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# United, yet divided: analysing the cohesion of Addiopizzo's anti-racketeering campaign in Palermo

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## Abstract

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of questionnaires collected from 277 entrepreneurs who joined the campaign between 2005 and 2011.

Keywords: anti-mafia racketeering trust norms of reciprocity Addiopizzo Italy

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The author is grateful for the comments from colleagues at the Department of Government, Uppsala University, and at the Department of Political Science, Gothenburg University. The author also thanks Henry Aguinaga who made Figure 2, and Francesca Forno, Giulio Pizzuto, Mario Lavezzi and two anonymous reviewers.

## Notes

1. Paoli, "Mafia and Organised Crime," 855; and La Spina, "Recent Anti-Mafia Strategies."
2. For a detailed analysis of the values promoted by Addiopizzo in their campaign, see Vaccaro and Palazzo, "Values against Violence."
3. Cook, "Networks, Norms and Trust," 9.
4. Van St...
5. Ericks... and Olson, The Logi...
6. Gunna...
7. [http://...](#)
8. Gamb... "The Chinese...
9. Volkov...
10. Wan...

11. Frye and Zhuravskaya, "Rackets," 478; and Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship," 743.
12. Varese, *The Russian Mafia*; and Wang, "The Chinese Mafia."
13. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia*, 31; and Sciarrone, "La sfera economica," 22.
14. Lisciandra, "Proceeds from Extortion," 102-3; and Calderoni, "Where Is the Mafia in Italy?"
15. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia*, 31.
16. *Ibid.*, 174-7. See also Varese, *The Russian Mafia*, 68-71.
17. Arlacchi, *Mafia Business*; and Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia*, 93-4.
18. Lisciandra, "Proceeds from Extortions," 93.
19. Asmundo and Lisciandra, "The Cost of Protection," 238; SOS Impresa and Confesercenti, *Le mani della criminalità*, XI Rapp. 20; and Transcrime, *Le imprese vittime*, 27.
20. Ohlemacher, "Racketeering and Restaurateurs," 61.
21. The owner of a small company said racketeers showed up several times a day, asking for 2-3 euros each time. The sum eventually reached 4000 euros per year, which the owner reduced to 1000 euros through negotiations. Respondent 193.
22. Nino di Matteo, Prosecutor, interview.
23. Asmundo and Lisciandra, "Proceeds from Extortions," 102-3.
24. Senigaglia, "Mafia and Business," 29, 644.
25. Several respondents reported their neighbors' experiences with racketeering. Respondent 193, 29, 644.
26. Respondent 193, 29, 644.
27. Respondent 193, 29, 644; SOS Impresa and Confesercenti, *Le mani della criminalità*, XI Rapp. 20; and Transcrime, *Le imprese vittime*, 27.



28. Respondents: 251, 614, 644.
29. Respondent: 644.
30. Based on survey results (N = 269).
31. Respondents: 11, 189, 267, 312, 611.
32. Forno and Gunnarson, "Everyday Shopping," 104.
33. Ibid, 44-65; and Partridge, "The Determinants," 348-9.
34. See <http://www.addiopizzo.org>.
35. Partridge, "The Determinants," 348-9.
36. The reported number of shops/businesses that had joined the campaign in 2011 was 705. The number of owners is lower; many owners had several stores.
37. Coleman, "Social Capital"; Fishman, Democracy's Voices; Hooghe and Stolle, "Introduction"; Ostrom, "Collective Action"; and Putnam, Making Democracy Work.
38. Putnam, Bowling Alone, 136-7.
39. Uslaner, Moral Foundations, 192.
40. Kramer, "Trust and Distrust," 577-8; Stolle, "Trusting Strangers," 401-2; Cook, Hardin, and Levi, Cooperation without Trust, 27, 67; and Freitag and Bauer, "Testing for Measurement," 26-7.
41. Norris, ...; Kumlin
42. Ostr
43. E
44. Cole
45. Beng ... 46; and Ostrom,



46. Data collection was done by the author together with Francesca Forno and Giulio Pizzuto, University of Bergamo, Italy. The interviews were conducted by the author in 2014.
47. Forty-two owners were not available ('no time', 'not in Palermo', 'not there'); 24 owners refused to participate; 21 returned empty questionnaires. Fifteen companies had closed or moved; eight were not found at the address. The response rate was lower for commercial chains or entrepreneurs with several stores (48%).
48. Forty-nine per cent had completed higher secondary school, 43% had a university degree. Seventy-five per cent were male with an average age of 45.
49. Clients in Sicily - 16%, Italy - 11%, abroad - 6%.
50. Years of activity: >10 years (58%); 6-10 years (20%); 3-5 years (16%); <2 years (6%).
51. Addiopizzo asks the companies to sign a similar declaration on joining Addiopizzo's campaign.
52. Enrico Colajanni, Libero Futuro, interview.
53. Services include stamping, printing, design, organising events, editing, publicity, insurance, finance, administration, computer services, office equipment, security, elderly care and bus services.
54. Respondents: 3, 11, 34, 193, 251, 312, 365, 368, 572, 614, 641, 684.
55. Two ... trusted (2).
56. Nan...
57. Bjørn...
58. F... available:
- None
59. Cron...
60. Cron...
61. Cron...



62. Cronbach's  $\alpha = .914$ .
63. Cronbach's  $\alpha = .850$ .
64. Discussion with Addiopizzo activists. 6 September 2011, Palermo.
65. Degree of agreement: Not at all (1); A little (2); Quite a lot (3); A lot (4).
66. Possible answers: No (0); Yes (1).
67. Possible answers: Almost never (1); A few times per year (2); A few times every three months (3); A few times per month (4); Every week (5); Almost daily (6).
68. The variable ranges from 2005 (1) to 2011 (7).
69. Values range from 1 to 6; 1 denotes 'no formal education' and 6 'four-year university-level education'.
70. 'Less than 2 years' (1); 'from 3 to 5 years' (2); 'from 6 to 10 years' (3); 'more than 10 years' (4).
71. Action groups: Associations engaged in Third World development or issues of human rights, environmental or ecological groups, and groups involved with animal rights. Anti-mafia organisations: membership in groups other than Addiopizzo, for example, Libero Futuro or Libera. Political organisations: political groups or trade unions. Trade associations: for example, Confcommercio or Confindustria.
72. Respondents: 20 23 215 267 317 356
73. Resp
74. Resp
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76. Sixty  
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77. Correlation between discussions and year of joining the campaign,  $r = -.175$ ,  $n = 242$ ,  $p < .01$ , two tails. Correlation between moral support and year of joining,  $r = -.213$ ,  $n = 241$ ,  $p < .01$ , two tails.

78. Respondents: 119, 193, 427, 523.

79. Respondents: 20, 193.

80. Respondents: 194, 335, 523.

81. Respondents: 216, 267.

82. 0 = almost never give moral support, 1 = give moral support weekly, monthly, a couple of times/year.

83. Results that are not statistically significant are not reported.

84. In order to avoid losing observations, indexes were not used in the multivariate logistic regressions. Variable for goals: 'it is necessary to promote a collective reporting of pizzo'. Variable for participation in events: 'participation in Festa pizzo-free'. Variable for organisational background: 'membership in anti-mafia organisations' and 'membership in local community action groups'. Logistic regressions with other organisations showed similar results.

85. Respondents: 25, 267, 475, 271, 152, 194, 558.

86. Respondents: 9, 36, 141, 151, 271, 452, 538, 629, 640.

87. Resp

88. Dani prosecutor,  
interview

89. Nino

90. S es, 101.

91. Ostr y Work.

92. Jami and

Gunnars



# Additional information

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## Notes on contributors

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Carina Gunnarson is an associate professor in political science at Uppsala University, Sweden. She has previously worked at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Swedish Security Services and as a consultant to the Swedish National Board of Crime Prevention. Her research interests are organised crime, anti-mafia, social capital theory, civic education and French politics.

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