Society, Culture and Mafia.

An analysis of why Sicily falls behind when it comes to development

Master thesis in International Business Communication – Italian
Cand.ling.merc.
Copenhagen Business School, July 2008

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Acknowledgements

When first starting this project in Sicily, I experienced many obstacles, and doubted that I would succeed in completing this project. However, later in the process I was met with the kindness, which Sicilians are known for.

Therefore, I would like to thank all of my interview people – they will be named later in the thesis – for taking their time and sharing so honestly their experiences and knowledge with me. Without them, this thesis would not have been possible. Particularly, I would like to thank Salvatore Costantino from University of Palermo for his guidance during my stay in Palermo.

I would like to extend my thank you to other people that have crossed my way in Sicily, their openness and willingness to share have been of great use for a complete picture of the situation in Sicily.

I would also like to thank Thomas Harder for his guidance in the beginning of the research process, and especially in connection with the mafia.

Finally, I would like to thank Susanne Gram Larsen for guiding and encouraging me throughout the process. Her professionalism, knowledge and personal support have been invaluable and have helped me produce a project that I am proud of.


**Terminology**

**British English/American English**
This thesis is written in British English, which in some cases have presented a problem, because I use a lot of American theorists. Therefore, when describing a theory it will be in British English, however citations are kept in American English, when originally in American English.

**Mafia**
When I refer to the term “mafia”, I refer to the Sicilian mafia *Cosa Nostra*. Otherwise it will be specified. This will be further explained in chapter 6.1, were “mafia” is defined.
# Table of Contents

## PART I: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK ................................................................. 1

1. Introduction ................................................................................................. 1  
   1.1 Background ............................................................................................. 1  
   1.2 Problem discussion .................................................................................. 2  
   1.3 Research purpose and expectations ....................................................... 3  
   1.4 Delimitations ........................................................................................... 4  
   1.5 Evidence .................................................................................................. 4  
      1.5.1 The general notion ......................................................................... 5  
      1.5.2 The citizens’ own view .................................................................. 5  
      1.5.3 Hard facts ......................................................................................... 6  

2. Background and History of Sicily ............................................................... 9

3. Methodology ............................................................................................... 12  
   3.1 Theory ...................................................................................................... 12  
      3.1.1 Structure of society ....................................................................... 12  
      3.1.2 Civic Culture .................................................................................. 13  
      3.1.3 Mafia .............................................................................................. 13  
   3.2 Research approach .................................................................................. 13  
   3.3 Data collection ........................................................................................ 14  
      3.3.1 Data collection methods ................................................................. 14  
      3.3.2 Interviews ....................................................................................... 15  
         3.3.2.1 Choices made in preparing for the interviews .............................. 15  
         3.3.2.2 Selection of the interviewees ..................................................... 15  
         3.3.2.3 Design and structure of the interview guide .............................. 16

## PART II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ...................................................... 19

4. Structure of Society ...................................................................................... 19  
   4.1 Ronald Inglehart’s Modernisation Theory ............................................. 19  
      4.1.1 Economy, Politics and Culture ...................................................... 19  
      4.1.2 Human behaviour and Changing Culture ....................................... 21

5. Civic Culture ............................................................................................... 23  
   5.1 Civic Society ........................................................................................... 23
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 Robert Putnam: Civicness and Civic Community</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Social Capital</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Robert Putnam: Social Capital and Trust</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2 Francis Fukuyama: Social Capital and Civil Society</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mafia</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Definition</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Mafia and the Community</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Mafia and Culture</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Mafia and Business</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Mafia, State and Politics</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART III: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How can Sicily be characterised as a Society?</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Mutual support</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1 Approval of the system</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2 The elite shapes the culture</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Power and democracy</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1 Physical power</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.2 Free and fair elections?</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Corruption</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1 Perceived corruption</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2 The correlation between inequality, poverty and corruption</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4 Human Behaviour</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.1 Norms and behaviour</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4.2 Interpersonal trust and family</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 Chapter Conclusion</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How can Sicilian Civic Culture be described?</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Civic Society</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1.1 Cooperation between citizens</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1.2 Participation in public affairs and associations</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1.3 Equal relations or patron/client relationships</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Social Capital</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1 Public institutions</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.2 Negative side of social capital</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.3 Creating social capital</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.3 Chapter Conclusion

9. What is the Role of the Mafia? ................................................................. 59
  9.1 Mafia, Culture and Community ............................................................. 59
  9.2 Mafia, Business and Development ....................................................... 61
  9.3 Mafia, State and Politics ....................................................................... 63
  9.4 Mafia and the future ............................................................................ 64
  9.5 Chapter Conclusion ............................................................................. 66

10. The experts’ judgements and suggestions .............................................. 67

11. Conclusion ............................................................................................... 69

12. Reflections ................................................................................................. 72

13. Bibliography .............................................................................................. 73

Appendices ...................................................................................................... 81

Appendix 1: Hard facts .................................................................................. 82

Appendix 2: Level of satisfaction with public transportation ...................... 86

Appendix 3: List of experts .......................................................................... 87

Appendix 4a: Italian interview guide .............................................................. 88

Appendix 4b: English translation of the interview guide .............................. 89
PART I: Research Framework

1. Introduction

A simple story but extremely complicated.¹ This seems to be the only way to describe the content of this thesis; it seems simple, but the reality is quite different.

1.1 Background

“Everything must change so that everything can stay the same”.²

This is the popular version of Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa’s phrase from the novel The Leopard from 1958, and it has been used many times since to describe Sicily and Italy, and the struggle between past and present, tradition and reforms.

Sicily is regarded to be located in an area with bad economy³ (e.g. low GDP/capita, low employment, etc), and its culture is based on centuries of different rulers. In the eyes of many Sicilians, the state ”Italy” has been just another occupying power, and the mafia is deeply rooted in the Sicilian tradition – it has played and still plays a large role in society.

Having travelled many times in Sicily and Italy for longer periods at a time, I have been fascinated by Sicily’s nature, language and culture. However, I often asked myself, why Sicily was not as modern and developed as what I had experienced in the rest of Italy. In my opinion Sicily has all the possibilities to develop, but it has not happened. The Sicilians I have talked to seem discontent with the situation, but at the same time, they do not seem to wanting to change it.

The subject of the thesis came about when I was travelling around Sicily two years ago: I experienced that several bus lines (provincial and regional) had been cancelled or severely reduced, and that tourist offices had been closed or had very limited opening hours. This was on top of the fact that houses everywhere were left unfinished, Palermo’s old city centre was not rebuild, many people were unemployed, and there was no real industry. It made me

¹ Adapted from Sciascia: Una storia semplice, back cover: Una storia semplice è una storia complicatissima.
² A Leopard, spots unchanged
³ E.g. Sicily Web: Economia Siciliana and Infoplease: Sicily: Economy
wonder – even more than before – why Sicily was different from the rest of Italy in terms of development, and why it had not changed in the last ten years from my first visit to the island – if anything it had taken a step in the wrong direction. Things change, but they stay the same. These thoughts might also cover other (southern) regions, but I chose to focus on Sicily, because of the earlier mentioned fascination.

My thoughts led to further investigation, and through other classes, I came across Robert Putnam’s book *Making Democracy Work* and Ronald Inglehart’s modernisation theory. Putnam’s book is a study of the different local and regional governments of Italy, and according to his results, civic community is a very important factor for developing successful public institutions. Inglehart’s theory describes the changes that take place when a society make the natural move from what he calls modernism to postmodernism, explaining the development patterns by which a society normally shapes itself.

To investigate this area thoroughly, I had to go beyond investigating the level of civicness, and the society’s development patterns. There might be other reasons for lack of development in a society, and this leads to the following problem discussion.

### 1.2 Problem discussion

What makes one part of a country evolve in one direction, when another part of the same country has gone in a very different direction? Is it possible to find a scientific reason for why one society is not as developed as another?

Many scientists have tried to answer these questions in some way or another, and many have presented results and solutions to these questions. Some of these (e.g. Putnam and Inglehart) have chosen particular parts of a culture to describe it. But can you analyse a given society or a given culture either by investigating its history, its citizens, or its cultural background alone? Or do you have to try to combine all of these to get a more realistic result? I believe that you have to take several different issues into account, and even then you cannot safely say that you have found the way to analyse any given society, culture or country.

Sicily is one of Italy’s largest regions and one of the five autonomous regions, with its own legislative powers in matters such as regional transports; public health care; education; taxation; etc. Other than that, it has legislative powers as the other regions in matters such as
the protection of nature; tourism; commerce; town planning; etc. And as it will be presented in chapters 1.5-1.5.3, Sicily is in many areas less developed than the rest of Italy.

1.3 Research purpose and expectations

The primary purpose of this thesis is to obtain knowledge of what shapes a society, and what makes it move in a certain direction. Although several people have conducted research in this area, also in Italy, I believe that the Sicilian question is still one that needs to be answered. The purpose is to investigate, describe and analyse the factors that have contributed to the fact that Sicily in certain areas is less developed than many other Italian regions and the Italian average.

It is my belief, as a scholar of Italy and Italian culture, that Sicily is an area of research still in need of much attention. Almost 150 years have passed since the Unification of Italy and not only are there still huge gaps in the living standards and opportunities between the citizens in northern and central Italy and the citizens in southern Italy, but in some areas the gap is growing larger.4

These considerations have encouraged me to conduct the investigations in this thesis based on the following research question:

*Why is Sicily still less developed than the many other regions in Italy and the Italian average, when almost 150 years have passed since the Unification?*

In order to answer this main question, I have listed the following sub-questions, which will also each constitute a chapter in the analysis:

- How can Sicily be characterised as a society, seen from a theoretical perspective?
- How can we describe the Sicilian civic culture and its role in society?
- What is the role of the mafia?

With this study I hope to offer not only results as to why Sicily has gone in this direction, but also to bring forward a solution to the question of overcoming any obstacles. This is a very specific case, the study and analyses are of Sicily, but the theories and results aspire to be useful for anyone who studies sociology and cultural understanding, and wants to analyse any given society.

1.4 Delimitations

In order to keep focus and give a cohesive answer to the research question, it has been necessary to make some choices to limit and tighten the work process.

First of all, “developed” needs to be defined. Chapter 1.5 it will be specified that I have chosen the UN Human Development Index as an indicator of development. Further elaboration will also be found in this chapter.

The thesis is a study of Sicily but due to limitations in funding and time, the research will be carried out only in Palermo. I do, however, not see this as a problem or as an impediment to solving the problem. Palermo is the largest city in Sicily, and the interviewees have been chosen in their capacity as Sicilians and their professions, and the results can therefore very well cover the whole of Sicily.

I had to make the difficult choice to leave out history’s influence to development. It would have been useful to do an in-depth research of history, but also too time consuming. Therefore history will only play a minor role in the thesis.

It would have been very interesting to do a quantitative analysis of the Sicilians and their opinions of development, however due to the content of the theory and the scope of the thesis, call for a qualitative analysis. Furthermore, neither time nor funds were available.

It would have been very interesting to see how Sicily is compared to other European states when it comes to development, however this was not the scope of this thesis.

1.5 Evidence

It is very easy simply to say that Sicily is less developed than other regions, but this claim has to be supported by facts. First of all “developed” has to be defined. According to UN’s Human Development Index (HDI) a country’s development is measured by life expectancy, adult literacy, educational levels and standard of living. Because Italy (and therefore also Sicily) is not a third-world developing country, but in fact a developed country and one of the highest ranking countries according to GDP, I have included mortality rates, transportation and employment rates to broaden the picture. These supplementary measurements can help give an insight in weaknesses in a modern world, when looking at health and industry, and to have a healthy industry, good infrastructure is needed.
I will present three points as evidence. First, “the general notion”; what do people think of Sicily as far as development. This of course cannot be used as a scientific measure, but it gives a picture of how the island is perceived. Second, I will present the Sicilians’ view at their own situation, by using statistics. And third, I will present the hard facts, which will demonstrate that Sicily is less developed than the Northern Italian regions according to the above measurements.

1.5.1 The general notion

Both Sicilians and researchers see Sicily as lacking behind in terms of development.

At a conference at the end of October 2007\(^5\), the president of Confindustria Palermo, Antonino Salerno, declared that “the underdevelopment of Sicily has to do with illegality; especially pizzo\(^6\) and racket\(^7\).”

And the RIP WATCH regional study of Sicily from 2006 reports that “Since National Unification, Sicily and Southern Italy have been regarded as areas lagging behind in development, raising much-discussed socio-economic questions at national level.”\(^8\)

1.5.2 The citizens’ own view

According to Istat’s “Annuario statistico italiano 2007” (ASI 2007), almost 44% of the Sicilian population over 14 years were little satisfied with their economic situation and almost 20% were not at all satisfied – only 33.7% were fairly satisfied. We can compare with the Northern regions, where an average of 54.3% was fairly satisfied, 30% were little satisfied and only 9% were not at all satisfied.\(^9\)

The ASI 2007 also shows the number of families experiencing difficulties in reaching different types of services (pharmacies, emergency rooms, postal offices, police, public offices, shops, and supermarkets) in their region, and overall the Sicilian percentage is higher than both the average of the whole of Italy, but also higher than the Southern average, except when talking about supermarkets, here the Sicilian number is lower the Southern average.\(^10\)

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\(^6\) protection money

\(^7\) extortion and blackmail

\(^8\) Magnatti, Piccioni, Pampolini, p. 6

\(^9\) ISTAT. Annuario statistico italiano 2007, p. 287

\(^10\) ISTAT, Annuario statistico italiano 2007, p. 290
1.5.3 Hard facts

To measure the level of development in Sicily compared with the North, I have chosen the below areas (the table numbers refer to Appendix 1). It would be very easy and it would have a great literary effect only to show the numbers for Sicily and some northern regions, as they are undoubtedly different. But to give a more accurate picture of how Sicily is compared to the rest of Italy, and not just demonstrate the stark contrast, I have in most cases included statistics not only for Sicily, but for the South, Italy, the best and the worst region.

- **Life expectancy at birth.**
  From table 1.1, we can see that life expectancy for Sicilians is somewhat under the average, both compared to Italy as a general and to the South.

- **Mortality rates**
  Table 1.2.1 shows that Sicily has a fairly low mortality rate compared to the rest of Italy, and is well under the number of Liguria with the highest rate. These numbers can give a misleading impression, though; because more developed regions have relatively more elderly people, so the overall mortality rate can be higher even if the mortality rate at any given age is lower. Therefore I have chosen to use the infant mortality rate as well (table 1.2.2), which shows that Sicily is well over the Italian average, but slightly under the Southern average.

- **Educational levels**
  A way to measure a country/region’s educational level is to calculate its GER.\(^\text{11}\) However, I have not been able to find a useful census from resent years and therefore I can only demonstrate how many pupils are enrolled in the three educational levels. It can be very difficult to measure educational levels compared to the rest of Italy, because naturally the larger a region’s population, the higher are the rates all over. Therefore, to be able to compare, I have chosen the three regions closest to Sicily in population size (see table 1.3.1). What we can read from this, is that Sicily has less people enrolled in senior secondary schools and in university, than the smaller region Veneto, but as mentioned, this cannot be used as a scientific measure without the number of people in the official school age.

\(^\text{11}\) In the UN, the GER [Gross Enrollment Ratio] is calculated by expressing the number of students enrolled in primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education, regardless of age, as a percentage of the population of official school age for the three levels.
- **Employment**
  As we can see from Tables 1.4.1 and 1.4.2, Sicily has the lowest overall employment rate in Italy and the highest unemployment rates for young people, compared not only to the Italian average but also to the Southern average.

- **Transport**
  Here I have chosen three types of measurements:
  - **Road network** (compared to the three regions with the approx. same size).
    As we see from table 1.5.1, Sicily has the largest surface but the other regions are far superior in number of motorways. The fact that Sicily and Sardinia have the highest number of highways may have to do with the fact that they are islands, motorways are used to passing through, so highways are sufficient for islands. But as we also can see, Sicily has a much smaller number of highways than Sardinia, and this could suggest that Sardinia is more developed in this area. Even though Sicily could have had a larger number of motorways and highways, this does not, unfortunately, tell us anything about the quality of the roads, so from this table we can only read that Sicily has a lower quantity of roads. From personal experience – having driven on many of the main roads in Sicily – I will say that they are of low quality.
  - **Train network** (compared to the three regions with the approx. same size).
    As we can see from table 1.5.2, when looking at the electrified single rails, Sicily is at more or less the same level as the two Northern regions, Piedmont and Lombardy, but it is still behind in the number of double rails, which can complicate transportation. Sicily still has a large number of non electrified single rails, but it can be very difficult to say as to why this is; maybe they are developing new electric lines, and the reason for the low number in double rails can be connected with the fact, that Sicily has a very mountainous terrain. And again here, we cannot tell anything about the quality of the railroad network, but only about the number of tracks. This low number in double electrified tracks, however, does give us the indication that it can be very difficult to transport both goods and people.
  - **Level of satisfaction with public transportation**, see appendix 2.
To be able to give some indication of how the local public transport system in Sicily is, I have included the level of satisfaction in certain areas of transport. Again I will compare with the three similar regions. In all three areas Sicily has a very low number of users. This could indicate that people do not use public transport because it is not good enough. They are quite unsatisfied with the city buses, quite satisfied with the coaches, and fairly satisfied with the trains.

From the above, we can say that Sicily does not impress when it comes to transportation and networks.

- **Adult literacy.**
  According to a report made for Educazione e scuola, made from data taken from the ISTAT 2001 census (data that I have been unable to find), Sicily has the third highest percentage of illiterates (total) in Italy\(^\text{12}\) - 2.8%. We can compare this to the regions with the lowest percentage; Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli-Venezia Giulia has only 0.3% illiterates.

- **GDP per capita**
  Eurostat Survey from 2008\(^\text{13}\) page 5 shows that Sicily in 2005 was the second lowest ranking region after Campania in GDP per capita, in euro and in PPS\(^\text{14}\), closely followed by Calabria. Sicily’s GDP per capita is only 67.4 % of the EU average.\(^\text{15}\) See also appendix 1, table 1.6.
  The RIP WATCH regional study of Sicily from 2006 tells us that “Sicily’s GDP per capita as a percentage of the EU average is only 72.3% (2003), while the Italian average is 106.6%.”\(^\text{16}\)

The above evidence and facts, statistics and measurements demonstrate that Sicily is less developed than the Italian average, and especially less developed than the northern Italian regions in the areas measured by the UN HDI and the areas important to describing a modern society.

\(^\text{12}\) D’Aprile. page 3
\(^\text{13}\) Eurostat. Regional GDP per inhabitant in the EU27 - 2005
\(^\text{14}\) Purchasing Power Standard, given EU27=100
\(^\text{15}\) When the survey was conducted Eu had 27 member states; EU27
\(^\text{16}\) Magnatti, Piccioni, Pampolini, p. 6
2. Background and History of Sicily

Even though history will not be a major part of this thesis, it is still important to give a brief description of the history of Sicily, to give an idea of the background for how the situation in Sicily is today.

With its 25,708 km², Sicily is the largest of Italy’s twenty regions, and one of the largest in inhabitants (5,016,861). Sicily’s history is coloured by the many different peoples that have dominated and inhabited the island over the centuries, whose cultures and traditions have had an impact on the island.

The first people to dominate Sicily were the Greeks in 800 BC, who had a large influence on the South-eastern part of the island, which can still be seen today in form of the many temples and theatres. It was the Greeks who developed the first civilisation and who first made use of the vast natural resources of the island. The economy flourished and it was a period of growth and affluence.

In 146 BC, after winning the Punic wars, the Romans assumed control of Sicily, and as the Greeks they left their mark with large constructions such as villas and theatres, but also with roads built for military purposes. Inverse to the Greek period, this was a time of exploitation and several slave revolts.

After six centuries of Roman dominion, in 5th century AD, Sicily experienced a series of Barbarian invasions and became the base of the Byzantines for the next three and a half centuries. This was not a favourable period for the Sicilians, who suffered under a hard military government and an intense exploitation of resources.

In 652 AD, Sicily was invaded by the Arabs for the first time; however, they left shortly after (in 659 AD). And again, almost 50 years later, around 700 AD, the Arabs conquered Sicily and made it their commercial epicentre in the Mediterranean and at the same time, Palermo became the capital. With their dominion, the Arabs brought many long lasting positive changes to the island. The most important one was in the agricultural area; they introduced new

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17 This chapter is written from information mainly found on Rete Sicilia. Storia della Sicilia; Sicily web. Storia della Sicilia and; Wikipedia. Sicily and Kingdom of Sicily

18 ISTAT. Annuario statistico italiano 2007, p. 52
methods and ways to irrigate the land, and some of the most important produce today, such as citrus fruits, were introduced by the Arabs. The Arab period remains one of the most prosperous in Sicilian history. But this is not to say that the "original" Sicilians accepted these Arab rulers, in fact five successive revolts (in 849, 912, 936, 989, and 1038\(^{19}\)) shook the Arab power.

In 1061, the Normans landed in Sicily, and within the next 30 or so years, they had driven away the Arab rulers. Roger II became King of Sicily in 1130 when he founded the Kingdom of Sicily, which included not only Sicily, but also most of southern Italy. The reign of Roger II was not only characterised by the centralised administration, and by the fact that he succeeded in making the Arab and the Christian religions live together in peace, but also by making the Kingdom of Sicily one of the richest states in Europe.\(^{20}\) Roger II was followed by several other rulers, among others Frederick II (King 1197-1250). Sicily grew in power during his reign, and in this period Palermo became the birthplace of the future Italian language.\(^{21}\) The reign of Frederick II was followed by years of war, and in 1302, the Kingdom of Sicily separated from southern Italy.

From the late 1400s, Sicily was under Spanish dominion, until 1713 when the Peace Treaty of Utrecht assigned Sicily to the House of Savoy, and in this period the number of barons in Sicily grew tremendously. The rule of the House of Savoy was a short one and after another brief period of Austrian rule, Sicily came under Spanish rule again in 1738, and so began the last dominion of Sicily, wherein Sicily became part of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples became the capital) in the early 1800s.

The Bourbon rule lasted until the Unification of Italy in 1860, which can be seen as another dominion of Sicily. And the Sicilians did rebel. In 1866 there was a riot in Palermo fighting for Sicilian independence, because of the economic situation: At the time of the Unification, The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was the richest of Italian states, with nearly double the amount of all the other states combined\(^{22}\), and it was all put into the state treasury. The rebellion was quickly put down by the Italians, and in within the next 50 years around 1.5 million Sicilians left the island (at the time of the Unification Sicily was inhabited by approx. 2 million people).

\(^{19}\) Rete Sicilia. *Dominazione Araba*
\(^{20}\) Rete Sicilia. *Dominazione Normanna*
\(^{21}\) Rete Sicilia. *Dominazione Normanna*
\(^{22}\) Rete Sicilia. *Cronica di un’unificazione*
After World War II, Italy became a republic and Sicily was among five regions, which in 1946 was given special status and became an autonomous region with its own Parliament and power to legislate in certain matters such as regional transport, public health care, education, etc. Furthermore, it has legislative powers as the other regions in matters such as the protection of nature; tourism; commerce; town planning; etc.

The mafia is of course a part of Sicilian history, but it is difficult to say precisely when it started and how. It is clear, however, that in 1992, after more than a decade of mafia killings of government officials, culminating in the killing of judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, there was an uprising among the Sicilians and even Italians, and they let the state know that they had had enough; something had to be done about the mafia problem.

As seen above, Sicily’s history is shaped by many different dominions, and no one can doubt that history plays a role in the development of a society. However, as mentioned in chapter 1.4, history will only play a minor role in this thesis.
3. Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to present and explain my working methods, the way I collected data and knowledge needed to answer the research question and sub-questions, and the way in which these data were processed. Due to limitations of this paper, only the research methods, which were actually used, will be discussed in full. However useful a thorough discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of alternative methods would be, this would be lengthy and beyond the purpose of this thesis.

In the following, I will first present the theoretical aspect of the research in order to structure the analysis. Second, the research approach, which explains a little more about the data collection, and in the third part I will give a more thorough presentation of the data collection, including the data collection methods used for this thesis and the interviews I have conducted.

3.1 Theory

To be able to outline the structure of the analysis, an evaluation of the relevant theory has to be made. In the problem discussion, I have set up three sub-questions for the thesis and in the following I will review the best method to conduct the research. A thorough examination of the theories will be made later on in each main chapter of part II.

3.1.1 Structure of society

The research question requires an understanding of what kind of society Sicily is. The theories on society are vast, but to be able to characterise Sicily as a society, it would be advantageous to use political scientist Ronald Inglehart’s modernisation theory, which describes the development patterns by which a society normally shapes itself. Inglehart characterises the change from modernism to postmodernism by describing the changes that happen in society: culture, politics, norms and beliefs, family structure, etc. He believes that there is a strong coherence between these circumstances, because they are interdependent, and that you therefore can predict to some extent in which direction a society will move – but two societies that go through the same economic development, can react in different ways depending on their cultural background.23

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23 Inglehart and Baker, p. 21
Furthermore, I will support the work of Inglehart with among others the work of Harrison and Huntington in the book *Culture Matters*.

### 3.1.2 Civic Culture

To complete a study of this social character and of Italian culture, it would be opportune to continue with the work of the sociologist Robert Putnam in *Making Democracy Work - Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. The book argues that the level of civicness in a society is determining for the development of successful institutions. The more civic a region, the more effective the government. Putnam’s research revealed that Italy’s different regions had very different performance levels, depending on their location. Putnam describes lack of trust and social capital, and low levels of associationism as the primary reasons for the South’s bad performance. However, these theories are not sufficient to cover all aspects of the issue *Civic Society*, and therefore I will support Putnam’s work with the works of Harrison and Huntington, Edward Banfield, Robert Merton, and Abraham Maslow. I will use Francis Fukuyama to elaborate on Social Capital, which will be a chapter in itself.

### 3.1.3 Mafia

I decided to dedicate a complete section to the mafia, instead of combining it with other chapters, because I quickly realised that it played a large role in Sicily. To describe the role of the mafia, I have chosen to use primarily late judge Giovanni Falcone. His book *Cose di Cosa Nostra* describes thoroughly the Sicilian Mafia *Cosa Nostra*, its relations to the civic community and the population, how it does business, and its connections with politics. However, since the book is originally from 1993, this will be supplemented by other authors.

### 3.2 Research approach

The data collection method can be decisive to the result of a research. Therefore, in order to ensure the validity, reliability and credibility of the research, it is fundamental to choose methods with care and consideration. Furthermore, the method of processing the data from the research is also very important for the result.

In this thesis it was most advantageous to combine qualitative and quantitative data, and primary and secondary data. The analysis will primarily be based on personal interviews of a range of experts, which hold a certain position in society, which in my opinion makes them credible sources.
In the following paragraph, a more indebt presentation of the data collection methods chosen for this thesis will be made.

### 3.3 Data collection

#### 3.3.1 Data collection methods

It was vital for the understanding of Sicily’s problems, to make use of qualitative data. I have chosen to use qualitative data from primary sources in the form of expert interviews, to gain a deeper understanding of the problem in hand. These experts have been chosen according to their different functions in society, which represent the subjects in the study, and because of their positions they can be considered valid sources.

However, at the same time, not all information can be obtained by qualitative data, and therefore I have chosen to use quantitative data as well, this in form of statistics. It would have been opportune to make a full-scale survey/study of the habits and opinions of the Sicilians, but the issues that needed addressing were of a nature, where most of them would be better answered by the use of statistical data. It would have been very difficult to ensure the validity of the respondents’ answers, both because people might tend to be less critical when asked about their own country/region, and because it would be difficult to ensure that the respondents would represent the majority.

And as several authors of literature on methodology point out, triangulation is a very effective way to combine data collection methods, in order to obtain the best results.\(^{24}\) In my case, I made use of three types of data; primary data from interviews, secondary data from statistics, and firsthand knowledge from observation.

I transferred to Sicily for six months to be able to conduct the interviews and to obtain firsthand knowledge of the island and its ways, to observe the citizens and their behaviour. Furthermore, even though it was possible to read Italian newspapers in Denmark and on the internet, several local newspapers were not available, and therefore it was necessary to transfer to Sicily for a period to have that possibility, and to form a broader picture of the general situation. My personal experiences will also be taken into consideration.

\(^{24}\) Among others Andersen, pp. 44-45 and Helder, pp. 20-21
3.3.2 Interviews

3.3.2.1 Choices made in preparing for the interviews.
Language can be a problem when conducting interviews, because the way a question is answered can depend on the way it is asked – the language (the words used) helps creating a certain reality and situation for the interviewees.\(^{25}\) In this case, language was a potential problem: My mother tongue is Danish, the thesis is written in English and the respondents were Italians. To obtain the best results and to avoid misunderstandings, the questions and the interviews were in Italian. This was the best way to get the interviewees to relax and to get them to speak freely. Several offered to conduct the interviews in English, but I preferred to have them all in Italian. Had I not been a student of Italian language, the choice might have been different.

The purpose of the thesis was to understand and to explain the state of Sicily’s development, and the choice of data was made on the basis of this purpose.

3.3.2.2 Selection of the interviewees
Before designing the interview guide, the selection of interviewees had to be made. The aim was not to cover all parts of society, but to talk to relevant representatives within the categories of commerce/trade; the media; the legal system; the political system; the educational system; and other relevant groups, which would ensure an objective collection of primary research. The representatives were chosen because they were believed to have a certain insight into society and development.\(^{26}\)

More specifically some of the interviewees were chosen because I had had contact with them on other occasions, and believed that they could bring something important and interesting to an interview. Others were chosen because they held a certain position in the areas which I wanted to investigate (particularly Salvo Caradonna, Giuseppe Timpanaro and the professors).

Roberto Ruvolo and Antonino Salerno, I contacted at a conference against extortion, and asked them for an interview. Salerno in particular had said something about the development of Sicily, or lack of development, which was very interesting. I got in contact with the investigator magistrate, who wishes not to have his name out, through a friend of mine – his nephew.

\(^{25}\) Helder, p. 73
\(^{26}\) See appendix 3 for the full list of experts
Ivanhoe Lo Bello was not a primary choice, but was chosen because Salerno did not have much to say at the interview.

I chose Leoluca Orlando because he has been mayor of Palermo in very significant and important periods of Palermitan and Sicilian history, and because he is still an important figure in Sicilian politics. Rita Borsellino was chosen primarily because of her role in Sicilian politics, she is the leader of the opposition and a strong anti-mafia activist. Furthermore, I found it very interesting to speak to her on a personal level, being she is the sister of deceased magistrate Paolo Borsellino. I also wanted to speak to Maria Falcone for that reason, and because of her work with the youth against the Mafia.

The professors were chosen partly by recommendation by my tutor in Palermo, Professor Salvatore Costantino, and partly because of their knowledge in specific areas; sociology, economy, modern and contemporary history.

I really wanted to talk to both Diego Cammarata and Salvatore Cuffaro in their capacity of mayor of Palermo and president of Sicily, but I did not see it as very likely to happen, especially because Cuffaro had to step down in the middle of my stay in Sicily.

I was able to interview all the people on my original list, except for Cuffaro and Cammarata, and on a personal note, I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to meet and interview leaders and presidents of different associations and politicians. At the same time, I know that if I had not lived in Italy and Sicily before, I would probably have given up after the first “no”. Because at times it has been a struggle to get arrangements with the interviewees. For example, Orlando and Borsellino were in the middle of an electoral campaign. I have been able to interview some very important people, which in the end have helped to give a clearer picture to the research.

3.3.2.3 Design and structure of the interview guide
The purpose of the interviews was to get a deeper understanding of why Sicily is less developed, in areas that would be hard to cover by statistics alone. There was no minimum of interviews that I had to have, but the aim was to interview everybody on the list – or at least representatives from all areas. To make sure that I would receive the answers I came for, I designed an interview guide27, which would help me ensure that my goal for the interview was

27 See appendix 4a and 4b for the Italian interview guide, and translation into English
reached. I made good use of Ib Andersen’s advices\textsuperscript{28} about interviews (before, during, after), and of Medietimen\textsuperscript{29}, which provided advice, tips and tricks for research interviews.

To ensure objectivity, the interviews followed the same interview guide – questions were asked in the order that was best fitted for the single interview, i.e. sometimes moved around – and some of the interviewees were asked supplementary questions, because of their special knowledge in certain areas.\textsuperscript{30} To avoid subjectivity of the interviewer, and to get as many details as possible, the questions were formulated as open-ended, and the yes/no questions were followed up by a \textit{why} or a \textit{how}, in case the interviewees did not give a full answer, which was rarely the case. However, in some cases, and the more interviews I had conducted, if I had to repeat the question or explain it, it was sometimes difficult not to ask very specific questions due to the knowledge I had gained from previous interviews. I also had to take into consideration, that Italian is not my first language, and even though I got better the more interviews I conducted, I still made some mistakes, which might have been avoided if the interview had been in English. However, I believe to have recovered and afterwards asked to correct question.

A way to compromise objectivity is to influence the interviewee by nodding or otherwise express my views.\textsuperscript{31} This was at times very difficult, because there is a fine line between not showing your opinion and seeming unfriendly. I tried not to express my views, but at the same time show that I was listening. On a personal level, it was hard not to get involved in the interviews, partly because I wanted to express my opinions, and partly because I am used to participate actively in discussions. However, on several occasions, I was able to talk more to the interviewees afterwards or on other occasions. This sometimes led to further information from the interviewees and this can be found in the single interviews. Sometimes we had a talk before the interview, which led to more informal interviews, hence the difference in some interviews between \textit{Lei} and \textit{tu}.

It has to be considered that I as the interviewer control the gathering of data by the respondents I choose, the questions I ask, and they way in which the questions are presented.\textsuperscript{32} I believe to have formed the questions in a manner in which the respondents

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Andersen, p. 225-227
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Medietimen: \textit{Interviewet – spørg dig frem}
  \item \textsuperscript{30} The supplementary questions can be found in the interviews themselves.
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Andersen, p. 226-227
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Helder, p. 79
\end{itemize}
would not be offended, which still proved to be difficult in some cases. It was a question of finding the balance between not giving my opinion, and maybe offending them by saying that Sicily is underdeveloped, and at the same time getting the answers I was looking for.
PART II: Theoretical Framework

4. Structure of Society

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how a society can be defined, seen from a theoretical perspective in order to be able to answer how Sicily can be characterised as a society.

4.1 Ronald Inglehart’s Modernisation Theory

Inglehart’s modernisation theory\(^{33}\) discusses the value change that takes place in line with the socioeconomic development of a society. Inglehart describes the development patterns which a society tends to take, when the structure of a society changes from being based on traditional agriculture towards industrialisation, and to develop into a postmodern society, where the tertiary sector is dominant. According to Inglehart, industrialisation, and thereby a change in the economic situation, will often lead to a rise in urbanisation, occupational specialisation, educational levels and income levels.\(^{34}\)

4.1.1 Economy, Politics and Culture

According to Inglehart, "economic, cultural, and political changes go together in coherent patterns".\(^{35}\) If the cultural, economic, and political systems are not supportive of one another they are unlikely to survive. Any stable economic and political system have (i.e. must have) a compatible and supportive cultural system, which legitimates the elite’s right to rule.\(^{36}\) A culture has certain norms, values, and rules, which are shared by the people within the society, and which become tradition as they are passed on from generation to generation\(^{37}\), and these will also determine the kind of political and economic system a society has. In short, the culture approves of the society’s political and economic system. In Culture Matters, Edgerton says, that anthropologists assume that a population’s culture and their social institutions must play a positive role in their lives, otherwise they would not have persisted.\(^{38}\) But it is not only culture which determines the political and economic system. Inglehart refers

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\(^{33}\) Inglehart 1997, “Modernization and Postmodernization”

\(^{34}\) Inglehart, p. 7; and Inglehart and Baker, p. 21

\(^{35}\) Inglehart, p. 7

\(^{36}\) Inglehart, p. 11, p. 15, and p. 53-54

\(^{37}\) Inglehart, p. 15

\(^{38}\) Harrison and Huntington, p. 128
to Weber saying “culture can shape economic behavior, as well as being shaped by it”. As mentioned, culture is used to legitimate a political system, but as Inglehart points out, the dominant elites do not only try to conform to the cultural norms to stay in power, but they also try to shape the culture to help perpetuate their rule.

I.e. culture is also shaped by the political system, and often dominated by it. According to Inglehart, the people of a society comply with the rules and decisions of the governing class, either because they are forced to (coercion), or because they have a set of norms and values, which justifies compliance (culture). Inglehart describes the balance between coercion and culture as very central, and refers to Weber, who defines the political rule “in terms of the legitimate use of violence”. Inglehart specifies that since the two are so closely linked, the dominating elite is most likely to be either the military (which uses force) or a religious or spiritual figure (who interpret the cultural norms). In *Culture Matters*, Inglehart says, that the people who are in control of the police and army can hinder democracy. “The only way to avoid […] mass demands for democratization would be to reject industrialization”. So a lot depends on the governing classes, and the way they act.

According to Lipset and Lenz in *Culture Matters*, corruption is “efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means – private gain at public expense”. They describe the strong correlation between inequality, poverty and corruption. Inequality is measured by the GINI-index, which indicates the distribution of income in a country (0=complete equality and 100=complete inequality), and poverty is measured by the GDP per capita. The lower GDP and the higher inequality, the higher is the risk of corruption. Another way to look at a country’s level of corruption, is done by Transparency International, who every year publishes the CPI – the Corruption Perceptions Index. Corruption can influence development much further than you would expect, in the way that corrupt leaders are likely to spend public funds on larger projects like airports or motorways instead of education, because “they can collect bribes more

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39 Inglehart, p. 9
40 Inglehart, p. 26 and p. 53
41 Inglehart, p. 53
42 Inglehart, p. 55
43 Harrison and Huntington, p. 95
44 Harrison and Huntington, p. 96
45 Harrison and Huntington, p. 112
46 Harrison and Huntington, p. 115
47 For the numbers for 2008, please see World Factbook: *Distribution of family income - Gini-index*
48 For the numbers for 2007, please see Transparency International. *The Corruption Perceptions Index 2007*
Furthermore, it seems likely that the level of corruption will diminish if a country is democratic. Democracy can among others be characterised by free and fair elections, and the opposition party will expose corruption in the government to win elections.

**4.1.2 Human behaviour and Changing Culture**

Cultural norms and behaviour are formed during a person’s early years (pre-adulthood) and are strongly influenced by the culture and the society in which one grows up, and an individual’s priorities depend on the socioeconomic environment, and the cultural heritage. According to Inglehart, “one’s basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one’s preadult years”, e.g. if you grow up in a society highly influenced by scarcity and insecurity, it is likely that you as an adult will be concerned about survival – even if the conditions have changed. Because, according to Inglehart, the socialisation that takes place in one’s early years tends to weigh more than the socialisation that takes place in the later years, and it can be difficult to change once formed. This is why there can be large differences between an older and a younger generation of a society, if there has been a shift in the economic situation (normally to the better), and central parts of culture are more likely to change through intergenerational population replacement, than through rules and laws. Culture changes slowly through interaction with the environment. Inglehart uses Maslow’s need hierarchy (the pyramid) to help explain this. The human needs change along with modernisation, so when the society is industrialised/modernised and survival is no longer an issue, other needs will become important, for example well-being and quality of life.

Inglehart works with the notion of trust – interpersonal trust. Inglehart and Baker describe that a society needs interpersonal trust to build economic development, and that this trust is highly correlated with the GDP per capita – a low level of GDP correlates with a low level of interpersonal trust. But according to their findings, in historical Catholic countries the level of trust is lower than in historical Protestant countries, and in a society with high emphasis on

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49 Harrison and Huntington, p. 115
50 Harrison and Huntington, p. 122-123
51 Inglehart, p. 14, p. 33 and p. 55
52 Inglehart, p. 33
53 Inglehart, p. 34
54 Inglehart, p. 15 and p. 19
55 Inglehart, p. 55
56 See page 29
57 Inglehart, p. 33-34; and Inglehart and Baker, p. 22
58 Inglehart and Baker, p. 34-35

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survival, there is a tendency to show distrust towards people who are not part of your in-group.\textsuperscript{59} Osland, De Franco and Osland consider the in-group as being the group of people in whom you trust and towards whom you feel responsible; typically the extended family, the closest colleagues, etc. Everyone else belongs to an out-group, to whom there is no sense of duty.\textsuperscript{60} For that reason nepotism and corruption is often accepted as a natural thing, because the norm or tradition is that you should help your family – or the members of your in-group – by all means necessary, legal or illegal.\textsuperscript{61} Because trust is limited to a small group, the person in power often provides protection to the less powerful, which basically can be described as the patron-client system.\textsuperscript{62} According to Inglehart, “in preindustrial societies the family is crucial to survival”\textsuperscript{63} for basic survival reasons, but it can also be important because of the limited trust. In industrialised societies, family is less important, because the welfare state has taken over many of the responsibilities that formerly belonged to the family.\textsuperscript{64}

In \textit{Culture Matters}, Porter says that the behaviour of people in a society is connected to the incentives given by the economic system in that society. E.g. it is often said that workers in developing countries have poor work ethics. But if that same system does not reward hard work, why would you work harder? \textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{59} Inglehart and Baker, p. 28
\textsuperscript{60} Osland, De Franco and Osland, pp. 224-225
\textsuperscript{61} Osland, De Franco and Osland, pp. 225-228
\textsuperscript{62} Osland, De Franco and Osland, pp. 226
\textsuperscript{63} Inglehart and Baker, p. 25
\textsuperscript{64} Inglehart, p. 40
\textsuperscript{65} Harrison and Huntington, p. 23
5. Civic Culture

The purpose of this chapter is to define civic culture theoretically, in order to be able to solve the second part of the problem; the question of what role civic culture plays in Sicilian society.

The chapter is divided in two parts. The first, Civic Society, concerns the theories of Robert Putnam: Civicness and Civic Community. The second part, Social Capital, consists of the theories of Robert Putnam: Social Capital and Trust; and the theories of political economist Francis Fukuyama: Social Capital and Civil Society.

5.1 Civic Society

5.1.1 Robert Putnam: Civicness and Civic Community

Putnam has been highly praised and at the same time widely criticised for his theory, results, and some of the choices he has made in Making Democracy Work – Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (From here on: MDW). In the following sections I will go through Putnam’s theories on civicness and civic community, and some of the criticism of these theories. I will not make use of his results per se, but of his theories, as they will be explained in the following.

In order to create development in a country, or in this case a region, the institutions or governments have to be functioning well to be able to create development, and this includes an effective bureaucracy. According to Putnam in MDW, you need civic community to develop high-performance institutions.

But what is civic community? Putnam presents four areas that help describe what civic community is: civic engagement; political equality; solidarity, trust and tolerance; and associationism.66 Putnam describes good civic community as citizens being very social beings: they participate in public affairs and read local newspapers on a regular basis; they want common good at private expense and not individual good at common expense; everybody have the same rights and function in horizontal relations of equals, not in vertical relations as for example patrons/clients; the good citizens respect and trust each other on an interpersonal level; even though the citizens in a good civic community have strong opinions, they are tolerant of their opponents; they join civil associations (among others sports clubs, choral societies, bird-watching groups, book clubs, etc.67), and this “contribute to the effectiveness

66 Putnam, pp. 87-91
67 Putnam, p. 91
and stability of democratic government” and give them a “sense of shared responsibility for collective endeavours”. In short, networking and interaction with other people create good citizens who want the best for themselves as well as for their peers. Putnam also refers to the concept of Social Capital, which I will return to later.

According to Putnam, membership of associations helps build trust between people and teaches them to cooperate to work towards a common goal. When citizens have this objective, they will work together, instead of only caring about themselves and their closest families. This will automatically create involvement in politics and a demand for better conditions for the whole population. Putnam has been criticised for this theory on associationism partly because of his choice of associations. Political scientist Margaret Levi questions that membership of the above mentioned type of associations will create such strong networks of trust and civic engagement as Putnam suggests. And will the kind of civicness created by membership of these clubs really lead to high political performance and economic development?

According to Levi, trust develops through good experiences and institutions outside small associations. In other words, if you continuously experience that you can trust others, you develop a general sense of trust in people, and the other way around. Political scientist and sociologist Sidney Tarrow questions if associationism always has a positive side, and mentions terrorism in the North, and Francis Fukuyama also gives examples of the negative side of social capital. I will elaborate on this in the part of Social Capital.

Putnam describes political equality as being a factor in civic community. This means that citizens and political opponents are equal and have equal rights, which again means that there are horizontal relations, rather than patron/client relations.

Putnam has also been criticised for his use of history to explain the connection between early historic associational life and later regional government performance. Sidney Tarrow criticise Putnam and suggests that he has selected events in history to best suit his theories and results, and claims that other events from other places in history could paint a completely different picture.
different picture.\textsuperscript{76} Professor of political science Filippo Sabetti agrees with this\textsuperscript{77}, and adds “Institutions more modern than the medieval ones Putnam considers have shaped the civic society and constitute a south different from what Putnam and many of the authors he cites take for granted.”\textsuperscript{78} Furthermore, Sabetti points to other documentation that shows that in modern age south, cities, towns, and villages represented “dense patterns of social civic assets involving collaboration, mutual assistance, civic obligation, and trust.”\textsuperscript{79}

\section*{5.2 Social Capital}

What is social capital? Robert Putnam refers to social capital as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”.\textsuperscript{80} According to Francis Fukuyama social capital is “an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals” and “must be instantiated in an actual human relationship”.\textsuperscript{81}

\subsection*{5.2.1 Robert Putnam: Social Capital and Trust}

Putnam describes the dilemma of the trusting others to obtain common good. For example, if you cannot be sure that your partner (that being your fellow farmer, fellow politician, neighbour, etc) will keep his word/your agreement will you keep your part? “In the absence of a credible mutual commitment [...] each individually has an incentive to defect and become a free rider”.\textsuperscript{82} So would you not be better off not keeping your word? Margaret Levi puts it like this: “the more trustworthy one is, the more likely one is to trust.”\textsuperscript{83}

Levi criticises Putnam for not clarifying what type of trust he is speaking of in \textit{MDW}, but explains that he has later on specified it as trust among persons, not towards institutions.\textsuperscript{84} However, Putnam uses among others Hobbes to describe that in order to build trust among the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{76} Tarrow, p. 393
\item \textsuperscript{77} Sabetti, p. 23
\item \textsuperscript{78} Sabetti, p. 20
\item \textsuperscript{79} Sabetti, p. 25
\item \textsuperscript{80} Putnam, p. 167
\item \textsuperscript{81} Fukuyama, Part I: What is Social Capital?
\item \textsuperscript{82} Putnam, p. 164
\item \textsuperscript{83} Levi, p. 47
\item \textsuperscript{84} Levi, p. 46
\end{itemize}
citizens, the public institutions need to act as third-party enforcement. However, for this to work, the third party itself needs to be trustworthy.\textsuperscript{85}

Putnam compares social capital with conventional capital, saying it also serves as a form of collateral, “I trust you, because I trust her and she assures me that she trusts you”.\textsuperscript{86} So the basis for creating social capital is trust, trust among people. The problem is how to get people to trust. Trust has to be earned, and if people have experienced their whole life that other people cannot be trusted, they will not easily trust. “... those who have learned to distrust are reinforced in their beliefs that the risk of trust is too high to undertake.”\textsuperscript{87} But this will have the negative consequence that they will not engage with future partners, and people who trust will “become better off politically and economically”.\textsuperscript{88} Basically, we can say that whether people trust or not (in general) is a social norm and can depend on the type of society you live in and the types of networks you are part of.\textsuperscript{89}

Norms can be characterised as unwritten laws. Everybody knows that you should keep your lawn leaf-free, so that the leaves will not end up in your neighbour’s garden, but there is no law against it, it is a norm.\textsuperscript{90} What is interesting is that norms differ from each country, society, region, etc. So what is considered deviant in one society can be considered normal in another.\textsuperscript{91} It is not opportune to deviant from the norm, but as said the norms can differ from one society to another. If the norm is to trust, you will often trust in general. If the norm is not to trust, it is not wise (in the eyes of the person who does not think that others trust) to trust. So trust is often based on norms of mutual trust and reciprocity.\textsuperscript{92} According to Putnam, these norms are often created through “networks of social exchange”\textsuperscript{93}, which again can be horizontal or vertical. Horizontal networks consist of people with equal status, and vertical networks are hierarchical, and can often be characterised as clientelistic or with relations of the

\textsuperscript{85} Putnam, pp. 164-165
\textsuperscript{86} Putnam, p. 169
\textsuperscript{87} Levi, p. 48
\textsuperscript{88} Levi, p. 48
\textsuperscript{89} Putnam, pp. 170-171
\textsuperscript{90} Putnam, p. 171
\textsuperscript{91} Sociologia Generale e Giuridica, class 30 October 2007
\textsuperscript{92} Putnam, pp. 171-172
\textsuperscript{93} Putnam, p. 172
kind patron/client.\textsuperscript{94} But as Putnam points out, “almost all networks are mixes of the horizontal and the vertical”.\textsuperscript{95}

What Putnam fails to see in \textit{MDW}, is that social capital is not always a good thing. And some of his theories on this subject can be questioned. For example the Catholic Church is very hierarchical, but as Sabetti points out “a large part of the voluntary-action sector throughout Italy is connected with social movements inspired by the teachings of the Catholic Church”\textsuperscript{96}, and this can only be seen as a positive thing. And as Levi emphasize, Putnam does not see the “dark sides” of social capital. For example, vertical networks can easily create and be based on trust, reciprocity and coordination.\textsuperscript{97} And as Sidney Tarrow points out; at the time around and the years before the publishing of \textit{Making Democracy Work}, northern Italy (which according to Putnam is most civic) experienced corruption scandals on top of separatism and mafia infestation on top of years of political kidnappings.\textsuperscript{98} And of more recent character, we can mention the Parmalat-scandal, and Berlusconi’s pending corruption scandals.

\textbf{5.2.2 Francis Fukuyama: Social Capital and Civil Society}

As Putnam, Fukuyama believes that social capital is related to trust, networks, civil society, etc.\textsuperscript{99} Unlike Putnam, Fukuyama sees that social capital can also create alienation and distrust towards people outside the in-group, close family circle, etc.\textsuperscript{100} Fukuyama refers to Edward Banfield, who characterised the concept as amoral familism, which is a type of family-based particularism. In short, Banfield calls it “amoral” because even though there is a sense of obligation to help members of an in-group, there is no sense of duty towards people outside the in-group. No one will contribute for the public good, unless it is for their own advantage\textsuperscript{101} and “assume that all others will do likewise”.\textsuperscript{102} In fact, according to Banfield, “In a society of amoral familists only officials will concern themselves with public affairs, for only they are paid to do so”, if a private citizen should take serious interest, it would be considered as abnormal and even improper.\textsuperscript{103} If you are a part of a family (blood relatives, or another type of group),

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{94} Putnam, pp. 173-175 \\
\textsuperscript{95} Putnam, p. 173 \\
\textsuperscript{96} Sabetti, p. 37 \\
\textsuperscript{97} Levi, p. 52 \\
\textsuperscript{98} Tarrow, p. 392 \\
\textsuperscript{99} Fukuyama, Part I: What is Social Capital? \\
\textsuperscript{100} Fukuyama, Part I: What is Social Capital? \\
\textsuperscript{101} Harrison and Huntington, pp. 119-120 \\
\textsuperscript{102} Banfield, p. 83 \\
\textsuperscript{103} Banfield, p. 85
\end{flushleft}
you are guaranteed the right connections and security, and when it comes to family members, the amoral familist does in fact apply the standards of right and wrong.\textsuperscript{104} The Mafia is an extreme example of this.

Fukuyama explains another problem with in-group solidarity, namely that of corruption or stealing in order to provide for one’s family.\textsuperscript{105} This is closely connected to Robert Merton’s theory of deviance and the concept of achievement motivation. Lipset and Lenz describe achievement motivation as pressure from society to achieve certain cultural goals (e.g. economic). This is set up against how these goals are secured through socially (and legally) approved means.\textsuperscript{106} Merton’s theory on deviance and his means-goal schema\textsuperscript{107} describe how a person will react if he a) accepts the cultural defined goals, b) rejects the goals, c) accepts the means to obtain these goals, or d) rejects the means. Deviant behaviour arises when a person rejects either the cultural goals or means. For example, if a society has a high level of achievement motivation, but cannot provide equal opportunities for all - education, jobs, housing, etc – someone might turn to means not approved by society, often illegal means, to obtain the goals set by society. A society with a high level of achievement motivation combined with low access to opportunities often has a high level of corruption.\textsuperscript{108} Conversely, countries that have low levels of achievement motivation and good access to the appropriate means should accordingly have low levels of corruption.\textsuperscript{109}

Fukuyama points out that if a group is tightly closed, group members are less likely to move between groups and thereby do not pass on new ideas and information\textsuperscript{110}, which in turn creates development. Furthermore, Fukuyama explains the importance of social capital, and thereby civil society, in saying that “social capital is vital to the proper functioning of formal public institutions”\textsuperscript{111}, and that the absence of civil society will often lead to state control to help “organize the individuals who are incapable of organizing themselves”\textsuperscript{112}, and this can result in people becoming “dependent on it and lose their spontaneous ability to work with one

\textsuperscript{104} Banfield, p. 83
\textsuperscript{105} Fukuyama, Part I: What is Social Capital?
\textsuperscript{106} Harrison and Huntington, pp. 116-118
\textsuperscript{107} For example, see Bolender. Robert King Merton
\textsuperscript{108} Harrison and Huntington, pp. 116-118; Robert Merton, Wikipedia; and Sociologia Generale e Giuridica, class 14 November 2007
\textsuperscript{109} Harrison and Huntington, p. 117
\textsuperscript{110} Fukuyama, Part I: What is Social Capital?
\textsuperscript{111} Fukuyama, Part II: What Functions Does Social Capital Play in a Free-Market Liberal Democracy?
\textsuperscript{112} Fukuyama, Part II: What Functions Does Social Capital Play in a Free-Market Liberal Democracy?
another”. He gives the example of southern Italy, where the lack of social capital has been linked to the inefficiency of the local government as well as to the extensive corruption in the region.

Fukuyama suggests what a state can do to create social capital, and what it should be aware of. He points out that social capital is often a result or a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experience, etc, and therefore very difficult to control and create, and that the state should be aware that some forms of social capital (e.g. that created by the mafia) can have negative impact on the rest of society. According to Fukuyama, education is probably the most important tool to use in creating social capital by passing on social norms and rules - both for children and for adults. Another important tool in creating social capital is ensuring public rights and safety. Fukuyama refers to Gambetta, who has shown that the Sicilian mafia stepped in as protector of property rights at a time in history where the state failed to do so. If people’s rights and safety are not guaranteed they “cannot associate, volunteer, vote or take care of one another”, which in turn creates a weak institution.

This can be illustrated through Abraham Maslow’s pyramid of needs. In short, if a person has to think about basic survival (the bottom box), he will not have the energy to care about the public good. The higher a person get in the hierarchy, the more surplus he will have to think of others, going from thinking of the public good (clean streets, etc), to end with thinking more globally and about the future (the environment, global warming, etc).

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113 Fukuyama, Part V: How can we Increase the Stock of Social Capital
114 Fukuyama, Part II: What Functions Does Social Capital Play in a Free-Market Liberal Democracy?
115 Fukuyama, Part V: How can we Increase the Stock of Social Capital
116 Fukuyama, Part V: How can we Increase the Stock of Social Capital
117 Fukuyama, Part V: How can we Increase the Stock of Social Capital
118 Fukuyama, Part V: How can we Increase the Stock of Social Capital
119 Business Culture and Communication, class 18 September 2006

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Maslow’s pyramid of needs

- **Self-actualization**
  personal growth and fulfilment

- **Esteem needs**
  achievement, status, responsibility, reputation

- **Belongingness and Love needs**
  family, affection, relationships, work group, etc.

- **Safety needs**
  protection, security, order, law, limits, stability, etc.

- **Biological and Physiological needs**
  basic life needs - air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, etc.

Source: http://www.businessballs.com/maslow.htm
6. Mafia

6.1 Definition

"La definizione di mafia è fornita dal comma 3 dell'art. 416 bis c.p.: "L'associazione è di tipo mafioso quando coloro che ne fanno parte si avvalgono della forza di intimidazione del vincolo associativo e della condizione di assoggettamento e di omertà che ne deriva per commettere delitti, per acquisire in modo diretto o indiretto la gestione o comunque il controllo di attività economiche, di concessioni, di autorizzazioni, appalti e servizi pubblici o per realizzare profitti o vantaggi ingiusti per sé o per altri, ovvero, al fine di impedire od ostacolare il libero esercizio del voto o di procurare voti a sé o ad altri in occasione di consultazioni elettorali".  

The definitions of “mafia” are plenty, but I have chosen the above as the primary, because this is the official definition, and that used by the forces of law and order.

Professor of Sociology Rocco Sciarrone describes the mafia as a network of organised criminals, whose activities are finalised in profits, security and reputation. It is rooted in a local and territorial context, where the networks of related mafiosi work to expand the individual and collective fortunes. The primary means of the mafia are the exercise of violence, exploitation of specific cultural codes, and manipulation of the social and political relations. The mafiosi form a secret society with specific loyalty bonds and a well-defined hierarchy. According to the circumstances, the mafia combine its organisational skills – that of control of the territory, which gives them political power, and the drug trafficking, which characterises it as an enterprise. Finally, Sciarrone describes that the mafia shows a particular adaptability according to changes in society, and that it conditions the social and political life, and the local economy.

The above definitions, however, do not completely cover the Sicilian mafia - Cosa Nostra. Cosa Nostra is considered the original mafia, and it is important to note that there are differences between the Sicilian version, Cosa Nostra, and other types of “mafia”, for example the Calabrian and the Neapolitan, the ‘Ndrangheta and the Camorra. Late judge Giovanni Falcone explains that the latter two, which are also often called "mafia", "do not have the homogeneous and hierarchical structure and the airtight environments [i.e. absolute

120 Ministero della Difesa. La definizione dei sodalizi.

121 Sciarrone, pp. 22-23
incommunicableness] as Cosa Nostra. Both organisations are horizontal”.¹²² Cosa Nostra consists of families with its traditions; honour, respect of blood ties, loyalty and friendship¹²³, and once you enter Cosa Nostra, you are committed for life, it is like converting to a religion.¹²⁴ Writer and renowned expert of Italy, Thomas Harder also characterises the differences between Cosa Nostra and the other Italian mafias by saying that the Cosa Nostra families are joined together and controlled by superior “management”, and that the other mafias are characterised by not being interdependent.¹²⁵

Falcone joins Sciarrone, saying that Cosa Nostra can be characterised by its ability to change and merge with civil society, by the use of intimidation and violence, and by its capacity to always be “different and the same”.¹²⁶ Falcone continues and explains that there is always a new mafia ready to replace the old one.¹²⁷

From now on, when I refer to “mafia”, I refer to Cosa Nostra.

6.2 Mafia and the Community

As said above, the mafia starts as a local organisation, and as Falcone says, in Palermo it can be difficult to separate the healthy society from the mafia society, because Cosa Nostra is a part of the everyday life.¹²⁸ The mafia lives in perfect symbiosis with its many affiliates and is in all parts of the local community, but to do that it has to do something good for that community¹²⁹, and it has to adapt to the local community to be able to survive.¹³⁰ Professor of contemporary history Giuseppe C. Marino elaborates on this, saying that the mafia has gained control over the territory, loyalty and obedience of the citizens, trough defending the values of the local culture and an almost fanatic grip on the traditional customs.¹³¹ However, as Falcone explains, even though the mafia sometimes does good for the community it is not to be

¹²² Falcone, pp. 108-109
¹²³ Falcone, p. 100
¹²⁴ Falcone, p. 97
¹²⁵ Harder, pp. 13-14
¹²⁶ Falcone, p. 103
¹²⁷ Falcone, p. 104
¹²⁸ Falcone, p. 90
¹²⁹ Falcone, p. 93
¹³⁰ Falcone, p. 111
¹³¹ Marino, p. 24
mistaken for an organisation which works in favour of the collective good, but it is an association of mutual benefits, which acts only in favour of its members, at public expense.\textsuperscript{132}

6.3 Mafia and Culture

The mafia or the Sicilians? People often generalise and believe that all Sicilians are mafiosi, because of the mafia mentality. Falcone specify that just because you have mafia mentality, you are not necessarily a mafioso\textsuperscript{133}, however, the mafia is a product of the sicilianità – what characterises the Sicilians. After centuries of being dominated, Sicilians have had to adapt to new rulers and their traditions, or at least pretend to do so, and the mafia does the same.\textsuperscript{134} Falcone continues to say that there are endless similarities between Sicily and the mafia\textsuperscript{135}, and to be able to fight the mafia effectively ”we [the Sicilians] have to realise that we are much like it”.\textsuperscript{136} According to Harder, the mafia mentality also brings a strong distrust towards public institutions.\textsuperscript{137}

Clientelism is a large part of the Sicilian life, or in the words of Falcone ”Sicily has made clientelism a way of life”, and this makes it difficult to nurture honest businesses - what counts is who you know. As in many other situations the mafia accentuates the Sicilian values, and in this case the mafia makes it seem as if it does you a favour, when it is – or should be – your civic right.\textsuperscript{138}

6.4 Mafia and Business

As described in the first section, violence is one of the means of the mafia. Professor in Italian studies, John Dickie refers to the 1876 expedition to Sicily of the two politicians Franchetti and Sonnino, which concluded that in Sicily violence had become a form of capital and that the mafiosi ”had developed what today would be called the most sophisticated business model in the marketplace”.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{132} Falcone, p. 94  
\textsuperscript{133} Falcone, pp. 80-81  
\textsuperscript{134} Falcone, p. 81  
\textsuperscript{135} Falcone, p. 86  
\textsuperscript{136} Falcone, p. 83  
\textsuperscript{137} Harder, p. 15  
\textsuperscript{138} Falcone, p. 132  
\textsuperscript{139} Dickie, pp. 52-53
Extortion and racket are other two of the mafia’s ways to make money. Of course violence plays a part in this. When the mafia began asking for *pizzo* – protection money – they asked for a "contribution" from the shopkeepers to help sustain the members in prison – and in return the shopkeepers received the protection of the mafia. The promise of protection has since disappeared and *pizzo* has become just an additional cost for the shopkeepers along with the risks of robbery and theft.\[^{141}\]

In 1991, Falcone said that it seemed as if use of bribe and racket was diminishing. However he did not see this as a positive thing, because that could indicate that the mafioso himself was changing, so instead of *pretending* to be an entrepreneur, he is in fact *becoming* an entrepreneur, because it is much easier to enter a market, when using the above methods of the mafia; violence and extortion. Thomas Harder confirms that this development continues in 2003, and that violence can give the mafioso competitive advantages by threatening the employees to accept a very low salary, the customers to not go to the competition, and even remove the competition.\[^{145}\]

One might ask if the mafioso is so flexible, enterprising and intelligent, why does he not use this to become an honest business man instead of living as a freeloader? Falcone answers shortly: “because it is easier”.\[^{146}\] A report on crime “Sos Impresa” from 2007, made by the Italian confederation of traders and hotel owners, shows that loan sharking is the primary source of income for the mafia – in this case, however, it is not particularly Cosa Nostra, but the mafia in general. Extortion, blackmail, robbery and fraud are also high ranking. Extortion and blackmail affect about 80 per cent of the businesses in the Palermo and Catania areas.\[^{147}\]

The above led to the mafia’s entrance in the business of public tenders and contracts, and according to Falcone, this might be the most lucrative business for the mafia. He continues explaining that the mafiosi now know how the system works, and that they are to some degree able to influence the officials in charge of the contracts, and decide which supplier a given firm

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\[^{140}\] Falcone, p. 126  
\[^{141}\] Falcone, p. 126  
\[^{142}\] Falcone, p. 129  
\[^{143}\] Falcone, p. 132  
\[^{144}\] Falcone, p. 131  
\[^{145}\] Harder, p. 85  
\[^{146}\] Falcone, p. 132  
\[^{147}\] *La mafia? È la prima azienda italiana.*
should deal with. The relationship between mafia and politicians will be examined in the next paragraph.

6.5 Mafia, State and Politics

Falcone says that “Cosa Nostra is not an anti-state, but instead a parallel organisation.” In a televised interview, public prosecutor Roberto Scarpinato explains that the mafia is a parallel culture. For many years the Sicilians have not believed in the state, and Cosa Nostra offers an identity. However, the strength (or weakness) of the state has a lot to do with the strength or weakness of the mafia – when the state is weak, the mafia’s strength grows. The less interested the state is in Sicily, the stronger the mafia becomes, because it thrives on illegal economic development, which in turn does not create “real” economic development. When asked before his death, by Italian journalist Giorgio Bocca, “what is the relationship between mafia and state”, judge Paolo Borsellino responded that they are two powers that coexist in and have control over the same territory, and either they go to war against each other, or they try to agree, and the area in which they can agree is the division of the profits on public work, which is described above as tenders and contracts.

Thomas Harder describes the modern mafioso as having very influential friends in high places; politicians and other officials. In exchange for different favours, for example help during election campaigns, the politicians and government officials make sure that the mafioso will receive the necessary building permissions, licences, etc.

For a long period of time, the state refused to accept that the mafia existed. Professor Marino describes this as omertà of the state, and the words mafia and mafioso became almost taboo even within the police, which handled the cases of the phenomenon.
The connections between mafia and politics can also be seen in the elections. Falcone believes that for the political parties, southern Italy is only “a reservoir for votes”\textsuperscript{156}, and Marino says that the faith of the political future is determined in the south of Italy, and that it has this historical function.\textsuperscript{157} Bocca specifies this, saying that the point of reference has always been the ruling party, previously the Christian Democratic Party, and in recent times Forza Italia.\textsuperscript{158} Bocca continues saying that not only does the mafia help elect the politicians: the mafia is part of the national Parliament, working as their colleagues but with pending criminal charges or with convictions that have been cancelled.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{156} Falcone, p. 144
\textsuperscript{157} Marino, p. 173
\textsuperscript{158} Bocca, p. 71
\textsuperscript{159} Bocca, p. 72
PART III: Analytical Framework

7. How can Sicily be characterised as a Society?

7.1 Mutual support

In his postmodernisation theory, Inglehart describes that in a society the political, economic and cultural systems are mutual supportive of each other, which means that the culture approves of the economic and political system, and that the dominant elite will try to shape the culture to stay in power.

7.1.1 Approval of the system

Before presenting the results, I will start with the example of ex-president of Sicily, Salvatore Cuffaro.

Cuffaro was chosen as president of Sicily in 2001, and re-elected in 2006 in the following regional election. In 2003 Cuffaro was charged with mafia-related crimes, which means that he was indicted while in office, and despite of this charge not only did he stay in office, but he managed to win the election in 2006, defeating anti-mafia activist and opposition leader Rita Borsellino. This means that the majority of the Sicilians preferred the candidate possibly linked to the mafia, and not the candidate, who opposed the mafia. In January 2008 Cuffaro was convicted five years in prison for helping the mafia.

Professor of contemporary history Giuseppe Carlo Marino explains the choice of Cuffaro over Borsellino in 2006, by saying that the Sicilians know that they will not get any favours from Borsellino but only fair treatment. According to Marino, people know very well that if they want an advantage they should vote for a corrupt person, because the honest person will not give you anything if you are not qualified, whereas the corrupt person is more likely to turn a blind eye.160

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160 Appendix 5b.13 – Interview with G. C. Marino
Former mayor of Palermo and Cuffaro’s opponent in the 2001 elections, Leoluca Orlando, is more worried about how Cuffaro behaves behind closed curtains, because “if he behaves like this when all lights are on him [i.e. being President], just think about how he behaves when the lights are off” and says that the citizens do not see the difference between the political coalitions and therefore they continue to vote for this coalition, because there is no trust in politicians in general.\footnote{Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando}

President of Confindustria Sicilia Ivanhoe Lo Bello says that within the concepts of intermediation and clientelism, a sort of legitimation of the political class has been built.\footnote{Appendix 5b.11 – Interview with I. Lo Bello}

In chapters 9.-9.4, I will examine the subject of the mafia more closely, however, when thinking of the mafia as a form of ruling class, and the link between this and culture, it is important to present a few statements from the interviewees in this part.

When asked about the mafia’s role in creating Sicilian society, the interviewees agree that the mafia has had a negative influence, but some of the interviewees gave a deeper understanding of the mafia and its connection to the Sicilians.

Co-founder of Addiopizzo and President of Libero Futuro Enrico Colajanni says with a sad smile; “which came first, the chicken or the egg? The Sicilian society deserves the mafia, and it is very easy for the mafia to grow in this society”.\footnote{Appendix 5b.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni} Professor of Sociology Antonio La Spina, and leader of the opposition in the Sicilian Regional Assembly Rita Borsellino agree with him saying that the mafia is part of society, the mafia creates and is created by society; the two cannot be separated.\footnote{Appendices 5b.10 and 5b.3 – Interviews with A. La Spina and R. Borsellino}

### 7.1.2 The elite shapes the culture

The ruling class can be both the official governing elite, and Cosa Nostra. Both try to shape culture in ways to stay in power.

If we start with the mafia, investigator magistrate F.A. explains it very clearly: It is good for the mafia boss to have ignorant people with little education, because in that way they are
easier to manipulate, and this determines the mafia’s interest in not creating culture and in maintaining the ignorance level at a minimum. The more ignorant and the less educated the subordinate is, the better it is. Because as soon as the subordinate starts reasoning he understands that the life as a mafioso is a poor life.  

Several of the interviewees agree that it is often a question of bad politics. The politicians make short-term decisions to stay in office. Enrico Colajanni explains that the politicians do not only make short-term decisions, but they try to solve their own problems, the individual problem, and they do not think in terms of society or common good. However, he also blames the people, saying that when you as a politician are dealing with people who are asking favours instead of rights, it is obvious that the politicians offer this. The politicians who know how to give favours against the rules are the politicians who will have success. Professor Marino agrees saying that the concept of short-term politics is a reflection of the voter, who does not see the politician as someone who works to solve Sicily’s problems. Instead he sees the politician as someone who can solve his own short-term problem, and this creates a vicious circle that weakens the economic system, the social system, the civic system, and the public spirit.

Professor of Sociology Alberto Tulumello gives the example of Leoluca Orlando (who became mayor of Palermo after the killings of judges Falcone and Borsellino), saying that he was very competent and intelligent and also opportunistic, and that he knew how to use the shock of the murders to unite people.

### 7.2 Power and democracy

Physical power is also relevant, because it is one of the ways, according to Weber, that the political rule is defined, and Inglehart specifies that it is often the military that is the dominant elite. At the same time, the people who control the physical power can stop democracy. Democracy is among others characterised by free and fair elections, and democracy gives some indication to the level of corruption in a society. I will return to the matter of corruption in a later paragraph.

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165 Appendix Sb.2 – Interview with F.A.
166 Appendix Sb.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
167 Appendix Sb.13 – Interview with G. C. Marino
168 Appendix Sb.18 – Interview with A. Tulumello
7.2.1 Physical power

Physical power is not only the police and the military, which are controlled by the state. Physical power is also used by the mafia, and in chapters 6.1 and 6.4, it was explained that violence is often used by the mafia to do business. I will examine the role of the mafia later, but in this chapter it has to be mentioned as well. It is no secret that the mafia is violent, and that it exert its power by the use of violence.

Lawyer Salvo Caradonna and Enrico Colajanni, both from Addiopizzo, agree that the mafia violence conditions the life of the citizens, especially those who want to do business in Sicily. They agree that the violence of the mafia has blocked the development because people are afraid to grow and thereby get the attention of the mafia.\textsuperscript{169} On the homepage of Addiopizzo we find many articles that confirm that merchants and shopkeepers are constantly being threatened by the mafia.\textsuperscript{170}

Lo Bello from Confindustria says that the exercise of violence contributes to the idea of the mafia being a small state in the state\textsuperscript{171}, and sister to late judge Giovanni Falcone, Maria Falcone says that the violence expressed by the mafia – killing several high placed politicians and business men, also referred to as “excellent cadavers” – in the 80’s and 90’s, was the mafia’s way of saying to the state “we are the most powerful, we can strike at any time, we are in control”.\textsuperscript{172}

7.2.2 Free and fair elections?

The interviewees were asked whether they felt that the elections in Sicily were free or conditioned. They more or less all agreed that Italy, including Sicily, is a democracy, and that in theory the elections are free – no one votes for a particular candidate because they are threatened to do so. However, in praxis it is another matter, and the conditions are plenty.

Investigator magistrate F.A. says that people are free to vote for whomever they want, but that they are also influenced by the mafioso, the environment, and friends. However, he believes that it is not so easy to determine the votes, or at least he wants to believe this.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{169} Appendices Sb.4 and Sb.5 – Interviews with S. Caradonna and E. Colajanni
\textsuperscript{170} For further information, please see Addiopizzo, press reports
\textsuperscript{171} Appendix Sb.11 – Interview with I. Lo Bello
\textsuperscript{172} Appendix Sb.8 – Interview with M. Falcone
\textsuperscript{173} Appendix Sb.7 – Interview with F.A.
RAI journalist Roberto Ruvolo explains that votes have always been attached to exchange of favours: Traditionally, politicians “bought” votes with packets of pasta. And even today, in his opinion, in certain lower class areas of Palermo and other places in Sicily it still takes place: “I guarantee you a job, if you vote for me”.

Professor of legal sociology Salvatore Costantino agrees with this saying that the votes are based on clientelism: “before the elections I will give you a shoe, and when you have voted for me, you will get the other one”. “I vote for you, because you will find a job for my son”. In one of my classes in Palermo we discussed this matter, and several students could confirm that in their neighbourhoods in Palermo during the 2006 national elections, people were offered 100 € if they would vote for Berlusconi.

Professor Marino and Colajanni from Addiopizzo agree with this, but explain that it happens on a more personal level: Colajanni explains that the politicians try to help the citizens get things that they are not entitled to and when the elections come, they reclaim the favour. Marino explains that people know that certain politicians will bypass the laws for their friends, and therefore their friends vote for them. “If you do not vote for me, you will lose these advantages”.

Rita Borsellino, Lo Bello from Confindustria and Professor Tulumello blame the politics. Borsellino explains that clientelism comes from the fact that people’s basic needs are not satisfied. When people need a place to live, a job, or other necessary things, they are more disposed to accept the conditions by the politicians who promise them these things. “We [the organisation Un’altra Storia] are working hard to inform the poorest parts of the population, that the vote is an important weapon to change things, and should not be sold”. At a private gathering in Palermo in January 2008 the conversation fell on President Cuffaro and whether he was corrupt or not. A young woman with two children said “Cuffaro might be corrupt, but I vote for him because he makes sure that we have food on the table”. Lo Bello explains that because the quality of the political offer is low, the vote is often given to the person that can solve your everyday problems. I.e. the vote is free, but the voter is often motivated by poor quality politics. According to Tulumello, he who controls the labour market controls the vote.

If there is no labour market, people will vote for the candidate to whom they are clients. In

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174 Appendix Sb.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
175 Appendix Sb.6 – Interview with S. Costantino
176 Sociologia Generale e Giuridica, class 14 November 2007
177 Appendix Sb.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
178 Appendix Sb.13 – Interview with G. C. Marino
179 Appendix Sb.3 – Interview with R. Borsellino
180 Appendix Sb.11 – Interview with I. Lo Bello
areas controlled by the mafia, the elections are also controlled by the mafia: the votes are based on clientelism.\textsuperscript{181}

Enrico Colajanni elaborates on this subject explaining the control of the vote. In brief, he explains that the votes are open for controls, i.e. “I ask if you will vote for me, and after the elections, I am able to check if you in fact did vote for me”. But if the vote is not secret, it is not free.\textsuperscript{182}

Finally, in May 2007 it was revealed that several politicians in Palermo’s city council had hired friends and family as bus drivers in exchange for votes in the upcoming local election.\textsuperscript{183} And this leads to the subject of corruption.

### 7.3 Corruption

Corruption is closely connected with the level of democracy in a country. Another indicator is the levels of inequality and poverty, which can be correlated with the level of corruption. Corruption can influence development, depending on how leaders choose to spend public funds.

#### 7.3.1 Perceived corruption

Every year, Transparency International publishes the CPI – Corruption Perception Index – which measures the level of corruption in a country. Unfortunately it only measures the entire country, not each region in a country. It is important to mention, however, that Italy is number 22 on the Western European list with a score of 5.2\textsuperscript{184} (in comparison with Denmark and Finland which are the top scorers with a score of 9.4), just above countries such as Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania, and just below countries such as Hungary, Cyprus and the Czech Republic. It is emphasised in this year’s report that Italy has had a significant improvement since last year (where the score was 4.9). Scores below five indicate a perceived serious corruption problem.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{181} Appendix 5b.18 – Interview with A. Tulumello
\textsuperscript{182} Appendix 5b.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
\textsuperscript{183} Sicilanske politikere købte stemmer med job. DR Nyheder
\textsuperscript{184} The index goes from 10 to 0, with 0 signifying high level of corruption
\textsuperscript{185} The indices can be found at Transparency International. The Corruption Perceptions Index, where one can select the year and the region.
In the CPI, Italy is not divided in regions, but a conversation before an interview with journalist Nino Amadore, from the newspaper Il Sole 24 Ore, and an article from this paper can give some evidence to the extent and the problem of corruption. Before our interview, Amadore told me that in certain areas of Sicily (and also other places in Italy) the number of convictions for corruption, and abuse of authority had gone down drastically in the last ten years. For example, in the Palermo, Messina, Catania and Caltanissetta areas the number of convictions for abuse of authority had gone from 383 in 1996 to only 1 in 2006, and the number of corruption cases had gone down from 153 to 3 cases. I was impressed, until he explained the reason as to why the number had gone down. According to Amadore the perceived level of corruption in Sicily is still very high; however, this level is not verified by the number of offences. Many offences are no longer penalised, so the fall in the level of corruption is not a real fall in corruption.

7.3.2 The correlation between inequality, poverty and corruption

The interviewees were asked what their perception of inequality in Sicily was, and their answers varied a lot and were a lot vaguer than on other subjects. Most people that thought that there was inequality felt that this was also the case for the rest of Italy. However, an article from Giornale di Sicilia based on a report made by Istat, shows that there is a larger difference between the families in the southern regions of Italy, than in the northern regions.

Same article confirms that the level of poverty in Sicily is high; in fact it shows that the Sicilian families have the lowest incomes in Italy. As demonstrated in chapter 1.5.3, a Eurostat Survey from 2008 shows that Sicily in 2005 was the second lowest region after Campania when it comes to GDP per capita, in fact Sicily’s GDP per capita was only 67.4 % of the EU average.

It must be taken into consideration that statistics do not always give the correct picture of a situation. On many different occasions during my stay in Palermo, university professors reminded me that the black economy is not included in these statistics, and for example Enna

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186 Negri: Corruzione, crollano le condanne.
187 Appendix 5b.1 – Interview with N. Amadore
188 Aumentano i poveri al Sud. In Sicilia i redditi più bassi
189 Aumentano i poveri al Sud. In Sicilia i redditi più bassi
190 Eurostat. Regional GDP per inhabitant in the EU27 - 2005
in the statistics is one of the poorest provinces in Sicily, and still it is the province where you will find the newest and most expensive cars.

From the above findings it is difficult to confirm with a certainty that in Sicily there is a correlation between inequality, poverty and corruption. However, the numbers show that Sicily can be considered to have great poverty and inequality.

7.4 Human Behaviour

According to Inglehart, norms and behaviour are formed during a person’s early years, and depend on the socioeconomic environment and the cultural heritage. This is not likely to change through rules and laws, but through intergenerational change. What Inglehart does not specify is whether or not certain experiences make people follow certain paths, because as you will see in the following paragraph, some negative situations in Sicily have brought forward positive consequences.

In chapter 4.1.2, we established that interpersonal trust is important to build economic development and that in societies with high emphasis on survival, trust is often limited to a small group of people, often close friends and family, everyone else belongs to an out-group. Family is very important if survival is not guaranteed, and in industrialised societies the welfare state has taken over many of the responsibilities of the family. Because trust is limited, nepotism is often accepted as a natural thing.

7.4.1 Norms and behaviour

For centuries Sicily has been dominated by many different rulers, and this has without a doubt had an impact on how people behave.

Journalist Roberto Ruvolo explains that years of foreign domains has influenced the civic sense in Sicily; every new state has been seen as a new imposition, and in his opinion there has never been a Sicilian people; it is a people of individuals, because the sense of the common good has never been developed. Ruvolo says that you need to teach the children the differences between right and wrong and this has to be done during the early years in elementary school. The problem is, in his opinion, that when the children come home to the
family, there is the danger of getting back into wrong patterns, because the parents have had a different upbringing.\textsuperscript{191}

When asked why they have chosen a life with body guards, Rita Borsellino (politician and anti-mafia activist) and Maria Falcone (president of the anti-mafia foundation Falcone), sisters to the two murdered judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, explain that seeing the work of their brothers and not wanting this to be in vain, they both decided to go against fear and continue the work of their brothers against the mafia. Borsellino explains that the fight against the mafia had become part of her life.\textsuperscript{192}

Borsellino also explains that she believes that the murders of the two judges were not in vain, because now the generations growing up today, grow up in the light of the strong resistance against the mafia, and among others this has been the breeding ground for organisations like Addiopizzo. She also emphasise the recent steps taken by Confindustria Sicilia to expel members who pay \textit{pizzo}, and says that her brother would never had believed it, had he been told this before his death.\textsuperscript{193}

With the Falcone Foundation, Maria Falcone is determined to change the belief systems of the younger generations, trying to create an anti-mafia culture.\textsuperscript{194}

Journalist Nino Amadore gives a more recent look on history, saying that the many mafia killings (in the 80's and 90's) have influenced the people in terms of fear.\textsuperscript{195} However these killings have also had a positive effect, because as many young people today reacted to growing up after the high-profile murders of Falcone and Borsellino in 1992, investigator magistrate F.A. tells me that he chose his career, when he as a teenager in Palermo in the 80's saw the results of the mafia killings. He witnessed how the mafia for the first time struck against the public institutions, killing among others Palermo prefect C. A. Dalla Chiesa. F.A. felt

\textsuperscript{191} Appendix Sb.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
\textsuperscript{192} Appendices Sb.3 and Sb.8 – Interviews with R. Borsellino and M. Falcone
\textsuperscript{193} Appendix Sb.3 – Interview with R. Borsellino; and Conference at Palermo University "Da Capo d'Orlando a Capo d'Orlando" 26 November 2007 at Palermo University
\textsuperscript{194} Appendix Sb.8 – Interview with M. Falcone
\textsuperscript{195} Appendix Sb.1 – Interview with N. Amadore
a deep need to do something, to change things, and that is why he chose to become a magistrate.\textsuperscript{196} A similar story is the one of Ottavio Piccolo, bodyguard of public prosecutor Roberto Scarpinato, who decided to become a bodyguard when he saw “the smoking ruins” after the bomb that killed Paolo Borsellino and his five bodyguards.\textsuperscript{197}

Inglehart only specifies the negative impacts of negative situations, but as we can read from the above, negative situations can also have a positive impact on culture.

\textbf{7.4.2 Interpersonal trust and family}

The interviewees were asked if they believed that Sicilians trust people outside the personal networks. It was very interesting that several of them immediately responded that Sicilians are very helpful and generous – something not necessarily connected with trust. Apart from this most of them answered that Sicilians in general are very distrustful towards people outside the immediate family.

Investigator magistrate F.A. said that trust is based on an exchange of favours, and that the common good is not practiced to high extent. Journalist Roberto Ruvolo agrees with this saying that the sense of community is limited to blood relatives.\textsuperscript{198}

Professor Antonio La Spina says that it is not given that people trust family members, and that the Sicilian society is characterised by distrust. “You always believe that others will cheat you, which is absurd because the relations are often based on convenience”. He explains that in a premodern society, you always have to watch your back, even among your so-called friends.\textsuperscript{199}

According to professor of contemporary history Salvatore Lupo the term \textit{trust} is very vague and covers many different aspects. For example the patron/client relationship, which he believes is dominant in Sicily, is a relationship based on trust, and any other type of social organisation is based on trust.\textsuperscript{200} I will examine the patron/client relationship more closely in chapter 8.1.3.
As seen just above, the interviewees believed that trust is limited to a small group, often family. The interviewees agree that family is very important in Sicily, and we cannot escape the fact that the mafia is constructed like families. Journalist Roberto Ruvolo explains that family in Sicily is considered what the state should be, and therefore it is no coincidence that that the mafia is organised as families.\footnote{Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo} And investigator magistrate F.A. explains that the term family is used about the mafia groups to explain that they are formed after the same concept of clan, solidarity and commitment as you will find in families with blood ties.\footnote{Appendix 5b.7 – Interview with F.A.}

The subject family, give rise to two other aspects: the positive side and the negative side of families.

Most of the interviewees said that in Sicily – and in many cases also in Italy – the family is necessary for survival, in the sense that survival concerns both health and having the resources to live. They also agree that the sense of family is stronger in Sicily compared to elsewhere. Several of the interviewees responded that in Sicily, young people after graduation are forced to stay in the family, because there is no work, and in that case the family steps in. Furthermore, both professor Lupo, president of Confindustria Sicilia Lo Bello, and journalist Ruvolo say that because the welfare system is not functioning well, the family takes over this role as well; the family becomes what the state is supposed to be.\footnote{Appendices 5b.12, 5b.11 and 5b.15 – Interviews with S. Lupo, I. Lo Bello, and R. Ruvolo} Lawyer Caradonna and Colajanni from Addiopizzo explain that this need to stay in the family can turn into laziness. They describe that the problem has become so large in Italy that even in Parliament the politicians are discussing what could be done to get these bambocci\footnote{The term bambocci is used to describe the old children (often young men), who will not leave the family. Translated it means large child} to leave home.\footnote{Appendices 5b.4 and 5b.5 – Interviews with S. Caradonna and E. Colajanni} Professor Giovanni Fiume agrees with all of the above, saying that the family is essential, and if it was to stop providing these services, Italy would go down.\footnote{Appendix 5b.9 - Interview with G. Fiume}

The interviewees agree to large extend, that it is common to favour members of the family when hiring for a job. The reasons for this differ, however. Politician Rita Borsellino and
professors Lupo and Tulumello agree that the problems with finding work in Sicily fertilises the favouritism of family members.\footnote{appendices 5b.3, 5b.12 and 5b.18 – interviews with R. Borsellino, S. Lupo, and A. Tulumello}

President for Confindustria Palermo Antonino Salerno explains that because the sense of family is so strong, because there is this wish to stay together, obviously you favour those closest to you. \footnote{Appendix 5b.16 - Interview with A. Salerno} Professor Marino says that it has to do with trust; “why should I trust someone I do not know?” The person might seem better on paper, but there is no guarantee that this is true. He also says that it can be a simple act of clientelism, you choose a person, because he or she is son of a friend, daughter of a family member, etc.\footnote{Appendix 5b.13 - Interview with C.G. Marino}

It has to be said that many of the interviewees did believe that merit is slowly becoming more important than family ties. Confindustria’s Lo Bello says that they (at Confindustria) are working to make the Sicilians understand that this way of doing business creates underdevelopment, and he says that they are beginning to understand this.\footnote{Appendix 5b.11 - Interview with I. Lo Bello}

As said in chapter 4.1.2, the incentives given by an economic system in a country can often determine the work ethics; why work hard, if the system does not reward hard work? Enrico Colajanni and journalist Nino Amadore say that it often happens in areas under public management that unqualified people get hired. Amadore gives the example of young people getting hired for a private project that somehow turns into a public project, and then they continue to work for the public, with no interview, with no form of selection process. No one wants to study anymore; people are discouraged from committing to study, from being productive, and to change the culture. They learn that you will not get the job by studying, but by having someone that can do you a favour.\footnote{Appendix 5b.5 and 5b.1 - Interviews with E. Colajanni and N. Amadore} Journalist Ruvolo gives an example of why it is easy for the mafia to recruit: As a non-skilled worker there are few opportunities to get a job, but you can be a garbage man for around 1000 € a month. A regular mafia “soldier” earns 1500-2000 €, and the job gives you greater respect.\footnote{Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo}
Former mayor of Palermo Leoluca Orlando explains that the problem goes further than not having an incentive to study. Today the people leaving Sicily are the people with merits; education, artistic sensibility, entrepreneurial capacity, etc. And they are leaving because of what Orlando calls “ethic illiteracy”; when people are not following development. Twenty years ago the people who left were the people who did not have anything.\textsuperscript{213}

### 7.5 Chapter Conclusion

It was described above in chapter 7.1, that the majority of the Sicilians in some way approve of the political system even if its leaders are corrupt, because they know that there will be some kind of return of the favour. A legitimation of the mafia was also described as the mafia is seen to be a part of society, and as having arisen from society. It was demonstrated how the elite – both mafia and politicians – tries to limit culture and education of the citizens, in order to stay in power.

In chapters 7.2-7.2.2 it was added that physical power is often the reason to why the elite is in power, and it was demonstrated that especially the mafia exercises violence to control the citizens and the business life in Sicily. The elections in Sicily were considered to be free, but at the same time conditioned by the existence of a clientelistic system, where votes are given in return for favours. The political system was blamed for not securing people their basic rights, which results in people asking for favours.

Democracy is closely tied with the level of corruption in a country, and corruption is tied with the level of poverty and inequality. Chapter 7.3.1 showed that both Italy and Sicily are heavily infected by corruption, and that Sicily has high levels of inequality and poverty.

Chapters 7.4-7.4.2 characterised the different dominions of Sicily as having affected the civic sense and the level of trust. It was also shown that the mafia killings of the '80s and '90s had had a positive effect, seeing that many people actively joined the fight against the mafia. It was also shown that trust is limited to family members and close friends, and that family to some extend is necessary as support. It is common to favour family members or friends when hiring for a job. This relates both to the lack of trust, to the widespread use of clientelistic favours, and to the fact that it is very difficult to find a job. This furthermore affects the society in a bad way because people are less keen to get an education, because they see that a degree is not what counts, and this in return ease the recruiting process of the mafia, because

\textsuperscript{213} Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando
they can offer a better future. And many who do get an education see that the opportunities in Sicily are limited or conditioned and therefore leave.
8. How can Sicilian Civic Culture be described?

8.1 Civic Society

In chapter 5.1.1, civic society is described as civic engagement i.e. wanting common good, cooperation, citizens’ participation in public affairs and associations, and equal relations.

8.1.1 Cooperation between citizens

Trust is a big part of the interaction between citizens, and it was described in chapter 7.4.2 that trust is very limited, and rarely goes beyond the immediate family.

Respect for others and the desire for common good is also an issue. Collective action is a way to obtain common good, and the interviewees were asked if they thought that the Sicilians were willing to work together to change things. The answers were mixed, some said yes, some said no. And despite this, more of them gave the same answer: Collective actions depend on singular events.

Journalist Roberto Ruvolo says that in his opinion there is no culture for collective actions and that Sicilians are lacking the sense of a civil society. He says that Sicilians are individualists, and that they often do not care about things that take place outside the home. And because of that they only get together when something extraordinary happens - e.g. the massacres [in 1992 on judges Falcone and Borsellino], or recently when people went to the streets to demonstrate against president Cuffaro, who would not step down even when he had been convicted five years in prison – but people quickly forget.214

I was very surprised to hear that Enrico Colajanni, one of the founders of Addiopizzo, did not at all think that people were prepared to unite. I would think that an organisation like Addiopizzo would count as a collective action, but when one of the founders says otherwise, you wonder. Colajanni says as Ruvolo that the movements are great explosions that turn to disappointment. However, he is optimistic because they (Addiopizzo) work towards the goal of making people report incidents of pizzo, and if this will mean that larger entrepreneurs will also report the mafiosi that collect pizzo, then they will win.215

214 Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
215 Appendix 5b.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
Professor Carlo Giuseppe Marino agrees with the above, and says that those in power take advantage of this and are sometimes in favour, because they know that eventually the flames will die out. And in chapter 7.1.2, it was described how the elite can try to shape culture, or to use culture, to stay in power.

There are two events that were brought up, when talking about collective actions; the massacres of 1992 that kick-started the anti-mafia movement, and the current actions against the payment of *pizzo*, both that of Addiopizzo and that of Confindustria Sicilia, which in the fall of 2007 decided to exclude members who pay *pizzo*. President of Confindustria Sicilia Ivanhoe Lo Bello elaborates: “What we have done is a classical collective action. We have become aware of the problem with *pizzo* and with corruption, and have taken the responsibility of a collective problem. Until recently it was tolerated and it was in way seen as something indifferent to the Sicilian society. The idea of collective damage and public interest was not deep-rooted.”

Professors Salvatore Lupo, Salvatore Costantino and Alberto Tulumello, and politician Rita Borsellino says that the low participation in collective actions has to do with trust, or the lack of trust. If you do not trust other people, it is not possible to make a collective action, and if you do not trust that the action will bear fruit, you will not cooperate.

### 8.1.2 Participation in public affairs and associations

It is very difficult to establish if people participate in public affairs. Newspaper readership is one of the ways of determining this. Table 8.16 from Istat’s Annual report 2006 shows that the number of Sicilians, who read newspapers five times a week or more, is both lower than the media for the Mezzogiorno and than the national media. However, it is not specified what type of newspapers it is; local or national.

Putnam has been criticised for his choice of associations, but his theory connecting associationism and sense of civic duty is still very valid. Therefore, I have chosen to include figures from Istat showing the number of voluntary organisations in Italy’s regions. This will show how much Sicilians engage themselves in social work, which also gives an indication of

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216 Appendix 5b.13 – Interview with C. G. Marino
217 Appendix 5b.11 – Interview with I. Lo Bello
218 Appendices 5b.12, 5b.6, 5b.18 and 5b.3 – Interviews with S. Lupo, S. Costantino, A. Tulumello, and R. Borsellino
219 Istat. *Annuario Statistico Italiano* 2007, Table 8.16, p. 223
The Italian media: 40.7 %; The Southern media: 33.0; Sicily: 32.3
the level of cooperation. Table 1 in Istat’s report shows the numbers of voluntary organisations per region in Italy from 1995-2003. If we look at the number for Sicily for 2003, they only have 3.1% of the total number of organisations in Italy – which makes them number 12 on the list together with Lazio.\(^{220}\) If we compare these numbers to the number of inhabitants in the regions\(^{221}\), Sicily is the fourth largest region, just after Lazio, which makes them the two regions with the lowest number of voluntary organisations per inhabitant.\(^{222}\)

### 8.1.3 Equal relations or patron/client relationships

I already touched on this subject in chapter 7.2.2, where several of the interviewees said that elections are often influenced by clientelistic relations. The interviewees were also asked more specifically which type of interpersonal relations was prevalent in Sicily – mutual relations or patron/client relations.

Investigator magistrate F.A., president of Italia Lavoro Sicilia Giuseppe Timpanaro, professor Alberto Tulumello and president of Confindustria Sicilia Ivanhoe Lo Bello agree that both exist, and that it depends on the situation. Tulumello says that there might be an excessive presence of “relations that are not optimal”; of course if the mafia has a strong presence in an area, and if the public institutions are primarily controlled by acts of clientelism, friendship and recommendations, the personal relations will be affected as well.\(^{223}\)

Journalist Roberto Ruvolo, lawyer Salvo Caradonna, politician Rita Borsellino, and professors Salvatore Lupo, Antonio La Spina, and Carlo Giuseppe Marino are all of the opinion that the patron/client relationships are prevalent. They talk mostly about the political system being influenced, and I will return to that in the next section. La Spina says that both in the public and in the private sphere there are conditions that request that you know someone, “if I need it, I know who to turn to”. Borsellino and Lupo say that because the institutions do not provide basic rights, the patron/client relations increase.\(^{224}\) Recommendations are a part of the clientelistic system, but as Ruvolo says; in “normal” countries a recommendation is used as a reference, a résumé, but in Sicily the recommendation is used to get a job; if you have no talent whatsoever, you will still get the job because the employer cannot deny the person who

\(^{220}\) ISTAT. *Le organizzazioni di volontario in Italia*. 2003. Table 1, p. 2  
\(^{221}\) Cf. ISTAT. *Annuario statistico italiano*. 2007, table 2.4, page 52  
\(^{222}\) Apulia, Calabria and Campania also have very low numbers according to their sizes.  
\(^{223}\) Appendices 5b.7, 5b.17, 5b.18 and 5b.11 – Interviews with F.A., G. Timpanaro, A. Tulumello, and I. Lo Bello  
\(^{224}\) Appendices 5b.15, 5b.4, 5b.3, 5b.12, 5b.10 and 5b.13 – Interviews with R. Ruvolo, S. Caradonna, R. Borsellino, S. Lupo, A. La Spina, and C.G. Marino
gives the recommendation.\textsuperscript{225} A Danish girl, who has been living in Sicily for 20 years, told me that recommendations are used even on kindergarten-level; because the schools in Palermo are not all of high standard, the parents falsify statements or get recommendations from “the right people” to get in to the good schools.\textsuperscript{226}

\section*{8.2 Social Capital}

According to Putnam, social capital consists of trust, norms and networks. I have already examined trust among people in chapters 7.4.2 and 8.1.1, but Putnam says that to build trust among citizens the public institutions need to act as a third-party enforcement, which itself has to be trustworthy. Putnam also touches on the matter of norms and how these are created through networks of social exchange. And finally, he is criticised for not realising that social capital can have a dark side.

Fukuyama does see the negative sides of social capital and how it can create distrust towards people outside the close family circle, which Banfield refers to as amoral familism. Another problem with the closed circles is the concepts of deviance and achievement motivation. Fukuyama also explains that the absence of civil society can create a dependency of state help, which make people lose their ability to work together. Finally, Fukuyama says that social capital is created through shared experiences such as religion and traditions, and that education and ensuring people’s rights are the way to create it.

\subsection*{8.2.1 Public institutions}

As said above public institutions need to be trusted in order to create trust among the citizens. Therefore the interviewees were asked about the relationship between the Sicilians and the authorities.

Practically all of the interviewees agree that there is little or no trust in the public institutions in Sicily, and that the heavy bureaucracy is a hindrance for development.

Journalist Roberto Ruvolo says that the Sicilians have not been educated in the rules, and if you do not have rules, authority is seen as forced on you and not as something positive. The police officer is supposed to keep law and order, but he is seen as the enemy because he is

\textsuperscript{225} Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
\textsuperscript{226} Private conversation with D. Sartor 25 March 2008
also the one who will arrest you. According to Ruvolo the trick is to make people understand that authority is not only violence.\textsuperscript{227} Enrico Colajanni from Addiopizzo agrees with him saying that because the Sicilians do not respect the rules they do not respect the authorities. But he also says – as most of the interviewees, and I will not list them all – that the problem also lies with the institutions, which do not respect the Sicilians. The politicians profit by turning what is supposed to be your right into a favour.\textsuperscript{228} Professor Antonio La Spina says that there is no trust and therefore no respect for the authorities – but in order to have trust you need to deserve it.\textsuperscript{229} Professor Salvatore Costantino explains that the problem is that when there is no constitutional state and no guaranteed rights, there is no credible structure of legality, and the citizens do not acknowledge authority.\textsuperscript{230}

Several of the interviewees also explain that this distrust in the efficiency of the authorities often results in people going to a friend when they need help: La Spina explains that if the institutions themselves function in a particularistic way, and if services are not provided as they should be, people will turn to their friends or otherwise try to get ahead in the line. Colajanni says that it is common practice to look for an alternative way to approach the public institutions, even if it is not necessary. And investigator magistrate F.A. says that it is part of the mentality and the lack of trust, and therefore people always look for someone to help, for an easier way in – even when it is not necessary or even more complicated.\textsuperscript{231} I have had similar experiences during my stay in Palermo; from not being able to enrol at university to having trouble getting the interviewees. When I turned to friends for help, everything went much smoother. This does not only show that you need friends, but also that people are very kind and willing to help.

Professors Costantino, Marino and Tulumello elaborate on the subject saying that people see the institutions as providers of assistance and that they misuse them. And if the state offers something they can use, they will take it, but otherwise try to take care of themselves.\textsuperscript{232}

According to journalist Nino Amadore, the Sicilians are now beginning to understand that having faith in the institutions also means having a future. Lawyer Salvo Caradonna and

\textsuperscript{227} Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
\textsuperscript{228} Appendix 5b.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
\textsuperscript{229} Appendix 5b.10 – Interview with A. La Spina
\textsuperscript{230} Appendix 5b.6 – Interview with S. Costantino
\textsuperscript{231} Appendices 5b.10, 5b.5 and 5b.7 – Interviews with A. La Spina, E. Colajanni, and F.A.
\textsuperscript{232} Appendices 5b.6, 5b.13 and 5b.18 – Interviews with S. Costantino, C.G. Marino, and A. Tulumello
professor La Spina agree that the police and the judiciary are two fields in which the citizens trust and where the state works.\textsuperscript{233}

The above statements from the interviewees are confirmed by numbers from Istat showing that the Sicilians state that they have problems reaching different services: In all areas (pharmacies, emergency rooms, postal services, police, public offices, and stores), the Sicilians are well over both the national and southern average.\textsuperscript{234} Two articles from Repubblica Palermo in January 2008 show a very high percentage in absence among city employees – an average of 18% a day in 2006.\textsuperscript{235}

8.2.2 Negative side of social capital

In this section I will examine the negative sides of social capital.

It was described in 7.4.2, that Sicilians often do not trust people outside the close family, and therefore I will not go into this again. An issue with negative social capital is amoral familism, and earlier it was also described how the closed circles and limited trust made people favour family members when hiring for a job. But amoral familism is also not caring about public good, which correspond with the lack of collective actions. Journalist Roberto Ruvolo says that he often wonders why people say that Sicilians are not xenophobic. In reality Sicilians are not more disposed to welcoming foreigners, but they simply do not care. If someone is not part of the close circle, and does not try to enter, it is simply not interesting to a Sicilian. And it is the same with collective actions, there is no real movement, because “everything that goes on outside my home does not interest me”.\textsuperscript{236} Personally I cannot help wondering if this has to do with the concept of omertà – it is not so much not caring, but rather being taught that if something does not concern you, you should not meddle.

And as described by Maslow’s pyramid of needs, when people have to think about their own safety and survival, they are less inclined to worry about the public good.

\textsuperscript{233} Appendices 5b.1, 5b.4 and 5b.10 – Interviews with N. Amadore, S. Caradonna, and A. La Spina,
\textsuperscript{234} Istat, \textit{Annuario Statistico Italiano} 2007, Table 11.4, p. 290. All over 25 %, but the worst is the emergency room, where 64.5 % experience difficulties
\textsuperscript{235} Scarafia: \textit{L’impiegato è fuori stanza} and \textit{L’impiegato non c’è, assenti ogni giorno 18 comunali su 100}.
\textsuperscript{236} Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
It is difficult to find information on the level of achievement motivation in Sicily. However, at a conference in October 2007, public prosecutor Vania Contrafatto explained that in Palermo there is a huge problem with parents trying to get their children designer clothes (which can be seen as a form of achievement motivation). The salaries are not very high, so there are two choices; you can either get the money illegally, or lend them. Because it is very difficult to lend money in the bank, people turn to the amico della famiglia – the nice man who will lend you money, but then the not so nice son will come and collect. This is not mafia, she explains, Cosa Nostra does not lend out money.237

Putnam believes that good social norms are created through horizontal networks and trust, but as Levi explains vertical networks can also be based on trust and reciprocity. The mafia is probably the best example of a highly organised vertical network, which is based on trust and reciprocity; however it cannot be described as positive capital.

8.2.3 Creating social capital

Finally, according to Putnam it is imperative to build good social norms in order to create social capital. And according to Fukuyama education and ensuring public rights and safety are important tools.

As seen in chapter 7.4.1, Ruvolo explains that right and wrong should be taught in school, but there will be a problem when the children return to home. In the same chapter, Rita Borsellino, politician and sister to late judge Paolo Borsellino, sees that there has been a change in the population after the killings of the two judges, Falcone and Borsellino, which meant that the people, who went to the streets to demonstrate, are now raising their children according to a new set of norms. And Maria Falcone, sister to late judge Giovanni Falcone and president of the Falcone Foundation, explains that the foundation is working to promote activities that will build an anti-mafia culture primarily among the youth.238

8.3 Chapter Conclusion

In chapter 8.1.1, it was described that Sicily has a culture for collective actions, even if they only arise on extraordinary occasions and calm down just as fast. However, it seems as if the anti-mafia movements and the movements against pizzo are slightly more persistent. The

238 Appendix 5b.8 – Interview with M. Falcone
problem with the lack of cooperation could be seen as a reaction to the lack of trust among people. In 8.1.2, it was demonstrated that the level of participation in public affairs was very low. It was added in 8.1.3, that the clientelistic system is not only present in elections, but also a big part of the daily life among citizens.

Chapter 8.2.1 revealed that there is a mutual lack of respect between public institutions and Sicilians, and that Sicilians do not have much trust in the state. This resulted in a further use of the clientelistic system. The chapter also summed how the close circles and the lack of trust resulted in negative social capital, and how the wish to buy expensive items could lead to some form of crime. Finally, it was described that social norms could be changed through education and public rights for all.
9. What is the Role of the Mafia?

In chapter 6.1, the mafioso was defined as someone who uses intimidation and violence to gain control of economic activities, etc. The Sicilian mafia, Cosa Nostra is specified to have a hierarchical structure with a top management and very close-knit environments, and the concepts of honour, blood ties, loyalty and friendship are very important. Cosa Nostra has a certain ability to adapt to changes in society and uses cultural codes to blend into society, and therefore also does good for the local community in which it has to live. Because it is so intertwined with the society, people often mistake mafia mentality with being mafioso; the mafia accentuates the Sicilian values.

Extortion, racket and pizzo were described as ways to do business, and the use of violence facilitates this. It also facilitates the business of public tenders and contracts, because the mafia uses violence to push out competitors, other suppliers and to threaten customers to not go to the competition.

It was established that there is a very close relationship between Cosa Nostra, politicians and other officials; they are two powers that coexist, and the modern mafioso have friends in high places. For a long period of time, the terms mafia and mafioso were taboo and not even used by the forces of law and order. The connection is also seen in the elections, where Cosa Nostra is believed to have a major influence.

9.1 Mafia, Culture and Community

When asked what role the mafia had played in creating the Sicilian society, many of the interviewees responded that it had created this “mafia mentality”. And as written above Cosa Nostra have an influence in the everyday life of the Sicilians.

As said in chapter 7.1.2, investigator magistrate F.A. explained how the mafioso oppresses the development of culture and keeps people ignorant. F.A. also explains that omertà, the closed circles, and the use of recommendations are not only mafia phenomena but also a big part of civic society.239 Journalist Roberto Ruvolo explains that the mafia is a cultural problem that characterises the culture of island societies, and that the Sicilians have exalted the typical island nature into crime. Ruvolo also describes the lack of civic sense as being a mafia attitude. He says that mafia mentality might start as membership of something “not well-defined”,

239 Appendix 5b.7 – Interview with F.A.
which evolve into a criminal organisation for economic reasons, in the sense that one is able to be a part of a certain community, because it guarantees survival. As described in chapter 7.4.2, the mafia recruits among the citizens by offering more money for less demanding jobs. As Falcone said; just because you have mafia mentality it does not mean that you are a mafioso. President for Confindustria Palermo Antonino Salerno agrees saying that the mafia has influenced the way of thinking, but that most Sicilians are honest people. Unfortunately, because of a minority, people have a distorted image of Sicily. Former mayor of Palermo Leoluca Orlando explains that the mafia has corrupted the Sicilian cultural values; family has become cosca – the synonym for mafia family; friendship has become complicity; and honour has become shame. “The mafia has killed using our cultural signs; honour, family and friendship are important and the mafia has killed in the name of honour, in the name of family, and in the name of friendship. Today both people and culture have died.”

It is important to mention, though, that times are slowly changing. The examples of the youngsters of Addiopizzo and that of Confindustria Sicilia to get rid of pizzo show that there is some change in the way of thinking. Orlando, Enrico Colajanni from Addiopizzo, Maria Falcone, and president of Confindustria Sicilia Ivanhoe Lo Bello confirm that this shows a turn of the tide in the population.

The mafia also conditions the daily life of the citizens in certain areas. Professor Salvatore Costantino explains that even today, if you need to solve a conflict in a risky neighbourhood, you do not contact the police; you go to “Don Ciccio”, or “Don Totò”, and if your car gets stolen, you go to the local boss, because it is much more likely that he will find it before the police. Journalist Nino Amadore explains that if you every day experience that someone gets killed in the middle of the street, you live in constant fear. He is referring to the mafia killings of the ’80s and ’90s, so the present generations should not grow up with this fear.

However, the mafia boss have to live in the community: When talking about doing good for the community, Giovanni Falcone gives the example of the mafia boss that makes sure that there

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240 Appendix 5b.15 – Interview with R. Ruvolo
241 Appendix 5b.16 – Interview with A. Salerno
242 Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando
243 Appendices 5b.14, 5b.5, 5b.8 and 5b.11 – Interviews with L. Orlando, E. Colajanni, M. Falcone, and I. Lo Bello
244 Appendix 5b.6 – Interview with S. Costantino
245 Sociologia Generale e Giuridica. Class 14 November 2007
246 Appendix 5b.1 – Interview with N. Amadore
are no longer any thieves in the village\textsuperscript{247}, and professor Marino told me after an interview that he had recently been held up and robbed in his neighbourhood, but shortly after when the local boss discovered this, he contacted him – because he knew that Marino lived in his area – and an hour later all of the stolen items were returned.\textsuperscript{248} Orlando tells me that after the capture of the top Cosa Nostra boss Bernardo Provenzano, he had called the commissioner of police of Palermo and congratulated him. Not because of the great catch, but “because finally the houses of Corleone are burgled.” For 20 years, Corleone was the safest city in the world; no robberies, no murders – “27 banks, and not a single robbery. It is not normal!” But this was not because Corleone was safe, but because the power of the mafia was at its highest.\textsuperscript{249} One of the reasons why Provenzano was able to stay hidden was because he was protecting the local community. You might call it an exchange of favours.

\textbf{9.2 Mafia, Business and Development}

I want to start this part by stating seven advices for business executives: Think before you act; Do good for the community; In case of trouble, become invisible; Use value based management; Be politically flexible; Renew your image; and Be modest. These seven advices are management guidelines of Bernardo Provenzano in his biography, and it is said that if he had been an executive in a large (legal) company it would have been a success. Provenzano turned around an organisation in crisis and it became a flourishing business.\textsuperscript{250}

The interviewees all agree that Cosa Nostra has had a great influence on the lack of development in Sicily, and describe how it does business and slows development. There are three main problems: Because of the risks, people are reluctant to invest in Sicily; the mafia controls public investments; the mafia stops any attempt of progress and economic development.

Enrico Colajanni from Addiopizzo, professors La Spina and Tulumello and Rita Borsellino explain that because the mafia is violent and can easily kill you, control the life of you and your business, and demand payment of \textit{pizzo}, foreign businesses do not arrive, and many people do not grow, because they are afraid to attract the attention of the mafia.\textsuperscript{251} Antonino

\textsuperscript{247} Falcone, pp. 93-94
\textsuperscript{248} Conversation with Giuseppe Carlo Marino 13 March 2008 after an interview.
\textsuperscript{249} Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando
\textsuperscript{250} Lunde: \textit{Mafiaboss giver 7 gode råd til erhvervslivets topchefer}
\textsuperscript{251} Appendices 5b.5, 5b.10, 5b.18 and 5b.3 – Interviews with E. Colajanni, A. La Spina, A. Tulumello, and R. Borsellino
Salerno from Confindustria explains that the mafia controls racket and extortion and that the proceeds are invested in seemingly legal businesses, but in reality this has established an economy based solely on illegality. 252

Many of the interviewees describe that the mafia is involved in the division of public tenders and contracts, and how it stops development. They are not only a form of pressure; they actually sit in when contracts are negotiated. This blocks development, oppresses the economy, and of course the payment of pizzo is a part of this. Pizzo is an extra cost and the businesses of especially Palermo suffer from this. Markets controlled by the mafia do not grow, because the mafia does not permit serious investments, it selects entrepreneurs on a basis of recommendations instead of merit, it has blocked the productive system, and there is no real competition. 253

However, there is a change in the attitude towards pizzo; as described in the previous chapter the initiatives of Addiopizzo and Confindustria Sicilia are examples of this. And Rita Borsellino elaborates with the example of the cooperatives that live of managing the mafia goods that have been confiscated. 254 She is referring to houses, land, businesses that are finally put to good use, 255 and another example is Punto pizzo-free, a shop in Palermo that recently opened, and only sells products from businesses that have openly declared that they do not pay pizzo. 256

Professor Costantino says that white-collar crime is an area not yet explored. 257 Journalist Nino Amadore recently published a book of his lengthy inquiry of professionals involved with the mafia. Unfortunately, there is not space to explore this thoroughly, but names of at least 400 business men have appeared in mafia inquiries in the last ten years. 258 At the same time Amadore quotes Pietro Grasso, head of the Italian Anti-mafia commission, saying that because there are no statistics done in this area it is not clear how big the phenomenon is. 259 The book

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252 Appendix 5b.16 – Interview with A. Salerno
253 Appendices 5b.4, 5b.8, 5b.12, 5b.11, 5b.3 and 5b.6 - Interviews with S. Caradonna, M. Falcone, S. Lupo, I. Lo Bello, R. Borsellino, and S. Costantino
254 Appendix 5b.3 – Interview with R. Borsellino
255 For more on this, see Custodero: Mafia, quel tesoro dei boss dimenticato dallo Stato
256 For more on this, see Addiopizzo: Nasce l’Emporio Pizzo-free
257 Appendix 5b.6 – Interview with S. Costantino
258 Amadore, p. 56
259 Amadore, p. 58
describes the involvement of accountants, lawyers, doctors, public officials, etc. with Cosa Nostra, and Nino Amadore has received death threats after conducting this inquiry.

9.3 Mafia, State and Politics

For a long time the mafia was non-existent in official society. As Marino states, it was taboo even within the police. Professor Alberto Tulumello explains that in way it was true that the mafia did not exist in the ‘50s, because the mafia was controlled by the politicians, and this was the beginning of the mafia being in control of the votes – I will return to this. However, in the ‘70, when the mafia gained control over the drug trafficking and it got enormous economic and military strength, this changed and the mafia began killing politicians.260 As described in chapter 7.2.1 by Maria Falcone, Cosa Nostra wanted to demonstrate their superiority over the state. The taboo concerning the mafia is still valid today, and you do not speak much of the mafia, unless it is with people you know well. I have had long conversations surely about the mafia without ever mentioning the word, and I have experienced a young man from Corleone being very serious when responding “the mafia does not exist”, when asked if Totò Riina was a mafia boss – he was keen to talk about Riina, but not about mafia.

There are some discrepancies about how mafia and state are used within the same context: Costantino says that the mafia is not against the state, it is not an anti-state, but rather a part of the state. Lo Bello says that the mafia has the idea of being a small state within the state, where it can exercise its monopoly on violence. And Orlando says that the mafia is both against the state and within the state, it is simply physically a part of the state.261 Mafia informant Leonardo Messina explains; “the mafia did not declare war on the state. And vice versa. It is a co-existence, and we elected the people of the state”.262 In an article from April 2008, Repubblica.it publishes the results made by Centro Studi Pio La Torre, which shows that as many as 50% of 2,368 Sicilian university students believes that the mafia is stronger than the state. Only 17% believes that the state is stronger. The survey also shows that 56% believes that the governing class is strongly involved with the mafia, and that this influences the development of Sicily in a negative way.263

260 Appendix 5b.18 – Interview with A. Tulumello
261 Appendices 5b.6, 5b.11 and 5b.14 – Interviews with S. Costantino, I. Lo Bello, and L. Orlando
262 Dommeren og hans bødler. Danmarks Radio
263 Mafia, i giovani siciliani sfiduciati: “Cosa Nostra più forte dello Stato”.
Returning to the elections, and the control of the votes, several of the interviewees mention that the mafia has this influence. Ruvolo, Colajanni, Falcone and Amadore explain that voting is part of the clientelistic system, and is often exchanged for favours – this was elaborated in chapter 7.2.2. Colajanni explain that this is why the opposition has never won in Sicily, and Ruvolo says that the mafia once “warned” the Christian Democratic Party by moving all of the votes to the Socialist Party.\textsuperscript{264} Investigator magistrate F.A. agrees that the mafia might have some influence, but as said earlier, he does not want to believe that it is absolute.

Costantino explains that because the mafia’s prime purpose is to make money, it needs to have its claws in politics, and Borsellino explains that the governing class profits by the secret relationship with the mafia.\textsuperscript{265} Orlando describes that the only elite in Italy without ethical rules is the political class. There is the recent example of Sicily’s president Cuffaro, who was sentenced five years in prison for favouring mafiosi. Not only did he not step down when he was indicted, but he actually celebrated his sentence with cannoli, i.e. he celebrated that he had not been convicted for ties to the mafia.\textsuperscript{266} Orlando says that the only ethics of the political class is closely related to the Catholic sexual morals: “if a politician gets caught with two women, he gets thrown out of the party. But the same party chooses to nominate for Senate someone convicted for mafia!”\textsuperscript{267} He is referring to Cuffaro who was not only nominated but also elected for the Senate in April 2008.\textsuperscript{268}

### 9.4 Mafia and the future

To end this main chapter about the mafia, we have to remember, that as said earlier the mafia has a certain ability to change. Maria Falcone says that it is important not to think that the mafia is defeated, because as soon as the attention weakens another group will rise.\textsuperscript{269} Public prosecutor Roberto Scarpinato explains Cosa Nostra’s “invisibility strategy”: what does not exist in the media does not exist in reality. The mafia has learned from their mistakes, and will

\textsuperscript{264} Appendices 5b.15, 5b.5, 5b.8 and 5b.1 – Interviews with R. Ruvolo, E. Colajanni, M. Falcone, and N. Amadore
\textsuperscript{265} Appendices 5b.6 and 5b.3 – Interviews with S. Costantino and R. Borsellino
\textsuperscript{266} For more on this case, I recommend the following articles: D’Antona: L’impero è salvo. La Sicilia è allo sbando, and Ziniti: “Colpevole”. “Niente mafia”. Cuffaro un minuto di paura.
\textsuperscript{267} Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando
\textsuperscript{268} In this context it must be said that in the previous elections, nominating convicted candidates was not uncommon, e.g. see Travaglio and Gomez: Condannati, Prescritti… ecc; Milella: Trenta onorevoli… ecc; and Lopapa: Candidati, resistete il… ecc.
\textsuperscript{269} Appendix 5b.8 – Interview with M. Falcone
avoid attention from the public and the state. The above example of Provenzano shows how the mafia learns and changes. Leoluca Orlando said to me after the interview “Provenzano is Riina without the massacres”, meaning that Provenzano knew that to keep the public support he had to keep a low profile.

Orlando describes the character of the so-called new mafia: “The new mafia consists of professionals; they speak different languages, and wear suits. I, Leoluca Orlando, would be the perfect boss of the new mafia; I speak different languages, I have international contacts, and no one believes that I am a mafioso. People, who do not understand this, do not understand what the new mafia is. Do not think that they are still hiding in the mountains of Corleone.”

In this context, it must be mentioned that in the last two and a half years much has been done to fight Cosa Nostra. It started with the arrest of Bernardo Provenzano in April of 2006. He was the head of Cosa Nostra and had been on the run for 43 years. Before the arrest of Provenzano’s successor Salvatore Lo Piccolo in November 2007, several high-ranking mafiosi had been arrested. Lo Piccolo was arrested together with his son, and two other bosses, all of them were present on Italy’s most wanted list. In December 2007, 69 people were arrested for connections with the mafia, and in January 2008, 39 people connected to Lo Piccolo’s mafia family were arrested, among them also bosses. In February 2008, property and goods worth more than 150 million euro, belonging to Provenzano and Lo Piccolo, were confiscated. Few weeks before this thesis was finished, another 55 people were arrested for connections with the mafia. In between these high profile arrests, many others were made. All of these were arrested in Sicily, which gives the indication, that they in fact were protected by the local community. Details on the Italian mafia and anti-mafia can be found on a new educational web page opened in December 2007, to help eliminate illegality.

270 Dommeren og hans bødler. Danmarks Radio
271 Conversation with Leoluca Orlando 15 March 2008 after an interview
272 Appendix 5b.14 – Interview with L. Orlando
273 Three articles from Polizia di Stato: Arrestato il boss della mafia Bernardo Provenzano; Arrestato Lo Piccolo, duro colpo alla mafia; Cosa Nostra: sequestro per oltre 150 milioni d beni ai boss. And Parlamento Italiano: Sportello Scuola e Università della Commissione Parlamentare Antimafia. Cronologia.
274 Parlamento Italiano: Sportello Scuola e Università della Commissione Parlamentare Antimafia. Cronologia.
9.5 Chapter Conclusion

In chapter 9.1, the interviewees described that in many ways the mafia mentality is similar to the Sicilian mentality, and that the mafia has adopted many of the traditional Sicilian values to blend into society. It was also mentioned that the mafia do some good for the local community in order to keep the local support, and that it uses the problems with finding a job to recruit new members.

Chapter 9.2 demonstrated that the mafia is very involved in public business affairs, and the primary means to do business is violence. The mafia’s involvement distorts competition and discourages people from investing in Sicily and this slows or even stops development. The chapter also showed how there are some initiatives to get rid of the pizzo system.

The mafia has close relations to many professionals, and as chapter 9.3 shows this includes politicians. It was described how clientelism is used in the elections, and how the mafia “shares” power with the state. The chapter explains that the mafia needs the politicians and that the politicians need the mafia, and therefore it was quite natural that the state refused to acknowledge the mafia – something that is still occurring in parts of the Sicilian society today.

Finally, it was underlined that the mafia changes constantly to keep up with changes in society, and that it should not be underestimated.
10. The experts’ judgements and suggestions

In the last three main chapters, I have presented analyses according to the matching chapters in part II, the theoretical framework. However, I have not taken into consideration all of the opinions of the experts unless it was connected directly to the theory. In the following, I will briefly present the experts’ views on why Sicily is less developed and what can be done to solve the problem. This chapter is based primarily on the interviewees’ answers to the first and last question in the interview guide275.

The answers to why Sicily is less developed and what can be done to remedy the situation vary; however, one area came up with several of the interviewees: Politics and the governing class.

As many as fifteen of the interviewees name politics and the governing class as being either the problem or the solution – this is normally interconnected.

Journalist Roberto Ruvolo, investigator magistrate F.A., politician Rita Borsellino, and Confindustria’s Antonino Salerno and Ivanhoe Lo Bello say that Sicily has never received much attention from the State. There have never been created long term politics for the development, or investment politics, but only short term politics to solve here-and-now problems; the political class has been a mediator between economic and social life instead of creating development.276 Lo Bello elaborates saying that the short-term politics need to be changed into strategic visions, and that one of the problems is that the voters ask for short-term solutions, which undermines the economic system, the social system, and the public spirit.277 Professor Alberto Tulumello says that the politics does not work because they are used in the political game and that Sicily is used as an electoral reserve.278

Enrico Colajanni from Addiopizzo believes that what is needed, are people willing to practise sacrificial politics, and that public and EU funds have never been used to make investments but only as subsistence and assistance.279 Ruvolo elaborates saying that the Sicilian economy is based on subsistence meaning that there is no real production system, and Giuseppe

275 Please see appendix 4a and 4b.
276 Appendices 5b.15, 5b.7, 5b.3, 5b.16 and 5b.11 – interviews with R. Ruvolo, F.A., R. Borsellino, A. Salerno, and I. Lo Bello
277 Appendix 5b.11 – Interview with I. Lo Bello
278 Appendix 5b.18 – Interview with A. Tulumello
279 Appendix 5b.5 – Interview with E. Colajanni
Timpanaro from Italia Lavoro Sicilia says that there is no culture of investment or profit. Timpanaro continues saying that people must be thought that if they do not work and produce, they will not make money. 280 Journalist Nino Amadore has a hard time understanding why the Sicilians are getting poorer (cf. a survey he had conducted) when Sicily has received more than 11 billion euro in EU funds from 1994-1999. "We have had the opportunity and the money to get ahead but we have not made the most of it. Maybe because the idea that someone is giving us money is convenient, i.e. the idea of underdevelopment is an alibi." 281

Only few mention the mafia as being the problem, and even then they connect it to bad politics and liberation of the market. 282

As said, many of the interviewees point to a new generation of politicians to turn things around, but some also realise that this is not so simple. Marino says that it will need a cultural revolution, and F.A., Ruvolo and professor Salvatore Lupo agree that what is missing is the idea of public good and collectivism. 283

Some also point to Sicily’s assets; the obvious being tourism with the sun, the sea and the vast offer of culture; the production of wine and other agricultural products, but unfortunately these have not been exploited. 284 Having travelled a lot in Sicily, I can only agree that there is much to be done to promote tourism in Sicily. In Trapani, I talked to the manager at their tourist office, who told me that all the offices in Sicily were slowly closing down because the politicians did not realise the possibilities for tourism in the future.
11. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to establish *why Sicily is less developed than most other regions in Italy and the Italian average, when almost 150 years have passed since the Unification.* Throughout this study, seen in relevance to the presented theory, development or the lack of development has been demonstrated to be an important issue in Sicily. In order to reach this goal and answer the main research question, I presented three sub-questions:

- *How can Sicily be characterised as a society, seen from a theoretical perspective?*
- *How can we describe the Sicilian civic culture and its role in society?*
- *What is the role of the Mafia?*

These three questions have been examined and answered, and it soon became very clear that the three areas are linked closely together and very hard to separate when examining the lack of development in Sicily. Since the three are so difficult to separate, in the following discussion, I will summarise the answers to the three questions, but not separately.

As society, Sicily is heavily ruled by favours and clientelism, in all aspects of life, from getting into a good school, to finding a job, from doing well in business, to electing a government. Because mutual favours are the way of life, there is little room for collective actions, which are rare and short-lived. This lack of sense of the common good and cooperation could also be seen as a result of the very close family circles, where no one outside the group is trusted. If there is no trust, there can be no cooperation. The lack of trust in strangers also results in familism and nepotism; the opportunities for getting a job are few, and therefore you favour the people closest to you, both because you take care of your family first, and because you know that that person can be trusted.

The mentality of distrust can also be seen as a reaction to the presence of Cosa Nostra; the mafia mentality of *omertà*, and not trusting have close relations to civil life, and the important Sicilian values of friendship, honour and family are also used by the mafia. So it is very difficult to say which came first; has the mafia mentality spread to society or is the mafia an extreme version of Sicilian values? On one hand the mafia rules by the use of violence, and at the same time it makes sure not to lose local support, which would mean the end of the mafia. One would think that it is not so easy to keep the support, but if the local boss is seen as the one that will secure you food on the table, a job (as a mafioso), and keep the streets safe, it becomes clear why.
The mafioso still has a fairly easy job recruiting in exposed areas, because the state is not present. There seems to be a mutual disrespect between the Sicilians and public institutions, and because the citizens do not ask for basic rights instead of favours, the smart politicians are the ones granting these favours, which in turn create distrust in the state. It is difficult to ensure public rights if the politicians are not willing to do so. There are politicians who work in favour of this, but unfortunately the situation in Sicily does not yet give the opportunity for these people to take power. To ensure public rights and safety it requires a change both in the political elite and in the population.

Sicily is infected by corruption – a natural offspring from clientelism – getting a job is often based on who you know instead of what you know, and therefore the incentive to get an education is not very strong. To stay in power, both the mafia and the governing politicians limit culture and do not encourage education. And for some reason there is a co-existence between the citizens and the ruling class, which consists of both the politicians and the mafia.

Cosa Nostra has close relations to many professionals, and this involvement in many aspects of both private and public business life keeps investors from starting up in Sicily, which distorts competition. Because the mafia changes continuously, and always finds new areas of business, it is very difficult to eliminate it, and history has shown that it should not be underestimated.

A society based on distrust and clientelism in as high levels as in Sicily cannot develop because competition is not free and fair, merit does not count, and it is difficult to make deals if you do not believe that your partner can be trusted. The relations between citizens, mafia and politics seem to be never ending, and it seems to be a vicious circle without end; the citizens have no trust in the state, because it does not provide rights, and because there is a long history of corruption. Because there is no trust – in either political side – they elect the politicians who offer favours. And then it starts again. The mafia’s role can be seen on both sides; it is involved in public tenders, corruption, and is deeply rooted in society, and must have some form of support.

Even if it has been proven why Sicily lacks development, it is difficult to say, how you can create development in Sicily, when examining the above. It seems simple, but is in fact very complicated: both culture, politics and mafia are areas that need to be addressed. The traditions in these areas are very strong, and not one can easily be changed. However, Sicily has many resources, especially tourism and agriculture, there seem to be a beginning change in the population to not accept that clientelism and mafia play such a large role as in the past,
but it can take generations before a “new culture” of trusting, not giving or asking for favours, and collectivism is firmly adopted by the Sicilians, and a new way of doing politics can be formed. But it is not guaranteed that change will happen.
12. Reflections

During this project, I have asked myself: “Is change really necessary? If the Sicilians are content, is that not good enough?” Everything must change so that everything can stay the same? In 1958, Lampedusa described a fictitious situation from around the time of the Italian Unification, but is seems very valid even today. But who am I to say that they need change?

I had hoped to be able to give some form of solution to the problem, but I have realised that it is not so simple. I see a small change in the attitude of the population, and I see a positive future for Sicily. But deep down, I worry that nothing will change; Sicily will continue to fall behind, and it might be easier to leave the island, than to change the situation. I have met many people, who want a change, but I am afraid that they are a minority, and that they too will leave in frustration that nothing will ever change.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Hard facts

Appendix 2: Level of satisfaction with public transportation

Appendix 3: List of experts

Appendix 4a: Italian interview guide

Appendix 4b: English translation of interview guide

Appendix 5: Interviews
# Appendix 1: Hard facts

## Life Expectancy

Table 1.1 Life expectancy at birth, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>78.00</td>
<td>82.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South</td>
<td>78.00</td>
<td>83.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>78.30</td>
<td>84.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with the highest number (Marches)</td>
<td>79.30</td>
<td>85.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with the lowest number</td>
<td>78.00</td>
<td>82.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sicily and Sardinia) (Campania)

Source: ISTAT. Regional data-set on health. Chapter 2, table 2.2

## Mortality rates

Table 1.2.1 Mortality rates, 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>10.28</td>
<td>10.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with the lowest number</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>8.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Campania and Apulia) (Apulia)

Region with the highest number (Liguria) 14.07 14.84

Source: ISTAT. Regional data-set on health. Chapter 3, table 3.1a-3.1p

## Infant mortality, 2003

Table 1.2.2 Infant mortality, 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>5.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South</td>
<td>5.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with the lowest number (Tuscany)</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with the highest number (Aosta Valley)</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT. Regional data-set on health. Chapter 3, table 3.2
### Educational Levels

Table 1.3.1 Educational levels, 2005, as to population size. In thousands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Primary school</th>
<th>Junior secondary school</th>
<th>Sen. sec. school (2-3 yrs.)</th>
<th>Sen. sec. school (4-5 yrs.)</th>
<th>University degree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Campania</strong></td>
<td>1380</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>4747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5,790,929 inhabitants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lazio</strong></td>
<td>951</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>1504</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>4493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5,304,778 inhabitants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sicily</strong></td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>1413</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>4180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5,017,212 inhabitants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Veneto</strong></td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>1262</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>4011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4,738,313 inhabitants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers from 2006

Source: ISTAT. *Regional data-set on health*. Chapter 11, table 11.4c
### Employment

#### Table 1.4.1 Employment rates, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Total 15-64 yrs.</th>
<th>15-19 yrs.</th>
<th>20-24 yrs.</th>
<th>25-34 yrs.</th>
<th>35-44 yrs.</th>
<th>45-54 yrs.</th>
<th>55-64 yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>44.03</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>24.80</td>
<td>49.52</td>
<td>59.97</td>
<td>56.98</td>
<td>33.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>45.79</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>28.30</td>
<td>51.29</td>
<td>61.79</td>
<td>60.40</td>
<td>32.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>57.48</td>
<td>8.11</td>
<td>41.11</td>
<td>69.26</td>
<td>76.31</td>
<td>70.61</td>
<td>31.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with highest number</td>
<td>66.29 (Aosta Valley)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with lowest number</td>
<td>44.03 (Sicily)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.07 (Abruzzo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT. *Regional data-set on health. Chapter 13, table 13.2c*

#### Table 1.4.2 Unemployment rates, young people, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>15-24 yrs.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>44.80</td>
<td>16.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>37.18</td>
<td>13.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>23.95</td>
<td>7.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with lowest number</td>
<td>9.89 (Aosta Valley)</td>
<td>3.24 (Aosta Valley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with highest number</td>
<td>46.05 (Calabria)</td>
<td>16.22 (Sicily)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT. *Regional data-set on health. Chapter 13, table 13.5*
Transport
Table 1.5.1 Road network, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Motorways</th>
<th>Highways</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sicily (25,8708 km²)</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont (25,399 km²)</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardinia (24,090 km²)</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>3648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardy (23,861 km²)</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>931</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.5.2 Railway network, 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Electrified lines</th>
<th>Non electrified lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Double rails</td>
<td>Single rails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Double rails</td>
<td>Single rails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily (25,8708 km²)</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont (25,399 km²)</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardinia (24,090 km²)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardy (23,861 km²)</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


GDP per capita
Table 1.6 Regional GDP in Italy, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italy:</th>
<th>GDP per inhabitant, EUR</th>
<th>GDP per inhabitant, PPS</th>
<th>GDP per inhabitant, PPS, EU27=100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>29,493</td>
<td>28,513</td>
<td>127.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>29,001</td>
<td>28,037</td>
<td>125.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>27,369</td>
<td>26,459</td>
<td>118.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>16,119</td>
<td>15,583</td>
<td>69.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Islands (Sardinia and Sicily)</td>
<td>16,349</td>
<td>15,806</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily</td>
<td>15,617</td>
<td>15,098</td>
<td>67.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with highest GDP (Lombardy*)</td>
<td>31,618</td>
<td>30,567</td>
<td>136.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region with lowest GDP (Campania)</td>
<td>15,494</td>
<td>14,979</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Bolzano/Bolzen has a higher GDP in the table, but it is not a region, so therefore it is not considered here.

Source: Adapted from Eurostat. Regional GDP per inhabitant in the EU27 - 2005
Appendix 2: Level of satisfaction with public transportation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Autobus Utenza</th>
<th>Autobus Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Autobus Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Autobus Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Pulman Utenza</th>
<th>Pulman Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Pulman Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Treno Utenza</th>
<th>Treno Soddisfa-</th>
<th>Treno Soddisfa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>67.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT. Annuario statistico italiano 2006. Chap.19 Table 19.12, page 485

Tavola 19.12 - Persone di 14 anni e oltre che utilizzano i vari mezzi di trasporto (utenza), soddisfatte per frequenza delle corse, puntualità, posto a sedere, per regione e tipo di comune di residenza - Anno 2006 (per 100 persone della stessa zona)

- 2000 - PER REGIONE
Appendix 3: List of experts

Representatives from commerce/trade:
- Antonino Salerno, President of Confindustria Palermo and Vice president of Confindustria Sicilia
- Ivanhoe Lo Bello, President of Confindustria Sicilia

Representatives from the media:
- Roberto Ruvolo, Journalist, Rai
- Nino Amadore, Journalist and Editor of Il Sole 24 ORE

Representatives from the legal system:
- Fernando Asaro, Investigator magistrate

Representatives from the political system:
- Leoluca Orlando, former Mayor of Palermo
- Rita Borsellino, Leader of the opposition in the Sicilian Regional Assembly and anti-mafia activist

Representatives from the educational system:
- Giovanna Fiume, Professor of Modern History
- Salvatore Lupo, Professor of Contemporary History
- Giuseppe Carlo Marino, Professor of Contemporary History
- Antonio La Spina, Professor of Sociology
- Salvatore Costantino, Professor of Legal Sociology
- Alberto Tulumello, Professor of Economic Sociology
- Pier Francesco Asso, Professor of Economy

Others:
- Salvo Caradonna, Member of the committee and attorney for Addiopizzo
- Enrico Colajanni, One of the founders of Addiopizzo, and President of Libero Futuro, Associazione antiracket – Libero Grassi
- Maria Falcone, President of the Foundation for Giovanni and Francesca Falcone
- Giuseppe Timpanaro, President of Italia Lavoro Sicilia
Appendix 4a: Italian interview guide

Per iniziare, secondo Lei, la Sicilia è meno sviluppata rispetto ad altre regioni italiane? Se sì, secondo Lei perché?

Secondo Lei, esiste grande disparità economica in Sicilia? (Pausa per permettere un’elaborazione)

Si dice spesso che gli italiani del Sud non hanno grande rispetto e fiducia nelle autorità. Secondo Lei, questo vale anche per la Sicilia? Se sì, secondo Lei perché?

Secondo Lei, i siciliani utilizzano le istituzioni? Se hanno bisogno di assistenza/aiuto, si rivolgono alle autorità preposte per risolvere il problema? Se no, come mai è così e allora a chi si rivolgono?

Secondo Lei, la gente ha fiducia nelle persone con cui non ha uno stretto rapporto di amicizia? (Pausa per permettere un’elaborazione)

Secondo Lei, nella sfera pubblica (o non strettamente privata) quale tipo di relazioni interpersonali è predominante in Sicilia? Relazioni interpersonali tra pari (paritarie), o relazioni interpersonali del tipo padrone/cliente?

Secondo Lei, la famiglia è necessaria per la sopravvivenza del singolo individuo?

Secondo Lei, se c’è, qual è il livello di corruzione in Sicilia? Nel mondo politico, nel mondo degli affari? E negli altri campi?

Secondo Lei, è comune favorire l’occupazione degli amici o dei membri della famiglia (a discapito di una persona più adatta)?

Secondo Lei, c’è una tradizione di votazioni di preferenza in Sicilia? Cioè sono libere o condizionate le elezioni? Se sì, secondo Lei perché?

Secondo Lei, com’è la cultura delle azioni collettive? I cittadini sono disposti a unirsi e cooperare per cambiare le cose? (Pausa per permettere un’elaborazione)

Personalmente ho incontrato la burocrazia all’università. Secondo Lei, il sistema politico siciliano è disturbato dell’esistenza della burocrazia? Se sì, che cosa ci vuole per cambiare questo?

Secondo Lei, che ruolo ha avuto la mafia nella “creazione” della società siciliana?

Secondo Lei, la presenza della mafia in Sicilia ha avuto un peso significativo nel mancato sviluppo dell’isola? Se sì, secondo Lei perché?

Per finire, secondo Lei, qual è il problema più grave che si deve risolvere o almeno affrontare per migliorare lo sviluppo della Sicilia?
Appendix 4b: English translation of the interview guide

First, in your opinion, is Sicily less developed than other Italian regions? If yes, why might that be?

In your opinion, is there large economic disparity in Sicily? (Pause to allow elaboration)

It is often said that Southern Italians do not have much respect for and faith in authorities. In your opinion, is this also true for Sicily? If yes, why might that be?

In your opinion, do the Sicilians make use of the authorities? If they need help, do they go the proper authorities to solve the problem? If no, why might that be, and who do they turn to then?

In your opinion, is trust in people outside the personal networks widespread? (Pause to allow elaboration)

In your opinion, in the public sphere (or not strictly private), which form of interpersonal relations is predominating in Sicily? Interpersonal relations between equals or patron-client relations?

In your opinion, is trust in people outside the personal networks widespread? (Pause to allow elaboration)

In your opinion, is family necessary for the survival of the single person?

In your opinion, if it exists, how high is the level of corruption in Sicily? In politics, and in the business world? Elsewhere?

In your opinion, is it common to favour friends or family when hiring (in preference to a more suitable person)?

In your opinion, is there a tradition of preference voting in Sicily? I.e. are the elections free or conditioned? If yes, why might that be?

In your opinion, how is the culture for collective actions? Are the citizens prepared to unite and collaborate to change things? (Pause to allow elaboration)

Personally I have experienced the bureaucracy of the university. In your opinion, is the Sicilian political system troubled by the existence of bureaucracy? If yes, in your opinion, what might be done to change this system?

In your opinion, how large a role has the mafia played in “the making” of Sicilian society?

In your opinion, has the presence of the mafia in Sicily been a significant factor in the underdevelopment of the island? If yes, why is that?

Finally, I would like to know, in your opinion, which is the most acute problem that has to be solved or at least looked at to improve the development in Sicily?