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

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## Abstract

This article analyses the cohesion of Addiopizzo's anti-racketeering campaign in Palermo, Sicily. By supporting entrepreneurs who refuse to pay for protection and by encouraging consumers to support these companies through their consumer power, Addiopizzo has mobilised about 900 companies and 11,000 citizens. Taking social capital theory as a point of departure, this article explores the values of trust and norms of reciprocity among entrepreneurs who joined Addiopizzo's anti-racketeering campaign. In addition, it analyses their solidarity with colleagues who are victims of extortion. Shared values express a stronger commitment to a movement, reinforce internal solidarity, strengthen the collective identity and reduce the risk of free riders and dropouts. The article reveals not only similarities but also important differences between various groups of joiners. The analysis builds on a unique data-set consisting

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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## 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 Stekelenburg, "Collective Identity," 221.
5. Erickson Nepstad, "Commitment"; Benford, "Solidarity and Movements"; and Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*.
6. Gunnarson, "Changing the Game."
7. <http://www.addiopizzo.org>.
8. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia*; Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship"; Wang, "The Chinese Mafia"; and Hill, *The Japanese Mafia*, 19–30.
9. Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship," 742.

10. Wang, "The Chinese Mafia."
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, "The Cost of Protection," 228; and Lisciandra, "Proceeds from Extortion," 97-8.
24. Senior Police Officer, interview.
25. Several respondents said that racketeering was not easily discussed in their neighbourhoods. Respondents: 34, 41, 151, 193, 368, 468, 469, 558, 608, 629, 644.
26. Respondents: 213, 215, 335, 644.
27. Respondents: 197, 216, 614, 644; Scaglione, "Estimating the Size," 79-81; SOS Impresa and Confesercenti, "Rapporto SOS Impresa," 3-4; and Daniele Maronnano,

President Addiopizzo, interview.

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, Critical Citizens, 9–12; Braithwaite and Levi, Trust and Governance; Kumlin and Rothstein, "Making and Breaking Social Capital."

42. Ostrom, "A Behavioural Approach," 9.

43. Elster, "Rationality, Morality," 152–3.

44. Coleman, Foundations of Social Theory, 104–5.

45. Bengtsson, "Solving the Tenants," 177; Elster, "Rationality, Morality," 146; and Ostrom, "A Behavioural Approach," 10.

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 possible answers: Need to be very careful (1); Most people can be trusted (2).
56. Nannestad, "What have we Learned?" 417.
57. Bjørnskov, "Determinants of Generalized Trust," 3.
58. For the three additional questions on trust, four possible answers were available: None at all (1); Not very much (2); Quite a lot (3); A great deal (4).
59. Cronbach's  $\alpha = .669$ .
60. Cronbach's  $\alpha = .851$ .
61. Cronbach's  $\alpha = .716$ .

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. Respondents: 20, 193, 219, 264, 267, 282, 315, 427, 523, 539.
74. Respondents: 26, 193, 216, 271, 459, 480, 558, 644, 680.
75. Year of joining (1–7). Participation: No (0), Yes (1). The correlation between participation in commemoration and year of joining,  $r = -.216$ ,  $n = 254$ ,  $p < .01$ , two tails. The correlation between participation in meetings and year of joining,  $r = -.231$ ,  $n = 251$ ,  $p < .01$ , two tails. The correlation between participation in Festa pizzo-free and year of joining,  $r = -.287$ ,  $n = 255$ ,  $p < .01$ , two tails.
76. Sixty-one per cent reported they 'never' or 'almost never' used Addiopizzo's pizzo-free list when doing private shopping; 65% said they 'never' or 'almost never' used the list when doing business.

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. Respondents: 9, 20, 36, 141, 271, 452, 538, 640.
88. Daniele Maronnano, President Addiopizzo, interview; Nino di Matteo, Prosecutor, interview; and Senior Police Officer, interview.
89. Nino di Matteo, Prosecutor, interview.
90. Skocpol and Fiorina, Civic Engagement; and Fishman, Democracy's Voices, 101.
91. Ostrom, "A Behavioural Approach," 6–7; and Putnam, Making Democracy Work.
92. Jamieson, The Antimafia; Schneider and Schneider, Reversible Destiny; and Gunnarson, Cultural Warfare.
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# Additional information

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## Notes on contributors

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