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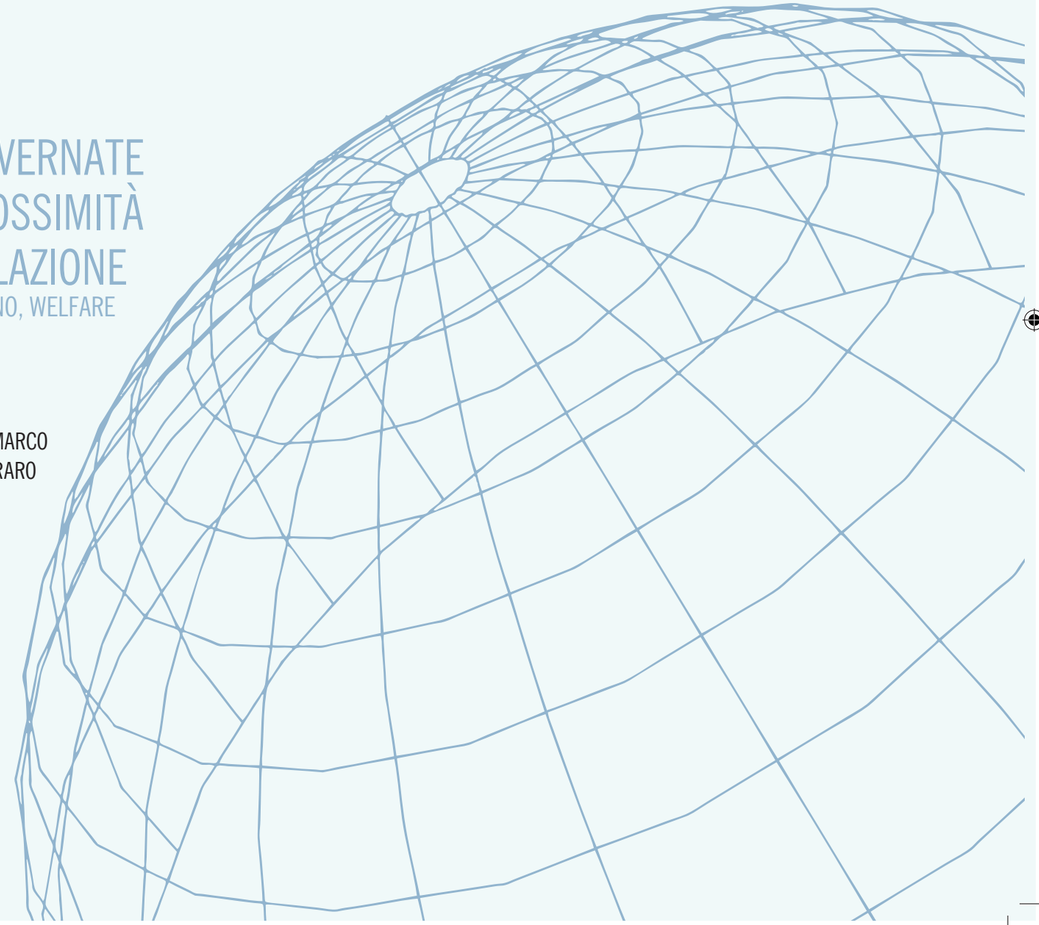

VITE GOVERNATE TRA PROSSIMITÀ E REGOLAZIONE

SPAZIO URBANO, WELFARE STATE E DATI

A CURA DI
GIANCARLO DE MARCO
E STEFANIA FERRARO

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Spazio urbano, welfare state e dati

A cura di
Giancarlo De Marco e Stefania Ferraro

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SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHIES: A REPORTAGE FROM CAIVANO

The research presented in the article *Beyond Emergency: Caivano and the Geometries of Power amid a Crisis-Ridden Welfare State and the Rise of Penal Governance* (*infra*) draws on a heterogeneous corpus of materials, including territorial maps, photographs[1], institutional documents, and qualitative interviews, in order to reconstruct the social topographies of the area under investigation. The integration of these sources reflects a multi-method approach aimed at capturing the complexity of Caivano's socio-spatial dynamics through multiple levels of observation and interpretation.

The territorial maps, including both technical and thematic cartographies, support the spatial representation of the observed phenomena and make it possible to relate physical and social elements, identifying patterns of segregation, service distribution, and mobility trajectories.

Photographs function as a tool for the visual analysis of urban spaces and the material conditions of the territory, enabling the identification of morphological indicators, signs of marginality, and forms of everyday use of the built environment.

Institutional documents – urban planning instruments, extraordinary intervention plans, resolutions, service reports, administrative acts, and materials produced by local authorities and Commissioners – provide the foundation for reconstructing the normative, programmatic, and discursive framework within which territorial transformations are embedded. These texts allow for an analysis of policy decisions, political priorities, and institutional narratives that shape and guide interventions in the territory.

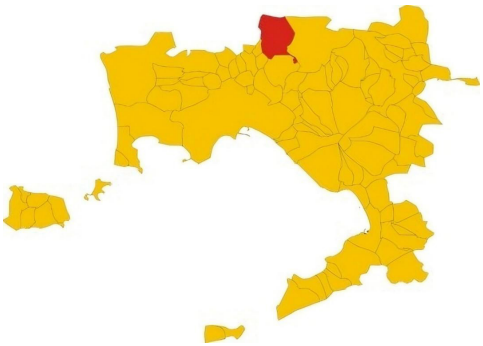
The interviews, conducted with institutional actors, professionals, and residents, provide narrative data that enable the exploration of perceptions, practices, meanings attributed to places, and locally grounded forms of agency. Their contribution is central to understanding lived experiences and the underlying social representations that structure them.

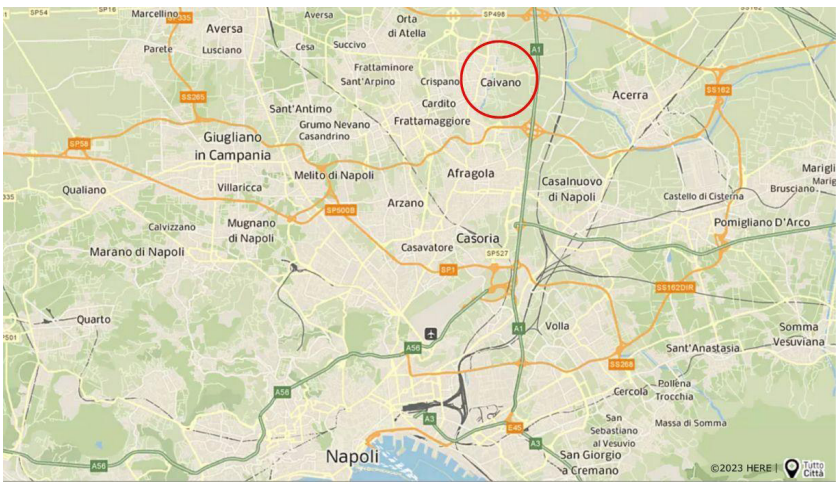
1 For reasons of privacy, as well as scholarly considerations, we have chosen not to publish photographs depicting individuals. We consider it essential to foreground spaces rather than contribute – however unintentionally – to practices of ethnicization of local populations.

We present a selection of these materials in order to facilitate the integration of the material and symbolic dimensions of space, mapping the relationships between territorial configurations and social practices. This approach makes it possible to identify areas of centrality and marginality, spaces of passage and exclusion, as well as the ways in which specific groups inhabit and reinterpret the territory.

Taken together, these materials are intended to offer a multilayered perspective on Caivano's socio-territorial dynamics, enabling a triangulation of visual, spatial, documentary, and narrative data that strengthens the analysis presented.

1. *Geographical Position of Caivano within the Metropolitan Area of Naples*





(Source: https://comune.caivano.na.it/)

2. *The Boundary Between Caivano and the Province of Caserta*



(Source: https://comune.caivano.na.it/)

3. *Map of the Municipalities Involved in the Terra dei Fuochi Area*



The designation *Terra dei Fuochi* refers to a territory of 1,076 km² encompassing 57 municipalities and approximately 2.5 million residents. Of these, 33 fall within the Metropolitan City of Naples and 24 within the Province of Caserta. The area includes nearly one third of the Neapolitan hinterland, while in the Caserta region the southern and south-western zones are the most affected. This territory has long been shaped by toxic and industrial waste dumping, the proliferation of illegal landfills embedded in the everyday landscape,

and recurrent fires that release dioxins and other hazardous pollutants into the air. The expression *Terra dei Fuochi* (literally, "Land of Fires") first entered public discourse in 2003, when it appeared in Legambiente's Ecomafie Report, crystallizing a socio-territorial condition shaped by the interplay of criminal economies, fragmented governance, and the unequal distribution of environmental risks.

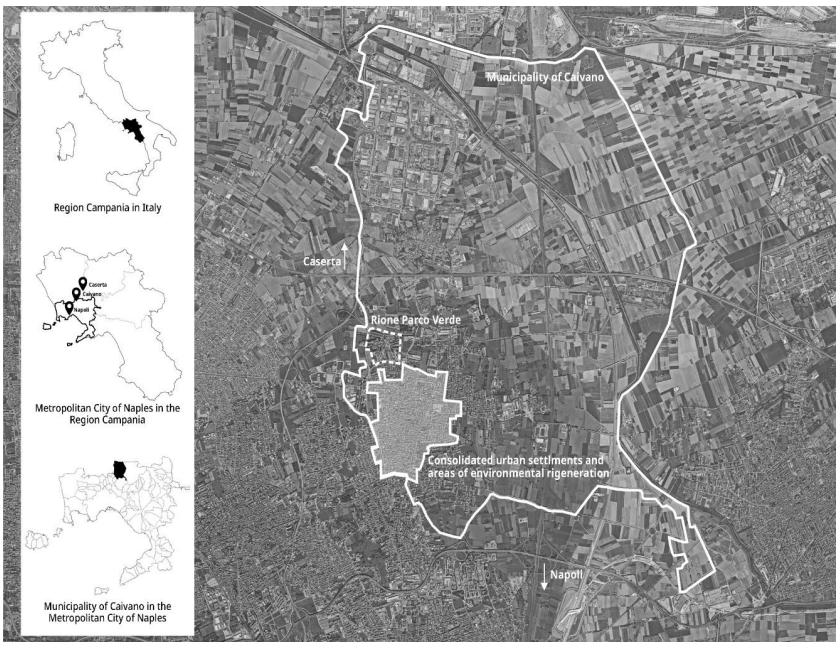
These dynamics of environmental degradation intersect with entrenched forms of social vulnerability. The concentration of illegal waste sites correlates with heightened incidence of specific diseases and increased mortality from leukaemia and other cancers, illustrating how environmental injustice becomes materially inscribed in the bodies and everyday lives of local communities.

The structural nature of these harms has also been recognised at the supranational level.

On 30 January 2025, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) delivered a landmark pilot judgment in *Cannavacciuolo and Others v. Italy* (App. no. 51567/14 and others), holding that Italy had violated Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights (right to life) due to its prolonged failure to address the systematic illegal dumping, burial, and burning of hazardous waste in the *Terra dei Fuochi* area. The Court ordered the State to adopt a comprehensive remediation strategy, establish an independent monitoring mechanism, and create a public information platform.

This ruling marks a critical turning point: environmental degradation in the *Terra dei Fuochi* is no longer framed solely as a failure of local governance but as a violation of fundamental human rights under European law. It underscores the urgent need for multilevel normative governance capable of safeguarding life, health, and dignity in contexts of environmental injustice.

4. *Caivano's Public Housing Neighbourhoods*



A map of Caivano, with Parco Verde located on the northwestern edge (Source: Federica Morra's elaboration from OpenStreetMap, in Esposito F.M., Ragozino S., Esposito G., Landri P., 2025, *Searching for affective spaces: an interdisciplinary approach to wounded cities through the case of Caivano's Rione Parco Verde (Naples, Italy)*, in «Tracce Urbane», n. 17, pp. 40-63, p. 48)



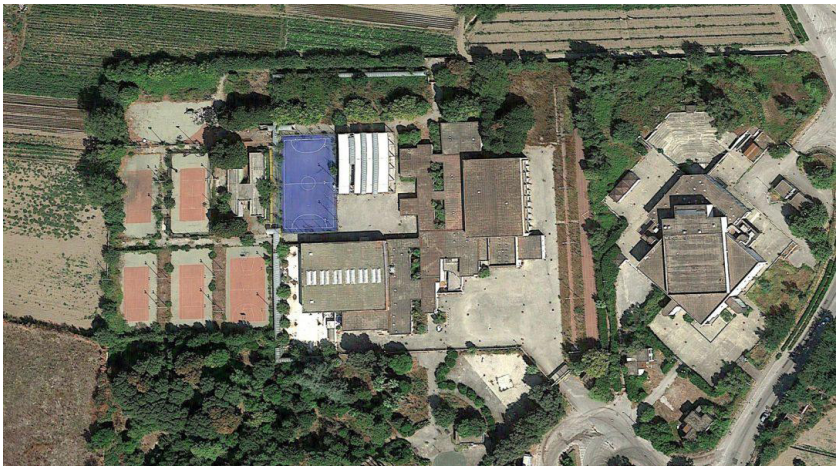
A Map produced by Stefania Ferraro and Anna D'Ascenzio (in D'Ascenzio A., Ferraro S., 2025, *"Il modello Caivano": esportazione di sicurezza partecipata?*, in «*Sicurezza nei contesti urbani e nuove paure tra percezione, innovazione e inclusione*, Rivista Sicurezza e scienze sociali», n. 3, 2025, pp. 57-72, p. 64)

In the context of Caivano, the *rione* can be understood as a socio-territorial formation in which emergency housing policies, processes of residential segregation, and selective governance strategies converge to produce specific configurations of urban marginality.

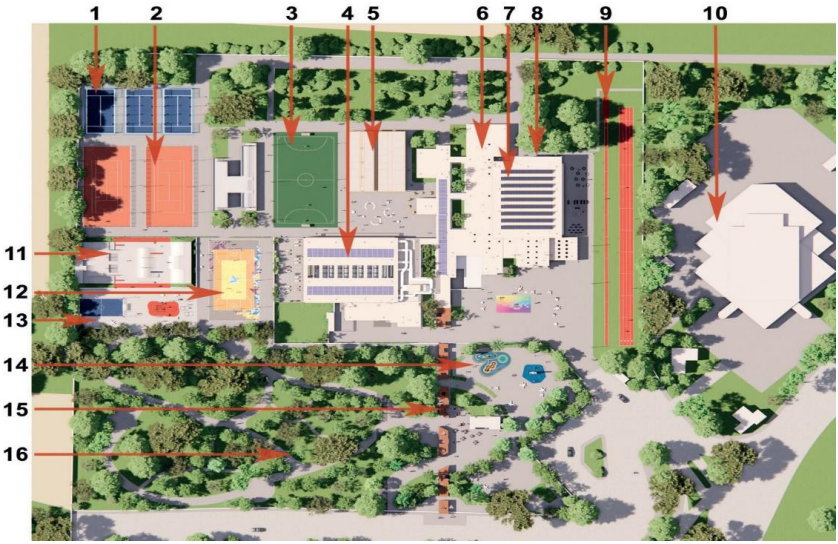
Here, the *rione* is not merely an administrative subdivision of the city, but a spatial dispositif through which the following dynamics materialize: the historical effects of post-emergency public housing, as in the Parco Verde, which concentrates socio-economic fragilities and intermittent institutional investment; patterns of territorial isolation, intensified by both the physical and symbolic distance from the broader metropolitan area of Naples; processes of territorial stigmatization, which assign popular housing districts a negative public identity and shape access to resources, opportunities, and services; institutional interventions predominantly penal or security-oriented in nature, often replacing or compensating for the absence of robust social policies; forms of mutuality, resistance, and informal dwelling, through which residents renegotiate space in their everyday lives and navigate structural conditions of vulnerability.

Within this framework, the *Caivanese rione* emerges as a space of produced marginality, the historical outcome of the interplay between intermittent state policies, informal economies, institutional controls, and public narratives, a place where marginality is not a natural condition, but the product of socially and politically embedded processes.

5. *The Sports Center in the Parco Verde as a Social Dispositif*



Delphinia Sports Center Area, 2018, beginning of the state of abandonment (Source: Sport&Impianti)



19 October 2023, presentation to the Government of the sports center redevelopment project (Source: Tuttonapoli.net)

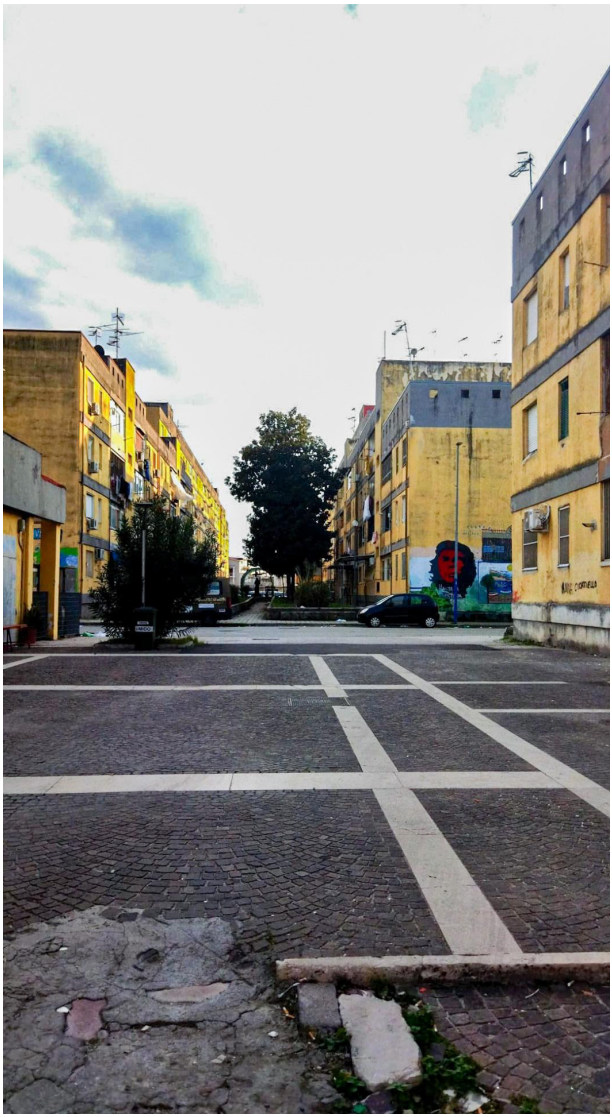


The new Pino Daniele Sports Center (formerly Delphinia)

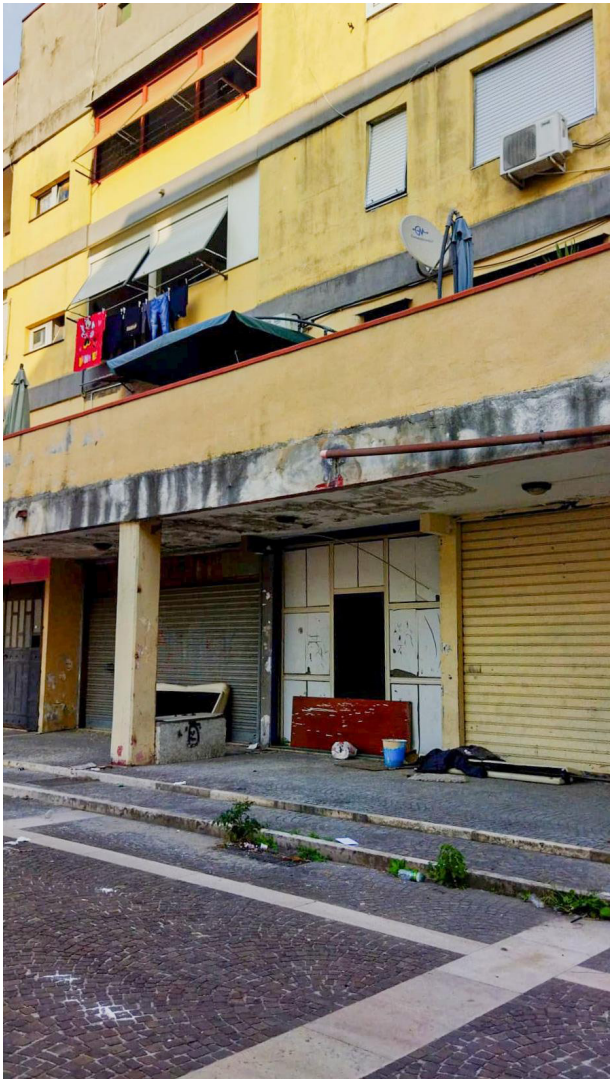


(Source: SporteSaluteSpA)

6. *Visual Perspectives on the Parco Verde*



Parco Verde, Lotto A (Image captured by the authors)



A Main Entrance (Image captured by the authors)



A Main Entrance (Image captured by the authors)

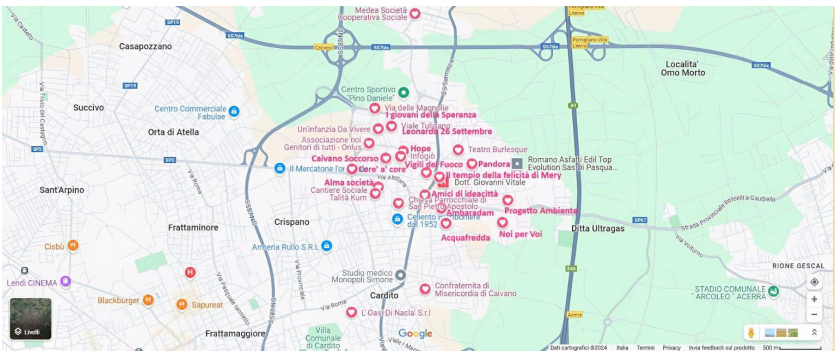


Along the Street, at the Edge of the Residential Blocks (Image captured by the authors)



Along the Street, where Infrastructure and Everyday Life Intersect (Image captured by the authors)

7. *Mapping the Third Sector*



Map created by the authors using Google Maps

Organization Name	Organizational Type	Year of Establishment	Field of Intervention
Il mondo che vorrei	Voluntary Sector Organization	2024	Social
Alma Società	Social Cooperative (Limited Liability)	2023	Social, Health-Care, Welfare, and Educational Services
Associazione per la Protezione Ambientale e il Monitoraggio	Voluntary Sector Organization	2013	Social
Associazione Teatro Burlesque	Association for Social Promotion	2023	Socio-Educational
I Giovani della Speranza	Voluntary Sector Organization	2023	Social, Health-Care, Welfare, and Educational Services
Progetto Ambiente	Voluntary Sector Organization	2017	Socio-Educational
Amici di Ideacittà	Voluntary Sector Organization	1995	Socio-Cultural and Educational
Noi per Voi	Voluntary Sector Organization	2004	Socio-Welfare and Educational
Talità Kum B.Ad. Boys	Association for Social Promotion	2023	Socio-Educational
Noi Genitori di Tutti	Voluntary Sector Organization	2013	Social and Health-Care
Ambaradam	Association for Social Promotion	2011	Social
Un'Infanzia da Vivere	Voluntary Sector Organization	2008	Socio-Welfare and Educational
Misericordia di Caivano	Voluntary Sector Organization	1996	Social and Health-Care

Organization Name	Organizational Type	Year of Establishment	Field of Intervention
Associazione Core' a Core'	Voluntary Sector Organization	2020	Social
Caivano Soccorso	Voluntary Sector Organization	2002	Socio-sanitario
Il Tempio della Felicità di Mary	Social Cooperative	2015	Socio-Welfare
Leonardo 26 Settembre 2005	Social Cooperative (Limited Liability)	2015	Socio-Welfare and Educational
L'Oasi di Naclà S.R.L.	Social Enterprise	2010	Socio-Educational
Medea Società Cooperativa Sociale	Social Enterprise	2010	Socio-Welfare
Cooperativa Sociale Pandora	Social Cooperative	2009	Social
Acquafredda	Social Cooperative (Limited Liability)	2004	Socio-Welfare
Hope Società	Social Cooperative	2018	Socio-Welfare
Infogiò Impresa Sociale S.R.L.	Social Enterprise	2005	Socio-Educational

Table created by the authors

8. *From Institutional Documents: Selected Excerpts from the Report of a Meeting Held at the Municipality of Caivano*

Among the various institutional documents examined, we reproduce here selected excerpts from the Report of the meeting held at the Municipality of Caivano (on 23 October 2023, at the outset of the commissarial intervention), during a session of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into Safety Conditions and the State of Degradation in Cities and Their Outskirts[2]. The report includes the testimonies by the government Commissioner, school principals, and parish priests who were invited to speak. Only a selection of these statements has been translated, focusing on those considered most representative of the issues that emerged in Caivano. The translation of these excerpts has been carried out with the aim of remaining faithful to the parliamentary stenographic style.

The English translation has been prepared by the authors.

Translation

(The meeting begins at 4:45 p.m.)

Excerpt from pp. 1-2

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO[3]. Good evening. We will begin today's meeting with the remarks of Dr. Dispenza. Please proceed.

FILIPPO DISPENZA, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Municipality of Caivano[4]. I am Prefect Filippo Dispenza, Extraordinary Commissioner. Together with my colleagues, Maurizio Alicandro and Dr. Simonetta Calcaterra, we were appointed by the Government last week, on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior, Matteo Piantedosi.

All three of us have experience with municipalities dissolved for mafia infiltration. In my case, I served in Sicily, in Vittoria, where the largest fruit and vegetable market in Europe is located – an institution that, with the support of Raffaele Cantone, we succeeded in removing from the control of the mafia, the *stidda*[5], and other criminal groups.

---

2 Original denomination: *Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sulle condizioni di sicurezza e sullo stato di degrado delle città e delle loro periferie*, Resoconto dell'incontro presso il Comune di Caivano, 23 ottobre 2023.

3 Alessandro Battilocchio serves as President of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the security, degradation, and condition of Italy's suburbs and urban peripheries.

4 The Extraordinary Commission, composed of three members, replaces the Municipal Council that was dissolved due to alleged mafia infiltration.

5 The *stidda*, sometimes referred to as the "fifth mafia", is a mafia-type organisation that emerged in the province of Agrigento in the second half of the 1980s.

We come here with a strong sense of responsibility toward the State and its institutions. Following the Government's decision, which has entrusted us with this mandate, we will do everything necessary to ensure that laws and regulations are once again correctly applied in this municipality and within its administration.

We will pay particular attention to younger generations. I have seen the difficulties that arise when a municipality is placed under receivership for mafia infiltration. However, we are confident that the Government will support us and will do all it can to offer opportunities to young people – not only those from the Parco Verde, but from all the disadvantaged areas of this territory.

I speak from professional experience. I have served in police headquarters in Turin, Genoa, and Naples, and problematic urban peripheries exist everywhere. Here, thanks to the initiative and courage of Don Maurizio[6], several issues have emerged – issues I had already encountered years ago when I joined the Naples Criminal Investigation Division.

Much remains to be done. Above all, we must provide opportunities for young people, so that the anti-State does not prevail over the State; so that it is the State and its institutions offering young people employment, work, and a future. The anti-State steals the future of new generations. I have said this many times, nationally and internationally, also in view of my experience as

---

It was founded by two young men from Palma di Montechiaro – Giuseppe Croce Benvenuto and Salvatore Calafato, both later turned state witnesses – who, together with other affiliates, opposed the new modes of governance imposed on *Cosa Nostra* by the Corleonesi faction led by Totò Riina. According to scholars, the origins of the name *stidda* – which translates as "star" – are debated. One hypothesis is that it derives from the star-shaped tattoo worn by members between the thumb and index finger of the right hand. Others suggest that the name alludes to the constellation of criminal groups identifying with this organisation. A further explanation, offered by state witness Antonino Calderone, links the term to the *Madonna della Stella* of Barrafranca (province of Enna), an area in which the organisation has historically operated. The actions of the *stidda* – particularly its homicides – have been marked by extreme violence. Members of the organisation are active mainly in the provinces of Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Enna and Ragusa, although some affiliates have also been traced to northern Italy and Germany.

6 Don Maurizio Patriciello is the parish priest of the church in Parco Verde. He has long been involved in initiatives opposing toxic waste burning and illegal practices in the *Terra dei Fuochi* and consequently lives under police protection. In relation to the events in Caivano analysed in *Beyond Emergency: Caivano and the Geometries of Power amid a Crisis-Ridden Welfare State and the Rise of Penal Governance* (*infra*), he requested the intervention of the President of the Council of Ministers following the report of sexual assaults against two minors.

Director of Interpol and as Europe's representative in the Interpol General Assembly.

Opportunities must come from the State and from institutions, including religious ones. A moment ago, I asked the parish priests: «Do you have youth centres?». Not all of them have such spaces. I grew up in a Salesian oratory, and I recall how many young people were taken off the streets thanks to those oratories.

Mr. President, I assure you that we, as the Government's Extraordinary Commission, will do everything within our remit to ensure that this city and its administration regain the dignity they deserve, together with every opportunity for ethical, moral, and above all social, growth.

[…]

Excerpt from pp. 2-3

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO. On our part, there is full interest, in the coming weeks and months, in further strengthening synergies with the local context, because our attention to Caivano is clearly linked to the possibility of extending this type of approach to other areas as well – a sort of operational model which, with any improvements or adjustments that may prove necessary, could be replicated in other Italian contexts.

What we already ask of you, as a Commission, is your willingness to continue this interaction, possibly also through hearings that we may hold in the Commission, because the focus on Caivano remains strong and is tied to the possibility of extending this pathway to other realities.

FILIPPO DISPENZA, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Municipality of Caivano. We are, of course, fully available. I repeat: we hope to carry out some projects together with Don Patriciello and the other parish priests, as well as with the schools.

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO. We would be pleased to hear a brief presentation also from the other parish priests present. There are also several school principals with us today. If they could briefly introduce themselves, it would be very helpful for our work.

ROSARIA PELUSO. I am the principal of the Cilea Mameli Comprehensive Institute in Caivano, and my name is Rosaria Peluso. Our school hosts approximately 1,300 students from the area; it is a very large school. The problems we face are, of course, those encountered in all the schools of Caivano.

For years we have carried out remedial and support projects to maintain the attention and engagement of families and students, but we have now reached a point where this is no longer sufficient, and we need additional support. We

need, as provided for in the Decree[7], more staff, because the socio-emotional condition of these students is, frankly, quite fragile.

We have activated numerous projects specifically aimed at supporting these students, but we face one central issue: we must design targeted initiatives to engage families who feel somewhat lost and abandoned. These are families for whom school, in quotation marks, matters very little, and therefore we must create the right environment to draw the attention of these students. The more we manage to keep them at school, the better it is.

[…]

Excerpt from p. 3

DON ANTONIO SGARIGLIA. I am Don Antonio Sgariglia, parish priest in a district of Caivano called Pascarola. Pascarola suffers above all from cultural degradation, and our main difficulty is dealing with young people who drop out of school. Our primary commitment is therefore to help them understand the value of education.

We are fortunate that they do follow us; however, as I was saying earlier to the Commissioner, the problem is that we do not have facilities. We lack the structures needed to run an oratory. The young people come, and we improvise activities in the church, but the facilities we have are small – just a few rooms.

For this reason, in recent years I have repeatedly requested the reopening of an abandoned library located only a few metres from the parish. I was promised that the library would certainly be reopened, but it remains closed. We also have the municipal park, which has now become a dumping ground for rubbish. I could easily run the oratory there, because the young people are there, but the park is closed. There is an old library building which, some years ago, the municipal police used as an office, but now everything has been abandoned, and no one uses it anymore.

The municipal park has become a garbage dump. This is what we lack.

We are fortunate to have young people; we are fortunate to have children. But we lack the facilities. On this, we ask for your help.

[…]

Excerpt from pp. 5-7

DON VINCENZO MARINO. Good evening, everyone. I am Don Vincenzo Marino, parish priest of Sant'Antonio in Caivano. I am from Caivano – I was

7 Decree-Law of 15 September 2023, No. 123, better known in the news as the Caivano Decree.

born here and lived here until I was eighteen or nineteen, then entered the seminary. I spent two years as a seminarian in the Parco Verde, both as a seminarian and later as a deacon. I then served as parish priest in Pascarola for fourteen years and for fifteen years in the Mazzoni area. I was also parish priest at San Michele Arcangelo in Trentola, where the Jambo shopping center is located and where the issues surrounding it arise. I have been here for four years now.

The situation emerging at this moment certainly contains some strong positive elements. To be honest, as a parish priest, I do not feel destabilised. What I have been doing for thirty-two years as a parish priest is what I continue to do today in Caivano, where I have been serving for four years. What I find – not only in Caivano – is an excessive increase in petty delinquency and petty crime. What I have found here is a town abandoned to itself, above all by its institutions.

When I was parish priest in Pascarola, I established an association, a sports club for children. We trained at the Faraone sports field. I remained there for about a month and a half, and then we had to leave because the custodian threatened us and behaved improperly; one of my collaborators said to me: «Don Vincenzo, let's go». I did not yet know the situation very well. We later received a contribution from Algida[8] in the industrial area and moved the children there. Only afterwards did I learn that weapons had been stored in the locker rooms where the children had been training.

There is a small sports field in the *rione* Scotta area, on the outskirts of the parish, which is also abandoned. The Delphinia has met the same fate. The Faraone field, the same. The municipal park, the same. The municipal park in Pascarola, the same. The problem, in my view, is an age-old incapacity to govern this territory. Because around Caivano – not that everything is perfect elsewhere – but at least some results can be seen. Caivano seems imprisoned in a mentality, including a political mentality, in this regard. Not by chance, even before the mafia infiltration procedures, the municipal administration had already been dissolved by its own Executive Committee[9].

We find ourselves facing a condition of neglect and abandonment of the territory. From a pastoral point of view, what I have done until now I continue to do wherever I serve.

Some time ago, we had the opportunity to submit a request to the Campania Region for facilities that could be useful. The request was approved in November of last year, and we have now been waiting for a year. We followed up, we

8 Algida is a company that produces ice cream. It also has a manufacturing plant in Pascarola, where there is a large and significant industrial district.

9 This was due to the resignation of 13 municipal councillors.

called, and we were told: «Yes, we will look into it». This gives a clear sense of the abandonment of the territory.

I believe that, in such exceptional circumstances, what truly matters is daily work – every single day – on the ground, with the children. We assist 180 families through Caritas[10], and other parishes assist even more. Children attend the small oratory spaces that exist – because these are old parishes, and we do not come from the northern tradition in which parishes were built with integrated facilities. Here, there is the church and a few surrounding rooms. So we try to make use of what we have.

I believe in the daily work; I believe in the daily effort required by this territory. If, alongside this, the institutions – first and foremost the local ones – became aware that Caivano cannot fall any further than this, then perhaps we could begin to rebuild a territory capable of restoring dignity to itself and giving its people the pride of feeling Caivanese and living in Caivano. I believe this is important for all of us. We face the same problems that exist throughout the Neapolitan hinterland, farther south as well. Thank you.

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO. I will now briefly give the floor to my colleagues, should anyone wish to add any reflections, as I believe this series of statements has provided us with further valuable insights. I would start with colleague Penza.

PASQUALINO PENZA[11]. First of all, I would like to thank all those who accepted our invitation to be here today, including the three Commissioners. Unfortunately, the fact that you are here means that the situation is not among the best; nevertheless, I am pleased that this meeting is taking place, as it marks the beginning of a collaborative relationship.

I am from Caivano; I am a member of the State Police; today I am a Member of Parliament and a member of this Commission. I live just a few steps from the town hall, so you may well see me walking around the town not in a suit and tie but in a T-shirt, because that is what I have always done.

What struck me most today is the presence of the parish priests, whom I strongly wished to have here, together with the school principals – some of whom we met this morning and who are partly represented here today – because I consider them the front office of the local community. I wanted them to be protagonists of this day.

10 Caritas is a Catholic charitable organization operating at international, national, and local levels, dedicated to promoting social justice, assisting people in need, and supporting vulnerable individuals and communities through welfare services, humanitarian aid, and community-based initiatives.

11 Member of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the security, degradation, and condition of Italy's suburbs and urban peripheries.

The parish priests have described the challenges they face, and I would also like to highlight this for President Battilocchio: they described them with a smile, and before any sadness appears in their eyes, one sees hope. This is truly remarkable, because speaking of difficulties while smiling is not easy; yet the eyes do not lie – they are the ones that tell the truth. I grew up with a deep faith, and those who know me are aware of this. If there is one thing my grandfather taught me, it is faith. I grew up in Caivano, in a difficult environment, but I nonetheless managed to come through well. Not everyone has had the same good fortune. This is why the State must be present here in Caivano. Today is proof that we are present.

As I have already had the opportunity to say to Don Maurizio, we must not lower the bar; we must keep the spotlight on. It is important to repeat this: we should not be ashamed that a Decree is named "Caivano". This is the first point. You, who interact daily with so many people, must convey this also to those who attempt to portray it as something shameful. Absolutely not: it is not. Personally, as someone from Caivano, I am not ashamed that a Decree[12] carries the name of Caivano. It is right that it does, and it is right that the necessary attention is being devoted, because this is only the beginning. There are many "Caivano" in Italy, just as there are many neighbourhoods like the Parco Verde – public housing estates from the 1980s in Campania – yet similar contexts can be found from north to south across the country.

Today may serve as an experiment to understand that this situation must now be confronted even more decisively; and we are already seeing the first results, as we may have dismantled the largest open-air drug market in Europe, located in the Parco Verde. But this is not the end, because the fight against illicit activities, against the Camorra, and against all forms of illegality never ends. We must give this chapter the proper conclusion. Someone who spoke before me – and you will all know whom I am referring to – said that the Camorra, like the mafia, is a human phenomenon; it had a beginning, and it will also have an end. I believe that this may be the right moment to set ourselves on the path toward the end of this era – an era marked by Camorra members, criminal dealings, delinquency, and corruption. Thank you once again.

FILIPPO DISPENZA, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Municipality of Caivano. What I have always said in my experience in the field, including at the international level, is that organised crime and terrorism cannot be fought solely through repression and prevention. They are also fought by providing opportunities for the younger generations and, above all, by conveying clearly and force-

12 Decree-Law of 15 September 2023, No. 123, better known in the news as the Caivano Decree.

fully that the anti-State cannot prevail over the State. Let this be absolutely clear. The first person to speak of the "anti-State" was one of my former superiors, the Chief of Police, Prefect Vincenzo Parisi – an outstanding Chief of Police – who had the courage to define the mafia as the anti-State. The anti-State cannot be allowed to triumph over the State; such an outcome would represent the failure of millennia of human history. If oppression, arrogance, and criminal presumption prevail over the State, then everything is lost – there is no longer any meaning in calling ourselves a community.

[…]

Excerpt from p. 8

FILIPPO DISPENZA, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Municipality of Caivano. I would just like to add some concrete figures. Out of a workforce of four hundred municipal employees and officials, there are currently about ninety, half of whom are on fixed-term contracts. This issue had already emerged in a report – specifically, in a note from the previous Government's Extraordinary Commission – when the municipality was dissolved three or four years ago, again due to mafia infiltration. Tomorrow we will meet with Minister Zangrillo; we also spoke the other day, since we live in the same city, Turin, and he has already assured us of his support. We will then need to see, in practical terms, what this support will entail, because we must get the administrative machinery functioning again. This includes, for example – given the territorial context – the social assistance service, as this is a territory with considerable social needs. We thank the Government, of course, because tomorrow's meeting will be very important for us.

We will shortly issue a call for the recruitment of fifteen municipal police officers, as the situation here is extremely difficult. The average age is around fifty-nine, and the force has been reduced to fourteen or fifteen officers, many of whom cannot perform external duty, for obvious reasons. Furthermore, something that reassures us is that we have, alongside us, not only the police headquarters – the Chief of Police is a close friend – and the prefecture, where another close friend, the distinguished Prefect Claudio Palomba, serves. We also have the *Carabinieri*[13] (I am myself the son of an officer of the *Carabinieri*), who have made themselves fully available – from the

13 *Carabinieri* is the official name of Italy's national military police force. It forms one of the country's primary law-enforcement bodies and operates with both civil-policing and military functions. The term is not translated into English, as it refers to an institution without a direct equivalent in other national systems.

regional commander, to the provincial commander, to the exemplary company commander. Thank you.

[…]

Excerpt from p. 9

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO. Please, colleague Schiano.

MICHELE SCHIANO DI VISCONTI[14]. Several points have already been raised. I hope that what we are doing today – and what the Government has done – will bring us back to normality, and that the "Caivano Decree" will begin to evolve into the "Caivano model". This is what we must all work toward together. Today, thanks to Don Maurizio and thanks to all of you, we wished to be here with President Battilocchio. I am from this area, and I can say that exemplary models, fortunately, do exist here in Campania as well. We must ensure that, through their work – work aimed at restoring legality – we can gradually return to normality and to ordinary administrative functioning. On our part, there is full willingness to stand by you and, where necessary, to provide legislative support. I am convinced that if people begin to mature in the idea that they must reclaim their town and their public spaces – and that it is the State which, against the anti-State, reclaims those spaces – this means that a cultural shift has taken place. And such a shift has certainly been lacking in Caivano for many years. When the Prefect told us this morning about the absence of case files concerning offences committed in the Parco Verde, this clearly showed that there has been total negligence, or even a deliberate choice to be negligent.

Thank you for what you will do. I am convinced that your work to restore legality – by involving everyone – will ultimately lead to normality. If we succeed in reaching normality, as Don Maurizio rightly stated earlier, we will certainly have taken a significant step forward; and this is what must be achieved here.

There is much to be done. It is right to involve the schools through the digital platform – we discussed this also with the Prefect – which will allow principals to report cases of non-attendance promptly. This is another essential tool: monitoring school disengagement means understanding how many children are not attending school and why, and this reduces the risk that they become manpower for the anti-State.

If we work in synergy – and we *can* work in synergy – with the churches, the associations, and the schools, through that good administration which, un-

14 Member of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the security, degradation, and condition of Italy's suburbs and urban peripheries.

fortunately, has been lacking in Caivano for many years, I am convinced that we will make progress and that the "Caivano Decree" will become the "Caivano model". Thank you.

FILIPPO DISPENZA, Extraordinary Commissioner of the Municipality of Caivano. Someone once said that the mafia, organised crime, and criminal arrogance will be defeated by an army of schoolteachers – and I believe there is great truth in that.

PRESIDENT BATTILOCCHIO. Very well. We thank the Commission and we wish you good work. We thank the school principals, and we thank the parish priests. Now let us go outside, all together, for a brief press conference during which – if you agree – I will summarise the key points of the day, which has been highly productive and very insightful for us. We look forward to seeing you again soon.

(The meeting ends at 5:20 p.m.)

9. *Insights from the Third Sector: Evidence from a Long-Form Qualitative Interview*

During the research, a substantial number of interviews were administered to key informants, particularly members of Third Sector organizations operating in Caivano. The interview transcripts adhere strictly to the original utterances, including pauses, hesitations, and significant interruptions, in accordance with an interpretive framework that recognizes the expressive value of spoken discourse. This section presents selected excerpts from an extended interview with the president of a local association devoted to the protection of children's rights. This interview was chosen over others because it offers an especially rich level of detail, and because the interviewee – who has long worked in Caivano – was born and raised in the community, with a personal background marked by considerable adversity.

In the transcripts that follow, the interviewer is indicated by "·", whereas the interviewee's statements are not preceded by any symbol[15].

The English translation has been prepared by the authors.

15 The statements presented in this section reflect exclusively the interviewee's point of view. They concern personal perceptions, experiences, and interpretations, and do not constitute factual verification or judicial assessment carried out by the authors of the research. Any reference to individuals, institutions, or events therefore reflects the subjective narrative of the interview participant.

Interview B1 – 8 November 2024, Parco Verde, Caivano

• What is your occupation?

I am a volunteer within the association. I am involved, in various ways, in all the activities that may be required in the community; this includes identifying the needs of families, the wider community, and children, and contributing to responses that address the many gaps that exist in this area.

• How long have you been working within this association?

The organization was founded in June 2008, and at the moment of its establishment I was appointed head of the association's youth and educational division.

• 2008?

2008, so it has been 16 years.

• We also wanted to ask you – of course, you're absolutely free to answer or not answer any of our questions, we really want to stress that – whether you are a member of any associations or close to any political parties, your political orientation, for example?

We are an OdV, that is, a voluntary organization under Law 266/91, and we do not belong to any political group. We do, however, have an agreement with the Tribunal of the Northern Area of Naples, which entrusts us – through the UEPE – with young people admitted to probation and followed by social services. We also have an agreement with the Municipality of Caivano, which has granted us some facilities on loan for use. We have various partners, including […]. We are also part of a broader network, the national Network of Cultures; we work alongside them in all the initiatives aimed at bringing some measure of beauty back to this territory.

• We wanted to ask you – and now we're really getting into the core of our research – how did this institution function before the government-appointed commission took over?

We are located in the last municipality of the northern area of Naples, so in practice we tend to refer more to Caserta (even though our official province is Naples), while our diocese is Aversa, which places us more on the Caserta side. It's the second-largest municipality in Campania, right after Giugliano, which has a larger rural area. So it's Giugliano first, and then immediately Caivano. We have a significant amount of land, even if most of it is uncultivated. In terms of territory, we are closer to Caserta, and in the last thirty years we have always had administrations that, in one way or another, were compromised.

In the medieval castle of the municipality of Caivano, in piazza Cesare Battisti, there is a list of all the mayors and government Commissioners appointed in the last thirty years. Unfortunately, our municipal administration – espe-

cially at the managerial level – has been dissolved multiple times due to mafia infiltration. So, over the past thirty years, it has been dissolved at least twenty-two times, and in the eight instances when they managed to stay in office, they did not even complete eighteen months.

So we have always faced a disaster on these fronts.

The Court of Auditors has repeatedly reported excessive expenditures, as in 1997, the year when the Municipality of Caivano created a joint-stock company, an S.p.A., called *Igica*, entirely owned by the municipality. This company managed several construction sites across the Campania Region, so it was actually a major municipal enterprise. Later on, in the early 2000s, a centre-right administration under former mayor […] split the company, selling half to private owners and keeping 51% for the municipality. The company was then put in charge of managing all municipal properties every public facility owned by the Municipality of Caivano. In addition, it was assigned the management of Law 219[16] housing – that is, the public housing units here in the Parco Verde. So we're talking about a company that controlled the municipality's assets and managed all the services, maintenance works, and responses that were supposed to be provided to the local community.

Over the past thirty years, the company never carried out the interventions that were supposed to be done in the area. So it went bankrupt in the 2000s… It actually collapsed in 2005 with a debt of 50 million euros. And these 50 million euros in debts were justified, through colluding politicians, mostly as expenses for renovation works in the public housing units built under Law 219, because the people responsible for monitoring were essentially monitoring themselves. So all the interventions that were never carried out were officially recorded as completed, and the company eventually failed because of these so-called works that were supposedly done in the area.

Here in Parco Verde, about 60% of the residents come from this history. We have 758 housing units and around 6,000 inhabitants in the neighbourhood. We arrived here in 1986, after the Irpinia earthquake of 23 November 1980. We were about 4,000 families… 4,000 displaced families from Naples who had applied for public housing and were assigned these units. Of the 758

16 Law 219/1981 refers to the Italian national legislation enacted in response to the 1980 earthquake, which struck the Irpinia Area as well as parts of the Naples area. The law provided emergency funding, reconstruction measures, and large-scale public housing programs for the populations displaced by the disaster. In many areas – including Parco Verde in Caivano – the housing complexes built under Law 219 became long-term settlements rather than temporary solutions, often marked by structural deficiencies, social marginalization, and limited institutional support.

apartments, 600 of us are people who came from Naples, with a provisional contract back in ‘86.

[…]

When we arrived here in ‘86, the roads weren’t finished yet, the window frames were still missing, and there was a real risk that the homes could be occupied by others… So we might have even lost the housing units that had been assigned to us. My mother and father decided to move here in 1986 because the contract described the apartment as “provisional”, meaning that sooner or later the authorities were supposed to rebuild or renovate the homes where we had lived before the earthquake. But unfortunately, none of that ever happened.

Caivano today has about 40,000 inhabitants; when we arrived here in ‘86, the town had around 27,000 residents, and we were 4,000 people coming in – so altogether around 32,000 inhabitants – but we were never really integrated into the local community. We were always left on our own, as if we were already “ghettoized” by the situation itself. And in fact, even today, in 2024, we still find that in the schools inside Parco Verde, the only students enrolled are the children from Parco Verde. So there has never been any real integration with the rest of the Caivano population… Meaning us from Caivano with Caivano itself.

People often ask us to integrate with immigrants… But if you don’t first integrate the families who are already here – the local community, which often doesn’t even know one another – then that integration cannot happen.

So, when we arrived here, all these things were missing… There were no facilities for children, no swings, no slides, no playgrounds, nothing at all. Most of us were displaced families from Naples, but above all these 4,000 people who had been assigned housing here were, in many cases, families already at risk in some way, because we were already struggling. We were, in a sense, an “emergency” from the moment we were born, so to speak; an emergency that the South of Italy never seems able to shake off.

So we came here – some from the Sanità neighbourhood, some from Parco San Paolo in Fuorigrotta, others from San Pietro[17] – and these were already families dealing with difficulties.

17 Sanità (*Rione* Sanità, Naples): a densely populated historic neighbourhood of Naples, known for long-standing socio-economic disadvantage, limited institutional support, and a strong informal economy. It is often cited in sociological literature as an example of urban marginality, but also of vibrant community networks and cultural heritage. Parco San Paolo (Fuorigrotta, Naples): a large housing district in the Fuorigrotta area of Naples, originally developed in the post-war period. Although not as marginalized as other neighbourhoods, it hosts several public housing complexes and has experienced phases of socio-economic

And they did not, in any way, mix us with other types of families, like firefighters, municipal police officers, or others.

Instead, they grouped all these families into these housing blocks which, by the way, were heavy prefabricated units – constructions from the 1980s, bolted together, designed as provisional housing, like temporary containers – that could be unbolted and moved elsewhere.

But instead, we were kept here. There was no integration, and there were no infrastructures that could, in any way, support childhood – a childhood that was already difficult for many of us. Even back in the containers, we didn't have colours around us – everything was made of iron.

What you saw was grey, was black, and nothing beyond that. So that's how we lived, in a way.

And many kids from that generation inevitably got lost, in one way or another, and many of us ended up getting involved in crime or living through extremely difficult situations, given how young we were at the time. The schools, as I said, never really worked properly.

[…]

If Caivano has been experimenting with recycling since 2006 for 30,000 residents, why is Parco Verde excluded from this recycling program? I'll tell you why. Because they want the bins to overflow, since that means the *bobcat*[18] – a mechanical vehicle that is external to the official contract – has to intervene, whether hired by the contracted company or a subcontractor. And let me clarify that here, for about twenty years, the Municipality of Caivano hasn't held a tender for waste management; there have only been direct assignments, extensions upon extensions, for thirty years. So it's normal that the waste tax keeps going up, because all these services are extra services. So if the municipality contracts you to manage environmental services for the whole of Caivano and tells you: «We'll give you 300,000 euros a month for ordinary work», every time the bobcat intervenes, that's money outside the contract. And since here in Parco Verde, from 2006 to today, this external ser-

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strain, including high youth unemployment and inadequate services. San Pietro (Area of Naples): a residential zone historically associated with working-class families and recurrent housing issues, including overcrowding and infrastructural decay. It is often mentioned in accounts of urban displacement following the 1980 earthquake, as many temporary or precarious housing solutions were concentrated there.

18 *Bobcat* is both the name of a U.S. brand of compact construction machinery – such as skid-steer loaders, mini-excavators, and utility vehicles – and a commonly used generic term referring to these types of machines, particularly skid-steer loaders. The name derives from the North American bobcat, chosen to evoke the speed and agility of the vehicles.

vice comes three times a week, and if each intervention costs 5,000 euros, we're talking about 15,000 euros a week that they collect just to remove an emergency that they themselves feed.

We want to live surrounded by beauty, we want to live in legality, we want zero waste, but give us the conditions to make that possible.

And you also have to consider that in the last thirty years we haven't just had managers arrested, colluding officials, deputy mayors arrested, and a whole situation of social alarm; we've also had institutions – major institutions – colluding with the Camorra[19].

I mean, if I tell you that two years ago I reported the involvement of a *Carabiniere* (who was arrested a few days ago and is under investigation for the killing of Mayor Vassallo), well, I reported him two years ago. I, […], went to *La7*[20] and told the public that here there are *Carabinieri* and police officers who feed the Camorra, who feed the state of emergency, because they do not oppose illegal activities.

Over the past fifteen years, three police officers have been arrested here for taking drugs from the dealing spots and reselling them elsewhere; a *Carabiniere* was arrested because he was at the head of the Camorra system in Parco Verde, and he has now been arrested for the Vassallo murder. So, if these phenomena exist in the area, it's normal that citizens and the community don't participate actively, because they're confused, because they still don't really know what legality is. If we look at the last thirty years, the situation in Parco Verde – and not only Parco Verde – is this. We also have a difficult area called *the Bronx*. It's located between via Atellana and via Diaz; around 3,000 people live there, with 1,000 children and teenagers who don't even have a swing, they have nothing. So yes, the media always talk about Parco Verde, but there's also the Bronx, and there's the IACP[21] housing district here in Parco Verde.

We're talking about roughly 12,000 people – out of the 40,000 in the municipality of Caivano – who are essentially abandoned.

And rightly so, when the government Commissioners come in, can they do ordinary or extraordinary measures? The only "extraordinary" thing is the

19 The Neapolitan organized crime syndicate.

20 National Television Broadcaster.

21 IACP (Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari) refers to the former public housing authority responsible for the construction, allocation, and management of subsidized housing in Italy. Historically, IACP agencies have operated at the provincial or regional level, providing low-income housing and overseeing large residential complexes.

extra salary they receive to be here; that's the only extraordinary thing they do. The rest is all ordinary work, whatever they manage to get done.

So we've been living like this for thirty years, because the municipality has been dissolved over and over again, and we still face situations where we seem like the Salerno-Reggio Calabria highway – you know, *stamme ancora fernenn' tutte 'e tappe*[22].

You see? That's the whole issue with the Commissioners.

[…]

So the Commissioners intervene, and then more Commissioners intervene, because the government steps in… the Meloni government appoints Dr. Fabio Ciciliano[23] as the special Commissioner for the Municipality of Caivano. With Fabio Ciciliano, who is currently President of the National Civil Protection Agency, they entrust him with strategies to address the emergencies that emerged after certain violent incidents in Caivano. The media denunciation of the difficulties we live with here begins… This call for a "normality" that people want but don't have – and so more Commissioners get involved.

So we have the three Commissioners of the Municipality of Caivano who handle the ordinary administration, and therefore do nothing beyond the ordinary, because they have to balance the budget, they have to approve the financial statements, and they can't go beyond that. And of course, we've been repeatedly reprimanded by the Court of Auditors; there are difficult situations, arrests of officials, criminal convictions, and therefore compensation to be paid (I don't know what the Court of Auditors expects), the same municipal managers and former administrators of Caivano… So the Commissioners do what they can.

Those who intervened the most were the ones appointed as special government Commissioners, and then, with the introduction of the Caivano Decree[24],

22 *Stamme ancora fernenn' tutte 'e tappe* is a Neapolitan dialect expression referring to a task or process that seems endless, always delayed, and never brought to completion. Here, the interviewee uses a well-known comparison (the long delays in the construction of the Salerno-Reggio Calabria highway in Southern Italy) to describe the persistent administrative immobility of the area.

23 Dr. Fabio Ciciliano was appointed Special Government Commissioner for the municipality of Caivano by a Decree (DPCM) on 15 September 2023, under the provisions of the emergency legislation aimed at addressing juvenile distress, educational poverty and youth criminality, social degradation, and related vulnerabilities. With this mandate, Ciciliano is tasked with preparing and implementing an extraordinary plan of infrastructural interventions and social-environmental redevelopment tailored to Caivano's needs.

24 Decree-Law of 15 September 2023, No. 123, better known in the news as the Caivano Decree.

everything became even more confusing. Because after that, arguments started between the various Commissioners – *'o Commissario 'a cca, 'o Commissario 'a llà*[25], *'a pastarella che vvo' iss'*[26]. So situations arise among them that make it impossible to understand who they should listen to, because there is no clear point of reference, and from above they think they can do whatever they want.

In the meantime, another commission is appointed, chaired by Senator Battilocchio, nominated by the government as president of the Commission on Suburbs, together with the priests of […] and Don Maurizio Patriciello. So these three figures are appointed for Caivano. Battilocchio is president of the suburban commission, then there is the parish priest […], *chillu cu' 'o ciuffo*[27], and then there's the priest here, '*o parroco cu' 'a frangetta*[28] from Parco Verde.

Fine. Then the Battilocchio says: «I'm not from the area, you identify the strategic zones where improvements, beauty, and better conditions can be brought».

And what do they do? The one from Rome – *chillu cu' 'o ciuffo di Roma* – naturally thinks about Rome, and so he asked for a megaphone to go under the piazzas; and then our parish priest here in Parco Verde said that the violence suffered by the two young girls had happened at the Delphinia sports center.

[…]

Just think: this playground is located right between two drug-dealing squares. There are 500 children living there who, for 30 years, have never had access to a proper equipped area. So inevitably, they end up watching what happens illegally along the boulevard. Forty percent of those kids end up involved in criminal activities, and in forty years we've lost young people to overdoses and shootouts. I was part of a group of boys… There were fourteen of us, and thirteen died. I am the only survivor of that group. You imagine that I experienced freedom *in prison*. I only had a fifth-grade education when they sent me to jail. And without education, you can't do anything; without reading, you can't go anywhere. And if municipal officials want to keep the area in a constant state of emergency, then they don't allow us to be free, because they don't want us to learn how to choose.

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25 *'O Commissario 'a cca, 'o Commissario 'a llà*: Neapolitan expressions meaning the Commissioner here/the Commissioner there, used to indicate confusion and overlapping roles.

26 *'A pastarella che vvo' iss'*: literally the little pastry he wants, an idiomatic way of saying each person is looking after their own interests.

27 *Chillu cu' 'o ciuffo*: humorous, colloquial references to specific parish priest, identified by hairstyle rather than name; we can translate as: that other priest who always does this gesture.

28 '*o parroco cu' 'a frangetta*: humorous, colloquial references to specific parish priest, identified by hairstyle rather than name; we can translate as: the priest here with the little fringe from Parco Verde.

I had to serve twelve years in prison; I had to get my education in prison. I came out with a diploma, and I saw the kids doing the same things we had done… And that's how my Voluntary Sector Organization was born. But not for me… For them… Many of these kids can't look you in the eyes when they talk, and you, as an adult, fail to understand them. I know what it means, because I lived it. And today we have redeveloped 80% of the outdoor spaces; there's a whole video-surveillance system; we have two fully free football fields.

And *ja 'i' sol' a scuol, sol' chell e fa*[29].

You know what the school principal does?

He expels them.

Just think: between 2015 and 2017, thanks to an agreement with the Napoli football club, […] – the heads of marketing and communication – they allowed me to take the kids to watch training sessions in Castel Volturno. I would go to the schools and check attendance, and based on their attendance, I rewarded them by taking them to see the training sessions every six months.

In two years, I brought school absenteeism down to zero, at zero cost.

Do you know what the principal told me?

«I'm afraid something might happen to you. I found you a hard job with the national railways, in Florence. You'll earn 3,000 euros a month – as long as you stop everything you're doing».

And I told him: «I'm not leaving here. Ricett', da te nun voglio niente»[30].

Do you understand what the system is like here?

I keep reporting it, always.

[…]

… Because 86% of the people in this area want to live within the law – they want legality – but they are not allowed to, because those in power want this place to remain in a state of emergency.

So even if the Commissioners come and go, it's always the same story, you see? *Because it's a system*.

[…] I was eleven years old when I lost my father. I stopped doing well in school… Of course I did. When you lose a father, you are no longer the same child as before. I didn't allow lessons to go on in class, because I was hyperactive, I was angry. I was ten years and eight months old, not thirty. Adolescence is difficult… And when your father dies by suicide and you return to school… *Faccio burdell'!*[31].

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29 *Ja 'i' sol' a scuol, sol' chell e fa*: Neapolitan expression meaning they only have to go to school, that's all they need to do.

30 *Ricett', da te nun voglio niente*, in Neapolitan: Listen, I don't want anything from you, used to express refusal of an offer perceived as corruptive or manipulative.

31 *Faccio burdell'*: Neapolitan expression meaning I caused chaos/made a scene.

Adults talked among themselves, they all knew I had lost my father and was living through something very hard, and yet when I showed up at school they expelled me. The school expelled me and threw me into this jungle… Because *Parco Verde is a jungle*![32].

Out of boredom we stole crates of fruit from the greengrocer, we stole bicycles, we killed the swallows… We chased them out of here. Then I would go back to school and again, expulsion.

You know this neighbourhood is difficult, you know I didn't have a father, and you still throw fourteen troubled kids out of school into this kind of environment? Couldn't they have kept us at school, maybe in another class? Couldn't they have passed on other passions to us… Something different from what we were feeling in that moment of difficulty?

No. A father dies, a mother dies, a brother dies, or you find a friend with a syringe in his arm…

We were kids who really lived through hardship.

Thirteen of us died.

We talk about responsibility… Sure, parents have responsibility. But if the parents aren't there, who is supposed to take responsibility for these kids? The school should be the mother and father of that child, of that minor who has no one… Do you understand?

This is how the state of emergency was created.

Then slowly, little by little, we were handed back to our parents, then stopped in cars, because by then we had started stealing cars. Then at fifteen we took the flashing light from the ambulance at the Frattamaggiore hospital and put it on our Alfa 33 Quadrifoglio[33].

We took the signaling paddle used by local police, and with a gun we stopped business owners on the Nola-Villa Literno road. They called us the *baby police officers*, because businessmen would see the flashing light, they'd stop, and we robbed them. We did this for two years. We drove from Caivano along the Nola-Villa Literno road… About 140 kilometers, all the way up to Lazio. If we left from Caivano and drove through the whole industrial area for those 120 kilometers, everything along the way got stolen.

So the robberies didn't always happen in the same municipality… They happened all along the route. And even if we made ten robberies a day, and everyone went to report them and describe who we were – even with the newspapers talking about these "baby robbers" – we were fourteen, fifteen, twelve years old.

32 *Parco Verde è 'na giungl*: Parco Verde is a jungle, meaning a hostile, ungoverned environment.

33 It is a car model.

Do you know that *no one ever came to our homes to understand why we were doing those things*?

Nobody ever tried to stop us before the emergency exploded.

And everyone knew that all the kids expelled from school were the ones committing the robberies… Because you could see exactly who was missing from class. Yet no one ever came to stop us.

Three boys were killed in shootouts, and for the police it was normal.

Is it easier to arrest someone, or is it easier if he gets killed and more money circulates? Because that's how the system works.

[…]

Eighty percent of the young people in Parco Verde have not gone beyond fifth grade. That means that none of these kids can truly be free. If we don't provide them with education and training, they will become the future delinquents of tomorrow.

So if you don't intervene in the education of this community – and of other communities like Parco Verde – the state of emergency will never end, and Commissioners will always be here. Because if it's not a municipal Commissioner, it's a police Commissioner, or a *Carabinieri* Commissioner… There always has to be some kind of Commissioner.

Meanwhile, what we are asking for here is simply education, training, the ability to make decisions without living in a state of constant emergency.

[…]

We told the State that what we needed was education and training, but over the past year they haven't listened to us. They've held twenty meetings in Caivano… Various Commissioners, Prefects, and the parish priest always involved. They never wanted to listen to the Third Sector, they never wanted to take the community into account, the needs that the community actually has. *So if you don't listen to the people*…

[…]