The Anti-Mafia Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Naples and Sicily

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The Anti-Mafia Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Naples and Sicily

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Abstract

Il movimento antimafia è un elemento costante e in continua evoluzione nella lotta contro le mafia italiane. Questa tesi esamina se il movimento antimafia a Napoli affronta più sfide che in Sicilia sull'integrazione nella cultura e nella società sulla base delle diverse strutture della Camorra e di Cosa Nostra. In primo luogo viene fornita una breve panoramica e informazioni di base sulla storia della mafia e sul movimento antimafia, seguita da una revisione della lettura attuale sull'argomento. Tuttavia, l'obiettivo principale di questa ricerca è un'analisi approfondita della struttura organizzativa delle due organizzazioni, al fine di determinare se questo aspetto contribuisce o meno alle sfide del movimento antimafia Siciliano rispetto a quello superiore del Napoletano. Sono esaminati i vari aspetti delle strutture organizzative, tra cui: le varie caratteristiche delle organizzazioni, le caratteristiche dei membri e il ruolo delle donne. I risultati di questa ricerca dimostrano di come queste organizzazioni abbiano un ruolo fondamentale nelle sfide del movimento antimafia Siciliano rispetto a quello superiore del Napoletano. Infine, i limiti e le conclusioni di questa ricerca metteranno in evidenza ciò che ha impedito un'indagine più approfondita di questo elemento del movimento antimafia e ciò che deve ancora essere approfondito per capire come il successo del movimento antimafia può continuare a crescere.

Dedication

For my parents who have supported me in all of my decisions and have continuously motivated me throughout this journey. Thank you for your guidance that has gotten me to this point. I love you.

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1. Introduction

Overview of the Thesis

The Anti-Mafia movement is an increasingly important topic of discussion surrounding the issue of organized crime in southern Italy and more specifically in Sicily. To have a full and clear understanding of the intricacies of the movement, various elements of both the mafia and the movement itself must be examined. As there are many factors that play a major part in promoting the success and integration of the Anti-Mafia movement, many of which go much deeper than what goes on within the organizations (corruption of political leaders, lack of trust in the government, etc.) for the purposes of this research the focus of this thesis will specifically be on how the structures of the organized crime groups in Naples and Sicily contribute to the lack or slowing down of success for the movement. The history of the Sicilian mafia, Cosa Nostra, goes as far back as the Italian state. Various aspects played a role in its birth, many of which are still present in Sicilian society and culture today. The history of the Anti-Mafia movement is also important to analyze as it highlights how the movement has evolved and what has caused that evolution. Additionally, it is important to look at the many societal challenges the movement has faced in their fight against the mafia. Some of these challenges, of which will be examined more in depth in the chapters to come, include making a distinction between Sicilian culture and mafia culture the dependency some Sicilians have on the mafia for financial reasons, the lack of trust in the government and the manipulation and control the mafia has established over Sicilians as well as the members of the organization. Finally, the Anti-Mafia movement in the contemporary

context will be examined as well as its outcomes. A full investigation of the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily as well as a close examination of the organization itself is essential in understanding the changes that need to be made for the movement to continue making progress and to spread that progress beyond Sicily.

The Anti-mafia movement has become an important aspect surrounding the issue of organized crime in southern Italy. However, this movement has had more success in certain areas than in others. As the modern day movement was born in Sicily in the 1980s, it has had more of an impact in implementing Anti-Mafia ideals into the Sicilian culture and society. Unlike the success the movement has experienced in Sicily, in Campania it appears to have been a much slower process integrating into the culture and society. In order to understand whether or not the movement has in fact been less successful in Naples than in Sicily, and if so what factors have caused that there are many elements that must be thoroughly investigated. Additionally, when investigating the differences in the success of the mafia between the two regions, there are some societal components of each place that must be considered in order to isolate whether they play a role in slowing the progression of the movement.

Background of the mafia

In order to fully understand the challenges faced by the Anti-Mafia movement, it is important to first consider the history of the mafia itself as well as the history of the movement. As Cosa Nostra is such a deeply rooted element of Sicilian society it is essential to examine the reason for that. However, as the history of the mafia and the Anti-Mafia movement are only one element of this research, a synthesized overview of these two aspects will be provided. As the

Sicilian mafia was born around the same time as the official birth of Italy as a nation, it had just as strong of a presence and influence, if not stronger, than the state. The mafia originally emerged as a form of protection rackets for lemon and orange trees in Palermo which in 1860 were reported to be "the most profitable agricultural land in Europe, out-earning even the fruit orchards around Paris" (Dickie, 2004, p. 39). Dickie explains that the Sicilian mafia was "born not out of poverty and isolation, but of wealth and power" (2004, p. 40). "Wardens" were hired by wealthy landowners to protect their land and crops from vandalism and destruction. Often the landowners were forced by the leaders of the mafia to hire their men as stewards, wardens and brokers. If they refused or fired their men, they were met with threats and the killing of their family members, among other things. Virtually, they were paying the mafia for protection from the mafia (the pizzo would be considered the modern day version of this). Additionally, there were early signs of connections between mafiosi, law enforcement and politicians as many of the first members of the mafia were powerful and wealthy people who had connections that could protect them if they found themselves in trouble with the law. These early connections led to a strong distrust in the state and its ability to protect the people. In many cases the state was unable to provide citizens with a sense of security (no action was taken when things such as murder, threats and vandalism of shops occurred), which often left them with no other option but to seek protection from the mafia.

The Anti-Mafia movement also has a long history as they initially began as cooperatives in the form of peasant movements. According to Rakopoulos, the Anti-Mafia movement began with *Fasci Siciliani Lavoratori* (Sicilian Workers League), which was a federation of *braccianti*, in the peasant movement of the 1890s, and claims that the Fasci are to thank for the birth of the Anti-Mafia movement (2014). These Fasci fought for more jobs and better working conditions

from the landowners which would negatively affect the relationships between mafiosi and landowners who provided them with jobs. These cooperatives posed a threat to the mafia as much of the land would be given to the cooperatives/organizations rather than private owners who could then provide jobs for members of the mafia. However, it was often difficult to distinguish mafia from Anti-Mafia because both the Fasci and the mafia were seen as anarchists even if they fought for different things. The Anti-Mafia movement was also present during World War II in opposition not only to the mafia but also the fascist police who, although contrary to what Mussolini claimed at the time, were both trying to eradicate these cooperatives (Rakopoulos, 2014). The post-war period was beneficial for the cooperatives as they were able to seize and occupy land in Sicily, such as the *Drago* estate in 1946. However, Rakopoulos highlights that this period lasted only from "the Liberation (Autumn 1943) to the Portella Massacre that took place in Spicco Vallata (Spring 1947)" (2014, p. 69). Although never fully proven to be true, it is believed that this massacre was committed by members of the state alongside mafiosi as a way to warn these cooperatives to end their fight for land. (Rakopoulos, 2014). In the following period, the cooperatives were met with many challenges such as the 1950 law that by "fragmenting land into family tracts [therefore,] destroyed radical bracciante cooperativism" (Rakopoulos, 2014, p.22). In the following decade the cooperatives were revived with vineyards and wineries. In the following years, the Anti-Mafia movement slowly began evolving into what it is in the contemporary context as a result of various events that took place throughout the 1980-90s, which will later be discussed.

Challenges the Anti-Mafia movement has faced

With an understanding of the historical context of the mafia as well as the Anti-Mafia, it is easier to understand why the Anti-Mafia movement faces various societal challenges in their fight against the mafia. One of the biggest challenges this movement is faced with is the lack of trust in the government or governmental organizations and trust and dependency on the mafia, which is a direct result of the birth of the mafia. As many Sicilians are employed through the mafia, much of their financial stability is dependent on its presence. Having said that, it is important to also highlight that while there are many Sicilians who depend on Cosa Nostra for financial stability, this is not to say that is the case for the whole population of Sicily and many Sicilians do not depend on the mafia for the employment or financial security. This should be taken into consideration throughout the entirety of this thesis, in reference to both Neapolitans and Sicilians in the context of financial stability. However; at the same time, it must be acknowledged that there is in some cases and at some level a dependency on the mafia for financial reasons.

Although in the beginning of Orlando's first term from 1985-1990 he was well received by many Sicilians for his strong opposition to the mafia, this support started to decline as a result, the measures he took in fighting the mafia. Gunnarson highlights this challenge when she points out that many Sicilians blamed the fight against the mafia for the economic decline. She states "many linked the economic decline to Orlando's Anti-Mafia programme as it had slowed down construction, and expressed concern about their personal economic situation (Gunnarson, 2008). The mafia specifically provides many job opportunities in the construction industry and without the mafia many of the people in this industry would otherwise not have an income. Schneider and Schneider highlight how successful the mafia has been in furthering this

dependency on them and nurturing the distrust in the state when they discuss how many Sicilians were not convinced that fighting against the mafia was in their best interest. They support this point by stressing how deeply rooted the mafia is in the everyday lives of Sicilians when they state "a small group of demonstrators had appeared at the Four Corners of the historic center, carrying signs that read "vogliamo la mafia" [...] and "con la mafia si lavora, senza no" (2003, p. 188). Although Orlando was faced with backlash for his "clean break with local contractors and construction firms", this resistance came from the labor unions, not all Sicilians. It was not until later during his second term as mayor that he began losing more of his support, as he revealed his interests in furthering his political career on a national level which will later be discussed. Additionally, many citizens not only depend on the mafia for financial stability but also for a sense of security and safety. In Vaccaro's study of Addiopizzo, an anti-extortion organization originating in Sicily, he provides support of this with interviews with Sicilian business owners. One specifically stated "Mafia does its job very well… you pay taxes but the state does not protect you… you pay the pizzo and you can sleep peacefully… because no one will touch… or disturb you" (Vaccaro, 2012, p. 29). This highlights just how much Sicilians lack trust in the government as the mafia does things for citizens the state should be responsible for doing.

Additionally, because of the fact that the mafia has a history as long as the actual Italian state, Sicilians often have difficulty in distinguishing Sicilian culture from mafia culture. As the mafia has had such a strong presence in all aspects of Sicilian society and culture, for many people the two seemed to have become one and the same. Gunnarson argues that in order to create a solution for this was to redefine not only Sicilian culture but to also "challenge cultural explanations for the mafia" and introduce Anti-Mafia ideals into society (2008, p. 77).

Schneider and Schneider support this idea of redefining Sicilian culture in their idea of a cultural re-education. This idea of cultural re-education has much to do with the idea of starting that re-education with the younger generation in "educating for legality" in order to support Anti-Mafia ideology. Much of this plays a part in the Anti-Mafia movement (which is important to note that the birth of these re-education ideals took place in Sicily), which emphasized "principles of citizenship, contrasting them to the clientelism that is thought to be chronic among Sicilians (Schneider J., & Schneider, P., 2003, p. 265).

The challenge Sicilians face in identifying aspects of mafia culture is an important element to examine as one of the challenges the Anti-Mafia movement seems to face is that there needs to be an increase in civil society. This is not to say that Sicily and Sicilians as a whole are uncivilized or unable to determine right from wrong but rather that the strong presence of the mafia and the areas of weakness within the state has blurred the distinction between the two. It is often the case that the mafia appears to have a stronger sense of legitimacy than the state because of the organization's ability to make up for those weaknesses within the state. Vaccaro points out that a member of Addiopizzo stated that "we often have to explain to people why the mafia is wrong… before explaining why and how we [Addiopizzo] are useful" and "Sicilians do not see the institution of the mafia as immoral and they do not understand how their behavior can affect mafia activities" (2012, p. 28-29). If Sicilians have trouble identifying and condemning certain mafia activity, in most cases it is a direct reflection of the ways in which the state is lacking and their inability to provide security and financial stability. Additionally, in certain instances, it isn't necessarily that they are unable to draw a distinction between the two, but rather that they are put in a situation where they are forced to ignore the fact that something aligns with Sicilian culture or with mafia culture. If Sicilians have trouble distinguishing Sicilian culture from mafia culture,

or are forced by the areas of weakness within the state to ignore it, they will consequently not be able to understand or support the reason they are fighting against the mafia.

One last challenge the Anti-Mafia movement faces and arguably one of the hardest ones to overcome, is the mental influence the mafia has not only over citizens but also its members. Although many Sicilians have a strong trust in the mafia, this trust was born out of manipulation. Through threats and acts of violence, the mafia gained the trust of Sicilians through fear. Vaccaro refers to this as "the risk of violent mafia (re-)actions against individuals and organizations" (2012, p. 28). Because of this fear, there is an extreme resistance in even agreeing with or supporting the Anti-Mafia movement. He also provides examples of how the mafia uses intimidation techniques and threats when he states "Between 2005 and 2009, Mafia families had tried to terrorize individuals and firms associated with Addiopizzo in at least 15 situations. The intimidation included car burning (D353), robberies (see D335), threats (see D346), physical and verbal assaults (D359), etc. (Vaccaro, 2012, p. 29). This demonstrates that although there is a sense of trust in the mafia for financial stability and protection, there is an equally present sense of fear enforced by the mafia. Additionally, the initiation rituals are an important element in understanding why mafiosi feel that they are bound to the mafia for their whole lives. Dickie provides an extensive description of their initiation rituals from the time of the birth of the mafia then continues on to express that the rituals are virtually the same today. He states

> According to the Chief of Police's account, in the mafia of the 1870's any man of honour due to be initiated would be led into the presence of a group of bosses and underbosses. One of these men would then prick the would-be mafioso's arm or hand and tell him to smear blood from the wound on to a sacred image. Then the oath of loyalty would be taken as the image was burned and its ashes

> scattered, thus symbolizing annihilation of all traitors (Dickie, 2004, p. 45).

He then provides a description of the initiation of the man who would later assassinate Giovanni Falcone, Giovanni Brusca, stating

> One of the men of honour then took his finger and pricked it with a pin; Brusca smeared the blood on the saint's image, which he then held in his cupped hands while Riina himself set light to it. The godfather spoke the words 'If you betray Cosa Nostra, your flesh will burn like this saint.' cupping his own hands over the flame as he did so, to prevent the initiate from dropping it (Dickie, 2004, p. 46).

This short description of what takes place when a new mafioso is "made" provides a clear understanding of why members of the mafia feel so committed to the mafia and typically do not consider turning on it. This is a strong form of control over these men, making them feel as if they have no other option but to stay loyal forever.

Although these elements pose extreme challenges in fighting the mafia, the Anti-Mafia movement began to achieve significant success in establishing a stronger presence in society throughout the 1980-90s. Gunnarson highlights the strides the movement made when Leoluca Orlando was the mayor at the time. In support of what she stated regarding separating Sicilian culture from mafia culture, one of the ways this was confronted was throughout Anti-Mafia laws and initiatives implemented under Orlando. It is important to highlight the distinction between the local measures put in place under the Orlando administration compared to the ones put in place at the national level. Orlando's Anti-Mafia initiatives and fight against the mafia focused on three main aspects: culture, public schools and infrastructure (Gunnarson, 2003, p. 75). The national Anti-Mafia measures put in place were focused more on the legal aspects of fighting the

mafia. Various initiatives were implemented throughout schools in Sicily as, according to Schneider and Schneider, “It is our impression, in fact, that school ties are salient building blocks of antimafia organizations” (2003, p. 162). An important element in fighting the mafia under the Orlando administration were the Anti-Mafia initiatives adopted in schools such as teachings of the Italian constitution, fundamental rights and duties of all individuals and citizens, ‘school adopts a monument project’, civic education (which addresses the issue with a lacking civil society from school age), technical and vocational training schools offering courses in law and economics, and extracurricular courses on topics such as peace, lawfulness, multicultural society and environmental protection (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 82-83). One of the goals of these initiatives was to prevent children from developing the mafia mentality and to “break the tradition of the *omertà* and to cooperate with law enforcement agencies when they had witnessed a crime” (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 90). In addition to the Anti-Mafia initiatives adopted in school, Orlando also implemented new Anti-Mafia laws to further encourage the integration of Anti-Mafia ideals and practices. Among these was also a new law enacted at the national level which provided “pentiti” with a witness protection program in order to persuade them to cooperate with law enforcement, as well as harsher sentencing for mafiosi which Schneider and Schneider claim “With these instruments, investigators and prosecutors have “turned” witnesses, followed money trails, located fugitives, and mapped the contours of the organization” (2003, p. 156).

Although Orlando implemented changes that made significant differences, he too was faced with challenges from the Sicilian people. The distrust for the state and the government came out very clearly with his attempts to combat the mafia issue. However, much of their suspicions on his motives were slowly revealed to be true. As time passed it became clear that his first priority was not solving the mafia problem in Palermo, but he instead had “political

ambitions on the national and international level" (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 80). His apparent fading interest in the fight against the mafia was made clear when two international conferences were hosted in Palermo, and Gunnarson states that a message was clearly presented regarding the situation in Palermo that "the fight against the mafia was over" and "Orlando was reproached for presented too idealized a picture of Palermo; the image offered did not correspond to the local reality many Palermitans were facing" (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 80). However, part of his decline in the context of the Anti-Mafia movement goes along with the sense of fading interest among the public as well as what Gunnarson describes as "fatigue with his anti-Mafia policy" (2003, p. 81). This is important to highlight to show that Orlando did not necessarily lose all support or approval of the public, but instead he had lost his short opportunity to make a significant difference in the fight against the mafia beyond the cultural context. This is to point out that various aspects played a role in the loss of interest in fighting the mafia, but it was not only because Orlando had begun investing into national politics. As the strong emotions caused by events that took place in the early 1990s began to subside (which will be further discussed in the following chapter), so did the driving force for the focus on the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily among both its citizens and its political leaders.

All things considered, the deeply rooted history and impact of the mafia on Sicilian society has created long lasting threats to the success of the Anti-Mafia movement. The challenges already faced by these organizations in Sicily can be used to learn from and continue progressing not only in Sicily but in other places affected by organized crime. Additionally, examining what has already been done in confronting this issue is important to know in order to determine what worked well and what needs to be done differently. Examining these aspects of the mafia and the Anti-Mafia movement is also important in determining if they are what hinders

the success of the movement elsewhere or if those challenges come from something other than the social and cultural elements, such as the structures of the different mafias. Many of these characteristics of Cosa Nostra and of the challenges the movement faces in Sicily, such as the dependency on the mafia for jobs and the mental manipulation are also present in Naples with the Camorra. A large portion of the younger generations get their jobs from the clans of the Camorra (Barbagallo, 2011). That being said, a general background and overview of the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily, will help in investigating the structure of the Camorra and the movement against it in Naples.

Although the Orlando administration was a key element in the Anti-Mafia movement, there are other aspects of the movement that must also be examined in reference to the modern day Anti-Mafia movement. Other key aspects of the movement in more recent years include the involvement of various grassroots activism that play a key role in promoting the shift of focus for the Anti-Mafia movement, leading to and "Antimafia dei delitti" to an "Antimafia dei diritti" (Jamieson, 1999, p 127). This is the element of the movement that placed more of the focus on the citizens, it is the aspect of the movement that examines that aspect of Italian society in order to denounce the cohabitation with the mafia. (Jamieson, 1999). However, this is also the part of the movement that could be lacking in Naples and this research intends to investigate whether that is the case or not. This idea of social movement organizations will be further examined in this thesis in both Naples and Sicily in order to determine this.

In having a thorough understanding of the background of the mafia and its birth as well as the Anti-Mafia movement will contribute to the investigation of how the structures of the Camorra and Cosa Nostra may hinder the success or integration into society. As many of the organization's cultures, beliefs and methods of doing things came about as a result of their

emergence, it is essential to have an overview of the main elements. That being said, for the purposes of this research, the following chapters will use this background knowledge in examining the very different structural elements of the two organizations. Elements include: the structural dynamics, the role of women as an essential part of the structures, changes of the structures that have occurred, key bosses and leaders in the organizations and critical events that have led to various laws and initiatives in support of the Anti-Mafia movement. Additionally, as it appears that the literature regarding this movement in Naples is scarce compared to that of Sicily, much of the outcomes of this research will also depend on the amount of research and literature available for both organizations. Finally, in focusing on measuring the "success" of the Anti-Mafia movement, it is important to examine what that means and how that can be measured. However, the idea of the movement being "successful" in one region and not the other is difficult to measure. For the purposes of this research, success will be examined as having a strong presence in society and local culture. In order to determine if the movement has achieved this in both Sicily and Naples, an investigation of the presence of the movement in both locations will be presented.

2. Literature Review

Societal actors that hinder success of the Anti-Mafia movement

Before examining the specific aspects of the structures of the two organizations, we must first look at the key information being put out regarding this topic. Investigating what has already been researched and presented regarding this topic will help make this research more thorough and will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the current thoughts and theories. However, one of the key problems with examining this movement is the lack of research that has been done up until this point, specifically in Naples. As the primary goal for this research is to determine why the Anti-Mafia movement has not been as effective in integrating into Neapolitan culture compared to in Sicily, the literature and research for that has already been produced, for both Sicily and Naples, regarding the movement helps significantly in isolating the elements that contribute to this. However, if the research in one of those locations is lacking, this can significantly affect the outcome of the research. Nonetheless, before closely analyzing the structural factors of the organizations, it is important to highlight some key thoughts and research on this movement as well as theories that play a role in determining certain difficulties these organizations face. Much of the research produced by scholars on the Anti-Mafia movement provides agreeing information. However, some scholars offer alternative thoughts and ways to look at the issue as well as address certain elements that other scholars have not examined. Much of the discussion on this movement concerns only Sicily, which provides

ample information to use as a comparison when researching the socio-economic challenges of Naples.

One of the more frequently discussed topics regarding the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily are the social challenges the movements and its organizations have faced as well as the ways in which they integrated Anti-Mafia ideals into the Sicilian culture and society. Both sources from Schneider and Schneider, the two most well-known scholars on the topic, as well as Carina Gunnarson, highlight in detail various challenges the movement has had in the attempt at establishing a presence in society. They discuss the issue of making a distinction between Sicilian culture and mafia culture and how since the birth of the mafia in Sicily, the two separate cultures, for many people have seemed to become one. Additionally, the sources highlight the difficulties the movement faced due to how closely the government and politics and the mafia were tied to each other. Because of this it is much more difficult to go against the mafia. Schneider and Schneider bring light to these relationships in their discussion on the construction industry, highlighting how many Sicilians were against fighting the mafia because of having to depend on the mafia for work. They stress how deeply rooted the mafia is in the everyday lives of Sicilians when discussing the reaction of labor unions stating "a small group of demonstrators had appeared at the Four Corners of the historic center, carrying signs that read *"vogliamo la mafia"* [...] and *"con la mafia si lavora, senza no"* (Schneider J., & Schneider, P., 2003, p. 188). Additionally, they touch on the issue of "the culture of *omertà*" which is instilled at a young age and how this culture creates issues in fighting the mafia. Gunnarson contributes to these points made by Schneider and Schneider throughout her text. She touches on many of the same issues the Anti-Mafia movement has faced because of socio-economic factors and makes references to Schneider and Schneider. She points out the issue of the Sicilian people depending on the mafia

throughout the text, particularly when she highlights that many people blamed the fight against the mafia for the economic decline, she found in research done by Schneider and Schneider (2008). She also considers the idea of omertà as an issue that needs to be addressed from adolescence in order to prevent it from continuously being a challenge to the movement (2008). In addition, in Vaccaro's longitudinal study of the Sicilian anti-extortion organization, Addiopizzo, he discusses the issue regarding the pizzo and how it is another form of dependency people in Sicily have on the mafia, similar to how they depend on it for financial stability. He provides a quote from a business owner in Sicily who states "Mafia does its job very well…you pay taxes but the state does not protect you...you pay the pizzo and you can sleep peacefully...because no one will touch...or disturb you" (Vaccaro, 2012, p. 29). However, he also addresses this issue as Sicilians lack the ability to identify immorality, which goes along with their lack of civil society. He refers to this challenge as a limited moral imagination, which he explains as Sicilians not realizing that their purchasing actions can directly affect the organization as a whole. Rakopoulos also examines this societal challenge in his extensive review of the history of the mafia and Anti-Mafia, as well as the fact that when the mafia was created they acted in place of the state, doing things for the people the government should have been doing.

Although these sources highlight many of the same challenges faced by the Anti-Mafia movement, there are others that they do not take into consideration throughout the text. For example, in addition to the previously stated challenge addressed by Vaccaro,, he additionally addresses three other challenges found in the results of his study which are "organizational legitimacy, resistance to change and the risk of violent Mafia (re-)actions against individuals and organizations" (2012, p. 28). The problem of organizational legitimacy is important to examine

as one of the challenges the movement faces. In fighting against an organization such as the Mafia, which has major support from the citizens, it is important to have credibility and legitimacy. Vaccaro highlights this issue in discussing the hesitations and doubts the founders of Addiopizzo had when starting the organization, stating that they feared no one would listen to them, even on television (2012). These fears were largely because of the fact that generally speaking, student organizations lack legitimacy in Italian culture. The third issue Vaccaro highlights, widespread resistance to change, is a challenge that the movement faces not only in Sicily but in Naples as well. This resistance comes from fears of violent retaliation if they support the Anti-Mafia organizations. He discusses how families who showed support of Addiopizzo were then terrorized with intimidation techniques such as car burning, robberies, and assault (Vaccaro, 2012, p. 29). Much of what Vaccaro finds in his study also contributes to what has previously been stated by Schneider and Schneider and Gunnarson. However, he provides additional challenges that this specific organization confronts in Sicily which is beneficial as it provides even more information to use in comparing Sicily to Naples in this movement.

Not only is it important to know the challenges the movement faces that all of the sources have touched on, but it is essential to understand how changes were made to overcome these challenges. Schneider and Schneider, Gunnarson and Vaccaro all highlight how the movement has had success and how they have established a stronger presence in society. Whereas Rakopoulos examines how the evolution of the Anti-Mafia movement has contributed to them making greater progress in confronting the mafia. Gunnnarson goes into great detail on the importance of implementing Anti-Mafia ideals at the age of adolescence. She highlights how the mayor at the time of the rise of the movement, Leoluca Orlando, established many Anti-Mafia educational and cultural initiatives in schools, such as Anti-Mafia teachings in school

curriculum. Much of these laws and initiatives were part of the larger plan to prevent the development of the “mafia mentality of distrust and hostility towards public institutions” among children as well as further developing the civil consciousness that was lacking in communities (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 75). Schneider and Schneider contribute to the discussion on facing these challenges through education because as they state “It is our impression, in fact, that school ties are salient building blocks of antimafia organization.” (Schneider, J., & Schneider, P., 2003, p. 162). However, they also bring to light other laws that were established around the time of the Maxi Trials. Unlike the initiatives being put in place by Orlando at the local level, these laws focused more on legal side of the Anti-Mafia movement such as “to provide these "pentiti" with a witness protection program” and “stiffer sentencing practices” which contributed to things such as an increase in pentiti among other things (Schneider, J., & Schneider,P., 2003 p. 156). Finally, Vaccaro highlights in his results section how Addiopizzo is effectively uncovering the corruption and immorality of the Mafia for the people of Sicily to see it for what it really is. He underlines the fact that it is a successful Anti-Mafia organization. Vaccaro brings to light the successful initiatives of this organization through anti-racket initiatives, and he also highlights how Addiopizzo has “organized consumers and empowered ethical firms to combat the mafia’s influence through responsible consumption and business. Additionally he provides various suggestions for further research on how the organization can be even more successful such as the relationship between Addiopizzo and other Anti-Mafia organizations as well as research on the role women play in the Anti-Mafia movement (Vaccaro, 2012).

The sources presented on the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily provide an overall view of how the movement emerged, the challenges they faced/face and how they have been able to combat these challenges and successfully make changes in society. Many of the sources overlap

with one another and contribute to the ideas and research on the topic. However, certain sources provide information and research that is essential when examining the success of this movement that many of the other researchers have not explored. Having a thorough understanding as well as various perspectives on certain elements, provides a clearer path for understanding what aspects of the Camorra or societal factors in Naples must be examined.

Theories of vertical trust and clientelism

In looking at the key elements within the literature of the Anti-Mafia movement, it is also important to highlight key theories on vertical trust among Italians in southern Italy. Gunnarson looks at how much trust citizens have in the state and its institutions. This is an important aspect to consider when analyzing the success of the movement because one of the biggest challenges the movement and its organizations face is due to this lack of trust in the state and because the public often times sees these organizations as a part of the government, consequently creating a sense of illegitimacy in the eyes of the public. This idea of vertical trust goes along with previously mentioned issues of legitimacy on the part of the Italian state. Gunnarson describes vertical trust as "the trust citizens have in political systems and societal institutions" and considers this when conducting a comparative study on Sicilian students and students from other regions of Italy (2008, p. 98). This theory is important in examining if the movement has faced specific challenges because of the lack of trust in the state and whether or not there is more lack of trust in Naples. However, this lack of vertical trust goes back to the historical context of the state and the mafia. Gunnarson also highlights Italians, similar to citizens of other countries that were once ruled by foreign powers, "may exhibit a weakness of formal government structures and a perceived lack of legitimacy among citizens" (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 97). Due to both

Naples and Sicily having experienced the coming and going of various colonizers, this has played a part in the perceived illegitimacy of the state and has led citizens to depend more on "informal systems of self-help, such as the family and various kin groups" (Gunnarson, 2008, p. 97).

Gunnarson additionally discusses the difficulty in determining whether or not the weakness of the state is a cause or a consequence of the mafia's (Italian mafia's in general) presence and power (2008). One of the main issues within the discussion of the Anti-Mafia movement is the common and often accepted practice of *clientelismo,* which seems to be a direct consequence of a weakened state, the state is unable/unwilling to provide needs and protection among other things, leading citizens to turn to their private connections who have the power to provide those things for them. This idea of clientelismo due to the weakness of the state would be considered a cause of the mafia's strength. Additionally, the accepted practice of *clientalismo* only contributes to the lack of vertical trust among citizens. However, it is important to look at it from the other side of the spectrum, that the mafia's strength comes from their ability to weaken the state and its institutions. Gunnarson highlights that the mafia "undermines democracy, distorts the rule of law and makes the state less efficient" (2008, p. 63). However, in both situations, whether it is a cause or consequence of the mafia's strength, the important thing to note is that both Cosa Nostra and the Camorra gain more strength and power when the state is weaker, which only poses more challenges for the Anti-Mafia movement in fighting against the two groups.

3. Presence and Effectiveness of the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily and Naples

Taking into consideration the aspects already outlined in the previous chapters, this section will examine the more recent presence that the Anti-Mafia movement has had as a whole, how and if they have integrated into society and culture as well as highlight the differences if any there are any. This chapter will first highlight what led to the emergence of the modern day Anti-Mafia movement and the changes that took place in the years following. However, due to the fact that there is still limited research and resources on the current situation in Naples compared to that of the situation in Sicily it is difficult to say with certainty whether or not the movement is currently making significant progress. However, although this research and information may be quite scarce, this chapter will present information that was found in regards to how the Anti-Mafia movement has seen success in Naples in more recent years. Bearing this in mind, examining and providing an explanation of the movement as a whole in more recent years is certainly necessary when investigating the success of the Anti-Mafia movement.

Birth of modern day Anti-Mafia movement

The birth of the modern day Anti-Mafia movement came as a result of the 1992 assassinations of two of the leading figures in the fight against the mafia. Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, two Sicilian judges, were both extremely well known and liked by the public for their efforts in the fight against the mafia. The murders of the two judges sent a shock through Sicily as well as all of Italy. Jamieson describes this tragedy as something that was

"experienced by thousands of Italians with a sense of deep personal loss, as if friends had been killed" (1999, p. 128). Although immediately after the massacres it felt as a defeat and was extremely discouraging in the fight against the mafia, it soon after led to strong Anti-Mafia efforts and new legislation and "civic and community associations had sprung up, rejecting decades of cohabitation of criminal behavior, corruption and intimidation in favor of a commitment to legality" (Jamieson, 1998, p. 233). In the years following the murders, numerous efforts were made in the fight against the mafia, using the assassinations as the emotional driving force for the fight. Among these efforts were new laws such as higher penalties for kidnappings, extension of the period of time for preliminary investigations (up to two years for mafia-type crimes), increased protection and better deals for collaborators among many others. Law enforcement initiatives were put into place in the years following the murders, such as the deployment of military troops first into Sicily, then also into Naples and Calabria, and the creation of an Anti-Mafia police force and Anti-Mafia prosecution service (Jamieson, 1998). In addition to these legal initiatives put into place, a large focus was also put on to social and community initiatives. The massacre of the judges and their bodyguards, sparked an angry uproar among the public, which led to demonstrators and protests from various social groups such as political parties, trade unions and cultural groups. A result of the murders, two important social groups emerged as strong advocates in the fight against the mafia: women's groups and the church. Following the death of the judges, various women's revolt groups such as "the Committee of the Sheets" and "The Association of Sicilian Women Against the Mafia" began promoting Anti-Mafia ideas and initiatives (Jamieson, 1998). Similarly, for the church, this event triggered a change in attitude and perspective, from complacency to rejection with priests and

even Pope John Paul II speaking out against the mafia, encouraging the public not to be passive in the fight against the mafia (Jamieson, 1998, 1999).

The Anti-Mafia movement in the years after

However, as many of these new initiatives were driven by the anger and emotions caused by the assassinations that initial fight and drive slowly began to die down throughout the late 1990s. Ciconte describes this sudden surge of Anti-Mafia activism followed by the slow decline as "una continuazione dello stesso ciclo di lotte senza rotture sostanziali con le azioni collettive che le hanno precedute" (2013, p. 341). After the years following the assassination, years that were met with anger, protests and publicly speaking out against the mafia, the transition into the 2000s came with a change of pace for the Anti-Mafia movement. The turn of the decade was met with a less vocal approach in fighting the mafia and instead a more ground up method. It has seen the birth of various Anti-Mafia organizations such as Addiopizzo, a grassroots movement of businesses and consumers who have refused to pay the protection fees to the mafia (Partridge, 2012). Additionally, two that are based in Naples, Sottoterra Movimento Antimafie and l'associazione (R)esistenza Anticamorra, which both utilize modern day technology and social media in their fight against the Camorra (Ciconte, 2013). Although there appears to be a stronger presence in Sicily this does not mean that the presence of the movement in Naples is non-existent. However, it is also important to note that with the emergence of various Anti-Mafia groups come issues of legality, even if their goal is to fight against criminality. Barbagallo highlights:

> Tra gli aspetti più impressionanti della situazione economico-sociale che caratterizza, da alcuni decenni, Napoli e la gran parte della Campania va segnalato il tragico contrasto tra il completo stallo dell'economia, del lavoro e della società nell'ambito dell legalità e invece il frenetico attivismo delle iniziative che si sviluppano in forme illegali e criminali (Barbagallo, 2011, 234).

This brings to light that even if there is an Anti-Mafia presence, there still is the question of whether or not these organizations, activism and initiatives were born illegally. However, this is not to say that all Anti-Mafia organizations are corrupt or that the presence of the movement in Naples and Sicily does nothing to promote the fight against the mafia.

4. Cosa Nostra and the Camorra: Organizational Structures and Characteristics

Structural elements of Cosa Nostra

In addition to the many essential factors to consider when examining what aspects hinder the success of the Anti-Mafia movement, many of which have already been briefly discussed, it is fundamental to also look at the structures of the two mafias. Highlighting the structural differences of the two groups will help determine whether this element plays a role in preventing the movement from progressing in both places or if it affects the progress in one region more than the other. Examining this aspect of the two organizations comparatively helps in also examining the various aspects such as the role of women, hierarchy and leadership, all of which differ to some extent between the two. Although organized crime groups are generally characterized only by their illegal activities, they all function very differently making it difficult to examine them as a whole. In order to isolate if and how the structure of the Camorra and Cosa Nostra contribute to the success of the Anti-Mafia movement, or lack thereof, investigating and providing a comparison of both organizations is essential. To begin, an analysis of Cosa Nostra and the various structural elements will be presented, followed by an in depth explanation of the Camorra and its structural elements. Additionally, the various changes the structures have gone through and how they have affected the organizations will be taken into consideration in order to present a complete analysis of how it affects the movement.

The Sicilian mafia, Cosa Nostra, has historically been characterized as a unitarian hierarchical organization, a pyramidal structure. It is an entity with the strongest point of leadership at the top, with the amount of power decreasing down the pyramid. Khan et al. explains the traditional structure in a synthesized but detailed explanation, stating:

> Cosa Nostra is comprised of *cosche* (families whose members are bound together more by common geographical roots than by blood. These are the basic structures that control the neighborhood of a town, village or region. *Cosche* come together in *mandamenti,* larger organizational groupings, which elect a chief: the capo *mandamento.* He, in turn, is a member of the *cupola*, the mafia's general staff, whose members decide together what strategies to adopt and which murders to commit. Everything that happens within the mafia must be authorized by the *cupola.*(Kahn et al. 2017, p. 5-6).

However, although generally speaking Cosa Nostra has always been considered hierarchical, it has throughout its existence gone through structural changes that went along with changes in leadership. Because of the fact that it traditionally had a very centralized leadership, when one leader is arrested or killed and another one steps in, its structure, how it functions and the organization as a whole is drastically affected. One of the more modern structural changes the organization has experienced was following the arrest of Salvatore Riina when the leadership was taken over by Bernardo Provenzano. Unlike previous leaders, Provenzano transitioned the organization from pyramidal and centralized to more horizontal and democratic. Scaglione describes this shift in structure when he says "to sum up the complex reality of the latest

management of Cosa Nostra, I could say that Riina acted as a dictator while Provenzano acted as an oligarch" (p. 62, 2016).

However, it is important to point out that when stating "horizontal" this is not to say that it took on the structure of the Camorra, which will later be discussed, but used rather in a comparative context in relation to the leadership of Riina which was a much more violent approach he adopted from the Corleonese families who took over leadership in the seventies (Scaglione, 2016). That being said, it is important to examine in more depth the various changes that the structure of Cosa Nostra experienced throughout the various leaderships, specifically under the rule of both Riina and Provenzano. Although previously highlighted that Cosa Nostra is traditionally a hierarchical organization and functions as one whole organization with the existence of autonomous groups, when Riina took over the leadership he drastically changed the entire structure of the organization. Riina initially took control of the *Cupola*, introducing a return to the traditional rule and reverting back to a much more dictator style of leadership. He was able to get rid of his rivals and ensure that any opponents disappeared. Alongside him during his first years of leadership was Provenzano who "during their years of rule, Riina and Provenzano as worked in perfect harmony, carrying out their game plan like a coordinated duo, to the point of being considered 'the same person'" (Allum et al, 2019, p. 16). However, this coordinated duo that worked so well together did not last, as their leadership styles began to face conflict leading to their eventual split. Provenzano's "personalized rational style, founded on mediation and taking care of business" was much different than Riina's "tyrannical style" (Allum et al., 2019, p. 16). Following Riina's arrest in 1993, Provenzano took over leadership and made various changes to the structure of the organization. He altered the extreme traditional and hierarchical structure that Riina had reinstated during his leadership and exchanged it for a

more network like system, while maintaining a core leadership for making decisions (Allum et al., 2019). This structural change was a strategic and necessary move following the massacres that took place before his leadership. Provenzano adopted a more democratic leadership approach, meaning that the independent mafia families were more autonomous and had their own responsibilities, while at the same time still working as a part of the organization as a whole (Scaglione, 2016, p. 62). It strengthened the organization as a whole, becoming less violent, decreasing their number of traitors, increasing satisfaction among the members and in turn kept conflicts down as compared to when Riina was in leadership. That being said, whether one form of leadership was better than the other or not, it is no question that following the death of both of these leaders left Cosa Nostra vulnerable and without a leader, which undoubtedly is an essential element in their structural organization. Although there has been mention within the organization for leadership to be taken over by Matteo Messina Denaro, there is still no set leader which leaves the organization in a difficult position posing a threat to their strength and control. It also begs the question of whether or not Cosa Nostra will continue in this period of limbo, without a leader, or adapt their structure to their current situation, making the organization less dependent on a centralized leadership.

However, these structural changes that took place under the leadership of Provenzano, ceased following his arrest in April, 2006. His attempt at the reconstruction of the organization slowed and Cosa Nostra was met with many challenges which has weakened the organization as a whole and led to a loss of credibility. The arrest of Provenzano was the first of many that followed, to include Salvatore and Lo Piccolo who were expected to be the most capable of stepping into the leadership role that was left empty with Provenzano's arrest (Scaglione, 2016). As Cosa Nostra depends on a strong centralized leader, even after the changes implemented by

Provenzano, they faced a long state of uncertainty and crisis, leaving room for continued resistance and intervention from law enforcement. However, it is important to also note an important change that has happen within Cosa Nostra in recent years. Dino highlights how in order to adjust to the challenges they have faced due to their lack of centralized leadership and well as various other aspects such as globalization have "rendered centralised hierarchical models dysfunctional, substituted by 'web-like- structures" (Allum et al., 2019, p. 22). However, whether this means they will take on a structure more similar to that of the Camorra is still unclear.

Role of women in Cosa Nostra

Another important factor to examine as a part of the structure of Cosa Nostra is the role of women. As Cosa Nostra is a "mono-sexual organization" meaning it is an organization that is composed only of men, women do not technically become mafiosi (Kahn et al, 2017). However this does not mean that the women of Cosa Nostra do not play an important role in the organization. Traditionally they have had only the roles that are assigned to them by their husbands, such as educating their children with mafia values and beliefs as a way to ensure that their kids will grow up and follow in their footsteps. One former mafioso, Gaspare Mutolo explains that in the world of business there were no women. "Women were reticent, they remained apart, silent, at home, at the market, in the kitchen, but they knew a lot of things. Their silence was important" (Khan et al, 2017, p. 7). Much of their role was also to keep pressure on their husbands to remain loyal to the mafia and not become pentiti. Part of their reasoning for doing this was because they enjoyed the respect they received simply for being the boss' wife or even just the wife of a mafioso. They wanted to ensure that they would also have that respect and

the benefits that came along with it. Many men have changed their mind about cooperating with the law because they were too scared to face their wives and how they would react. Additionally, wives of mafiosi were very often depicted as “victims of love” or that they are the weaker sex, incapable of knowing or understanding what goes on in the organization (Khan et al, 2017 p. 16). This is a way to ensure that there would always be someone to take care of the important duties of the men in the case that their husband got arrested. However, following the assassination of Borsellino and Falcone, two Sicilian magistrate and key players in the fight against the mafia, in 1992, the role women played started changing due to the many arrests that followed as well as the large number of people publicly renouncing the mafia which posed as a threat to the organization. Instead of playing the role of the submissive wife they would either publicly shame their husbands if they cooperated as a way of further engrain mafia values into their children's minds, or they would take over certain duties for their husbands who were arrested. However, they typically never became bosses or reached the level of involvement that women in the Camorra do. In fact, in both Cosa Nostra and the ‘Ndrangheta, it is prohibited for them to even take part in the initiation rituals of the organization, which is reserved only for men (Ciconte, 2013).

Structural elements of the Camorra

The structure of the Camorra is more complex in certain aspects, being that “there is not one single Camorra, but a multiplicity of Camorras' ' among the many clans or groups (Kahn et al, 2017, p. 138). Kahn et al. describes the structure of the Camorra as:

> Unlike other mafias, its structure is horizontal, with numerous families running their territories as they please. There is no chief at the head of the organization as with Cosa Nostra, nor a body charged with regulating the behavior of each clan as exists within 'Ndrangheta (Kahn et al., 2017, p 138).

Every one of these clans is different from each other regarding their structure, activities, territorial control etc. As there is in not one leader at the head of the organization as a whole, but instead many leaders of the various clans, this consequently leads to constant feuds among the clans fighting over things such as territory and power, which Catino describes as "small widespread entities in conflict" or "pulviscolare-conflittuale" (1997). He also goes on to explain how because of the leaderless organization "La Camorra presenta a differenza di cosa nostra confini più labili e maggiore interpenetrazione con società" (Catino, 1997). This organization, which is referred to by many people as "the system", and Scaglione describes this system concept in stating "the criminal organization goes along with the clan structure and its economy and commercial dialectics'. The system is something dynamic, penetrating, compact and capable of growing and including any aspect of the social life of a single person" (2016, p. 66). Additionally, the system is highly unpredictable because of the constant changes that take place such as changes alliances, leaderships and markets they involve themselves in. Gabriella Gribaudi describes the structure of the Camorra as "una sorta di sistema feudale con famiglie regnanti in lotta per il controllo della spazio e vassalli, valvassori, valvassini che si contendono il favore delle case regnanti, anelano nello stesso tempo all'autonomia, crescono si scontrano con i vicini per estendere il loro domino a la loro forza", which highlights how the Camorra differs from Cosa Nostra in that all of the clans are fighting for their own autonomy rather than working for the good of the organization as a whole (Brancaccio, 2017, p. 64). Brancaccio then follows

this up by describing the structure as weak with hierarchical roles that are barely defined (2017). This contributes to the difficulties law enforcement face in their attempts to go against the organization (Scaglione, 2016). In addition to what Catino referred to the Camorra as, Scaglione goes on to discuss the fact that many people refer to it as "the system" highlighting that it is not really an organization or structure, which he explains that "this concept refers to a much more pervasive criminal context than a confused mass of criminal organizations" (2016, p. 66).

Because of these various characteristics of the Camorra's structure, it has in a way integrated itself deeper into society and people's everyday lives. Kahn et al. explains that "the absence of strict rules fragments the organization; more anarchic than its Sicilian counterpart, it is all the more dangerous" (2017, p. 146). However, in saying that the Camorra is in a sense "anarchic", this is not to say that it is not also a very complex organization, with its own intricacies throughout the structure. In addition to this anarchic structure, another phenomenon of the Camorra is the various markets they are involved in such as counterfeiting, drug trafficking and distribution, loan sharking and illegal traffic of industrial waste just to name a few. This is in part because of the fact that all of the clans have a structure of their own and involve themselves in what they please, rather than all of the individual families working somewhat autonomously but always for one organization.

When examining the organizational structure of the Camorra, it is important to also investigate the differences between the urban clans (clans within the city), and the provincial clans (the clans provinces of Naples). One of the main differences of the two different types of clans are the market in which they operate in; the urban clans operate mostly within illegal markets such as drugs and counterfeit and the provincial clans operate within legal markets such as construction, car trade and commercial distribution. Additionally, the urban clans exhibit a

structure much more similar to what was previously described, anarchic, small groups, whereas the clans from the provinces of Naples function as much more stable (Allum et al., 2019, p. 30-31).

Role of women in the Camorra

Additionally, as it was previously mentioned that the role of women affects the structural organization of Cosa Nostra, the same can be said for the Camorra. However, women in the Camorra play a very different role than women in Cosa Nostra. Because of the more anarchic structure within the Camorra, it is much easier for women to become powerful. The lack of an overall leadership and regulation, women do not have one defined role they are restricted to. Unlike in Cosa Nostra, women in the Camorra often hold positions just as important, if not more important , than the leaders of the clans. There is a much stronger female presence throughout the organization that goes far beyond simply passing on mafia values to their children or staying loyal to their Camorristi husbands. Instead, they very often become bosses and have more power than the men in their clans. Even in cases in Cosa Nostra when women would be forced to take over the duties of their husbands if they were arrested, they do not assume the leadership role that their husband once had. These cultural aspects carried over into the Camorra. Khan explains the Camorristi women as "far from the female stereotypes of submission and discretion, the Camorra's women are tough, strong minded and refuse to be mere housewives" (2017, p. 151). Furthermore, Allum and Marchi highlight how women of the Camorra have roles in all aspects of the organization, including extortion, gambling drugs, firearms, but also play a strong role in order murders of or taking part in vendettas (2018, p. 367-368). This description is far from the typical Cosa Nostra women who typically live in the shadows of their husbands, educating their

children with mafia values and making sure their men stay in the organization and do not become *pentiti*.

This is an important factor to examine when looking at whether or not the structure of the organizations plays a role in the Anti-Mafia movement being less successful in Naples than in Sicily. As previously highlighted, although women play an important role in Cosa Nostra (taking over certain duties when husbands are arrested, instilling mafia ideals into their children, knowing information but staying silent, and putting pressure on their husbands to prevent them from cooperating with the law), however this role is much different than that of the women in the Camorra. As many of the women in the Camorra hold positions of leadership and play just as important of a role as the men do, when the men, particularly bosses, get arrested, it is much easier to maintain their power and strength because the women were already in positions of leadership and they can continue with the activities of the organization without a severe setback because a woman can very easily step into the position of a boss. For the Camorra, it is less detrimental to the organization as a whole, whereas when for Cosa Nostra, a mono-sexual organization, when the men get arrested it can potentially weaken the organization drastically, threatening their credibility and influence. Allum and Marchi describe their ability to quickly adjust to threats to the survival of a clan as their "crisis management system" (2018, p. 369). She describes this aspect and strength of their organization in stating:

> A criminal family lacking experienced personnel needs to restore order quickly to its membership to maintain hegemony over its territory before other clans undermine it. And, given the lack of adequate male figures, women acquire an exceptional importance, being the last resort for the clan's survival. In these moments of crisis, they can often adequately substitute for men in leadership roles, showing brilliant organizational skills

> both in terms of financial management and human resource administration. This extraordinary "crisis management system" becomes essential for the regeneration of the clan and the reorganization of its ranks (Allum, F. & Marchi, I., 2018, p. 369).

This idea is particularly important when comparing how the Camorra is able to maintain its strength through threatening situations, situations in which Cosa Nostra would likely not be able to recover from so seamlessly. For example, the situation that Cosa Nostra is currently in, without a strong leadership threatening their strength as an organization, would not be nearly as devastating if it were to happen to a leader within the Camorra. The women of the Camorra are ready and capable of stepping into most roles of leadership when needed. However, although women within Cosa Nostra often must take on the duties of their husbands when they get arrested, they almost never become bosses or step into the role of leadership. This can affect Cosa Nostra also because of the fact that it depends heavily on its hierarchical structure and maintaining the order within the organization.

5. Analysis and Findings

This chapter will highlight why the Anti-Mafia movement has more difficulty in gaining momentum and establishing its place in Neapolitan society and culture than it does in Sicily. Based on the information presented throughout this research, it can be said that the movement faces various challenges in Naples, either more heavily or ones that they would not face in Sicily at all. As the goal of this thesis is predominately to examine the structure of the two organizations and how it plays a role in making their fight against the Camorra more difficult, this section will highlight what aspects of their organizational structure enhances those difficulties in Naples.

How does the organization's structures affect the Anti-Mafia movement?

Because of the differing structure of the two organizations it is much harder to penetrate the Camorra than it is Cosa Nostra because it is so widespread and diffused throughout everyday life in Naples. A major part of why the Camorra is more diffused and integrated into aspects of everyday life than Cosa Nostra is in Sicily is the idea of the Camorra being a "system". It is a system that is so penetrating because of the fact that it is not one unitary organization. Unlike Cosa Nostra, the Camorra does not have one leader and because of the absence of a structural hierarchy like Cosa Nostra, the Camorra is able to continue functioning when one of the their main leaders or bosses is caught or arrested as all of the clans are virtually separate entities, the whole organization does not weaken with the loss of one of the bosses of one of the clans. This prevents the weakening of the organization unlike in Cosa Nostra who has faced many challenges in recent years because of their lack of a sole leader to take on the decision making

role for the organization. Although Cosa Nostra has gotten away from a strict unitary hierarchical structure, it still does not possess the structural elements of its Neapolitan counterparts previously mentioned. When they do not have a strong leadership they face issues such as loss of legitimacy and credibility and weakening as a whole, making it easier for law enforcement and Anti-Mafia organizations to fight against them and implement Anti-Mafia ideals on the public.

In addition, certain characteristics and beliefs of the members of the Camorra previously discussed play a part in hindering the success of the movement in Naples. Unlike members of Cosa Nostra who show their power by avoiding arrest or having issues with the law, camorristi commit their crimes publically and use it as a chance to create a show for the public. Khan highlights that "to show your power you have to offer a public spectacle, to theatricalize violence: they favour a duel in front of everybody or a public assassination. That is a crime of honour" whereas "the Sicilian mafia is based on impunity: you're a mafioso if you succeed in avoiding arrest or if you're released once you've been arrested. That is proof of power" (2017, p. 157). When looking at this difference, we must once again look at Vaccaro's point regarding the issue of resistance to change in fear of violent retaliation that the Anti-Mafia movement faces. With this difference alone, it is evident that an act such as a public assassination is a severe intimidation techniques and would only enhance the fear citizens have of violent consequences in going against the Camorra. Although in this particular reference it is unclear whether or not they commit assassination of other clan members (it is likely that this is what is meant by public assassination), murdering someone in public for people to sends a clear message to the public that they are not afraid of the consequences or of getting arrested. This is not to say that Cosa Nostra does not use intimidation techniques or commit crimes publically, however within the

Camorra committing crimes publically with disregard for the repercussions considered is a strong part of the belief system and showing their power and honor. Increasing the fear among the public with these shows of violence significantly decreases not only the likelihood of Neapolitans supporting Anti-Mafia organizations and Neapolitans wanting to start these organizations, but it also decreases the likelihood that those organizations will be successful.

How do women's roles in the organizations affect the Anti-Mafia movement?

In investigating the structure of the two organizations it was revealed that the woman's role in these organizations can often contribute to the way the Anti-Mafia movement in Naples has had a more challenging struggle against the Camorra. The strong and dominant role women in the Camorra compared to the more passive role of the women of Cosa Nostra play a part in why the Anti-Mafia movement in Naples has faced more challenges in integrating into society. As previously underlined, women in the Camorra play a much stronger and important role, as many of them hold leadership roles and even sometimes are the bosses of clans. This goes along with maintaining strength and power within the organization when the bosses, husbands or sons are arrested. Because women already know everything that goes one within the organization and oftentimes are already in positions of power and leadership, the power and strength of the organization is not affected if and when the men get arrested. This prevents the weakening of the organization as a whole, which cannot be said for Cosa Nostra. Due to the fact that the women in Cosa Nostra do not play such a significant role (in the sense that they cannot fully take over leadership when bosses are arrested or killed, even if they are the ones who know fully what is going on), the organizations are then faced with issues that come with not having a leader which is a direct threat to how they function structurally. Consequently, this poses a threat to the

strength of the organization as a whole, creating opportunities for the Anti-Mafia movement and organizations to further strengthen and fight against it. Allum & Marchi highlights just how important the role of women in the Camorra are in maintaining their order and control within the clans. She also brings to light how women of the Camorra do in fact hold various positions of leadership in stating "Although there are women present and active in the other Italian mafias, more women have been able to access leadership roles in the contemporary Camorra" (Allum, F. & Marchi, I., 2018, p. 363). That being said, in investigating how the structures of the two organizations contribute to challenges for the Anti-Mafia movement, the role of women cannot be neglected in that investigation as their differing roles are just as important of a factor as the organizational structures.

The assassinations of Giovanni Falcone & Paolo Borsellino

Additionally, in discussing the reasons as to why the Anti-Mafia movement has been more successful in Sicily, it is important to bring to light the very important events that launched much of the Anti-Mafia movement, the murders of Falcone and Borsellino. This tragic and shocking event being what catapulted the movement into immediate action, occurred in Sicily to two Sicilian judges on the front lines of the struggle. Many of the laws and initiatives following the event were put into place almost to fight the mafia only in Sicily. For example, Jamieson highlights the legislations regarding law enforcement initiatives that was "the sending of military detachments to Sicily" among many other initiatives that were put in place to fight Cosa Nostra (1998, p. 248). That being said, in regards to this aspect, it may not necessarily mean that the movement is more successful in Sicily than in Naples, but rather that more focus has been put on fighting the mafia in that region from the beginning of the more recent movement. Although

Borsellino and Falcone's fight was against the all of the Italian mafias, meaning all of the Italian organized crime groups, they were from Sicily and were murdered by the Sicilian mafia, they had invested much of their time and efforts into fighting Cosa Nostra and were fighting for the people of Sicily. It is clear that this event hit closer to home for Sicilians and aroused strong emotions among the citizens, it gave them more of a strong desire to go against the mafia because it was so devastating to Sicilians. Although military troops were later sent to Campania and Calabria, it was this massacre that happened in Sicily, not in Naples, because of Cosa Nostra not the Camorra that sent the movement into action. This is important to take this into consideration when examining why the movement has had more successes than in Campania as much of the fight against the mafia's presence in Naples were results of events that occurred in Sicily.

That being said, throughout my research most of the pertinent Anti-Mafia organizations and initiatives that have had the most success, have been Sicilian based. That being said, much of my research has revealed that some of the reasoning behind the anit-mafia movement in Sicily being more successful than in Naples is not limited to the elements I've examined regarding their structures. It is not only that the movement has been more successful or has faced less challenges than in Naples but in some cases it is due to the fact that the region of Sicily has been presented with more of an opportunity to fight against the mafia. That being said, the literature and research on the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily is much more abundant than that of the other southern regions which will be further examined in the following chapters.

6. Limitations

After presenting the findings of this research, it is important to also highlight the limitations that were presented throughout. It was difficult to fully compare the movement in the two different regions as the current literature on the Anti-Mafia movement in Naples is extremely limited compared to that of the movement in Sicily. There is an extensive amount of literature and research solely on the Sicilian Anti-Mafia movement previously mentioned, Addiopizzo. Although this is one of the more well-known organizations of the movement, there is no extensive comparable research on any Neapolitan based Anti-Mafia organizations. As most of my research was focused on how the structure of the organizations hinders the success of the movement and to what degree, much of my findings were not dependent on the literature that has been produced on Naples. However, it did present challenges in providing a more detailed investigation regarding the presence of the movement in the two regions, making it much more focused on the movement's presence in Sicily. However, this in a way further supports my assertions that the Anti-Mafia efforts have been more successful and effective in Sicily. It seemed to be a recurring issue that the literature and research done on the Anti-Mafia movement in Naples is significantly lacking compared to in Sicily and Ciconte highlights this in stating that "la produzione accademica relativa al mondo dell'antimafia dal basso risulta relativamente ricca per quanto riguarda la regione Sicilia e largamente lacunosa quando si prendono in considerazione le lotte, passate e presenti, contro le mafie in regioni come la Campania…" (2013, p. 347). This brings to light how a complete and accurate comparative study is rendered much more difficult when the research needs to be broadened and expanded significantly.

7. Conclusion

The Neapolitan Camorra and Sicilian Cosa Nostra are two very different and very complex criminal organizations. Their history and origins are so deeply woven into the everyday lives and society of Naples and Sicily that fully understanding how to overcome them is not only problematic but also a daunting and complex task. The aspects that must be investigated to achieve success in this battle are innumerable and in no way limited to what was researched in this thesis. However, understanding the elements of both the mafia and the Anti-Mafia movement as well as learning from the history and failures of the movement are essential steps in taking action against the phenomenon that is organized crime in Italy.

Just as the two mafias in discussion are extremely intricate and complex organizations in which researching them is not restricted to one element, the same can be said for the Anti-Mafia movement. There are many factors, internal and external, that play a part in its birth, evolution and success, such as the culture, organization and characteristics of the mafias, the local and national government, local and national politics and the local culture among others. However, the purpose of this research was to investigate specifically the differences of the organizational structures of the Camorra compared to that of Cosa Nostra in order to determine whether this element of the Camorra has prevented the Anti-Mafia movement from progressing in Naples as compared to in Sicily. In examining the literature and research regarding the Anti-Mafia movement, it was immediately clear that the research is lacking and that it is not possible to provide a complete comparison of the movement in the two regions as a result. Nearly all of the research used for this research provided various investigations of the Anti-Mafia movement, its initiatives and laws in Sicily, but information on the same information in Naples was very

limited. A comparative analysis of the two structures allowed for a deeper understanding of why the disorganization of the clans of the Camorra create more challenges than the hierarchy of Cosa Nostra. Finally, the overview of the presence of the Anti-Mafia movement further added to my assertions on the lack of progression in Naples.

That being said, there is still much that needs to be done in order to understand what will further promote the success of this movement, specifically in Campania. It is clear that the Anti-Mafia movement has made a name for itself in Sicily, but the movement has yet to really extend that power into other regions affected by the mafia. More research must be done on the Anti-Mafia movement in Naples as almost all of the Anti-Mafia literature is in reference to the movement in Sicily, which makes it virtually impossible to know what needs to be done differently or what will create effective changes in Campania. In addition to what has yet to be done in terms of research, the focus on the Anti-Mafia movement in Sicily must be extended into the other areas in the country heavily affected by the mafia's presence.

However, in order to really make progress in this movement, the idea that the same approach can be used in combating all of the criminal organizations must change. It is evident that the structure of the Camorra is much different than that of Cosa Nostra and that of the Camorra plays a larger role in contributing to the lack of success for the movement. The structure of these organizations alone show that their differences demand unique approaches based on the history and experiences of the movement in each location region. As Ciconte highlights, in a sense, this is not just one Anti-Mafia movement but many different ones, all of which have had their own experiences and it is impossible for them to be one single Anti-Mafia (2016). All of the differences of the two organizations must be taken into consideration by anyone who plays a role in this movement, the organizations, political leaders and everyday

citizens. They are different mafias with different characteristics, they function differently and most importantly structure their organizations differently and they must be treated accordingly in the fight against these organizations. The organizational structures that were the focus of this thesis only opened up the discussion for further investigation on how significantly these differences change the rate of progression. Although it is clear that the Camorra's structure contributes to challenges the movement faces that it may not face in Sicily, it is still unclear to what extent. In any case, it is worth investigating further to determine if there are approaches that can be taken specifically in regards to their structures or ways they further integrate into society.

All things considered, the Anti-Mafia movement(s) still has a long journey that will continue to be a mixture of successes and failures, particularly in Naples, but in understanding the errors or gaps in fighting the mafia, the movement will continue to progress. This movement is not a sprint but a marathon and requires long lasting investment and persistence to bring about considerable changes.

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