

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge Studies in Modern Political Economies

Editors

SUZANNE BERGER, ALBERT O. HIRSCHMAN, AND CHARLES MAIER

Patronage, power, and poverty in southern Italy

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Other books in this series

Suzanne D. Berger, editor: *Organizing interests in Western Europe:
pluralism, corporatism, and the transformation of politics*

Charles F. Sabel: *Work and politics: the division of labor in industry*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Patronage, power, and poverty in southern Italy

A tale of two cities

JUDITH CHUBB

College of the Holy Cross

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

London New York New Rochelle

Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities
Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521126793

© Cambridge University Press 1982

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1982

This digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Chubb, Judith, 1947–

Patronage, power, and poverty in southern
Italy.

(Cambridge studies in modern political
economies)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Italy, Southern – Politics and government – 1945– – Case studies.
2. Italy, Southern – Economic conditions – 1945– – Case studies.
3. Naples (Italy) – Politics and government – 1945– – Case studies.
4. Naples (Italy) – Economic conditions – Case studies.
5. Palermo (Sicily) – Politics and government – Case studies.
6. Palermo (Sicily) – Economic conditions – Case studies.
7. Patronage, Political – Italy, Southern – Case studies. I. Title. II. Series.
DG829.C49 306'.2'09457 82–1325

ISBN 978-0-521-23637-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-12679-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of tables and figures</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xi
Introduction	1
Part I: The roots of clientelistic power	
1 Politics in the South, 1860–1943: regime change and political immobility	15
<i>The “Southern Question”</i>	15
<i>Politics in the South under Liberalism and Fascism</i>	18
2 The southern economy: modernization without development	28
<i>Twenty-five years of state intervention in the South</i>	28
<i>The city in southern Italy</i>	34
3 Christian Democracy in the postwar South: clientelism and the failure of reform	55
<i>The early postwar years: the dominance of the notables</i>	56
<i>The “rebirth of the DC”: Fanfani’s reforms and the rise of the “young Turks”</i>	61
<i>The drive for local hegemony</i>	67
<i>The party of mass patronage</i>	71
<i>The local sources of DC power</i>	77

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi Contents

Part II: The social bases of the machine

4	The white-collar middle class	83
	<i>The middle classes in Italian politics</i>	84
	<i>The DC and public employees in Palermo</i>	88
5	The local entrepreneurial class	111
	<i>The uses of public funds</i>	117
	<i>Control of access to credit</i>	120
	<i>The powers of licensing and interdiction: the traditional middle classes</i>	122
6	The mafia as entrepreneur: the politics of urban expansion and urban renewal	128
	<i>The logic of speculative development</i>	128
	<i>The mafia and politics</i>	138
	<i>The reconstruction of the old city</i>	151
7	The urban poor: poverty and political control	159
	<i>The socioeconomic context</i>	159
	<i>Patterns of political participation and political control</i>	164
8	The urban poor: three neighborhood studies	178
	<i>The Capo: a center-city slum</i>	178
	<i>Borgo Nuovo, CEP, and ZEN: the new ghettos</i>	193
	<i>The rural "borgate"</i>	203
9	Why does clientelism survive?	211

Part III: The prospects and the limits of change

10	Naples under the Left	219
	<i>The reign of the machine</i>	219
	<i>The turn to the Left</i>	221
	<i>The Left in power, 1975–9</i>	225
	<i>The tide turns back</i>	230
	<i>What went wrong? The limits of left-wing rule in Naples</i>	233
	<i>A return to clientelism?</i>	237
	<i>1980 – Whither Naples?</i>	240
11	Conclusion	245
	<i>Statistical appendix</i>	255
	<i>Notes</i>	263
	<i>Selected bibliography</i>	285
	<i>Index</i>	290

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables and Figures

Tables

2.1	Indicators of regional differences, 1951–71	page 29
2.2	Occupational structure of the labor force, 1951–71	30
2.3	Labor force by economic sector, 1951–71	38
2.4	Occupational distribution of the labor force by sector, 1971	40
2.5	Distribution of industrial and commercial firms by size, 1971	42
2.6	Regular employment in industry, 1961–71	44
2.7	Marginal employment by sector, 1961–71	45
3.1	Voting shifts between municipal elections of 1952 and 1956 in two types of <i>quartieri popolari</i>	59
3.2	Administrative elections in the city of Palermo, 1946–64	60
3.3	Relative strength of the DC and the Right in national elections, 1946–58	62
3.4	Principal centers of DC power in Palermo	71
3.5	A developmental model of political organization	76
4.1	Class structure over time in three industrialized nations	85
4.2	Class structure in Italy, 1951–71	86
4.3	Estimate of the distribution by party of the votes of various social classes	87
4.4	Public sector employment in Palermo, 1976	89
4.5	Organs of local government and their associated <i>enti</i>	92
4.6	Comparison of salaries in the private and public sectors	102
4.7	Comparison of salaries across different sectors of public employment	103
4.8	Union strength among public employees in Palermo	107
5.1	Political demands according to type of firm and type of demand	114
5.2	Entrepreneurial demands according to type of firm and type of demand	114
5.3	Type of entrepreneurial demands reported by local politicians, distinguished by level of office held	115

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)**viii** *Tables and figures*

6.1	Summary of major provisions regarding <i>risanamento</i> of <i>centro storico</i>	154
7.1	Employment status of residents between ages 15 and 55 in four <i>quartieri popolari</i> , 1975	161
7.2	Disease and infant mortality among residents of four <i>quartieri popolari</i> , 1975	163
10.1	Results of the June 1978 referendum	231
A.1	National electoral results (Camera dei Deputati), 1948–80	258
A.2	Electoral results for the city of Palermo, 1946–80	259
A.3	Palermo, electoral results by type of neighborhood, 1970–6	260
A.4	Electoral results for the city of Naples, 1952–80	261
A.5	Naples, electoral results by type of neighborhood, 1972–80	262

Figures

2.1	Child labor in Palermo	53
6.1	Territory of the city of Palermo	131
6.2	Vito Ciancimino, on the occasion of his election as mayor of Palermo in 1970	147
6.3	The legacy of neglect in the <i>centro storico</i> of Palermo	153
8.1	The <i>movimento per la casa</i> : a mass demonstration along the main street of Palermo	181
8.2	A group of families from the <i>centro storico</i> “invades” an unfinished public-housing project	195
8.3	The new ghettos	197
8.4	The traditional peasant dwellings of the <i>borgata</i>	204

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This study of urban politics in southern Italy grew out of dissertation research on the bases of local power in Palermo and was subsequently expanded in an attempt to take into account the fascinating sequence of events that began with the left-wing electoral victory in Naples in 1975. The original fieldwork in Rome and Palermo extended over the period from November 1975 to February 1977 and was supported by grants from the Fulbright Commission and the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the Social Science Research Council. Subsequent research trips to Palermo and Naples in the summers of 1978 and 1980 were funded by the Agnelli Foundation and by a Batchelor (Ford) Summer Faculty Fellowship from the College of the Holy Cross.

My interest in Italy, stimulated during the year I spent at the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, was deepened by my association with Donald Blackmer and Suzanne Berger. Having first given me the opportunity to work with them as a research assistant and having subsequently encouraged me to pursue graduate study in the Department of Political Science at M.I.T., their contribution to all phases of this project, not to speak of my general intellectual development, has been invaluable. Their example as scholars, as writers, and as teachers remains a standard to which I can only aspire. My intellectual and personal debt to both of them goes far deeper than these few words of thanks can convey. As for the other face of the research – its focus on urban politics and poverty – I am indebted to Michael Lipsky, who stimulated a lasting interest in these issues and in addition provided an essential non-Italianist perspective on the study in its original dissertation form. For much the same reasons, I want to thank Wayne Cornelius, who was generous with his time and comments in the early phases of the research.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)x *Acknowledgments*

In Italy, the staff of the Commission for Cultural Exchange between Italy and the United States, in particular Cipriana Scelba and Luigi Filadoro, were especially helpful and encouraging during the year I spent in Palermo, in terms both of interest in my research and material support in moments of need. I am equally indebted to the staff of ISVI in Catania, especially Professors Alberto Spreafico, Raimondo Catanzaro, and Franco Cazzola, and the members of the research group on the DC in Catania, for their material assistance, their insights into the bases of DC power and, above all, their personal hospitality. Professor Luigi Graziano of the University of Turin gave me invaluable assistance in clarifying the direction of the research in midstream, as well as by inviting me to present my preliminary results to his seminar in Turin; the exposure to Turin and the opportunity to discuss the South with northern students was an important cultural and intellectual experience for one who had been so deeply immersed in the South. In Palermo, Professor Gabriele Morello and the staff of ISIDA provided me with a place to work and with other greatly appreciated material support; their generosity made a difficult research situation somewhat easier.

My greatest debt, of course, is to all the people – in Rome, Palermo, and Naples – who consented to be interviewed and who tolerated my incessant questions. I owe a special thanks to Rosario Nicoletti, the regional secretary of the DC in Sicily, who let me follow his electoral campaign in June 1976, an experience that provided an otherwise impossible exposure to DC politics at the grass roots. With regard to the Neapolitan research, I can never repay the cordiality of the functionaries of the Provincial Federation of the PCI, without whose assistance Chapter 10 would never have been possible. Above all, I want to thank the people of the *quartieri popolari* of Palermo, whose hospitality to a foreigner in their midst sustained me through the long months of research.

Some of the material contained in this book has previously appeared in various forms: "The Social Bases of an Urban Political Machine: The Christian Democratic Party in Palermo," *Political Science Quarterly*, 96 (Spring 1981); and "Naples Under the Left: The Limits of Local Change," *Comparative Politics*, 13 (October 1980). Both of these articles also appear in slightly revised form in S. Eisenstadt and R. Lemarchand, eds., *Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981).

JUDITH CHUBB

Cambridge, Mass.

May 1982

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12679-3 - Patronage, Power, and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities

Judith Chubb

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

ACLI	Associazione Cristiana dei Lavoratori Italiani
AMNU	Azienda Municipalizzata Nettezza Urbana
CGIL	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro
CISL	Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori
DC	Democrazia Cristiana
ESPI	Ente Siciliano per la Promozione Industriale
IACP	Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari
INPS	Istituto Nazionale Previdenza Sociale
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano
PLI	Partito Liberale Italiano
PRG	Piano Regolatore Generale
PRI	Partito Repubblicano Italiano
PSDI	Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano
UIL	Unione Italiana del Lavoro