

## Summary

Salvatore Lupo and Rosario Mangiameli  
*Mafia, old and new*

According to many observers the recent past has seen a transition from the traditional Mafia, which as of a rural character, a product of the system of large landed estates, to a modern, urban Mafia, dedicated above all to drug-trafficking. What these terms are actually often used to denote, in descriptions of the long-term patterns of Sicilian crime, are the established and emerging groups which clash in the struggle for power and enter into dubious relations of conflict and negotiation with the authorities. The management of resources through territorial control seems to be a constant feature of mafioso activity; this means that there has been close cooperation amongst the cells in many historical situations. The real historical discontinuity lies rather in the closer rapporto which the underworld has established with the political world since the development of the welfare state, especially in the recent crisis of the mechanisms governing the redistribution of resources by the public sector.

Paolo Pezzino  
*The Sicilian revolutionary tradition and the invention of the Mafia*

The presence of popular squads, both urban and rural, in the Sicilian revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century is linked by the author to the popular classes' pursuit of autonomy from the traditional élites through the use of violence, above all in moments of political and social crisis. In 1848 the squads became the centre of the political struggle between democrats and moderates, and also of the dialectic between the popular classes and the noble and bourgeois élites, while the control exercised over the picciotti («the boys») during Garibaldi's operation was to be much more effective. This was, on the one hand, to deprive the networks of popular violence of their legitimacy for once and for all. On the other hand, it was to leave them available for questionable use by segments of the élites in moments of conflict with the institutions of the new State. This process led to the conversion of what remained of the old networks into more autonomous structures, which were usually directed towards the construction of a popular counter-power, even though this usually took the form of organized crime; conversely, these new criminal networks were also ideal for instrumental use by representatives of State institutions and representatives of the Sicilian ruling classes alternately. These were the conditions which gave rise to the Mafia.

Rosario Mangiameli  
*Bandits and mafiosi after the Unification*

The story of a brigand and his band is interwoven with the story of the local élites in the centre of post-Unification Sicily. Brigandage is an important instrument in the struggle for local power and control of resources. Through it, however, is defined a framework of symbols and norms for the identification of a ruling class faithful to the new unified State. The anti-brigandage stance required of the magnates of the inner regions of the island, who often found themselves in very compromising situations, was regarded as an important condition of loyalty to the State. It was implicit that they would refrain from recruiting squads or using them in political negotiations. Nevertheless, the recognition of the State's monopoly on violence thus conferred was only theoretical: the State required and appreciated an involvement in antibrigandage actions, thus inviting a system of armed vigilance which effectively reproduced the problem of a plurality of sources of power, whose legitimacy also depended on the use of violence.

Salvatore Lupo  
*The banks and politics. The murder of Notarbartolo*

The article reconstructs the judicial events that followed the assassination of Emanuele Notarbartolo, exponent of the aristocratic Sicilian elite and Director of the Bank of Sicily from 1876 to 1890. This was the first of the «excellent crimes» that from the beginning of the Unification of Italy have occasionally removed figures of the establishment from the scene, in the process causing enormous echoes and alarm in national public opinion. With the help of trial transcriptions and other contemporary sources, the Author retraces the numerous threads that connect this assassination in a direct or indirect manner to the political marshalling of Sicily and of the entire nation (there by emphasizing the complex relations between central power and peripheral power) and to the most important economic institutions of the region, the Bank of Sicily. Concerning the crime, historical analysis reveals a hidden world of conflicts, alliances and strategies of power within which the Mafia plots its specific designs and develops its complex ramifications.

Marcella Marmo  
*Order and Disorder. The Camorra of the Nineteenth Century*

The aim of this paper is to compare historical and sociological views on Naples' camorra. Both administrative and scholarly sources of the period 1860-1910 describe it like a corporate criminal group, characterized by a very diffused extortion, practised both in legal and illegal markets, and by a relatively important presence in political juncture. The paper criticizes the propensity to overestimate camorra's functions, both trust (guarantees?) functions in legal markets emphasized by economic sociology, and functions of political and social order, which ancient *guapparia* would have acted, in contrast with today's «entrepreneur» mafia-camorra. Historical sources, on the contrary, describe a disordered phenomenon, adjoining current crime, whose true function seems to have been developed quite inland delinquent city, i.e. to organize criminals' élite.

Giovanni Raffaele  
*Bosses, Network and Politics in Sicily during Fascism*

The aim of the essay is to verify the reality of the relations between Mafia and Fascism by means of the study of a sensational case, the trial of the «interprovincial Mafia» of Mistretta, a rural administrative district of north-east Sicily, in 1928-29.

Far from representing a cohesive and anti-Mafia bloc, Sicilian Fascism is seen to be entangled in various, and even opposed, currents and often intertwined with local administrative disputes, which it uses and by which it is often equally exploited in attempts at individual and group social and political ascent. In the second place, the image of a local society that is entirely *mafiosa* appears to be lacking in consistency or, at least, forced. From the essay there emerges the picture of the persistent force of groups of power so deep-rooted and pervasive as to render unnecessary the specific implements of pressure typical of Mafia organization, conspiratorially silent, hierarchical and structured, according to the recurrent interpretative canons.

Chiara Lupani and Paola Monzini  
*Organization as strategy*

The article concentrates on the Mafia as an organized presence, focusing on the very means of organization as its driving force, one of the essential conditions for its existence as a specific criminal entity.

The authors show, on the basis of a wealth of examples, all from legal sources, how kinship is one of the recurring foundations in the formation and extension of mafioso groups: there is usually an original nucleus which expands, establishing rapports of trust with other members, rapports which are necessitated by the cell's strategic objectives and expansionary ambitions. This internal compactness does not, however, stop groups from forming alliances with other organizations to agree upon criteria for the partitioning of areas of influence, or, in some cases, to join forces in large-scale illegal operations (drug trafficking).

Lidia Barone  
*The new Power of the 'ndrangheta in recent years*

With the help of prevalently judicial sources, the article outlines the evolution of the Calabrian Mafia in the 1970's and 1980's, giving particular attention to the clan of the De Stefano brothers, who, from 1977 to 1985, played a role of criminal hegemony in Reggio Calabria that has influenced other provincial and regional groups of Mafia.

The growth of the lawful and unlawful economic activity of the Mafia is also described in generale. In a few years, in fact, the Mafia succeeded in actually monopolizing some sectors of local economy, like «induced» construction, and in seriously conditioning others, like services and commerce. Such legal economic activity is strictly intertwined with criminal activities, such as international drug trafficking, and was accompanied by a very grave Mafia contamination of certain institutional sectors and of the administration of local corporations.

Saverio Mannino

*Problem and solution: institutions and judiciary versus the 'ndrangheta*

The article highlights a distinctive characteristic of Southern crime and that of Calabria in particular, a characteristic which is also one of the essential reasons for the development and embedment of crime in society: the possibility of simultaneous action in legal and illegal spheres. The mixture of violence and threats and «normal» social and political relations makes this phenomenon difficult to eradicate. To tackle it it's therefore not only necessary for an operation of repression to be prepared and undertaken by the organs of State, but also for all citizens and the public institutions as a whole to respond to this problem. It is therefore necessary to operate the progressive closure of the administrative, political and cultural loopholes the «legal» or, at any rate, bloodless penetration of which means ever broader opportunities for the cornering of resources by the criminal groups and for the extension of their influence and control.

Giovanna Fiume

*Are there women in the Mafia?*

Here is an account, in Sicilian dialect, by Pietra Lo Verso, widow of Cosimo Quattrocchi, killed in 1984 along with seven other people in the «Piazza Scaffa massacre», telling of the reasons and circumstances which led to her husband's death. This important document attests to an ambivalent cultural context. It portrays a mixture of adherence to mafioso codes and the dissociation from them which accompanies a heightened anti-mafia awareness. Indeed, it is Pietra herself who sues the alleged commissioner of her husband's murder, but he is found innocent both at the initial trial and in the court of appeal. There also emerges a contradictory rapport with politics and the institutions: the distance between the two cultures in one sense implies an instrumental exchange, but Pietra's crisis of allegiance does not bring about her adherence to the values of «high» culture, or to models of women's emancipation.

Piero Fantozzi

*Patronage and the mafia. The categories of the social sciences  
and the logic of modernity in the South of Italy*

This study attempts to show how the bases for social action in the social, economic and political organizations of the South determine a widespread undermining of faith in legality. An attempt is also made to analyse the imbalances between methods of legitimization, forms of social integration and faith in legality.

Diego Gambetta

*The mafia eliminates Competition...*

After having specified the difference between market and competition and the implications of this difference, the Author argues that if the Mafia tends to eliminate competition, it is reasonable to expect that the competitive market will eliminate the Mafia.

The theoretical formulation of the problem is followed by an analysis of the wholesale fruit and vegetable market of Palermo, based on first-hand research carried out in 1987: it leads to the hypothesis that the development of competition may, in certain conditions, render Mafia action superfluous.

In the concluding section, in any case, it is affirmed that notwithstanding the notable difference between the present situation and that of the 1950's, the persistence of limited areas of non-competitiveness within the fruit and vegetable market does not allow one completely to exclude potential involutions towards Mafia behavior, given the geographical and cultural proximity of their undertakings.

Adrian Lyttelton  
*Comparing the Mafia and the Camorra*

A comparison between the Mafia and the Camorra is at present very difficult because of the limitations of the only studies available until recently; the scanty attention given to the urban dimension of the Mafia has often corresponded to a relegation of the Camorra, considered as an essentially urban and sometimes residual phenomenon, to a quite secondary position. Moreover, if both the Mafia and the Camorra are presented as in reality performing a function of mediation between hinterland and urban center, in both cases the types of commerce and their fields of action are different.

Another order of problems is connected to the roles played by the Mafia and the Camorra in the new Italian state, in which elective institutions live together with strong authoritative features while a large part of society remains outside and unrelated to the state. If the Mafia is not definitely a «counterstate» or an alternative to the state, it may perhaps be considered an «infrastate» that compensates for the weaknesses of the official one.

Gabriella Gribaudo  
*Culture, social groups and the Mafia*

The article takes into consideration some problems of interpretation regarding the origin and the nature of the Mafia that recent historical research has raised in the attempt to place under criticism wrong convictions and stereotypes that have grown up around such a phenomenon. A conviction prevalent among historians of the latest generation is that the criminality of the Mafia is not the almost inevitable result of a backward society and its archaic cultures, for example, but constitutes a phenomenon not necessarily dependent on the quality of the social context. According to them, the interpretations given by anthropologists, tending to emphasize the role of local cultures, are therefore misleading.

The Author subjects the different positions to criticism, stressing the reciprocal misunderstandings, and tries to furnish some interpretative instruments that use the results reached as much by historical as by anthropological research.

Giovanni Anania, Giovanni Levi, Marcello Messeri and Alessandro Pizzorno  
*«Is Trust a good Thing?» A Book on the strategies of Trust*

A group of economists, sociologists and historians discuss the book, edited by D. Gambetta, on the importance assumed by trust in social relations. While vie-

wing the question from different disciplinary angles, the participants in the debate agree that the rapport of trust is of objective importance in the regulation of interests, economic transactions, collective behaviour and the relation between citizens and the State.

Some of them (Levi, Messori and Pizzorno), through with varying degrees of intensity, tend to criticize the heuristic validity of the concept of trust, i.e. the extent to which it may be deemed an autonomous interpretative category. There are signs of the existence of a real problem, which to a certain extent determines the difference between one type of social reality and another, determining its degree of modern rationality, but it does not possess any visible theoretical autonomy.

Others (Anania) are more agreed on the usefulness of such a concept for examining and interpreting the social reality of the world of today (eg that of the South of Italy) and for understanding its intimate and peculiar rationalities.