattativa tra Stato e mafia eliminino dubbi e incrostazioni che ancora impediscono di fare luce su quanto accaduto in Italia tra il 1992 e il 1993, a partire dagli omicidi di Giovanni Falcone e Paolo Borsellino».

-   L'antimafia istituzionale secondo te è uno strumento che, se funzionante, basterebbe per affrontare il crimine organizzato o dovrebbe piuttosto funzionare come una specie di sfondo (in tedesco si dice cornice) per l'azione sociale, cioè l'antimafia sociale? Come valuti la situazione istituzionale oggi?

«Se per antimafia istituzionale intendiamo l'apparato che, con il lavoro congiunto di magistratura e forze dell'ordine, in altre parole l'intelligence investigativa di cui dispone un'autorità statale, cerca di perseguire l'attività illegale delle organizzazioni criminali, se questa è l'accezione cui si fa riferimento, siamo anche qui a un'evoluzione nelle azioni di prevenzione e repressione. In altri termini, si sta attuando a livello mondiale quanto avvenuto in Italia, su scala nazionale, nei primi anni '90: la nascita della Direzione nazionale antimafia, articolata sul territorio con le Direzioni distrettuali antimafia. La novità traduceva in termini operativi e concreti, su indicazione proprio del giudice

Falcone (il decreto legge è del 1991, la conversione in legge è del 20 gennaio 1992, quattro mesi prima della strage di Capaci), la necessità di un maggior coordinamento e condivisione di conoscenze su indagini che prima erano parcellizzate e frazionate attraverso le diverse Procure competenti per territorio. Stessa cosa si cerca di fare ora su uno scenario sovranazionale, attingendo proprio all'esperienza italiana. L'incarico affidato dall'Onu al procuratore aggiunto di Palermo Antonio Ingroia, che per un anno sarà in Guatemala come capo dell'Unità di investigazioni e analisi criminale, va in questa direzione, al di là delle polemiche sulle scelte del magistrato, titolare proprio dell'indagine sulla trattativa Stato-mafia. Motivando il suo sì alla proposta, il procuratore siciliano ha rimarcato la più evidente delle verità: "La mafia è internazionale, anche l'antimafia deve esserlo". Se vogliamo attingere all'immagine della "società liquida" proposta dalle riflessioni di Zygmunt Bauman, anche la criminalità ha assunto sembianze molto meno rigide di un tempo e opera annullando di fatto frontiere e confini, giocando di sponda con le opportunità offerte dai sistemi tecnologici, sempre più complessi, e dalle connessioni della finanza, sempre più planetarie, per trattare materie e affari sporchi in ogni angolo del mondo».

- Oggi c'è un'antimafia sociale/ un movimento sociale? Che forme ha e in cosa si distingue forse da quello di altri periodi?

«La differenza è nell'acquisizione di un diverso grado di consapevolezza. Limitare la lotta alla pervasività mafiosa racchiudendola nell'angusto paradigma offerto dagli strumenti della repressione significa rinunciare di fatto a qualsiasi chance di successo. L'antimafia sociale c'è, nelle sue varianti associazionistiche e movimentistiche, e opera sul terreno del consenso che nel tempo si è sedimentato intorno ai clan, cercando di sottrarre loro preziosi elementi di sostentamento. Più della paura, è la convenienza che favorisce il perpetuarsi delle logiche criminali, che riescono a incidere sui gangli vitali dei sistemi sociali, prima ancora che democratici, riuscendo così a rigenerare i meccanismi che ne consentono la proliferazione. La battaglia , prima ancora che nelle caserme e nelle aule di giustizia, va giocata sullo scosceso piano culturale, dove le dinamiche del "favore", nella forma pratica dei piccoli aiuti quotidiani o in quella raffinata della manipolazione degli appalti, hanno prodotto un avvicinamento agli ambienti malavitosi di fasce non marginali (per numero o per peso specifico) di persone, mosse dall'utilità monetizzabile o da un più manifesto consenso. È questo che rende ancora difficile l'avverarsi delle previsioni di Giovanni Falcone sulla possibilità che, come tutti i fenomeni umani, la mafia sia destinata ad avere – dopo la nascita e la crescita – inevitabilmente anche una fine».

- Com'è stato lo sviluppo negli ultimi anni (diciamo dalle stragi di Capaci e via d'Amelio)? Nel senso che non ci sono più morti 'eccellenti', il crimine organizzato diventa sempre meno visibile. È cambiato qualcosa rispetto al lavoro dell'antimafia sociale? È per esempio più difficile mobilitare gente o si concentra su nuove attività?

«Quello che è cambiato lo si è analizzato, pur con gli inevitabili arrotondamenti di una sintesi, nelle risposte fin qui date. In più va solo detto che proprio le stragi di mafia, e gli attentati seguiti a quella stagione con le bombe fatte esplodere a Roma, Firenze (via dei Georgofili, cinque morti) e Milano (via Palestro, altre cinque vittime), hanno dato una scossa all'intera società italiana, facendo capire come l'offensiva della criminalità organizzata non era più "solo" un attacco agli uomini in prima linea (Falcone e Borsellino, da ultimi) ma all'assetto democratico di una nazione. Tra il '92 e il '93 furono 71 i morti, persone innocenti trucidate dalle associazioni mafiose in questa accelerata impresa da una ben precisa strategia terroristica, in buona parte funzionale a un progetto finalizzato a piegare la legislazione italiana in materia di lotta alla mafia. Tra i destinatari di quelle azioni, anche il giornalista Maurizio Costanzo, sopravvissuto all'esplosione di

un'autobomba con 90 chili di tritolo all'uscita del Teatro Parioli, a Roma, impegnato soprattutto in quel periodo in una serie di trasmissioni televisive sulla criminalità organizzata, e don Pino Puglisi, sacerdote in prima linea a Palermo, ammazzato al rientro a casa. L'antimafia sociale affonda in gran parte in quegli anni, in quei fatti, nell'orrore provocato, nella commozione suscitata, le radici del proprio impegno».

- Qual è il ruolo del giornalismo nel contesto dell'antimafia?

«È un ruolo di testimonianza. Di vicinanza. Di supporto al patrimonio di conoscenze che tutti dovrebbero avere. Di resoconto quanto più aderente alla realtà, di spiegazione dei fatti, di analisi dei fenomeni. In qualche caso, è stato un eroico impegno in aree periferiche ma non marginali, fino all'estremo sacrificio. Un lavoro che dovrebbe svolgersi al riparo da ogni tentazione di sensazionalismo ma quanto più coinvolgente possibile. Un modo per evitare l'effetto contrario, e cioè favorire – per quanto involontariamente – le associazioni criminali, incidendo in maniera significativa sui due principali alleati del male, la paura o – al contrario – il disinteresse, ed evitando di instillare nella società dosi letali dell'una o dell'altro».

- Concludendo, come valuti la situazione di oggi? C'è stata una reazione da parte dell'antimafia sociale alle trasformazioni della mafia. Ci dovrebbero essere? Qual è la sfida di oggi? Che passi bisognerebbe fare per avvicinarsi ad un'antimafia all'altezza del tempo, ma soprattutto all'altezza del crimine organizzato?

«La sensazione è che il cambio d'immagine delle associazioni mafiose, lontane anni luce dall'iconografia con coppola in testa e lupara a tracolla, abbia attenuato nell'opinione pubblica, non certo nei giovani e nei volontari impegnati, la percezione di una presenza quanto mai pervasiva e inquietante. I sofisticati sistemi della finanza mondiale, la globalizzazione dei traffici illeciti e l'apertura di nuovi mercati di consumo per prodotti illegali, insieme con una dotazione di arsenali all'avanguardia sempre pronti per l'uso e con l'infiltrazione nell'economia legale partendo dai meccanismi elementari del riciclaggio, permettono connessioni tra apparati criminali di diverse parti del mondo e la condivisione di strumenti di azione e modalità operative in parte inedite. E questo da un lato rende ancor più pericolose le organizzazioni criminali e dall'altro impone un salto di qualità nelle strutture investigative preposte alla prevenzione e al contrasto dell'illegalità. In questo, l'antimafia sociale si trova a dover operare su un piano locale per la sensibilizzazione delle coscienze, spesso distratte rispetto ad alcune dinamiche che si muovono tutt'intorno, e su un piano sovranazionale per l'acquisizione di un necessario patrimonio di conoscenze circa i nuovi sistemi con cui associazioni mafiose nominalmente divise ma economicamente collegate lucrano sulle debolezze umane. La sfida è difficile ed è globale. Si può perderla o vincerla, ma solo tutti assieme».

Interview Lorenzo Baldo

- Come ha incontrato la tematica del crimine organizzato nel Suo lavoro? Come si è sviluppato ‚Antimafia 2000', perché è stato fondato?

Mi ci sono scontrato dopo la strage di Capaci. Sentendo le parole di Rosaria Schifani, vedova dell'agente di scorta di Falcone, Vito Schifani, pronunciate al funerale del marito e dei suoi colleghi. Quando disse rivolta ai mafiosi: "Vi perdono ma inginocchiatevi" fu uno choc per me, è come se prima di quel momento non avessi capito cosa fosse la mafia, a quel punto mi sono determinato che dovevo fare qualcosa anche io per provare a combatterla.
Per quanto riguarda perché è stata fondata Antimafia Duemila ti rispondo così come

abbiamo scritto nella presentazione pubblicata sul sito, vedi tu quello che può esserti utile.

ANTIMAFIADuemila è nata a Palermo il 25 marzo 2000 per volontà del suo fondatore Giorgio Bongiovanni. La redazione principale si trova a Sant' Elpidio a Mare, in provincia di Fermo, dove ha sede l'Associazione Culturale no profit Falcone e Borsellino che edita la rivista. A maggio del 2011 è stata aperta una sede del giornale a Palermo.

Il nostro principale intento è di riportare le informazioni che riguardano le maggiori mafie che infestano il nostro Paese: Cosa Nostra prima di tutte e poi 'Ndrangheta, Camorra e Sacra Corona Unita, ecc e soprattutto di spiegare come queste agiscano e proliferino in stretta connessione con il potere politico, economico, istituzionale deviato e occulto.

A causa di un'informazione insufficiente, incompleta e troppo spesso manipolata o artefatta sono ancora milioni gli italiani che ritengono la mafia una questione di ordinaria criminalità circoscritta ad alcune regioni meridionali del nostro Paese. In realtà indagini, processi, documenti e inchieste dimostrano come le mafie si siano infiltrate stabilmente anche nelle regioni del Nord così come all'estero. Grazie ai miliardi di euro, accumulati con i grandi traffici di droga e con le altre attività illecite, riciclati e reintrodotti nell'economia legale usufruendo dei moderni canali di globalizzazione dei mercati le mafie sono diventate oggi la prima azienda d'Italia con fatturati da capogiro.

Con questo potere a disposizione si comprende facilmente come siano in grado di comprare, corrompere e condizionare uomini e politiche conquistando come un cancro infetto e metastatico anche le zone sane in Italia e in Europa.

Occorre comprendere come mai queste mafie, Cosa Nostra in primis, che hanno origini centenarie, non siano mai state debellate da nessun governo in nessuna compagine politica. Sottovalutazione, superficialità, connivenza, convergenza di interessi?

Recenti inchieste e l'apertura degli archivi storici dimostrano come Cosa Nostra, per esempio, sia stata determinante sin dai primi anni della nascita della Repubblica nel concorrere a stabilire gli assetti politici e quindi economici del nostro Paese in relazione agli equilibri mondiali.

E più volte, ci dicono le sentenze, forze interne ed esterne ai vari Governi hanno fatto ricorso alla sua violenza eversiva. Da Portella della Ginestra, all'Italicus, fino alla più recente stagione stragista che ha insanguinato il nostro Paese con gli eccidi di Capaci, via D'Amelio e le bombe di Firenze, Roma e Milano.

Proprio sulle stragi che hanno dilaniato i corpi di Giovanni Falcone, Paolo Borsellino dei loro agenti di scorta e degli innocenti è concentrato il nostro sforzo investigativo e giornalistico. Siamo infatti profondamente convinti, sulla base degli atti processuali e delle nostre ricerche, che dietro questi eventi ci sia stata una regia ben precisa atta a stabilire determinati equilibri interni ed esterni al nostro Paese. Siamo convinti che tra coloro che ci governano oggi si nascondano i mandanti esterni di quelle stragi, coloro che hanno pianificato la Seconda Repubblica con lo specifico scopo di mantenere e di peggiorare lo stato di disequilibrio sociale in Italia e nel mondo a vantaggio di quei pochissimi che, secondo i loro piani, avranno diritto di usufruire delle limitate risorse che il nostro Pianeta, sfruttato a dismisura, ancora può offrire.

- Quali sono stati i cambiamenti più importanti del crimine organizzato negli ultimi anni?

Secondo la relazione annuale dello scorso anno della Direzione Nazionale Antimafia la 'Ndrangheta è la più potente delle mafie in quanto globalizzata ed estremamente potente sul piano economico e militare al punto di poter essere definita "presenza istituzionale strutturale nella società calabrese", così come "interlocutore indefettibile di ogni potere politico ed amministrativo". Nel documento della Dna si legge poi che la forza di Cosa Nostra sta indubitabilmente nei suoi capi la cui cattura le causa un danno rilevantissimo. La mafia però è in grado di sopravvivere comunque proprio a causa della sua struttura. Quella che lo stesso Falcone definiva "l'organizzazione criminale più potente al mondo" resta quindi un modello ineguagliabile dalle altre mafie. Cosa Nostra conserva intatta

tutta la sua potenzialità criminale, il suo potere ricattatorio e soprattutto la sua capacità di convivere con uno Stato Bifronte. Seguendo l'analisi della Dna leggiamo che la Camorra ha per sua natura una sorta di rivalità interna che porta a continue scissioni che indeboliscono le tradizionali leadership. Resta però un fenomeno alquanto pericoloso per le manifestazioni di atti di estrema violenza di cui è capace che molto spesso coinvolgono inermi cittadini del tutto estranei all'organizzazione. Basti pensare alla morte della giovane Annalisa Durante, così come le tante altre vittime innocenti cadute sotto il fuoco incrociato di bande rivali.

Per quanto riguarda gli affari secondo il rapporto Sos Impresa al primo posto degli interessi mafiosi compare l'edilizia in tutte le sue fasi. Le mafie sono particolarmente interessate alle attività commerciali e turistiche con particolare riguardo al franchising ed alla media e grande distribuzione. Per quanto riguarda quest'ultima l'interesse delle mafie è particolarmente forte nei confronti dei centri commerciali che sono funzionali al riciclaggio di denaro sporco. Il traffico di stupefacenti resta indubbiamente tra i più proficui affari delle mafie, così come il controllo degli appalti pubblici (che in certi casi avviene nella fase embrionale) e lo smaltimento dei rifiuti. Così come i mercati ortofrutticoli che da sempre hanno rappresentato un luogo naturale per gli affari delle mafie. Per non parlare del gioco d'azzardo sul quale puntano diversi clan. Il racket delle estorsioni resta sempre un business molto forte delle organizzazioni criminali che oltre a fatturare ingenti somme di denaro sortiscono l'effetto di "controllo" del territorio. Parallelamente il fenomeno dell'usura legato alle cosche criminali muove un giro di affari attorno ai 20 miliardi di euro.

Un'ultima considerazione riguarda la situazione creata dall'attuale crisi economica, va ribadito che le mafie immetteranno nel sistema economico soldi liquidi. Tanti. La cosiddetta "Mafia Spa" dispone di immensi capitali finanziari. Orientativamente si calcola un utile di oltre100 miliardi di euro all'anno. Una cifra pari al 7% del Pil italiano. Si tratta di una liquidità che in questo momento di forte crisi economica supera quindi quella degli istituti di credito. A rafforzare il potere dell'"azienda Mafia" si aggiunge poi un sistema bancario all'interno del quale spesso si muovono logiche assolutamente delinquenziali. Quelle stesse logiche che spesso obbligano i cittadini bisognosi di prestiti a rivolgersi ad usurai legati ad ambienti criminali, con tutte le conseguenze che questo comporta. Per fare un esempio localizzato in Sicilia lo stesso procuratore di Palermo, Francesco Messineo, ha ribadito di ritenere fondato il sospetto che tutto il sistema economico siciliano, con particolare riguardo al settore degli appalti pubblici, sia stabilmente sotto il controllo della mafia.

- Che ruolo ha l'antimafia sociale (distinguendola dall'antimafia istituzionale, riferendosi alle attività della 'società civile')? Oggi c'è un'antimafia sociale/ un movimento sociale? Che forme ha e in cosa si distingue forse da quello di altri periodi?

L'antimafia sociale ha un ruolo importantissimo, la richiesta di verità e giustizia che sale dal basso (dal popolo) ha un peso determinante nel raggiungimento della verità, sia essa giudiziaria, sia essa meramente storica. Non dimentichiamo che negli anni del Maxiprocesso lo stesso Giovanni Falcone aveva detto: "La gente fa il tifo per noi" e non si riferiva certamente ad un'esaltazione fine a se stessa, ma bensì alla constatazione dell'importanza di una presa di coscienza sociale legata all'azione giudiziaria che agiva da impulso al lavoro della magistratura.

A distanza di 20 anni dalle stragi l'antimafia sociale si muove attraverso diverse anime: dall'associazione Libera di don Ciotti fino al movimento delle Agende Rosse di Salvatore Borsellino. Ognuna di esse riveste un proprio ruolo fondamentale all'interno della società civile. Negli anni prima delle stragi del '92 e immediatamente dopo esistevano ovviamente altre realtà associative legate all'impegno antimafia, alcune vicine a ideologie politiche, altre vicine ad ambienti religiosi ed altre ancora più laiche. La differenza con i movimenti sociali antimafia di oggi è subordinata al diverso clima sociale e politico che si

respira attualmente. Per altri versi certi movimenti di ieri rispecchiano la passione civile di alcuni movimenti di oggi.

- Com'è stato lo sviluppo negli ultimi anni (diciamo dalle stragi di Capaci e Via d'Amelio)? Nel senso che non ci sono più morti 'eccellenti', il crimine organizzato sembra diventare sempre meno visibile. È cambiato qualcosa rispetto al lavoro dell'antimafia sociale? È per esempio più difficile mobilizzare gente o si concentra su nuove attività?

Al di là dell'attuale mancanza di "morti eccellenti", grazie a Dio, il lavoro dell'antimafia sociale resta ugualmente determinante per le ragioni espresse pocanzi in merito alla pretesa di verità e giustizia. Strumenti come Internet, i social network ecc. sono serviti e servono indubbiamente a mobilitare le persone nel sostenere ad esempio i magistrati che indagano sulla "trattativa" Stato-mafia o quelli che investigano sulle stragi del '92 e del '93. La difficoltà se mai sta nel trasferire le informazioni il più corrette possibili su questi temi passando attraverso il mare-magnum di un'informazione "controllata" dal potere che occulta o stravolge le notizie.

- Qual'è il ruolo del giornalismo nel contesto dell'antimafia?

La mia concezione sul ruolo del giornalismo nel contesto dell'antimafia si rifà in toto all'analisi di Pippo Fava quando diceva di avere "un concetto etico del giornalismo". Anche io ritengo che "in una società democratica e libera quale dovrebbe essere quella italiana, il giornalismo rappresenti la forza essenziale della società. Un giornalismo fatto di verità impedisce molte corruzioni, frena la violenza della criminalità, accelera le opere pubbliche indispensabili, pretende il funzionamento dei servizi sociali, tiene continuamente allerta le forze dell'ordine, sollecita la costante attenzione della giustizia, impone ai politici il buon governo". Allo stesso modo sono fermamente convinto che se un giornale non è capace di questo, "si fa carico anche di vite umane. Persone uccise in sparatorie che si sarebbero potute evitare se la pubblica verità avesse ricacciato indietro i criminali: ragazzi stroncati da overdose di droga che non sarebbe mai arrivata nelle loro mani se la pubblica verità avesse denunciato l'infame mercato, ammalati che non sarebbero periti se la pubblica verità avesse reso più tempestivo il loro ricovero". Infine concordo completamente con Pippo Fava quando diceva che "un giornalista incapace - per vigliaccheria o calcolo - della verità si porta sulla coscienza tutti i dolori umani che avrebbe potuto evitare, e le sofferenze. le sopraffazioni. le corruzioni, le violenze che non è stato capace di combattere. Il suo stesso fallimento". Secondo il mio punto di vista il ruolo del giornalismo nel contesto dell'antimafia – e non solo – dovrebbe attenersi strettamente ai principi menzionati da Pippo Fava, ma purtroppo la realtà è ben diversa.

- Concludendo, come valuta la situazione di oggi? C'è stata una reazione da parte dell'antimafia sociale alle trasformazioni della mafia. Ci dovrebbero essere? Qual è la sfida di oggi? Che passi bisognerebbe fare per avvicinarsi ad un'antimafia all'altezza del tempo, ma soprattutto all'altezza del crimine organizzato?

Da una parte la situazione attuale è alquanto critica in quanto l'antimafia sociale soffre di una mancanza di una vera e propria "unione" che vada oltre le diversità che caratterizzano le tante realtà associative. Se le tante anime che compongono il mondo antimafia puntassero unicamente sull'obiettivo che accomuna il lavoro di ciascuna di queste componenti si eviterebbero sprechi di energia, frammentazione e indebolimento. Questa è indubbiamente una delle sfide più importanti che attende l'impegno antimafia per essere all'altezza della forza dirompente della criminalità organizzata e dei "colletti bianchi". Pur mantenendo la propria identità e autonomia è necessario unire le forze per far fronte comune in difesa di quei magistrati che, nonostante gli attacchi trasversali del

mondo politico, stanno cercando di portare alla luce la verità su quelle stragi del '92 e del '93 che a tutti gli effetti si possono considerare "stragi di Stato". Mai come in questo momento l'antimafia sociale ha il dovere di stare al loro fianco stimolando l'opinione pubblica ad una presa di coscienza reale e soprattutto ad un'azione concreta di sostegno. Di fatto il rischio di nuovi attentati è tutt'altro che finito. Latitanti come Matteo Messina Denaro insieme ai loro eserciti possono tornare a mettere le bombe se viene chiesto loro da quei poteri criminali che hanno interesse a destabilizzare il nostro Paese. Ed è proprio il disvelamento di questi poteri criminali – annidati nei gangli vitali delle nostre istituzioni – che potrà mettere fine al ricatto mafioso che attanaglia la nostra fragile democrazia. Di contraltare il movimento delle Agende Rosse di Salvatore Borsellino rappresenta un esempio importantissimo di riscatto. Il fratello del giudice assassinato nel '92 ha saputo coinvolgere migliaia di ragazzi in tutta Italia che a loro volta continuano a trasmettere ai propri coetanei (e non solo) l'importanza della ricerca della verità. E' come un "virus" positivo che si espande nell'etere e che ha tutte le potenzialità per travolgere quei muri di gomma eretti dai complici di Cosa Nostra. Serve però tanta serietà di intenti, continuità e spirito di servizio. Ognuno di noi è chiamato a rispondere a questa chiamata, ne va del nostro futuro e di quello dei nostri figli.

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit ehrenwörtlich, dass ich die vorliegende Bachelorarbeit mit dem Thema:

"Challenging Invisibility – An Analysis of the Role of Civil Society in the Sicilian Antimafia in Recent Year"

selbstständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt habe.

Die Übernahme wörtlicher Zitate sowie die Verwendung der Gedanken anderer Autoren habe ich an den entsprechenden Stellen der Arbeit kenntlich gemacht.

Ich bin mir bewusst, dass eine falsche Erklärung rechtliche Folgen haben wird.

_____   _____   _____

Ort   **Datum**   **Unterschrift**