



The Limits of ‘Bad Kinship’

Sicilian Anti-mafia Families

Food and general views on legality were in no way the only points of conflict across co-op membership. An equally if more important ideological concern that drove the Consortium’s project was the consideration of certain types of kinship as ‘bad’. In anti-mafia cooperatives, the workplace is not intended to be conducive of kinship relations. Recruits are not allowed, for instance, to have a *mafioso* kinsperson (this stands for cousins up to thrice removed, inclusive). This situation would normally be paradoxical for such small communities where most people are related to each other. After all, people would routinely tell me, San Giovanni was composed of eight hundred households – which would indeed recall the ‘eight hundred Barbetos’ essentialist metaphor (see pages 19–20 the colloquial ‘smell of mafia’, a sensorial claim to mafia presence in a place) so rampant in San Giovanni. The interaction between ‘family’ and work bears interesting tensions, in such settings where kinship is particularly laden with negative connotations. This distance, and its expected failure, calls for a sharpening of analytic tools that can help us understand the context of ‘work families’. The formation of flexible ideas of kinship to accommodate ‘new’ ideologies (anti-mafia) and collective platforms of work (cooperatives) in Sicily is the focus of this chapter.

The fictional modernist separation of family and work is still pertinent as a theoretical fiat in mainstream social science (see, e.g., Putnam 2007). Current anthropological routes have, of course, continued to stress the fictionalisation of this relationship (between ‘production and reproduction’). Latourian interpretations in the line of ‘we have never been modern’ are often prominent in this discussion (Latour 1993; see Berliner et al. 2013: 436 for an account of the idea’s broader appeal). It is, however, also useful to consider approaches stemming from political economy and feminism. This would enable a tracing of the mutual intelligibility of people’s home-work idioms, rather than seeking mediations and translations. For the sake of the ethnography here, it can help review the divisions within cooperatives from yet another prism. This prism is located in significant cosmological ramifications in the lifeworlds of the co-op members. Moreover, the ethnography presented here aims to remind us

of a main route of anthropological inquiry's critique to modernist ideology: the gendering processes of the co-relationship between home and collective work institutions.

Ideologies of the 'home' and of the 'workplace' cannot be understood in separation. Rather, in the context of both anti-mafia and cooperativism, they are themes intrinsically interrelated in historic and current social configurations in Sicily (Rakopoulos 2014a). Any 'bad kinship' doctrine is meant to prove detrimental to the functionality and horizontality of cooperative egalitarianism. The anti-mafia co-ops' standpoint allows for the exploration of how economic institutions are interrelated with kinship in both crippling and complementary terms. Studying the reproduction and continuities of people's (co-op members' and their close kin's) pluriactivity alongside cooperative work opens up ways to redefine the very social fabric within which a cooperation operates. It also allows us to examine how the activities of co-ops reflect social dynamics around them. The entanglement with the home and the kin of co-op members is at the heart of cooperativist processes.

An epistemology that does not refute the notions of either home/family or work/labour but instead underlines their dialectical interrelatedness might offer a more accurate prism to tackle the collapse of modernist fictions in cooperativism. This is particularly salient in a context – such as the Sicilian anti-mafia – where modernist separation is thoroughly pursued from above, with the exclusion of certain types of kinship from economic life. This shaping of cooperativism as an enclave, carefully carving 'a room of their own' outside the influence of local kinship connections, has been a typical tenet of anti-mafia Sicilian co-ops.

Bad Kinship

As discussed, the 'Progress and Law Consortium' was formed to oversee the allocation to, and use of, all of the land by cooperatives. Libertà oversaw the public competitions held in 2001 and 2006. Libertà and the Consortium strongly ideologised cooperativism as an anti-mafia endeavour disassociated from kinship. This is documented in their pamphlets and newsletters, which express aversion to nepotistic patronage and corruption (Libertà 2008; 2009; 2010). This defaming of local kinship was premised on anti-mafia activists making analogies of *comparatico* (godparenthood) and cousinhood with mafia affiliation. Libertà agents saw the *comparatico*, a non-blood kinship institution of great importance in rural Sicily,¹ as a powerful mafia tradition of Spicco Vallata. The anti-kin-

ship stance of anti-mafia activists, however, extended to an overall suspicion towards anyone who was related to a *mafioso*.

Such relationships in Sicily are, of course, of a cognatic nature and may include parental and siblinghood relations, but they also retain some agnatic symbolism (by way of the clan male descendent membership in the mafia). This bilateral descent, so strong in establishing enduring links, lands someone in a network in Sicily. 'An individual is born into a kinship system and there finds, ready-made so to speak, a network of people with whom he has a series of jurally defined obligations', notes Boissevain in the 1960s (Boissevain 1966: 21), trying to distinguish 'naturalised' kinship by 'social' patronage among friends and friends of friends. Here in the anti-mafia co-op system, both these kinds of networks are prohibited: both by birth and by socialisation, one needs to prove they have steered clear from mafia. Importantly, the cooperatives were not allowed to employ anyone who had any *mafioso* in their 'social circle', including kin (up to the third degree of cousinhood, inclusive), and affines. This was not decreed in writing (i.e., in the text of the public competitions through which the co-ops were formed), but was a major aspect of the interview process conducted by members of Libertà and Matteo Mandola.

Workers then reconciled a relationship of kinship and work in a context that connotes certain types of kinship with negativity. The state model of anti-mafia cooperativism was underpinned by the idea that the community's well-being depended on the state's intervention, which was important in displacing and disrupting the problematic kinship-mafia juncture that was rampant in local discourse, especially among anti-mafia activists. There was schism in this process among work teams. While the manner in which co-op administration members constructed their recruitment echoed the ideology of an anti-mafia cooperativism detached from kinship, locals gradually entered the cooperatives through channels of kin or friends' 'recommendations' (*raccomandazioni*²).

The Background to 'Bad Kinship': Administrators' Biographies

Administrators had a story to tell regarding how cooperativism should avoid kinship connections at large. For most, their employment was continuous with their broader beliefs and ideas; working in the cooperative was 'more than *just* a job', as Mauro, the Falcone's marketing manager put it. It was even, as Ernesto told me, 'a mission' and 'a political project'. They took pride in acting according to the specific framework of regulations and ethics that set the official discourse of the cooperatives, a commitment to meritocracy and legality. In focus groups I organised,

Ernesto solemnly stated that his job was 'also about ideology' and 'a certain mission'. Marelio added that they 'embodied' civil society principles for San Giovanni, in that way acting 'as an adjunct to Libertà'; in that respect, they expressed dominant ideas set by the Consortium, following its meritocracy-based, legalist agenda. Their private lives and their lives in the office were part of the same continuum.

Administrators thus saw themselves as 'professionals' and strongly believed that their teams (in the Falcone, Lavoro e Altro and Borsellino cooperatives) were based on 'meritocracy'. They moreover claimed that the very term 'networks' was an indication of merit, as it was distinct from terms like 'family' or 'friends': it was, as Checco told me, 'neutral'. Most administrators thought that any cooperative formed through and along friendship or kinship lines was in principle a 'failed case'. Matteo, the president of the Consortium, stressed to me, as did the presidents of the cooperatives, that the experience of making a 'kinship-based' anti-mafia cooperativism in Spicco Vallata had been ill conceived.

In fact, this explains why in 2001 the Consortium had closed two small cooperatives, Akragas and Paradiso, set up in 1998 – without public controversy – in order to cultivate confiscated land that was allocated to them by the state. Composed of local family members, the cooperatives had worked alongside the Falcone in 2000. The Consortium closed them down 'due to the messiness that the kin relations of their members brought about', as Matteo told me. In the case of Akragas, the family running the cooperative had become indebted to a bank and used their own familial assets to pay back their debts, ignoring the Consortium regulations. Matteo strictly advised, against the will of the co-op members, that the cooperative should not merge family capital and state (confiscated) assets. At the time of fieldwork, years after their cooperative had been dissolved, the members of the 'Akragas co-op family', as they are known in the village, were still suffering major financial troubles. They refused to give me an interview. The father asked me to mention only that 'the experience of the confiscated land has been disastrous for our family, and we need to keep it in the past, not to remember it'.

The case of the Paradiso co-op was even more dramatic; the data I have regarding it comes from the hearings of the Palermitan court that oversaw its case. Enrico, the son of the family running the cooperative, was a friend of a person related to a minor *mafioso*. The *mafioso* 'recommended' two people to Enrico's friend, and the friend convinced Enrico to hire them. When the Consortium found that people 'affiliated' with the mafia were hired, it immediately took back the confiscated plots from the cooperative. The family-based cooperative was soon shut down.

The experiences of these two cooperatives exacerbated the Consortium agents' mistrust of kinship relations.

In order to sideline kinship, Libertà became the main channel for hiring and maintaining the administrative workforce. As part of their 'professional skills', administrators had to have activist credentials, obtained through what informants, such as Ernesto, called 'association experience' (*esperienza associazionista*). Such experience could include the Addiopizzo anti-mafia activism or showing motivation towards ethical business practice; for example, two administration members had master's degrees in corporate social responsibility.

When Ernesto explained the social networks in which he was embedded, he took pride in stressing his long-term friendship with Luca, the Falcone president ('We share biographies', he stressed to me). Luca, the son of a leading trade unionist, described what he called the 'cooperativist part of my biography' in terms of a combination of two interrelated activities: university activism and allegiance to the centre-left. In an interview, he also used the term 'shared biography' to describe his friendship with people like Ernesto, but he also used it in regard to other current cooperative members and people who (in 2009) were the Falcone's collaborators and suppliers.

Despite holding a PhD, Luca had not pursued an academic career because of what he called 'the nepotistic networks in the University of Palermo'. He and his friend Giulio Erice had been overlooked for lectureships, although they were promising academic agronomists. They nevertheless established contacts through research in the Faculty of Agronomy and went on to collaborate with each other after university. Today Erice administers the Tazza farm in Termini Imerese, on which the state had bestowed land sequestered from a man accused of being a member of the mafia, and the two enterprises collaborate: Falcone provides Tazza with packaging, marketing and commercialisation services.

Luca's genealogy of political activism in fact includes his own kinship relations with people in politics; his involvement with *esperienza associazionista* and political activism was heavily influenced by his family background. His father was the president of the communication workers trade union (a strong union of the public sector in Sicily) and his brother was an MP in the Sicilian Assembly (the parliament of the autonomous region of Sicily). The lack of kinship ties that supposedly guaranteed and promoted administrators' meritocracy claims in fact refers only to kinship local to Spicco Vallata. It was that *locally specific* kinship that could potentially turn *bad*.

In Palermo, instead, administrators like Luca were themselves entrenched with kinship and friendship relations that played key roles in their own lives and careers.³ Administrators were themselves embedded in kinship-informed hubs (not least because, as most were unmarried, they still felt attached to their parents). Their own kinship background informed and reproduced their class positions. Administrators' support of the Consortium's rhetoric refers to kinship relations of other people, people whom they did not see as equals: Spicco Vallata local workers.

When people joined the cooperative workforce as administrators, they were typically already linked together in 'horizontal' relations through past professional or political bonds, which determined future contacts and eventual job recruitment. Mina and Claudia had completed the same master's degree in Milan; Checco knew Marelio and Gianpiero from Libertà and Addiopizzo; Loredana knew Luca from his studies in agronomy and through Libertà. The list goes on, including everyone involved in the administration of the cooperatives. Gianpiero told me that some of the people in the administration were his 'lifelong partners'.

Along with the theme of shared biographies, the idea of 'lifelong partners' shows that social networking is understood as a process of building bonds of relatedness. Networking can thus be characterised as a relatedness idiom for the administrators. This in turn provided the lynchpin of recruitment: administrators would be 'brought into a co-op' on the basis of their network linkages – their 'shared biographies' with other administrators or the fact that they were 'lifelong partners' in a common political or ideological cause.

When administrator informants explained their own networking to me, they often condemned the nepotism and corruption in the city (Palermo) and public institutions (e.g., the universities) that had excluded them from other labour markets, as in the case of Luca and Erice. This throws light on how administrators distinguished their own networking practices as 'virtuous', as well as on the term 'virtuous circle', which they repeatedly used to legitimise their own practices. They had crafted the neologism as a play on the way they used the term 'vicious circle' to refer to relations of corruption and patronage influenced by the mafia. They deemed the 'virtue' of their networks to derive from their 'meritocratic' formation, part of their commitment to anti-mafia, seeing themselves as gatekeepers of legality.

When I asked him to elaborate, Ernesto told me that 'the household' was a 'particularistic unit', while 'networks' were the expression of 'broader interests': networks implied politicised solidarity, while households meant seclusion from society. Administrators thought the respon-

sibilities of cooperative members towards their families often restricted the development of cooperatives, as the obligations and dangers that cooperative membership entailed were difficult to reconcile with maintaining a family. Family and cooperative were mutually exclusive in this respect, especially when their interrelationship implied continuities with broader local relationships, including relations with *mafiosi*.

Kinship and friendship, ‘friends of friends’ (*amici degli amici*) and affinity (*comparatico*) had been historically (in the bigger picture, since Boissevain 1974 and up to Di Bella 2011) charged with mafia connotations. In the cases of Akragas and Paradiso specifically, administrators therefore deemed them ‘vicious circles’. By contrast, Palermitans presented networking among activist social circles as virtuous. Claudia, for example, stressed the fact that not only was she not from Spicco Vallata but also, indeed, that she came from outside Sicily (she had moved in at thirty years old). She emphasised to me that she had ‘shared a lot of time, ideas and thoughts’ with Mina when their paths crossed studying corporate social responsibility in Milan. The fact that Claudia eventually joined Libertà and engaged in anti-mafia associationism ‘brought her closer’ to the Palermitan Mina and enclosed her in the ‘virtuous circle of the anti-mafia’, as she told me.

This project of calling the administrative anti-mafia ‘virtuous’ and withdrawn from kinship influence resembles Weberian ‘ideal-type’ concepts of the modern as involving the separation of family and kinship relations from work (2009 [1922]). Weber’s notion of bureaucracy itself proposes an ideal type separation of kinship and office, which seems to reverberate with the ideas the anti-mafia cooperatives’ administrators had. The legal and accounting separation of the business enterprise from the household was crucial for the emergence of modern Western capitalism for Weber – a prerequisite for the deliberate planning of rational economic action (1978: 63).

Anthropologists have challenged this hypothesis. Yanagisako’s work, for instance, tackles the myth that ‘advanced’ capitalist enterprise is the *locus classicus* for such separation (she writes about the affluent northern bourgeoisie of Como). Critiquing Weber, she notes that

while this separation may have been a significant innovation, Weber’s error was to misconstrue the legal fiction of separation – which was put in place for the purpose of limiting individual and familial financial liability – as a de facto separation of family relations from business relations. In other words, Weber turned a legal fiction of the separation of the family from the firm into a social theory in which the family and the economy in modern capitalist society were cast as distinct institutions. (2002: 21–22)

Similarly, administrators took at face value the Consortium principle for politicised anti-mafia cooperativism, that family/kinship relations and cooperative membership were mutually exclusive, in a modernism akin to what Yanagisako attributes to the Weberian analytical model. Namely, they embraced the political fiction of total separation from kinship relations as part of their cooperative experience, creating a networked relatedness of their own.

The Consortium 'Progress and Law' picked Palermitans as administrators *because* of their lack of kinship ties to Spicco Vallata villages. Since Luca took over the presidency in the Falcone cooperative, they have been reproducing the role of the 'detached' administrator through networking among commuters to Spicco Vallata. Their teams' coherent 'virtuous circles' suggested borders within which the ideology of legality (including, of course, meritocracy) and development were contained. This ideology represented a 'moral universe' that the administrators thought was in need of protection from the contamination of kinship relations. Their specific common backgrounds (young, educated, middle-class) secured this system of reproducing the administration teams.

This was not merely in the abstract: in their everyday practice they detached themselves from the 'family' and the household, the sphere of immediate experience for the manual workers' cooperative recruitment. The virtuous circles, webs of relationships among equals unmediated by kinship, created a sense of a closed group of relatedness among Palermitan administrators – one distinctly different than the positive embracing of family life in the context of merging household and work-life into anti-mafia families.

Anti-mafia Families among Local Manual Labourers

While the ways administration members constructed their recruitment echoed this ideology of an anti-mafia cooperativism detached from kinship, local workers entered the cooperatives through channels of kin or friends' 'recommendations' (*raccomandazioni*, or in Sicilian, *raccummazzuni*). If '*raccomandazioni*'⁴ provided a thread between kinship and work, what does this thread consist of and how does it connect to people's conceptualisations of the values of family and cooperative – and indeed anti-mafia cooperativism?⁵ The vast majority of my local informants were members of a nuclear family, with whom they shared a home. I discuss household composition in more detail in chapter 7. As Harris underlines, 'the household denotes an institution whose primary function is co-residence' (1984: 52).

'Virtuous clientelism', implying 'benign', non-nepotistic networks that provide routes to jobs, have been proposed as a way to resolve the 'Southern [Italian] problem' (Piattoni 1998). As recent works emphasise, much still turns around *raccomandazioni* in the increasingly precarious Italian labour market, a practice that remains a constant, albeit updated (Procoli 2004). Zinn views *raccomandazioni* more through a framework of corruption than of patronage, arguing that corruption, as a 'shared knowledge' that 'creates actors' personhood' has substituted for patronage as a 'hegemonic discourse in the current state of play' in the social sciences (Zinn 2005: 233; 2003). My investigation has contributed a sense of flexible family practices to this discussion (Rakopoulos 2017a).

Making 'Anti-mafia Families'

In 2001, Falcone was composed of fifteen members and no day workers. The members of this original team, coming from various villages of Spicco Vallata and from Palermo, had been gathered without knowing each other and without prior experience in cooperatives. Ten of the original members had gradually left the cooperative out of fear, lack of financial support or disagreements with other members. Of the remaining original five, only Luca had a decision-making role by the time of fieldwork (having been the cooperative president since 2004). Continuing relations of friendship, affinity and kinship supplied the Falcone's (as well as the other two cooperatives') manual workforce member-teams, formed among villagers, to substitute the members who had left. Permanent members brought in newcomers – mainly daily, contractual workers. Being 'recommended' became the only mode of recruitment to the cooperatives' manual workforce teams, marking a divergence from the public contests' principles. The kin of members and workers entered the cooperatives 'by default', as Enzo described it, explaining that the practice of hiring seasonal workers was 'as natural as the feelings of being related to someone'. Men were hired to work the plots and women for services such as the *agriturismi*; all these people were related to existing cooperative members.

Pippo introduced Adamo to me as a cousin he had 'mediated for'. Enzo brought in one son, Ciccio, to the Borsellino co-op and another, Lino, to the Falcone. Affinity relationships were also important: elder cooperative members secured jobs for their brothers-in-law (*cognati*) or sons-in-law (*generi*). Paolo secured a job for Donato, the boyfriend of his daughter. In some cases, relationships between the Falcone and Borsellino work pools overlapped: one's son-in-law could be another's brother, thereby

interrelating the two cooperatives' common kinship pools. Often, therefore, wages from two different cooperatives were brought into the same household. It was in those cases in particular that members associated the cooperative with home, seeing it as a home. People would use the phrase 'anti-mafia family' to describe these kinds of household settings.

Examples range from *comparatico* affinity to direct cognatic descent. Pippo introduced Adamo to me as a cousin he had 'mediated for and recommended'. Affinity relationships were also important: elder cooperative members secured jobs for their brothers-in-law (*cognati*) or sons-in-law (*generi*). Adamo presented Donato (the 26-year-old boyfriend of Paolo's daughter), saying, 'His father-in-law mediated for him'. Enzo Riceli was proud to state that his *raccomandazioni* had 'brought many distant relatives into both San Giovanni cooperatives'. When I traced this back to people he had 'recommended', such as Cicio and Pippo, they confirmed he had mediated for them. In some cases, relationships between the Falcone and Borsellino work pools overlapped: one's son-in-law could be another's brother. This suggests that common kinship pools lay behind the rhetoric of ideological 'solidarity' between the two cooperatives, reinforcing their interrelationship.⁶ As he had been a member of Falcone since 2002, Enzo's *raccomandazione* for his own sons Ciccio (a Borsellino member-worker) and Lino (a Falcone daily worker) was undisputed.

Boasting that three men of her household worked for two different cooperatives, Santa concluded, 'our family, our Riceli home is a co-op', using the term *casa* (home: co-residential household). Her sons, Lino (20) and Ciccio (25), and her husband Enzo (49), saw their household as an 'anti-mafia family'; so did Santa herself who, like Rita, bracketed together family and cooperative, 'one being the other side of the other'. All four members of the Riceli family received some income from the Falcone and Borsellino cooperatives, albeit in differentiated ways. Enzo was one of the only three Falcone member-workers, who received a monthly wage (of 1,100 euros); Ciccio received a mean of 600 euros monthly, as being a member-worker of the Borsellino as his permanent contract was based on daily payments; Lino's pay, as a daily worker, amounted to a mean of 600 euros monthly as well; Santa received seasonal daily pay (mean of 150 euros monthly). This financial situation solidified their belief that theirs was 'the very definition of an anti-mafia family'. Importantly, this belief was not based on a common 'consumption pool' in the family, as each managed the major part of their finances independently.

Santa's best friend was Rita Giuffrè from Bocca, then fifty years old. Paolo, her husband, of the same age and origin, was a permanent worker in the Falcone and recommended his wife for casual jobs with the coop-

erative. I often worked alongside her and other cooperative members' wives. She too referred to the 'cooperative being our home', prompting other 'ladies of the co-op' (as they referred to themselves) to tell me about how their households 'spilled over' into the cooperative. Some ladies used the term 'anti-mafia family' to describe their households, in this way distinguishing their own from other local families. They employed the discourse of 'anti-mafia families' in different ways. On the one hand, they used it to refer to generational overlaps of family members in the workforce of the cooperatives; on the other, they used it to provide meaning to the cooperative experience itself and in this way to 'familiarise' their relationships with each other. They were proud to stress that being part of an 'anti-mafia family' was 'something special'.⁷

During the preparation of Christmas packages of cooperative products, I worked continuously alongside 'the co-op ladies'. I observed that Rita's and Maria's use of 'home' idioms to describe 'their' cooperative was often exclusionary, delineating the social boundaries of the cooperative group and setting the terms by which 'foreigners' were allowed into the cooperative by the grace of homely hospitality. In parallel to that, as exclusionary idioms can be extended, some women also used 'home' to describe Italy in xenophobic tones: Santa thought 'Islamic' immigrants had to convert to the Christian values of 'our home'.

Despite her friendly behaviour, Rita often reminded me that I 'had got the job because I was a foreign observer', while she and her friends had the job 'because we are the other side of the cooperative; the cooperative relies on us wives'. Many other women made similar associations between their family values and their cooperative experience. Maria, Pippo's wife, likened the 'unity' of a cooperative to that of a family. When Pippo fell out with the Borsellino cooperative, he told me that some of his ex-colleagues were 'conspiring against him'. Maria, who was particularly proud of her husband's involvement in the cooperatives, severely criticised him for using the term 'conspiracy', saying 'a co-op is like a family; conspiracies do not take place in it'.

Therefore, members' wives actively pro-family views complemented the cooperativist experience of their husbands and, by and large, of their families. Importantly, what Rita called 'the other side of the cooperatives' suggests that anti-mafia families were constituted as such by absorbing the cooperative into family values and extending family into the cooperative. Maria saw family as a unifying force: she applied this quality to the cooperative. This overlooked the fact that some members of the household received a regular wage from the cooperative while others, including herself and the other 'co-op ladies', only received sporadic payments

for daily chores.⁸ The differences in pay and wage regimes of local men and women reflected divisions of labour and distribution of resources at home. The household divisions of labour, in turn, reflected the cooperative's labour organisation: women did not work the soil and were hence not granted member status in the cooperatives. The positions in the cooperatives' manual workforce were strongly gendered⁹. Rita's analogies between home and cooperative reflected this gendered division of labour, brought from the home to the workplace and vice versa.¹⁰

Women often discussed the reproduction of people, families and cooperatives in the same breath. Caterina, considerably younger than her colleagues, had moved to San Giovanni together with Piero, her husband, who was a member of Falcone. They had a six-month-old baby, born in the village. Caterina worked for Falcone only occasionally, and because of her pregnancy and the child's rearing, she had not done so for a while. This did not matter since she saw her recruitment to the cooperative and the birth of her baby as all part of 'the same process of bringing up an anti-mafia family'. In a discussion I had with her, Rita and Santa, Caterina went to great lengths to portray to us the importance of Falcone for her young family. As she narrated her story, 'the co-op is responsible for the whole of my life. I met Piero through the cooperative and my daughter was born within it. We were made a family through the cooperative'. 'No doubt her first word will be "co-op"', added Rita, petting the baby. Rita and Santa commented that their families had 'found the co-op on their way and changed through it, while Caterina's family grew within it'. This illustrates how the cross-fertilisation of family and cooperative sometimes took on naturalising undertones: reproduction of family and cooperative represented in literal reproduction (babies). Caterina affirmed that her young family was an anti-mafia family *par excellence*.

Apart from changing existing idioms of kinship by mapping family onto cooperative, the *raccomandazioni* acted as vectors of relatedness, giving a new directionality as actions that built upon enduring relationships. Examples of this include a range of different relations. These could be the 'brotherly' feelings Adamo felt for Pippo; however, they also included less fortunate cases such as Giuseppe, who constantly complained about the indifference of his Borsellino cooperative colleagues in not allocating him more more work as a day labourer. Pippo saw the efforts of Giusy, a Falcone member, as 'sisterly', as she used her influence to precisely find ways to allocate him more labour days. *Raccomandazioni* thus informed and reconfigured the meaning of kinship in Spicco Vallata, creating new linkages. This is one important reason why local workers defended and evoked idioms of kinship-based relatedness, as kinship

helped them to guarantee jobs in the co-ops despite the cooperatives' rhetoric on meritocracy. In the process of constituting anti-mafia families, merging the nuclear family and close kin with cooperative identity, the manual workforce stretched kinship bonds in order to maximise employment opportunities.

The broader question here is how this discussion feeds back into the debate about the role of kinship in shaping the phenomenon of anti-mafia cooperatives. Interlocutors from Spicco Vallata (manual workforce members and their wives) drew on the idioms of family and kinship to talk about other social relations and groups – most prominently, cooperatives. This practice proposed a cooperativism inclusive of kinship. It implicitly rejected the administrators' image of anti-mafia cooperativism, a model inspired by the Consortium's modernist ideal of escaping the grip of local relations by separating work from family.

People of the local workforce teams renew, revitalise and, at the same time, re-work ideas of kinship as a form of cooperative relatedness. Rather than promoting a modernist separation of work and family (with its corresponding 'meritocratic' networking relatedness), their practices proposed mediations between work and kinship – or cooperative and 'home' – in ways that incorporated the rhetoric of collective labour relations (Ashwin 1999). For cooperative workers, the conflation between home and cooperative was part of what it meant to them to participate in anti-mafia cooperativism. Nor was kinship an inflexible modality; rather, it could facilitate and host social transformation as members embraced changes in work *through* continuity in kinship and not *against* it. The workers' practice actually renovated the relationship between home and work.

Modern[ist] Separations: Flexible Families and Cooperative Work-Home Bridges

Keith Hart convincingly points out that we conveniently call juxtapositions of family and business 'corruption', although they happen practically everywhere (2000; 2005). The 'state of corruption', with its contaminating potentials (see also the next chapter) spreads through mechanisms, like kinship, that one cannot control or contain fully but that could be somehow documented and narrated (Gupta 1995; 2005). The official policy of anti-mafia cooperatives organised by the Consortium and Libertà was led by the enclavist idea that mafia affiliations, associated with family, should be avoided at all costs – and this in a period of routine investigation over 'crony' Italian power and capitalism (Lane

2004; Ginsborg 2005a). The anti-mafia agenda took an anti-kinship stance regarding recruitment. This conflicted with the dynamic interactions of home and work, and with the relation between kinship and cooperatives as collective endeavours. Kinship, on its cognatic format of anti-mafia families, was transmogrified into a flexible institution. Idioms of close kinship ('home') could facilitate and accommodate change in the rising opportunities for labour, with the establishment of cooperatives in Spicco Vallata. Manual workforce members, then, embraced changes in work, creating anti-mafia families. This was a mutually enriching process that enhanced ideologies of household *and* cooperativism and so shaped the workers' experience of anti-mafia cooperatives within a conceptual framework based on kinship. But as house and workplace relations are mutually constituted, our analyses should be wary of the possible dangers of reducing this relationship to economism.

Debunking that economism is due in the light of the ethnographic evidence above. For this reason, we need to be reminded that anti-mafia families' flexible homes worked in the specific case of cooperative-making. This implies a twofold debate: firstly, we need to be reminded of the role of cooperatives in the juncture of family and labour markets; secondly, we need to untie kinship from familism in the wider picture of kinship flexibilities in 'Mediterranean' anthropology.

Seeing co-ops as bounded units of analysis could be understood at best as what Gudeman calls 'enclaves of mutuality' (Gudeman 2008; see also the discussion in chapter 8). This take, however, unties co-ops from the broader social relationships (and labour market dependencies) that they actually operate within. Such an idea affects our unease to reflect on the co-op-wide society relationship. The flexible boundaries of home vis-à-vis co-op labour opportunities in Spicco Vallata, however, tell a different story.

Seeing co-ops as enclaves of mutual life introduces an alternative mode of modernist separation: one based on the co-op as an institution that protects local social relations from market forces. In fact, such relations and their solidification in community ideologies have an immediate impact on cooperatives. Conceptualising the co-op as a bounded institution leaves social life around it comprising a series of 'social externalities'. It takes for granted what it sets to unpack: the relationship of economy and community and the suspended, in-between position that co-ops hold in this juncture (Rakopoulos 2015a).

We might benefit then from seeing co-ops as any other peopled institution (Herzfeld 1992) – by institution we mean 'an established practice in the life of a community [and] the organisation that carries it out (Hart

et al. 2014: 16). Co-ops are organisations entrenched in a series of social obligations from which they cannot be disembedded. Seen in that way, we allow investigative leeway for flexible kinship in their constitution. This implies seeing co-ops as social configurations composed by members whose lives are entangled in other relations and obligations (more pressingly, to kin and family life) as much as they are tied to labour markets.

The issue of flexible kinship that is shaped from labour opportunities and shapes labour realities becomes central in this analysis. However, this should avoid seeing the work/kinship nexus instrumentally, as the Mediterranean literature has often done, as a means to resources (Goddard et al. 1994). This idea maintains, for instance, that kinship feeds into hierarchisation and cannot be bent or re-defined in ways other than as 'entrepreneurial strategies' (Pardo 1996: 94–95).

Salvaging family from familism is premised on recognising its dynamic and flexible features. In a changing Sicily, the continuities between home and the workplace mutually constitute both institutions and extend their meanings, reinforcing cooperative work. Accordingly, it is necessary to conceptualise the home and kinship idioms more openly in order to account for social mobility and change in Mediterranean settings and to deprovincialise the modernist fiction of home/work interrelationships taking place in southern Europe and *a fortiori*, the Souths of this world (cf Schneider 1998).

After all, long genealogies of association between kinship and industry have been noted in cases of family life and values penetrating capitalist milieus elsewhere – as, for example, in Lombardy (Yanagisako 2002; Ghezzi 2007; Bonomi 2008) – and beyond, where family links stretch (see Yanagisako 2013). This is salient where flexible familism contributed to the 'expansion of class' in industrial settings (Kalb 1997: 91). While we seem to have concluded that 'advanced' capitalism is laden with family life (what modernist purism would call 'cronyism' or 'corruption'; see Hart 2000), we are yet to fully account for the flexibilities of kinship vis-à-vis labour in the Mediterranean.

Pointing to the flexibility of kinship idioms does not, however, suffice. We also need to trace this flexibility's emancipative features (unlike the exploitative connotation 'flexible familist accumulation' has, as per Kalb 2005: 122). How these flexibilities operate in an environment (such as inland Sicily) conditioned by the fiction of mafia familism in both scholarly and popular jargon becomes then more urgent to stress.

Recent work points to transnational cousinhood egalitarianism in maritime Sicily (Ben-Yehoyada 2014) or flexible social stratification and an upwardly mobile tendency in inland pastoral communities in Sardinia

(Mientjes 2010). Such studies pave the way for further analysis, as they reveal how idioms of kinship can be stretched to accommodate different types of social mobility and lodge the impacts of world markets locally. This feature necessarily points to the dynamic interpenetration between home and work: changes in family affect the forms of industrial life and vice versa. This process can replace political idioms (such as fraternity) with new idioms of kinship, as in *cousinage* (Ben-Yehoyada 2014: 875).

To reconsider cooperativism's entrenchment with families in this way would imply that cooperativism develops *because* of workers' families' entanglement with it and not in the face of it. This implies a more open analytical attitude to cooperatives, seen as institutions that achieve more than the provision of protective enclaves for the continuity of family life. This line of inquiry resonates with a long streak of feminist analyses of the interactions between kinship and production processes or indeed the tensions between family values and market. The anthropology of this interaction shows how the boundaries between home and work are, by and large, blurry (Hareven 2000). We might benefit from reviving this tradition of a feminist anthropology of work by highlighting how the sphere of the home interlocks with economic practices (Zelizer 1995; 2005).

'Familism', in this line of thought, has proved to be an insufficient way of analysing how boundaries between home and workplace blur, as it rests on the assumption that there is already a fundamental gap between home and workplace and therefore already implies what is under scrutiny (Morris 1992). Rather than associating idioms of the home with an immobile, change-resistant world of 'tradition', including kinship ideologising (as per Goddard 1996), anti-mafia families show the interactions of waged work with the varied flexibilities of domestic arrangements.

Understanding how co-ops negotiate and are negotiated through the system of kinship *raccomandazioni* in Sicily speaks volumes on the wider home-work relationship in 'Mediterranean' modernities (of which there exists a large discussion, from Pina-Cabral 1989 to Ben-Yehoyada 2011). This line of thought can take us away from the stance of 'never been modern' and into the ground of a gendering economic anthropology process, that is, one that blends feminism and political economy, an approach that current anthropological critiques to modernist separations are yet to fully explore.

This is an approach that takes the lives of co-op members *outside* of the co-op context seriously. For instance, the administrators' networking promoted (and derived from) a model of anti-mafia cooperativism suspicious of kinship. The fact that administrators did not live their private lives in Spicco Vallata but commuted there from Palermo, thus effectively

separating work and home, meant that their imagined sense of involvement in the local community went unchallenged. Their lack of exposure to local obligations and networks involving *mafiosi* as well as their levels of remuneration (sufficient without seeking income *outside* the cooperatives' employment) allowed them to endorse unhesitatingly the legal framework of cooperatives' waged work.

Anti-mafia cooperatives in Sicily offer us a sound prism with which to investigate the interpenetrations of home and work-based institutions. They make new kinship forms spring where local and broader notions collide. This is particularly so because anti-mafia co-ops claim to operate on a basis of seclusion from certain aspects of social life (including mafia kinship and affiliation). Anti-mafia families, the flexible notion formed from this configuration, suggest how cooperatives in fact are constituted in interrelationship with (idioms of) home. Co-ops then function on an active endorsement of other idioms, more amenable to an anti-mafia arrangement – including alternative ideas of kinship. The case of these co-ops shows the contradictions of *enclave morality*, a system isolating cooperative work from the holistic richness of social life.

From Home to Co-op, and Back

I have argued that the cooperatives' two-tiered organisation implies that their reproduction is twofold; the relatedness idioms of that reproduction are not interchangeable between (class-informed) teams, which correspond to different spheres of relatedness and different class horizontalities. Both their idioms contribute to the making of the cooperative and both are seemingly about the same thing – equality/horizontality. There is even some seeming overlap in kinship 'talk'. Yet these idioms are in fact not only different but lead to mutual unintelligibility.

But what is more central here is that cooperatives' entrenchment with families is central to our understandings of cooperativism. Any sense of cooperation ideology and practice develops, in the case of workers, *because* of this entrenchment and not in the face of it. The consortium-led idea of 'incompatibility' of cooperativism and of personalised, family-based networks is therefore dubious. Cooperativism can draw from collectivism and political projects while simultaneously being informed by (different spheres of) relatedness. This is the way workers experienced cooperatives, which consequentially formed their belonging to anti-mafia cooperativism, although it developed without a specific rhetoric, like the dominant model of the administrators.

'Virtuous networks' in anti-mafia 'networking' constitute a sphere of relatedness as part of a class-informed modern paradigm of separating home from work (Yanagisako 2002; Zelizer 2005; cf. Latour 1993). Reversely, 'family' is not an ahistoric, static category, despite the idea that 'families' in Sicily often reproduce mafia. After all, feminist sociology has identified a rising 'moral familism' in the anti-mafia movement (Santino 2007: 104) in women resisting mafia family ethics (Impastato et al 2003; Puglisi 2005).

Within each team, shared idioms among equals (networking and virtuous circles, and kinship-based *raccomandazioni*) construct horizontal relations. As we shall see in the next three chapters in terms of gossip, land management and neighbourhood with *mafiosi*, dissimilar idioms produced certain degrees of conflict between the teams. Attempts for cooperative horizontality to cross over the strict division of labour in the cooperatives led to disjunctures (over what counts as, for instance, polite communication with people outside the co-op enclaves, in the form of contacts in the village or the fields).

Cooperatives are, by and large, incorporated into broad social environments. As shown in chapter 9, such environments – and their communalist ideologies – can harness contradictions within and without cooperatives, while everyday interactions in local ambiances, as those narrated in the next chapter, can also produce distress. Kinship, family and home ideologies and practices are also part of this dynamic. As with other aspects of their social lives, co-op members' social responsibilities – including kinship and the household – outside the cooperative context, become the cooperatives' *text*.

The social relations in the home *become* the cooperative, while homes are shaped according to the broader setting within which the cooperative operates ('anti-mafia families', in the Sicilian case). Manual workforce members and their wives drew upon idioms of family and kinship to talk about other social relations and groups – anti-mafia cooperatives. This practice proposed a cooperativism effectively inclusive of kinship, which implicitly rejected the image of an anti-mafia modelled on the modernist ideal of escaping the grip of local relations by separating work from family. However, such cooperativist reality in Spicco Vallata was thoroughly guarded with symbolic boundaries, raised especially by administrators. Their use of gossip and appropriation of local rumours were central to this development, as seen in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. As noted later (see page 144), the co-op *braccianti*, like other local peasants, would fully appropriate this idea of affinity and would address each other this way. In my own experience of socialising among other social strata in Sicily – for instance, with precarious middle-class urbanites – it also has a slightly leftist twist in other contexts ('comrade'). But for Spicco Vallata, it is very important to emphasise that the contemporary use of these *comparatico* idioms among people of the anti-mafia cooperatives is completely separated from the historically (mafia) charged godparenthood fictive kinship idiom (Arlacchi 1986). More relevant are analogies with *compadrazgo* in Latin America to elucidate how idioms of work camaraderie develop as positively perceived kinship language (Nash 1979). In the previous chapter this is put in the context of the problematic view over 'fictive' kinship pertaining to the official anti-mafia ideology sustained by the Consortium.
2. *Raccomandazione* ('recommendation' or, more loosely, 'a reference') implies mediation: to recommend someone for a job. However, it also demarcates a variety and flexibility of meanings in Spicco Vallata and in Italy at large, most often associated with kin but also with friends (Zinn 2005). *Raccomandazioni*, typically registered under the classic rubric of patronage, are intrinsic to the discussion on Italian modernisation, although it remains unclear whether they transgress or reproduce class stratification (Sylos-Labini 1975). Ginsborg notes their organic role in the Italian political system (2003a: 101, 202), stressing social mobility but also 'crony capitalism' (Ginsborg 2003b: 68). While they form 'a system guaranteeing jobs' (Assmuth 1997: 160), they also reproduce a mafia-affiliated 'atmosphere of clientelism' (Schneider and Schneider 2003: 105).
3. What obviously comes to mind here is Bourdieu's problematisation of 'meritocracy' and his emphasis on the reproduction of certain fields (such as the academy) taking place through 'genealogical' succession, where kinship is also a factor (1988).
4. My decision to use the Italian term rather than English equivalents (literal: 'recommendation' or, more loosely, 'a reference') is not meant to indicate a presumed unbridgeable translation but to demarcate the variety and flexibility of meanings attached to the term in Spicco Vallata and in Italy at large (Zinn 2001). *Raccomandazione* implies 'mediation': to recommend someone for a job. Palermo has been called 'sponge-city' (*città-spugna*: Cole 1997; 2007), as local middle classes have achieved social mobility through accessing jobs in the public sector via *raccomandazioni*. Chubb notes routinised political party practices 'of 30 *raccomandazioni* per day' in Palermo (1982: 93), which echoes Bayart's (2008) description of African 'opportunity states'. The sociologist and activist Danilo Dolci's accounts have stressed how *raccomandazioni* from the powerful have framed the working lives of the poor since the 1950s (Dolci 1958; 1964; 1968), proposing forms of political mobilisation inspired by Gandhian approaches to tackle these problems (2007).
5. I should also note in advance that, in Spicco Vallata, 'household' and 'home' are used interchangeably.

6. In fact, the presentation of 'solidarity' among cooperatives was a common idiom used to establish political alliances with institutions, as explored later in the chapter.
7. The cooperatives were then symbols of class distinction locally as well as in the case of the Palermitan administrators (Bourdieu 1989).
8. Women's discourse on the co-reproduction of families and cooperatives rested largely on accepting the very low valorisation of their own work. This idea was based on the historical positioning of female labour in Spicco Vallata: working the fields was an exclusively male job, which women were not allowed to do. As I argue in the following two chapters, this condition was also partly informed by local mafia ethic. Ironically, this gendered work ethic was a point of continuity between mafia and anti-mafia families, constituting the norm of the local anti-mafia families and the cooperatives in which their members worked: some in leading roles with steady income (men) and others in secondary roles with sporadic daily pay (women, who, as mentioned, were never members of the manual workforce teams).
9. For instance, the term 'manual' itself seems selectively applied in a gendered way: packing Christmas boxes is seemingly not classified as 'manual' but 'services'.
10. Chapter 7 will explore 'traditional' gendered divisions of labour as a local 'continuity' reproduced unchanged, despite the 'rupture' cooperatives claimed to inaugurate.