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on Organised Crime

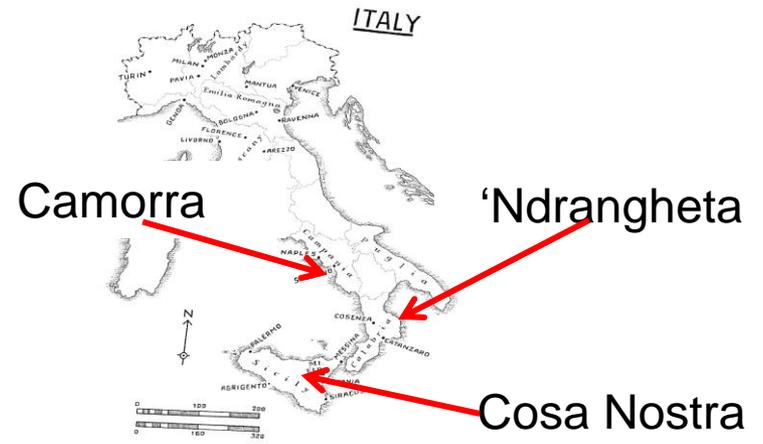
Italian Mafias: Structures, Business and Expansion

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Outline

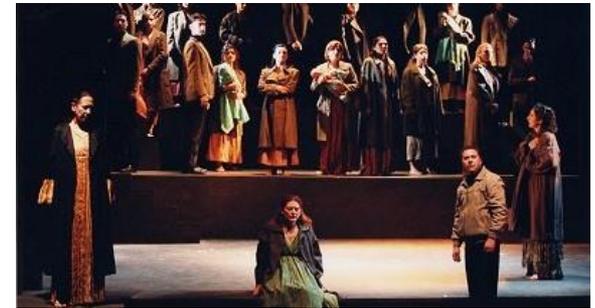


ITALIAN MAFIAS

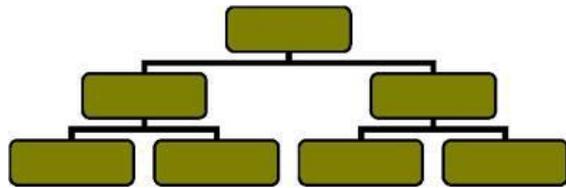
- Structures and organizational models
- Violence and killings
- Business and expansion

Different conceptions: a cultural phenomenon

- ‘The mafioso exists, but not the mafia’
(Lestingi 1880, p. 292)
- The mafia is neither a sect nor an association, it has neither regulations nor statutes (Pitrè 1889)
- A cultural phenomenon (Hess 1973), a collective attitude (Hobsbawm 1959); a forma mentis, and a form of power with no corporate dimension (Arlacchi 1986)
- Subcultural values (e.g., omertà , revenge, etc.) push agents toward certain courses of action



Organization matters



Structures - roles



Activities



Networks



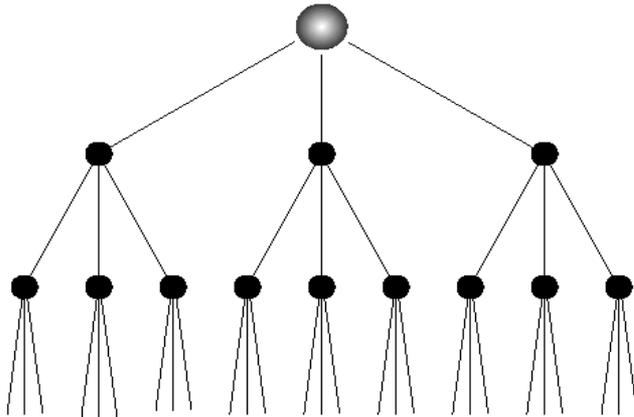
Rules



Markets and environments

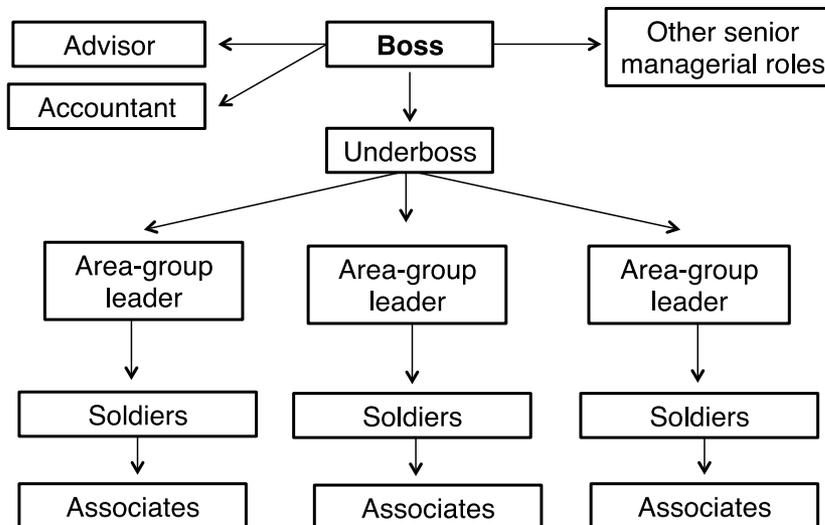
Two organizational levels

(2)



Second level: the Higher-Levels Coordinating Bodies
The **governance** dimension

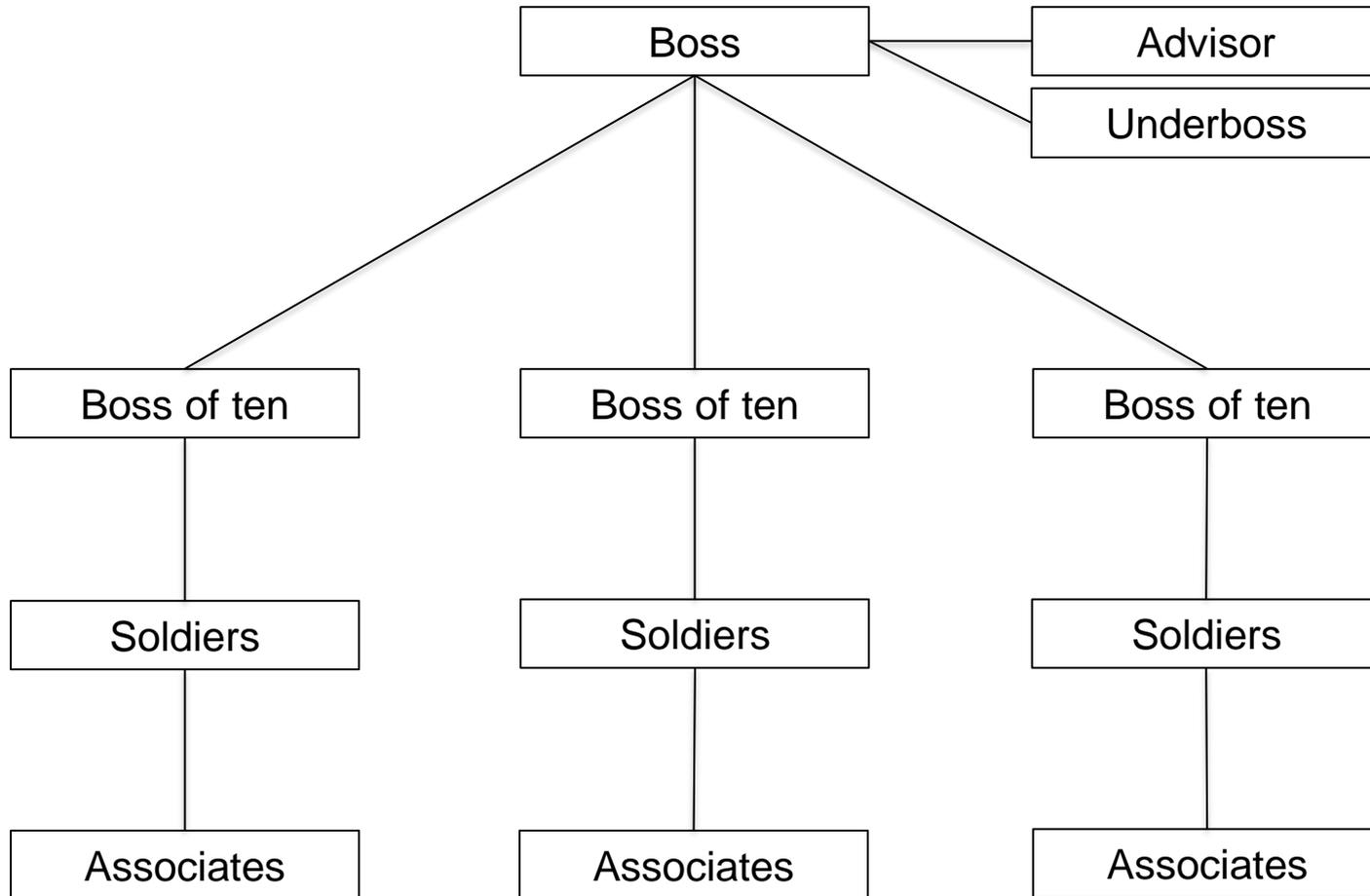
(1)



First level: the minimal organizational unit (clan, family, 'ndrina)
The **government** dimension

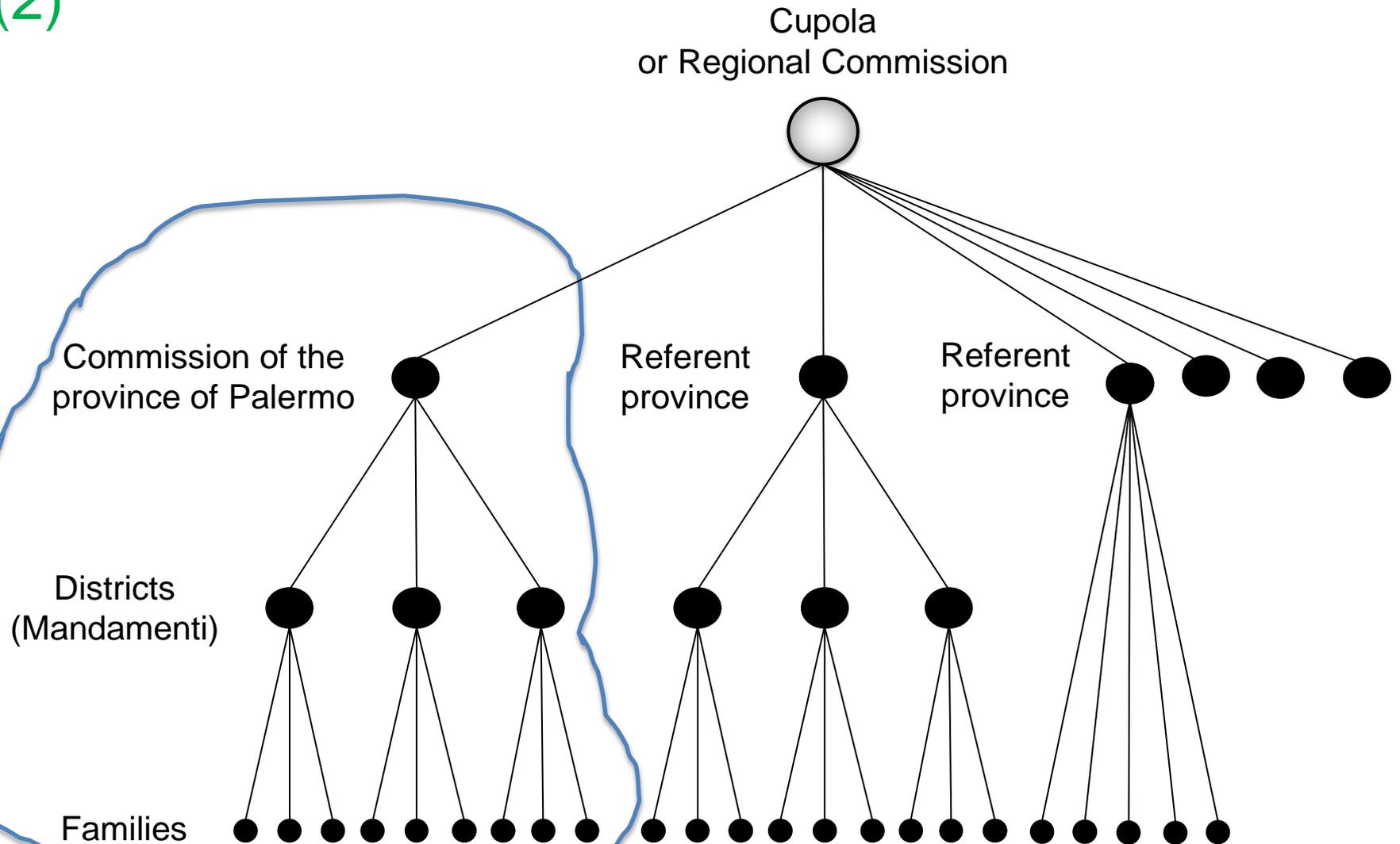
The family of Sicilian Cosa Nostra

(1)



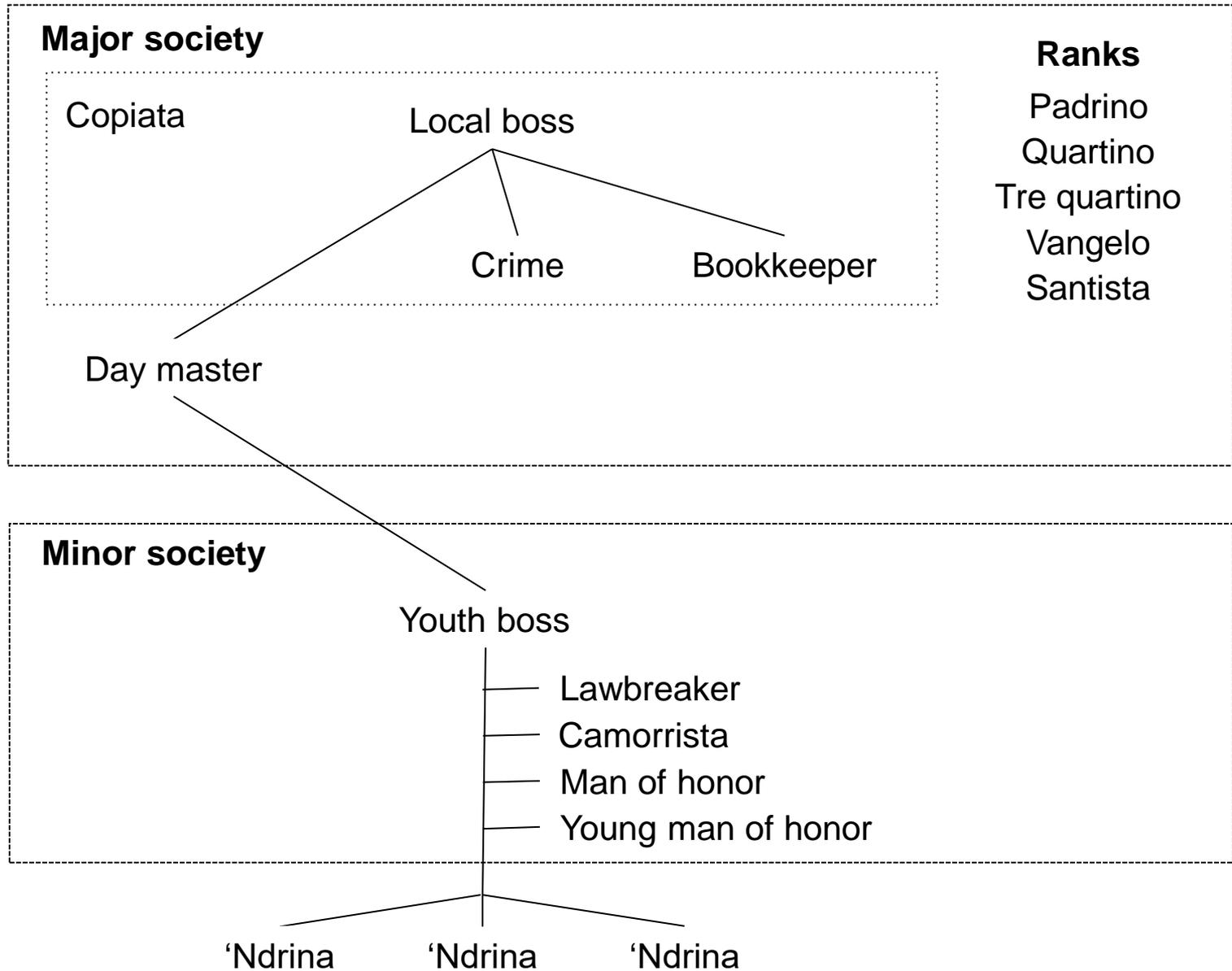
Sicilian Cosa Nostra HLCBs

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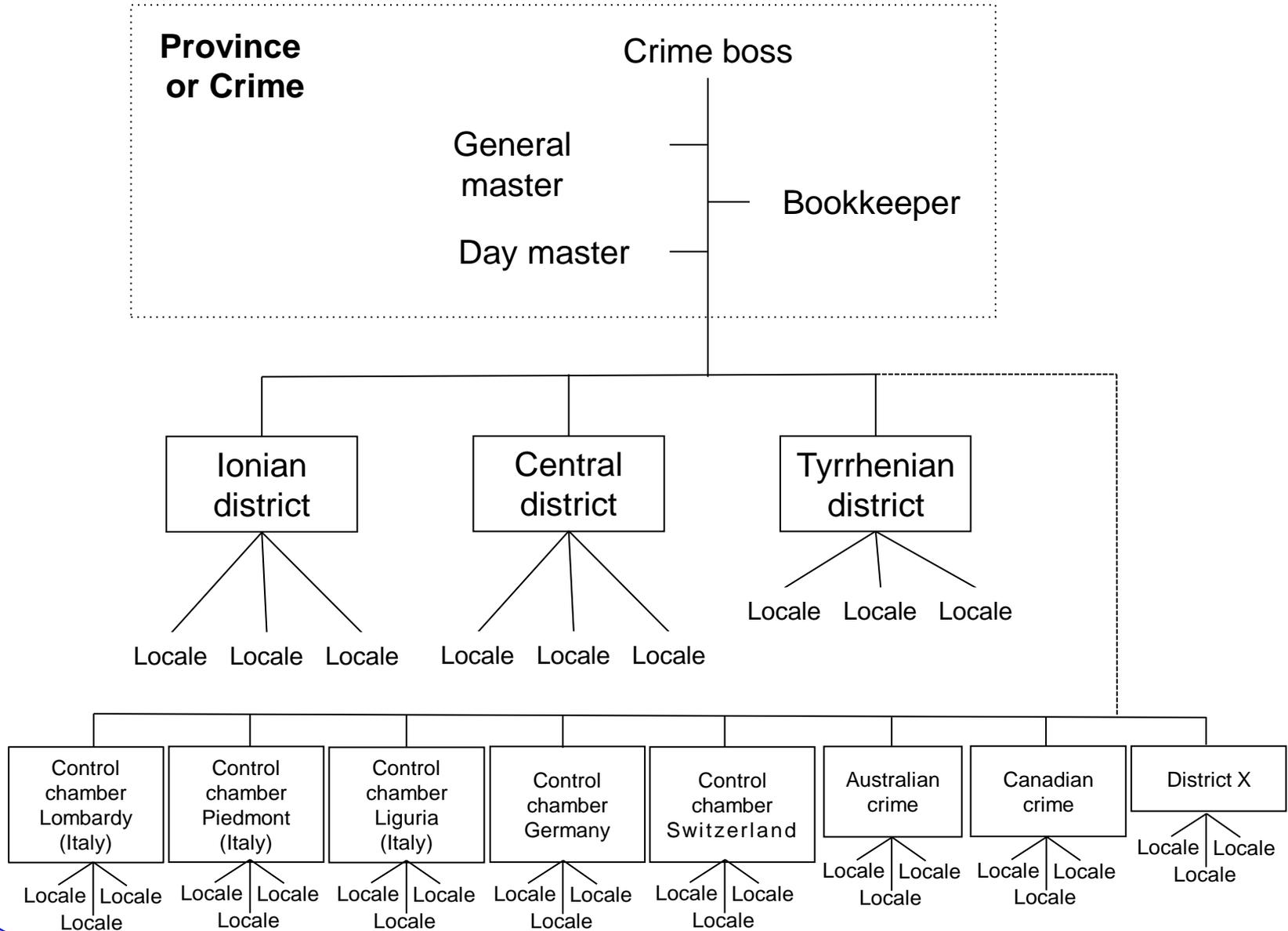
(1)

The 'Ndrangheta locale



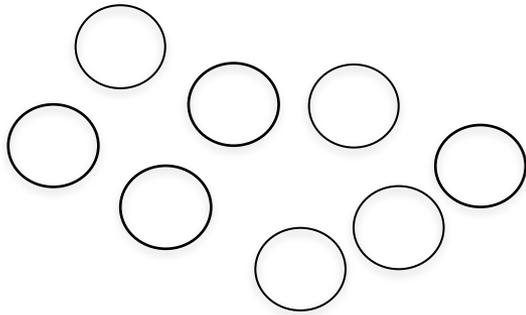
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The 'Ndrangheta HLCBs

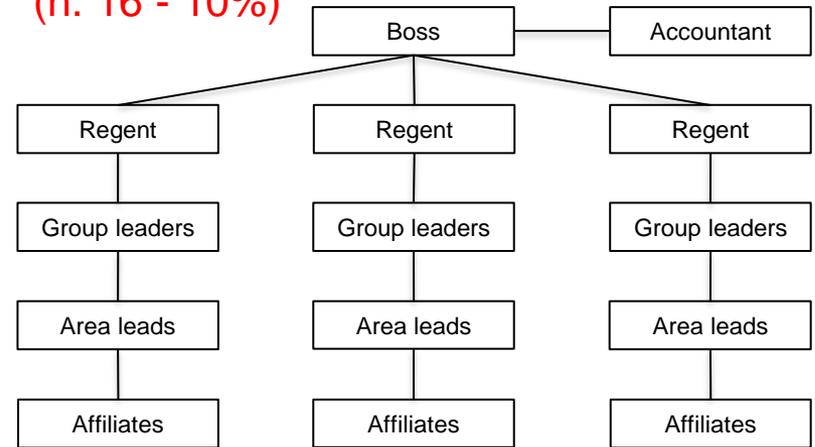


The various organizational orders of Camorra (161 clans, 2021)

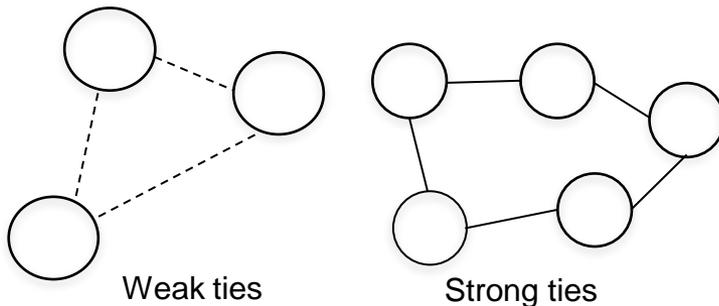
1. Clan with low/medium level of structuring (n. 135 - 84%)



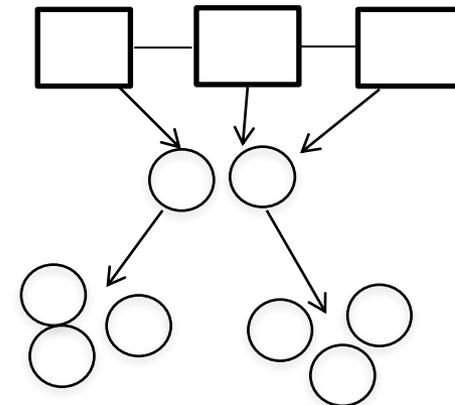
2. Historical clans more structured (n. 16 - 10%)



2b. Alliances and cartels

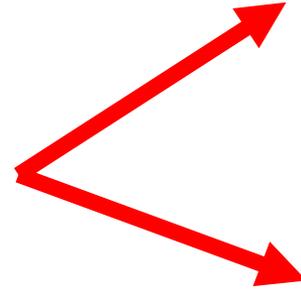
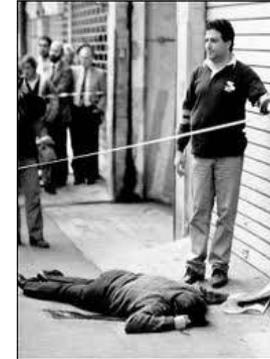
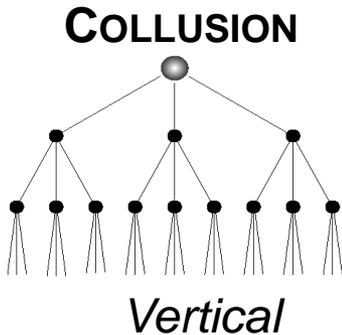


3. Federation (n. 10 - 6%)

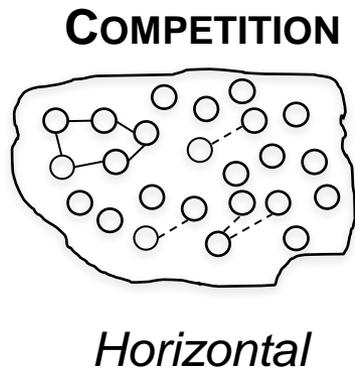


Organizational orders and types of killings

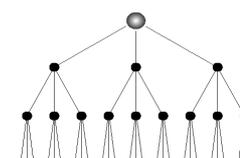
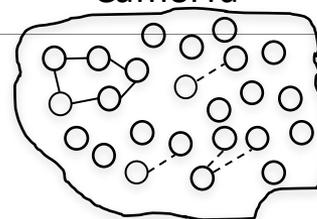
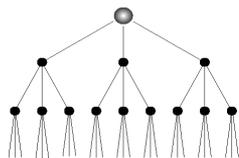
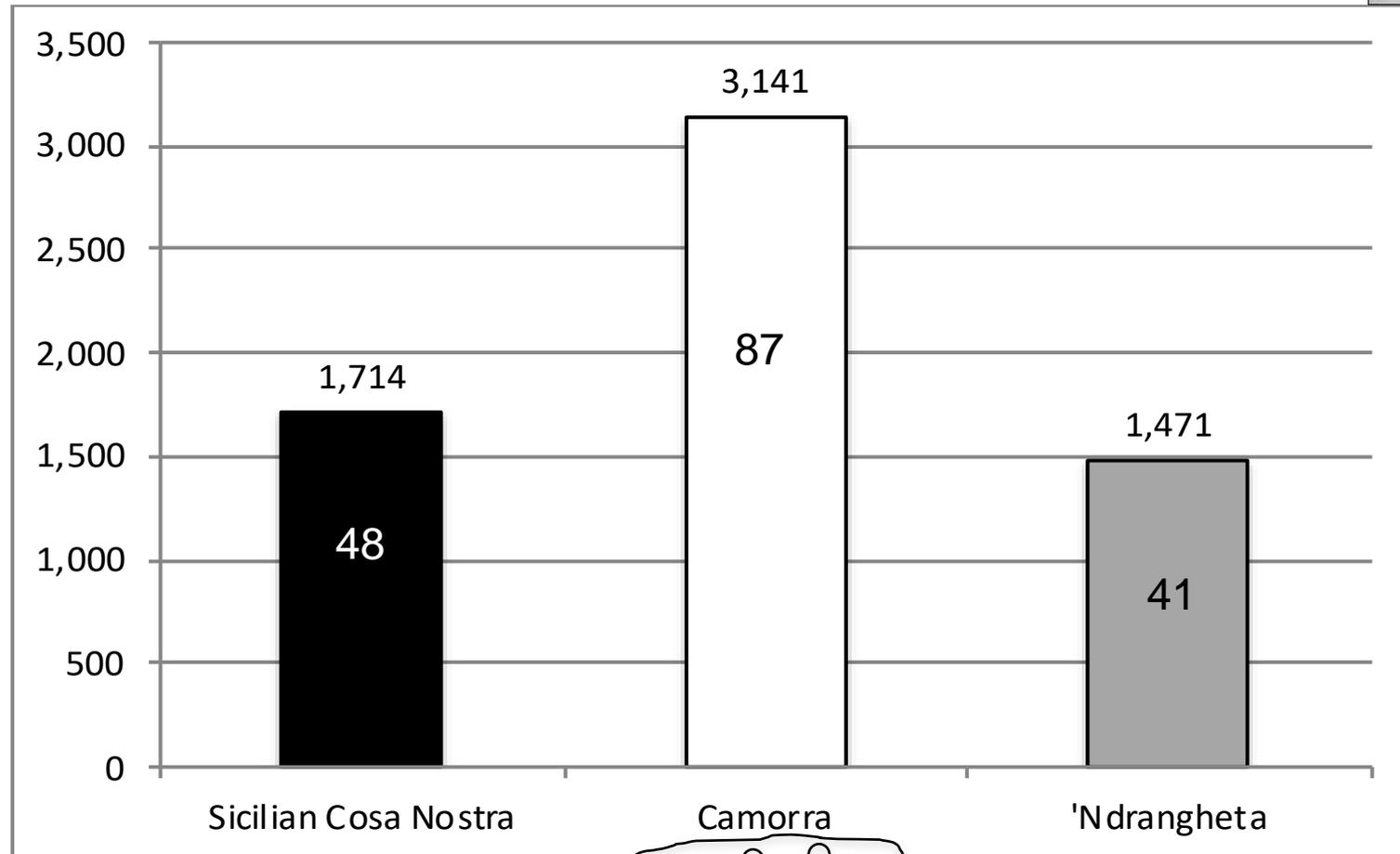
Ordinary killings



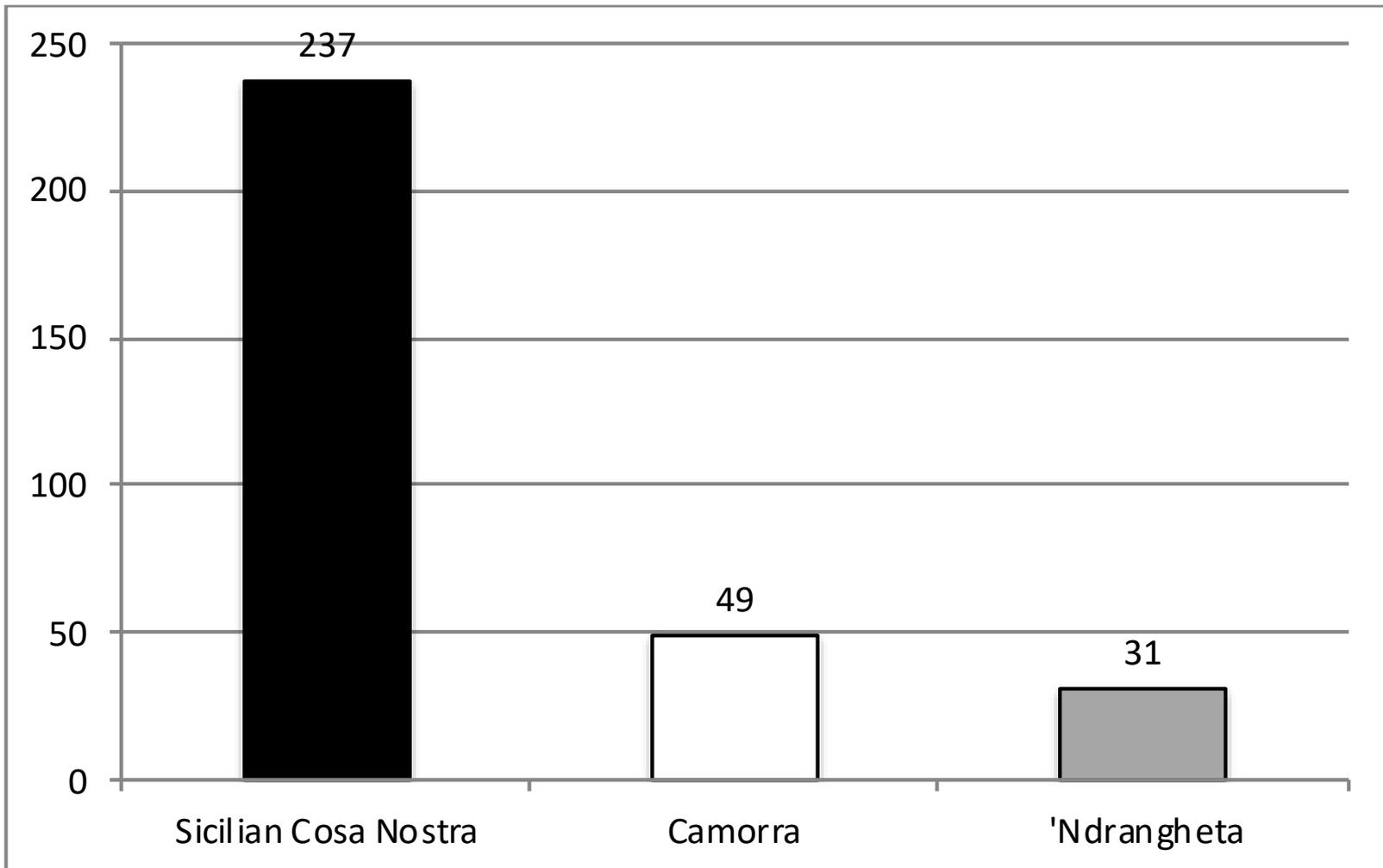
High profile killings



The total number of killings of the three mafias 1983-2018



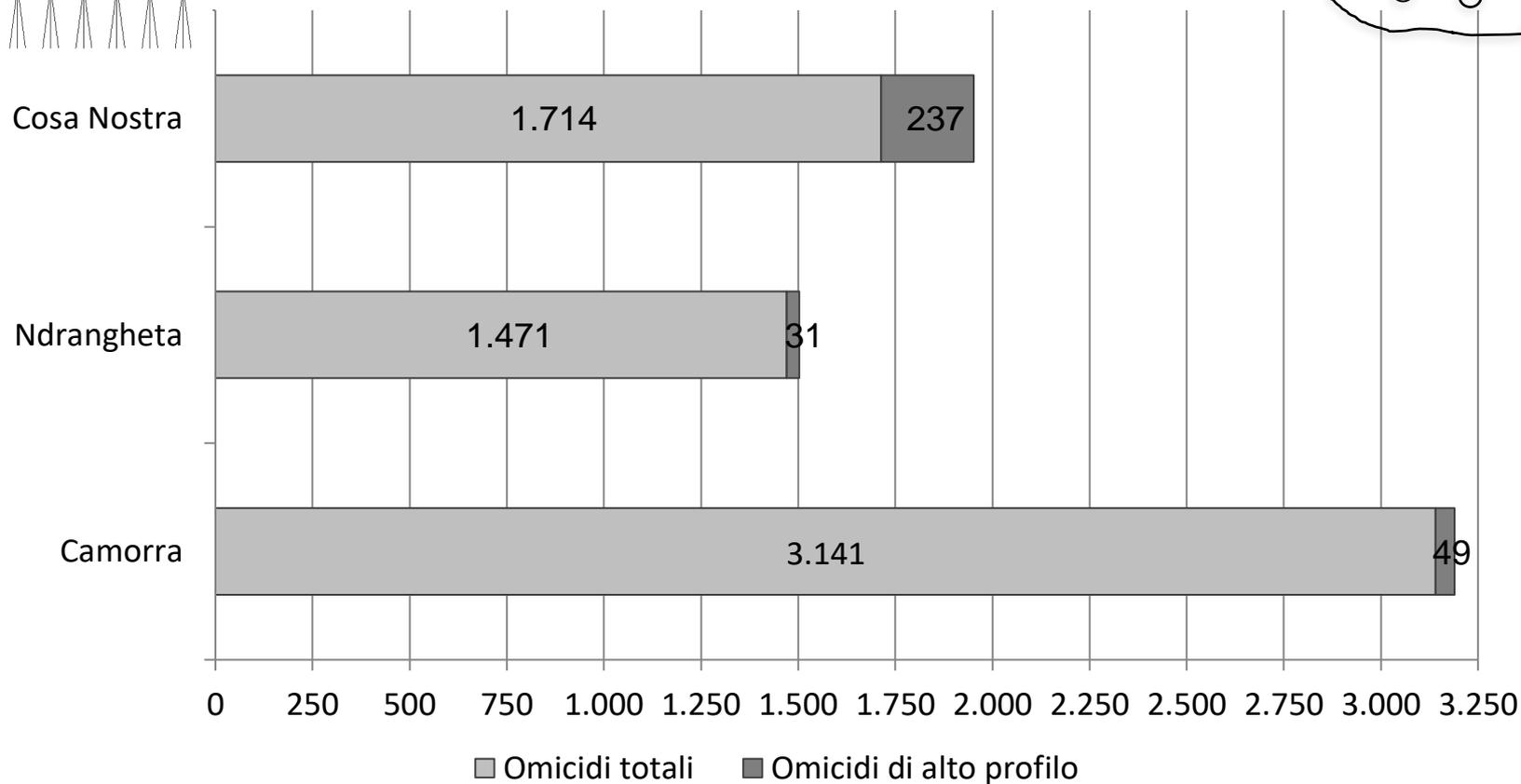
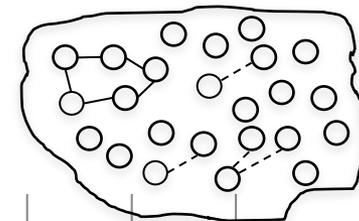
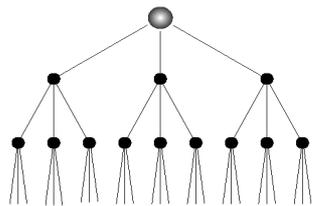
High-profile killings (1861-2021)



High-profile killings (1861-2021)

		Sicilian Cosa Nostra	Camorra	'Ndrangheta
Institutions	Magistrates and professionals in the legal world	15	0	3
	Law enforcement agencies	122	32	14
	Officials pertaining to institutions	4	1	1
Political parties, social movements	Politicians (activists and elected)	47	11	11
Trade unionists	Trade unionists	35	3	0
Public sphere	Journalists	8	1	1
	Priests	6	1	1
	Total	237	49	31

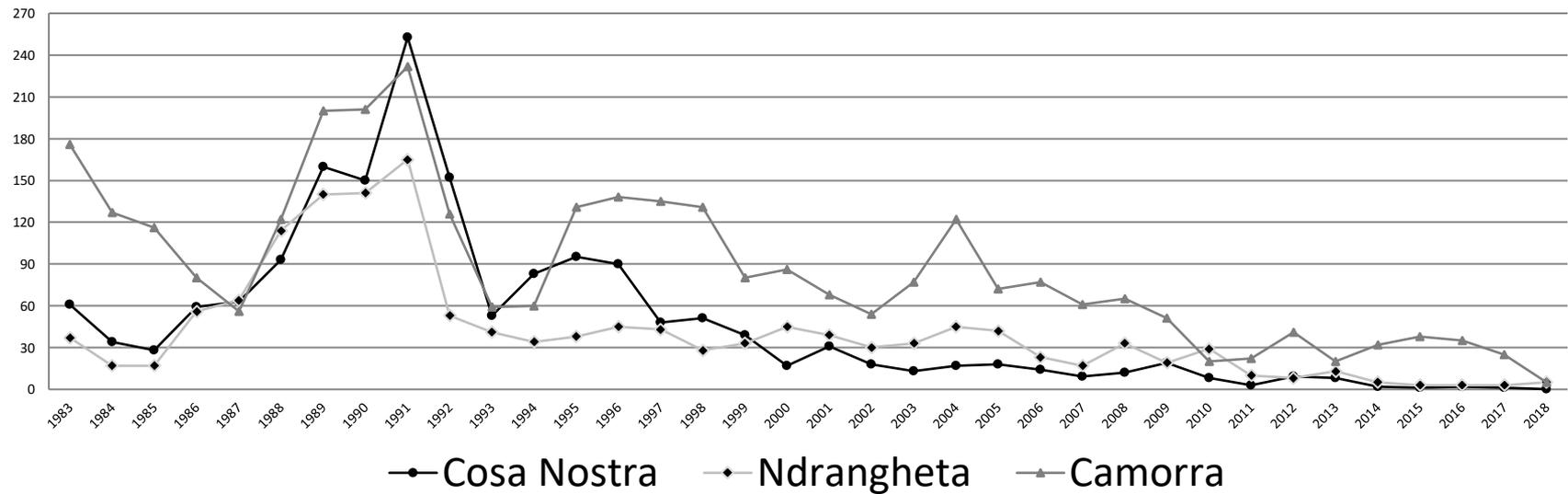
Organization and violence



Total murders (left) and high-profile murders (right)

Why don't they kill anymore?

Homicides trend in the three mafias, 1983-2018 (N=6,326)



Mafia murders 1983-2017

	Cosa Nostra	Camorra	'Ndrangheta
1983 - 1992	1,053	1,436	804
1993 - 2002	525	942	376
2003 - 2012	122	608	259
2013 - 2017	14	150	27
Total	1,714	3,136	1,466

Camorra, 2019-2020: 16

Why don't they kill anymore?

The external and internal factors

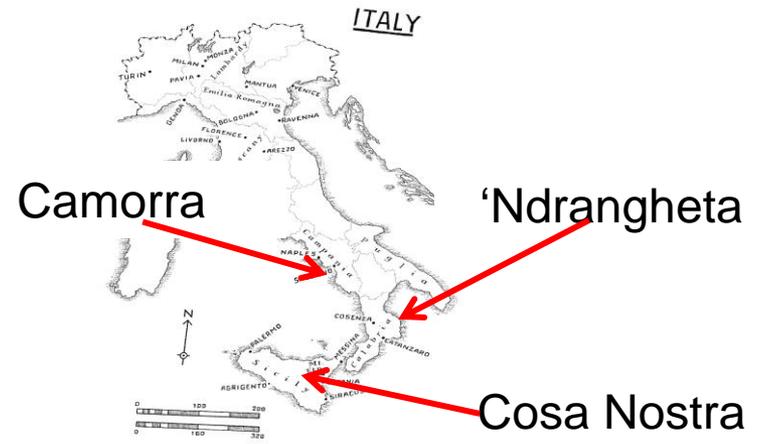
Why don't they kill anymore? *The external factors*

- The effectiveness of state response and the growth of anti-mafia efforts, especially after 1992:
 - Many mafiosi were convicted to heavy sentences
 - More than 450 sentences to life imprisonment in the Palermo district between 1992 and 2006
 - The arrest of all the most important leaders of the Cosa Nostra “commission,” and of many high-ranking members
 - More than 200 municipal and provincial councils have been dissolved in recent decades because of mafia infiltration

Why don't they kill anymore?

- **External factors:**
 - Strong repression
 - The growth of anti-mafia efforts
- **Internal factors:**
 - From *competition* to *collusion* (in the Camorra)
 - Peaceful coexistence among clans in the same territories

Outline



ITALIAN MAFIAS

- Structures and organizational models
- Violence and killings
- **Business and expansion**

No liquid mafias: sectors of activity in the legal market

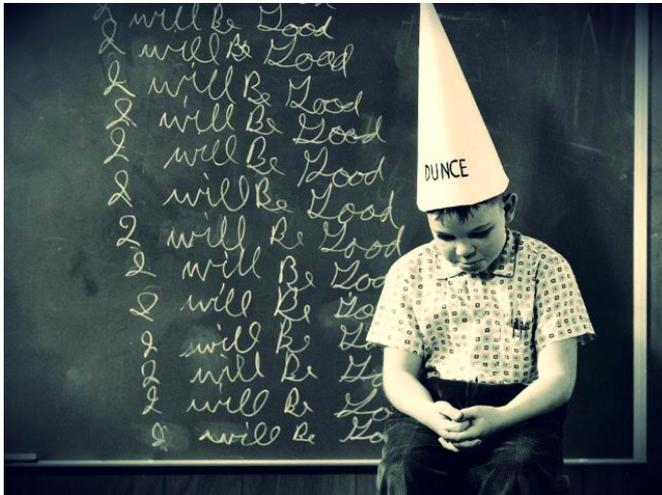
- Construction
- Public works
- Restaurants, pizzerias
- Hotels, tourism
- Wholesale, Retail
- Gambling
- Waste management
- Health
- Sport
- ...

Extra-legal services offered in legal markets

Forms of mafia protection	Extra-legal Services
BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT	Access to markets New business opportunities Provision of services and manual labor
LIMITATION OF COMPETITION	Creation of cartels Reduction of prices and costs
ENFORCEMENT	Protection from external threats Dispute handling Worker control Credit recovery

(Catino 2019)

The external network



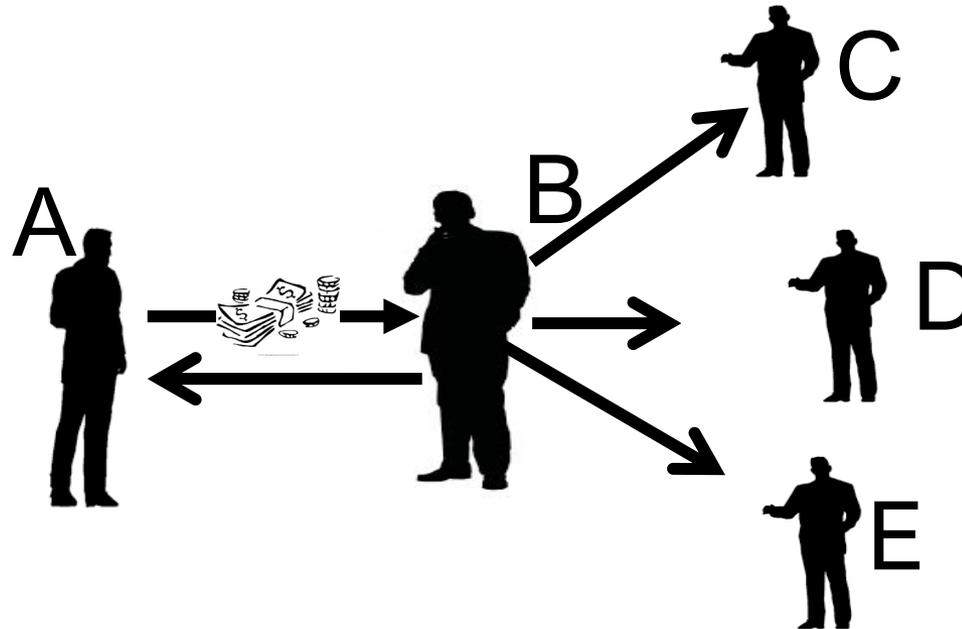
Low human
capital in mafias

The external network:
broker and provider

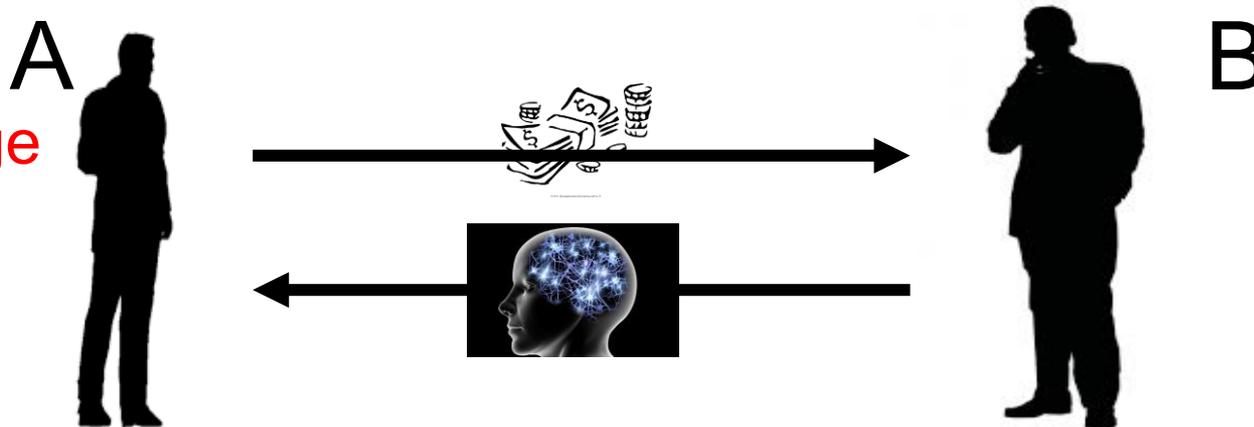
The external network.

White collars: broker and provider

Knowledge
broker



Knowledge
provider



Expansion

	Cosa Nostra	'Ndrangheta	Camorra
Operational or organizational establishment	<p><i>Italy:</i> Lazio, Tuscany, Lombardy.</p> <p><i>Abroad:</i> Belgium, Brazil, Germany, UK, U.S.</p>	<p><i>Italy:</i> Abruzzo, Lazio, Umbria, Molise, Tuscany, Friuli, Trentino Alto- Adige, Veneto.</p> <p><i>Abroad:</i> Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Holland, Guyana, Malta, the Dominican Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Switzerland, U.S., Venezuela.</p>	<p><i>Italy:</i> Lazio, Marche, Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto.</p> <p><i>Abroad:</i> Germany, Netherlands, Holland, Romania, Spain, UK.</p>
Transplantation		<p><i>Italy:</i> Emilia-Romagna, Liguria, Lombardy, Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta.</p> <p><i>Abroad:</i> Australia, Canada, Germany.</p>	

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF ITALIAN MAFIAS IN NEW AREAS

Relationship with home territory

1. Low Autonomy:

- Executive role, depending entirely on the headquarters both strategically and operationally.
- Revenues from the new areas are usually transferred to the headquarters.
- Human resources come from the home territories.
- Headquarters always have the last word on the use of violence, and the executors come from the home regions.

This is mainly the Cosa Nostra and Camorra pattern and also characterizes some 'Ndrangheta clans in other Italian regions and countries.

Relationship with home territory

2. Partial Autonomy:

- Organizational units are operationally autonomous but dependent strategically on the headquarters when matters of general interest are concerned.
- Revenues remain mainly in the new area.
- Recruitment also occurs in the new area, but career management is controlled by the clans in the home areas.
- Headquarters always has the last word concerning the use of violence, but executors come from both the home and new areas.

This is the 'Ndrangheta pattern in Piedmont, Lombardy, and Liguria.

Relationship with home territory

3. Full Autonomy:

- This pattern characterizes some contemporary Camorra and 'Ndrangheta clans.
- For the Camorra, it is not an evolutionary phase but abandonment by some clans of their original areas and replication of mafia methods elsewhere.
- Other instances involve some 'Ndrangheta clans operating in Australia.

In Italy, an attempt at full autonomy was attempted by 'Ndrangheta clans in Lombardy, but was blocked by the Calabrian headquarters with the killing of the boss Carmelo Novella in 2008 in Olona, Lombardy.

MAFIA

ORGANIZATIONS

THE VISIBLE HAND OF CRIMINAL ENTERPRISE

Maurizio Catino

