

Understanding the Mafia.

Session 2. Women. Evolutions.

The role of women.

A fundamental, yet secondary role.

“The woman never has, and never will be affiliated, but she has always had a fundamental role” (Suraci 9, Graziosi, Pieroni, Giannini 16).

- goods exchanged for alliances and to end faidas, through marriages
 - passive role:
 - 1) guaranteeing husband's reputation
 - must be a virgin before marriage and must not commit adultery
 - 2) raising the children, transmitting the values mafiosi
 - seeking vengeance for males, being submissive for females

Let's talk.

Because the children get indoctrinated from a young age with what is just and what is wrong under the principles and values mafiosi, alienated from the civil society that surrounds them, to what extent are they responsible for their actions? When is it that these young individuals realize (if ever) that what they are doing is inhumane?

Are these women always conscious of the role they are playing and are they aware of their options and ability to denounce or change life? What could be the main obstacles inhibiting the women and children from denouncing and changing life?

What role can and should the State have in informing mafiosi on their rights, their options and guarantee them protection if they decide to denounce and collaborate with the law?

An evolving role.

- never be affiliated, but have taken more active roles
- they have become the brains of the husbands' and sons' actions (Suraci 8, 18, Pieroni, Saviano 158, 163)
- in parallel there is transgression of the “code of honor” stating that women cannot be assassinated (Saviano 160).

Role adapted to the group mafioso.

- different roles depending on association mafiosa
 - cosa nostra:
 - *madrine* in trafficking and dealing drugs
 - replaced husbands if arrested or become *latitanti*, wanted
 - collaborators in criminal activities, taking properties, quotas and industries under their name
 - maintained religious identity (Suraci 13, Genick, Pieroni)
 - camorra:
 - become the most brutal and violent women mafiose, doing everything they have to save the family's reputation and affairs
 - because of more fluid structure (Suraci 14-5)
 - 'ndrangheta:
 - they can cover the highest role of *santista*, person in charge of planning and carrying out the vengeance
 - step in if husband gets arrested or becomes *latitante* (Suraci 15-6, Genick, Pieroni, Veltri, Giannini 33)

Angela Russo. “Nonna eroina”.

- cosa nostra,
- she got renamed “Nonna eroina”, heroine grandmother
 - narcotrafficking between Sicily, Puglia, northern Italy and occasionally the US
- arrested in February 1982
- when her son Salvatore got arrested, he became a *pentito*
 - she threatened her own son

“Salvino sta attento, perché io ti fici e io t’ammazzo” (Suraci 19).

Anna Mazza. “Vedova nera”.



Figure 3. Di Caterino, Marco. “Anna Mazza, la “vedova nera” più temuta dai clan”. *Il Mattino*, 2017.

- camorra
- she takes over husband’s clan when he dies
 - gets renamed “vedova nera”, black widow
- tries to fund the first matriarchy of the camorra, with a female *scorta*, body guards
- In 1987 she gets arrested
 - first woman do be accused of association with the mafia (Suraci 20, Saviano 154-158)

Maria Serraino. “Mamma eroina” o “La signora”.

- ‘ndrangheta
- In 1963 she migrated to Milan with her 12 children
 - takes over the drug market of the city
- rebaptised as “Mamma eroina”, mother heroine, or “La signora”, the madame
- enters the arms market and the international arena.
- arrested and sent to the regime of the 41-bis (Saruci 21, Genick)

Women that have challenged the mafia.

- became *testimone di giustizia*, a witness of justice
 - deciding to have their children be taken away from them to be raised by the State, away from the family mafiosa (Graziosi, Suraci 40)
 - ex. in Reggio Calabria, the Tribunale for minors, Roberto Di Bella, to guarantee a future for their children away from the mafia (Suraci 40-41)

Letizia Battaglia.



Figure 4. “Letizia Battaglia dirige il nuovo centro dedicato allo studio e alla promozione della fotografia”. Palermoviva, 2018.



- born in 1935, in Palermo
- photojournalism to denounce the mafia
 - starts to photograph cosa nostra in 1974, receiving death threats
 - went to “every major crime scene in the city” and report for Palermo’s left-wing daily newspaper L’Ora, until the 1990s (Hulme)

Evolution.

Various associations mafiose.

- within Italy there are actually many different associations mafiosi that even though seek the same ends - power and profit -, they have function and have developed in different ways

Can you name the five major associations mafiose in Italy?

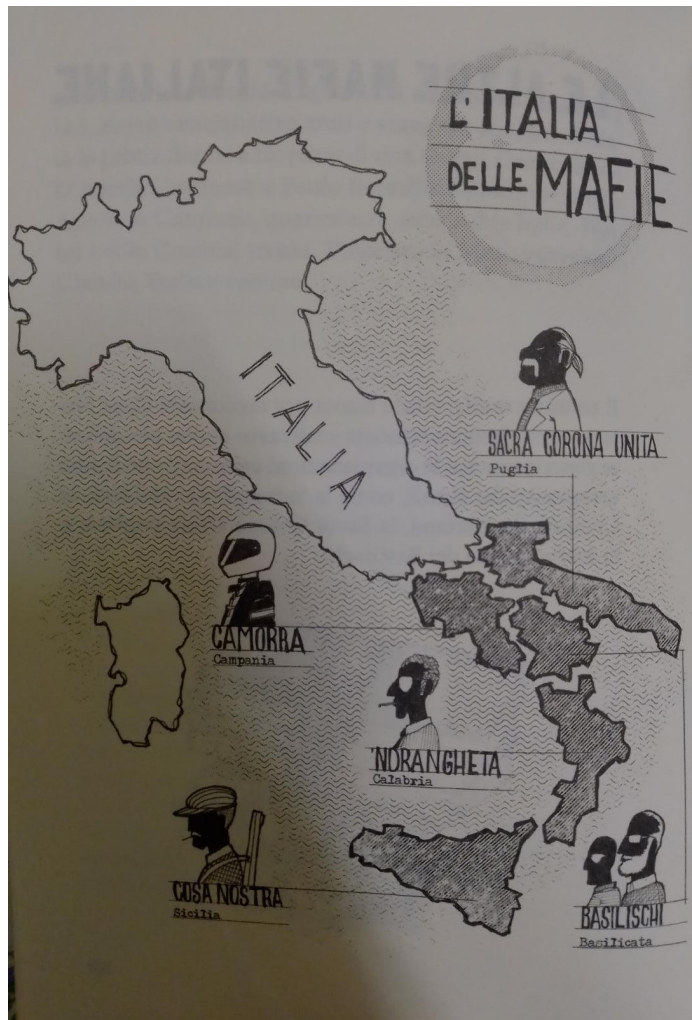


Figure 5. Nicaso, Antonio. “La mafia spiegata ai ragazzi”. Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A. 2010, pg. 144.

Camorra.

- develops in the 1800s in an socioeconomic condition of vulnerability
- develops in Campania
 - born within the urban sphere (Giannini 10, Del Priore 8, Migliaccio, “Che cos’è”, Veltri)
 - academic Marc Monnier: the camorra developed in the 1830s, in the prisons then rapidly expanded to the city (Del Priore 8, Migliaccio, “Che cos’è”, Veltri)
 - pizzo and estorsione, *extortion*, started in the prison (Migliaccio 2008, Migliaccio, Giannini 12)
 - individuals affiliated with it are said to belong to il sistema of a specific borough, such as *il sistema di Secondigliano* (Saviano 44, Veltri, Migliaccio)
 - fluid and horizontal structure favored its expansion (Migliaccio 2008, Maugeri).
 - much more violence, seen in the *faide*, violent conflicts between clans (Palermo 2)

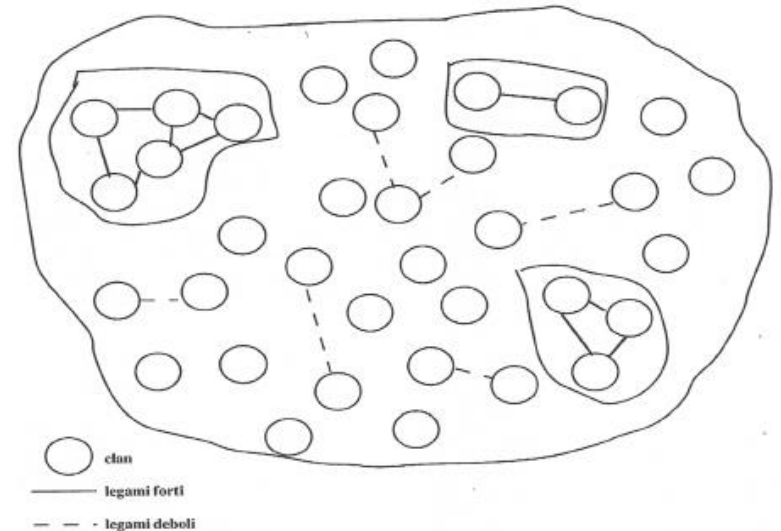


Figure 6. Catino, Maurizio. “La mafia come fenomeno organizzativo”. *Quaderni di Sociologia*, 14, 1997.

'Ndrangheta.

- agrarian origins
- develops in Calabria in the 1860s
 - as a consolidation of the already existing small delinquent groups and poor living conditions (Cilione, Rossetti 22, Iadeluca 2,4, Giannini 10, Sulli)
- response to the rising discontent with the central state (Rossetti 15)
- form of protection for the peasant and poorer communities (Iadeluca 4, Catanzaro 185)
- strong because of its organization and rigid social codes and rituals (Veltri, Rossetti 75, 115, Giannini 11, Gribaudi 184)
 - 1888 Codice di Nicastro
 - 2015: *Codice San Luca* (Rossetti 115, Cilione)
 - solely organized based on parental affiliation, hence the very few *pentiti* (Iadeluca 6, Rossetti 66, Catino, Suraci, “Analisi criminologica”, Maugeri)

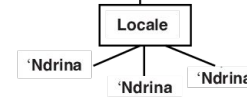
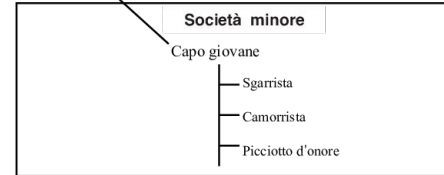
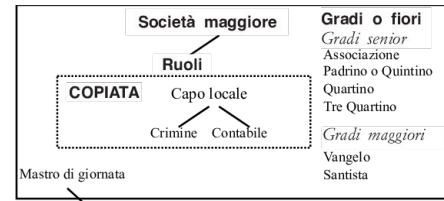
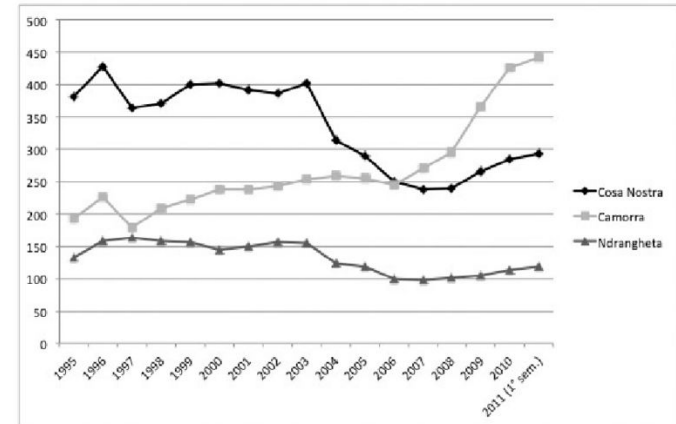


Figure 7 and 8.
 Catino, Maurizio.
 “L’organizzazione del segreto nelle associazioni mafiose”.
Researchgate, January 2014.



The legend mafiosa.



Figure 9. De Biase, Antonello. “Osso, Mastrosso e Carcagnosso. I tre fratelli che fondarono la malavita”. *Napoli più*, 1 July 2017.

- born in the 15th century
 - three spanish knights, members of the “Guarduña”
 - Osso goes to Sicily
 - Mastrosso goes to Calabria
 - Carcagnosso goes to Naples (Iadeluca 2, Cilione).
 - today their names are still used in the ritual of baptism in the ‘ndrangheta (Rossetti 75)
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- To what extent do you think this legend could have served the associations mafiosi as a source of legitimacy?
 - As Giannini points out in his study, the mafia has a strategy of delegitimizing, in which the only possible identity is the one of the association mafiosa (Giannini 43). But by delegitimizing other narratives or identities, is there identity legitimized?

The XXIst century; from WWII to the anni di piombo, years of lead.



- from 1958 to 1963: economic boom
 - a rise in consumption and production within Italy and a decrease in religiosity and power of the Catholic Church in Italy (Zanelli 11, 18)
- between 1962 and 1963: la prima guerra di mafia
 - the cosca La Barbera and Greco (Coco 39, Herold)
 - conflict thought to have ended in 1969 with the massacre of viale Lazio: the increase of power in the hands of the *cosca* of the corleonesi (Herold)

Figure 10. Herold, Fabio. “Prima guerra di mafia”. *Lo sbuffo*, 3 July 2018.



Figure 11. “Il 1968 e Sociologia: moda, cambiamento, reazioni”. DNA Trentino.

Figure 12. Alfonso, Donatella. “Il '68 in ritardo delle femministe genovesi”. *la Repubblica*, 2018.



- not homogenous economic prosperity between north and south
 - internal displacement of unemployed
 - discrimination (Zanelli 14,16)
 - tensions rose between the various political parties and social classes (Zanelli 20, 35)
 - from 1968 to 1973 to manifestations and protests
 - first started by university students and then by the worker, but eventually involved the whole society (Zanelli 22, Hjelde 4)
 - started peacefully, soon escalated to violence (Zannelli 25, Hjelde 5).

- 12 december 1969, the first bomb exploded in the Bank of Agriculture, in Milan (Zannelli 41, Hjelde 6)
- beginning of long years marked by political terrorism: anni di piombo,
 - on one hand, the neo fascists and the servizi deviati - secret services that decided to part from the State -: brigate nere,
 - on the other hand, the communists, also called brigate rosse (Zannelli 41, Hjelde 7-8)
- from 1981 to 1982 we also see the seconda guerra di mafia, the second war of the mafia
 - started with the killing of Stefano Bontade
 - “systematic elimination of the adversary by part of the cosca of the corleonesi” (Coco 45-56)
 - brought about, in 1982, the first legal milestone : law Rognoni - La Torre (“La legislazione”, Ortega 24-26)
 - from 1969 to 1988 there were 14.591 acts of violence
 - 419 deaths and 1,181 wounded (Schaerf et. al. 15, Fasanella 21).



Figure 13. Leone, Roberto. “Trent'anni fa l'assassinio di Bontade, così iniziò la guerra di mafia”. *la Repubblica*, 2011.



Figure 14. Baudino, Stefano. “La seconda guerra di mafia - La mattanza”. *Antimafia Duemila*, 2020.



Figure 15. Vasta, Giorgio. “Tra memoria e finzione: gli anni di piombo nella letteratura”. *Minima & Moralia*, 2011.

- mafia collaborated with terrorists
 - because the drug market was flourishing and so the mafia needed the State to not obstacolate this process (Schaerf et. al. 26-27)
 - the creation and evolvement of various small criminal groups into associations mafiosi
 - mid 1970s, Felice Maniero creates the ***Mala del Brenta***, in Veneto (Zuddas)
 - late 1970s the ***Banda della Magliana*** (Martone 23).
 - beginning of the 1980s there is the sacra corona unita and the stidda (Massari 243, Adorno 105, Veltri, Caccamo, Nuccitelli).
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- How can there be accountability if there is a lack of clarity on the events that took place and its actors? How can clarity be brought upon such events?

Sacra Corona Unita.

- quarta mafia, fourth mafia
- originates in Puglia
- dates back to 1983, from within prisons
 - from the 1970s strong presence of the camorra and cosa nostra in Puglia
 - because strategic geographical location of the Puglia, receiving the heroine and tobacco from Albania, Turkey and other parts of the Middle East (Giannini 10, 13, Massari 243, Adorno 105, Veltri)
- created rigid codes and rituals in its establishment (Massari 243-245, Adorno 105-108, Veltri)
 - create its own tradition (Adorno 111, Massari 247-252, Veltri).
- both a horizontal and a vertical levels: eight rigid hierarchical positions (Adorno 109, Massari 245-6)

La Stidda.

- the quinta mafia, fifth mafia
- created in 1980s
 - group of individuals expelled from cosa nostra who decided to rebel and form their own association
 - mainly control the south-eastern part of Sicily
 - use very violent tactics (Caccamo, Veltri)
- trained kids, under 15, to become pitiless killers (Nuccitelli)
- can be recognized for their tattoo indicating a star
 - name stidda, meaning star in Sicilian dialect (Caccamo, Veltri, Nuccitelli).

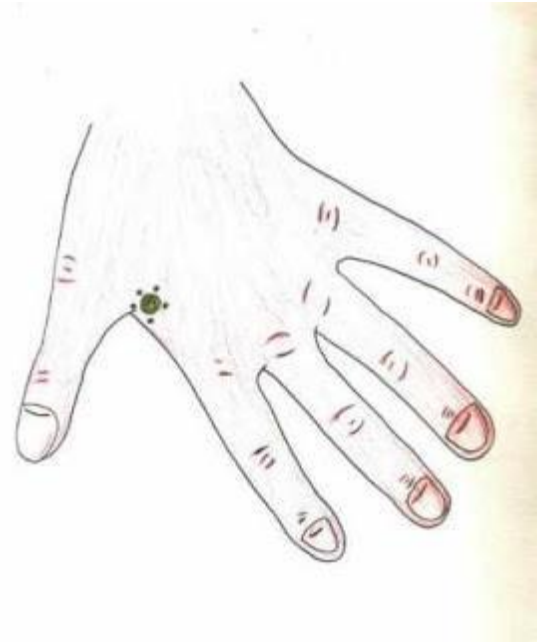


Figure 16. Caccamo, Giorgio. “La cattiva stidda”.
Quotidiano.net, 31 may 2019.

The XXIst century; from the anni di piombo to the trattativa Stato-mafia.

- Rocco Chinnici creates a *pool antimafia*: group of *magistrati*, magistrates, and judges working to condemn the mafia
 - Antonio Caponnetto will take over (Giannini 10, Corsino).
- 1983, Tommaso Buscetta, arrested in Brazil
 - becomes a *pentito*
- 29 of september 1984 : *blitz di San Michele*
- 1985, the *maxiprocesso* is established
 - trial goes from 10 february 1986 to 30 of january 1992
 - cosa nostra respond using a *strategia straggista* (Corsino)
- between 1992 and 1994 : alleged trattativa Stato-mafia
 - political institutions from the first to the second republic, presumably made deals with the *cosche* to stop the *strategia stagista* (Fasanella 16)
- much clarification is still needed : an investigation and trial have started in 2013 and are still taking place today (Colletta 4, “Trattativa Stato-mafia”).



Figure 17. Cannatà, Angelo. “La trattativa Stato-mafia: sentenza, fatti e interpretazioni”. *MicroMega*, 2018.

The XXIst century: from the trattativa to Mafia Capitale.

- new deals between the mafia and the State have emerged
 - most recent : alleged association mafiosa *mafia capitale* and various politicians and individuals from the soccer industry
 - investigation in 2010
 - accusations of being an association mafiosa in 2015
 - operation in 2014 “*mondo di mezzo*”, the world in between (Martone 21, 27, Zuffada 3)
 - managing the migration centers in Rome (Martone 32-34)
 - Tribunale of Rome, in 2017, the accusations were rejected (Zuffada 7)
- This is particularly interesting as it brings us back to the question of how do we define the mafia?

Recommendation.

- documovie that sheds some light on the *trattativa Stato-mafia*

“La trattativa”, directed by Guzzanti, Sabina. Filmed in 2014.

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