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IPOSTESI SUL FUTURO DELLE MAFIE

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Questa presentazione comprende:

i risultati del progetto PROTON (Horizon 2020) relativo agli innovative studies «Le carriere criminali dei mafiosi in Italia» che riguarda il declino delle mafie italiane in Italia

Continua con l'analisi dei loro processi di globalizzazione mostrando le mappe elaborate per il Ministero della Giustizia nel 2017

E si conclude con alcune

ipotesi sul futuro delle mafie in Europa (relazione presentata a Vienna alla Conferenza delle Parti della Convenzione UN sul crimine organizzato transnazionale il 13 ottobre 2018)



Conference of the Parties

United Nations Convention against
Transnational Organized Crime

**Side event on “Changing O.C.: lessons from EU PROTON Project - Vienna 18
October 2018**

Transformations of traditional OC in the last 30 years: the Italian case

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Project PROTON of Horizon 2020, (**Modelling the PRocesses leading to Organised crime and TerrOrist Networks**) aims at improving existing knowledge on the processes of recruitment to organised crime and terrorist networks (OCTN)

Among the innovative studies envisaged by this project the analysis of the criminal careers of mafia members aims at pointing out those policies that could work in curbing the recruitment of mafia members from their criminal organizations.

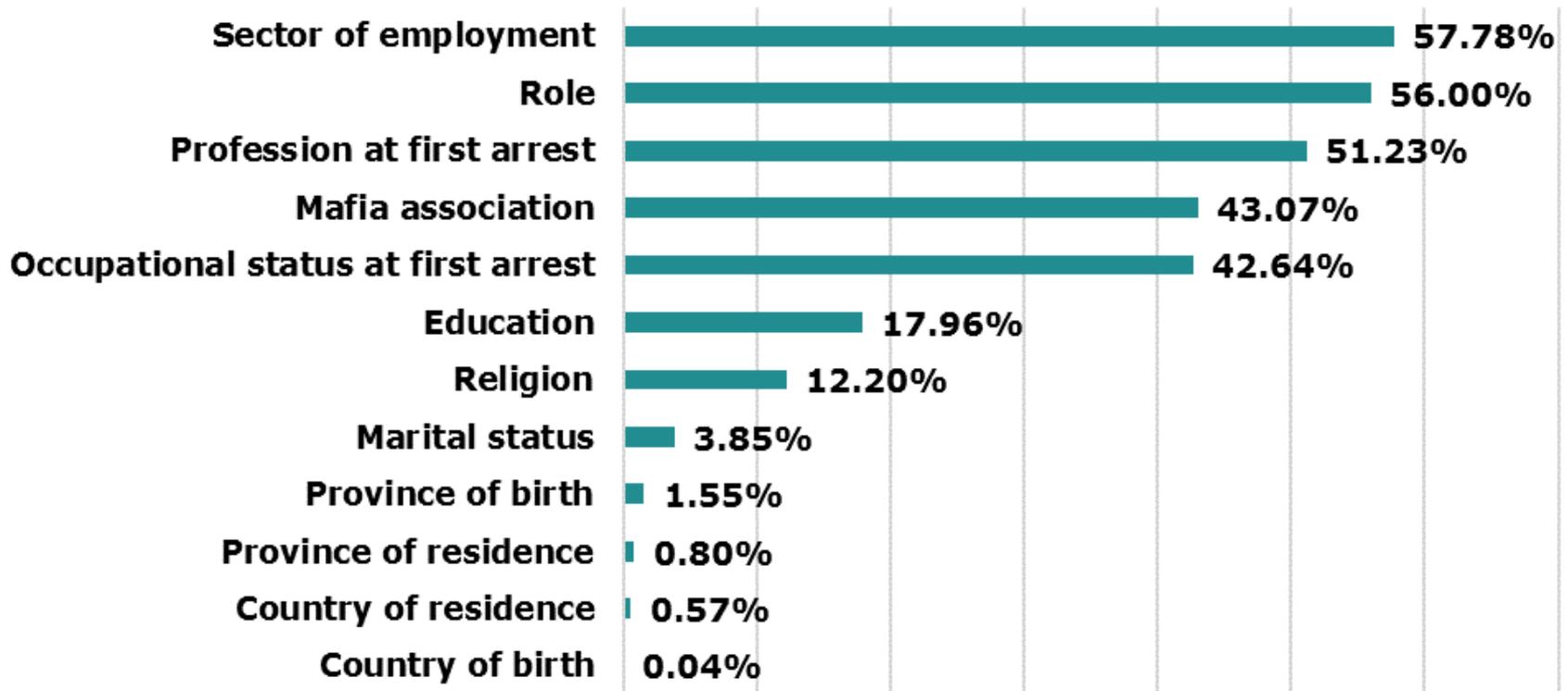
Using the data made available by the Italian Minister of Justice, this presentation focus on the transformations of Italian OC from 1982 to 2017. Their analysis has future more general policy implications regarding the trend of traditional OC

First developed by A. Blumstein (1986) the criminal career paradigm has identified, in its evolution, three primary components (participation - prevalence, frequency, duration) and three ancillary: specialization, escalation and intermittency.

- Many studies using this theoretical framework have used primary data. Proton uses secondary data.
- PROTON database used by project Proton represents the population of individuals convicted for mafia offenses between 1982 and March 2017 (N=11,144). It originates from secondary data extracted from databases used for administrative purposes: the Prison Administration Department (DAP) of the Italian Ministry of Justice provided socio-demographic data as well as arrest and imprisonment data of convicted mafia members. The Criminal Records Registry (Casellario giudiziale) of the Ministry of Justice provided the criminal records for individuals included in the DAP dataset.
- Afterwards we operationalized the six parameters, following the variables contained in the final database.

Due to the anonymity and to the high level of missing values, the analysis has been limited to few patterns and few variables.

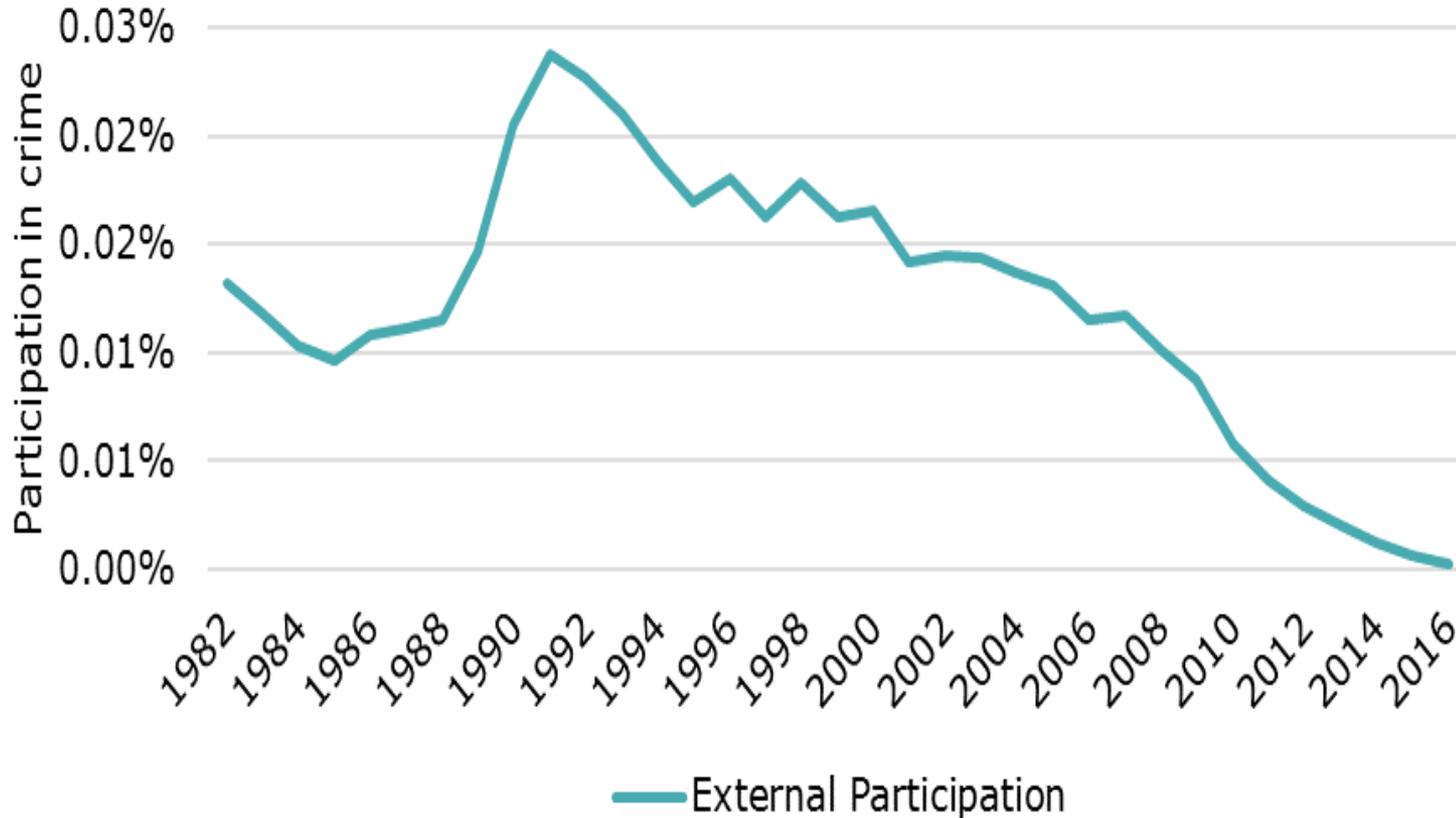
Missing values:



RESULTS

Participation: diminishing in time

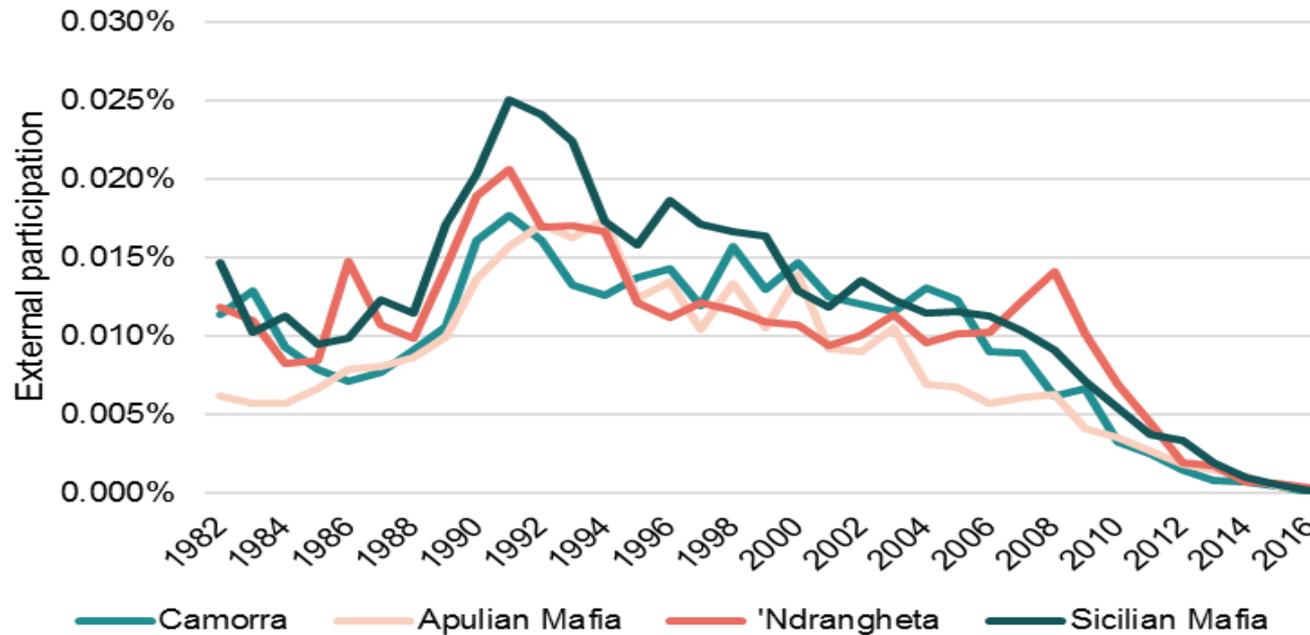
Participation of mafia members



No variations across the four criminal organizations: same trend

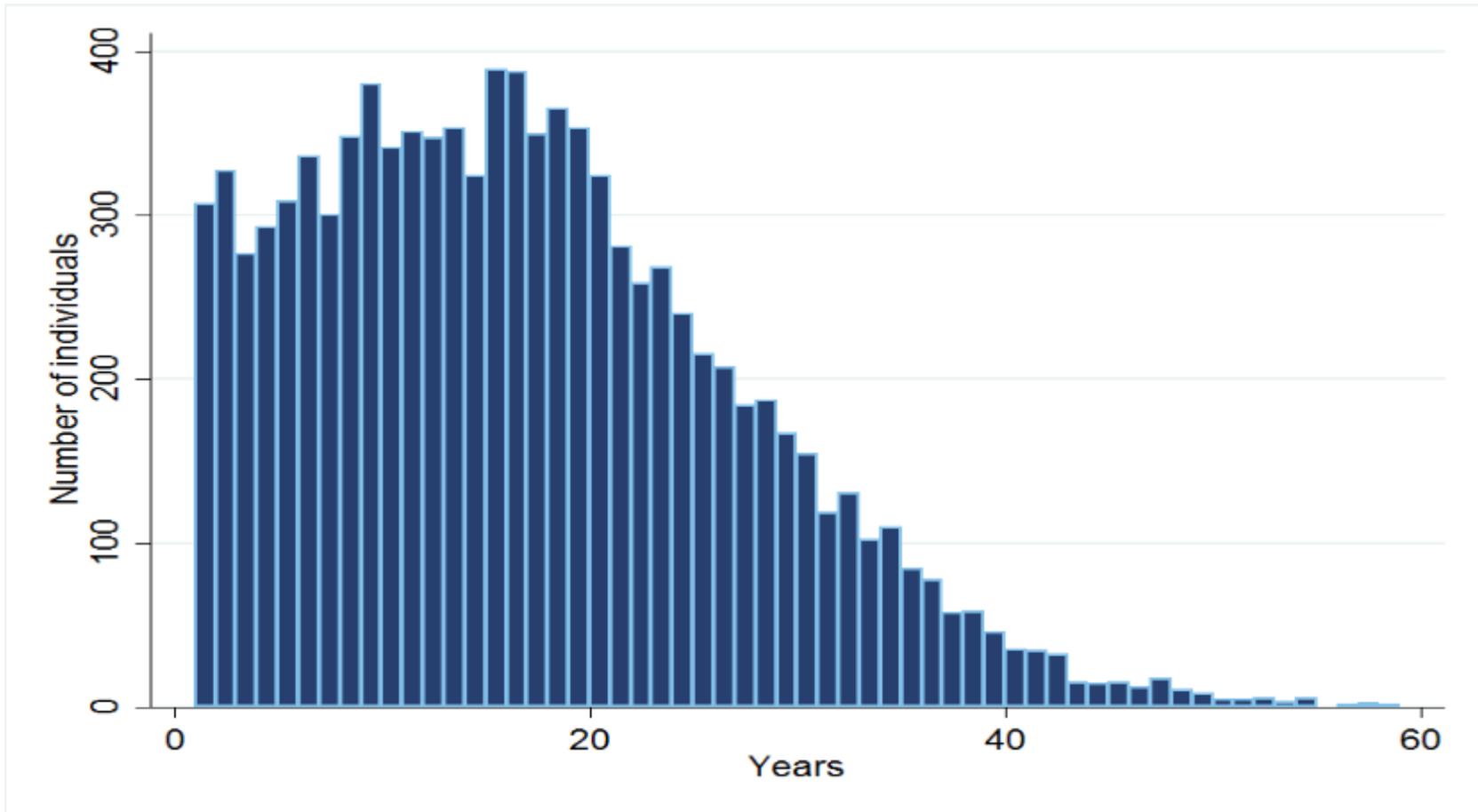
Mafiosi belonging to the four criminal organizations reduce progressively their **participation** in crime between 1991 and 2016. Excluding the last years, because of a possible distortion due to sentences non registered, the trend is homogeneous for the four criminal organizations.

Trend of participation in the four criminal organizations

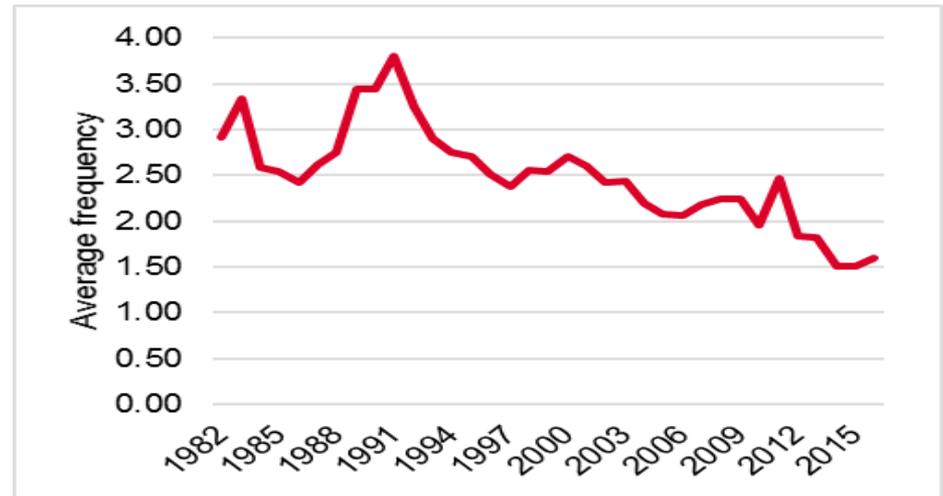
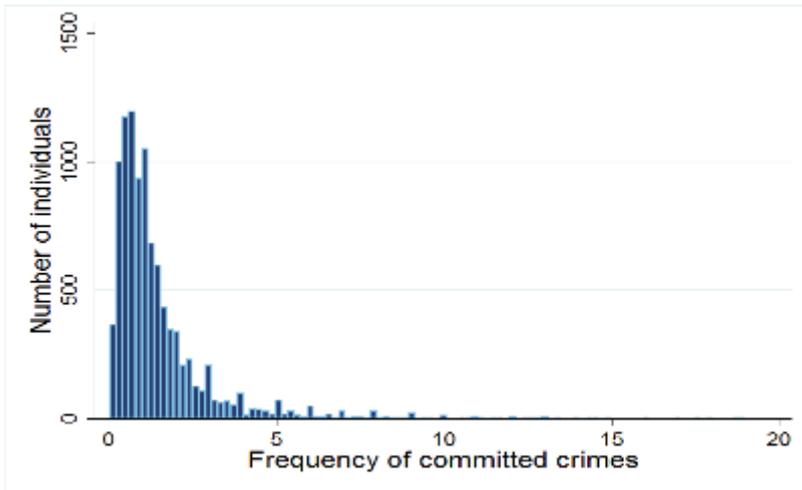


Average duration: 14 years of prison

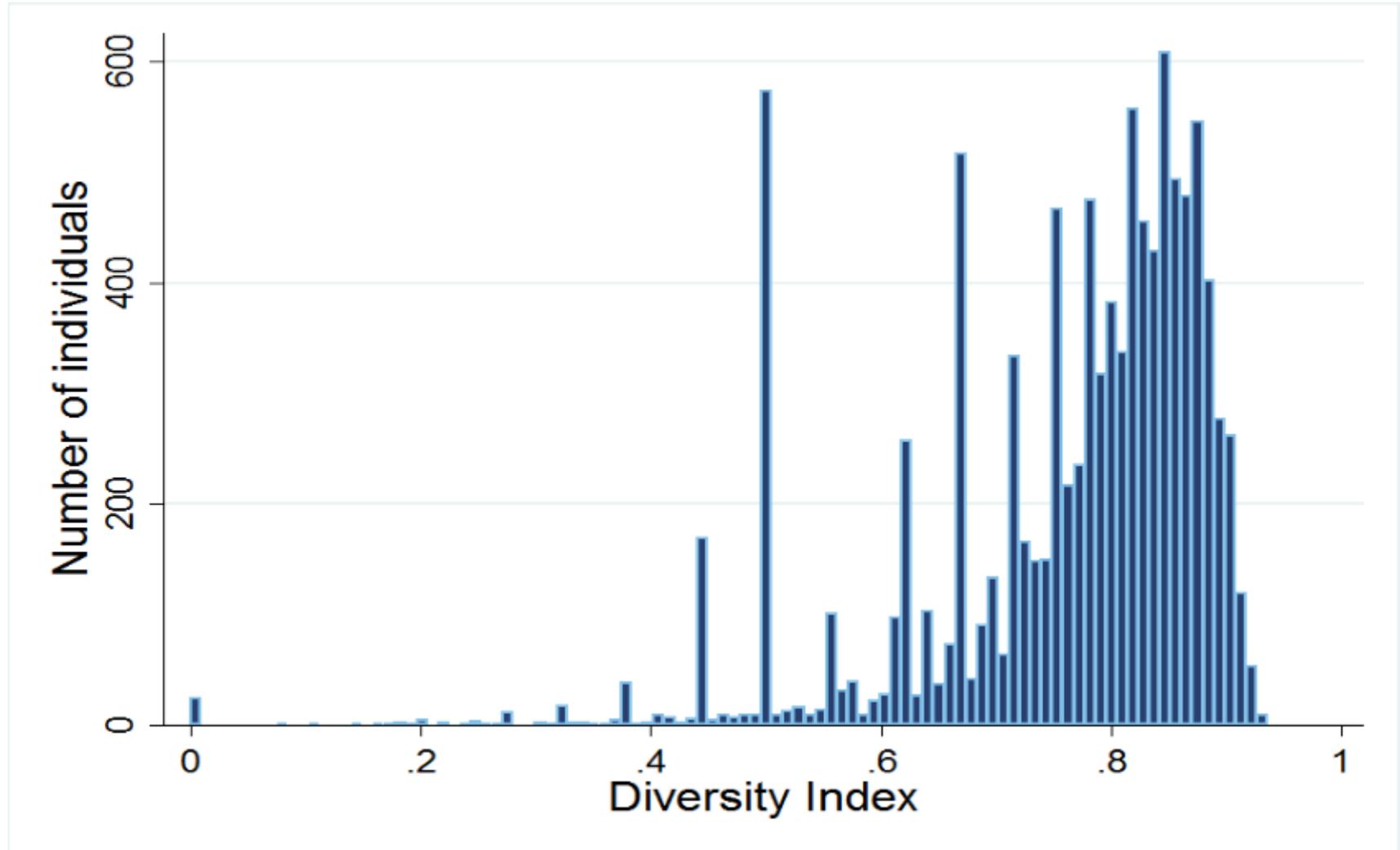
Duration of the criminal careers of mafia members



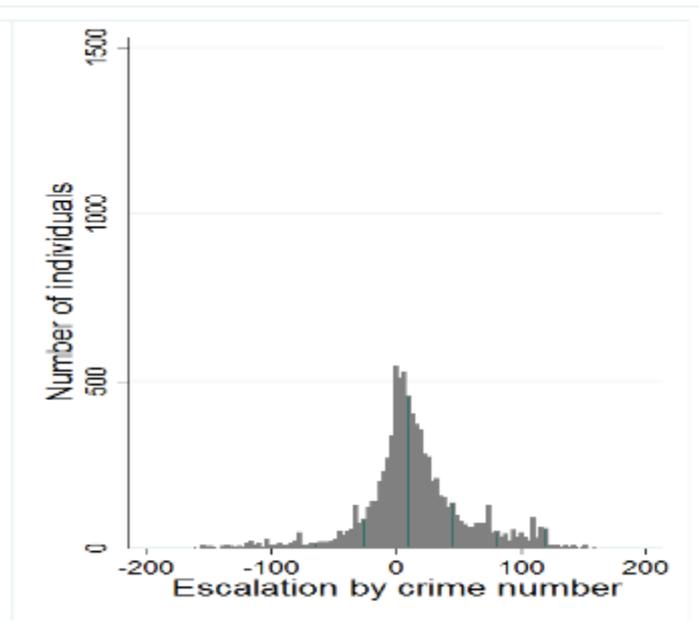
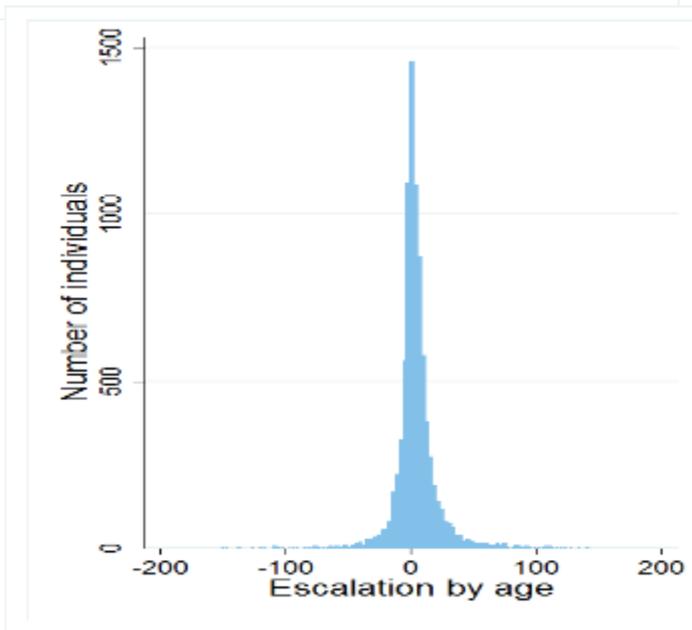
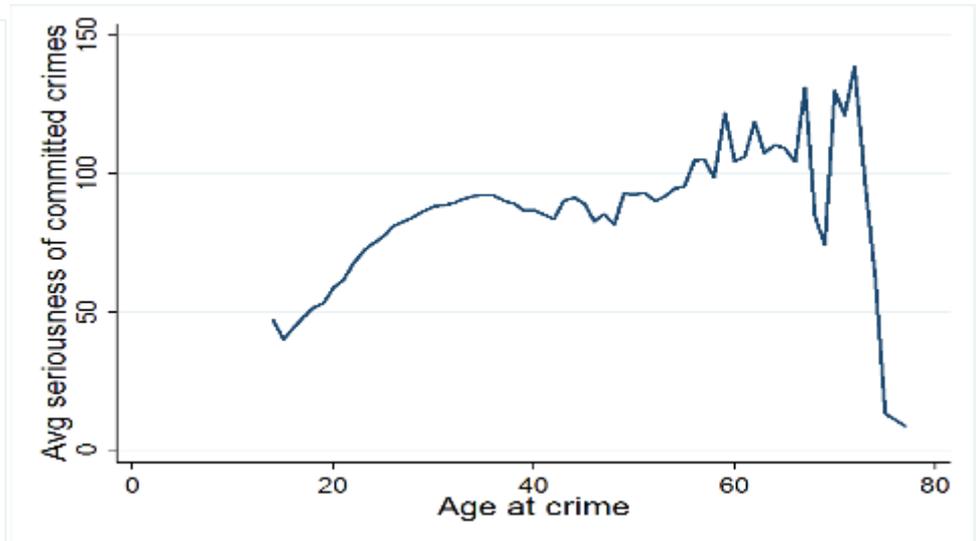
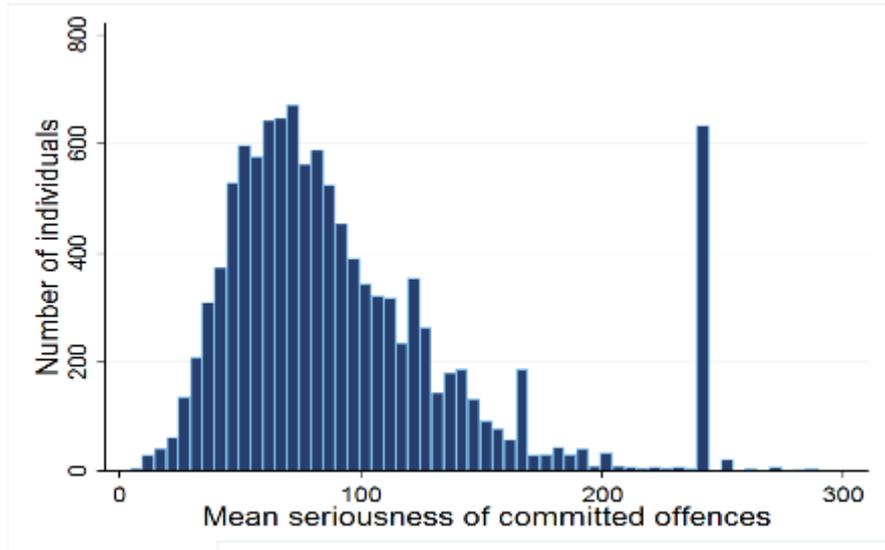
Frequency



Specialization: non specialized, versatile offenders



Escalation: from less serious to more serious offences when young, with a drop when old



Decline of Italian mafias? Better to label as «transformation»

Even if the data present strong limitations to their inference, these results represent the decline (transformation) of Mafias in Italy in the last forty years. Mafias in Italy are stronger in the public discourse than they are in reality.

Decline that could be a key for interpreting **transformations at organizational level** and decline in relation **to the process of fragmentation** and the emerging of new subjects, smaller and more active at local level.

This trend is confirmed by the recent Report of the Antimafia Commission (2018) saying that there is a common trend in all the territories and organizations consisting in the progressive reduction of violence in favour of the exchange relationships in the illegal and legal markets (p.13). **Less violence and more infiltration in the legitimate economy requests a different hierarchical organizational model. If this trend will continue the consequences are the progressive disappearing of traditional organized crime families in favour of a more educated generation of “Mafiosi” entrepreneurs. The same decline of LCN families in the US at the end of the '90.**

With differences among the Four Italian Criminal Organizations:

Changes in the recruitment processes of Italian prosecutors and judges: **less contiguity**;

Changes in the criminal legislation from 1982 and penitentiary regulations (41 bis) in 1992: **deterrence**

Changes in the cultural context and in the public opinion ...**less social consensus**

Following the processes of fragmentation of OC occurred in the US, Canada, Australia and today Mexico and Europe, the military and violent component of Italian OC is disappearing in favour, when possible, of a local gang model. The case of the city of Naples could be a signal that the gang model might replace old traditional organizations.

Mainly due to the presence in prison of the old camorra members, these gangs occupy traditional markets of extortion and drugs with a different business model. Is this a signal that gangs will be transforming traditional Italian CO?

This process is less relevant in the 'ndrangheta families. The power and strength of 'ndrangheta resides in its family links. They ensure the continuity of the organization and the setting in other territories outside the borders of Calabria. Family links explain why there are very few "pentiti" of the organization and, when existing, very marginal ones. Accusing an affiliate means accusing a brother, a cousin, an uncle or the father, breaking a double oath: the one of the affiliation to the organization and the one of *iure sanguinis*.

For Mafia, signals of changes are coming from the Province of Gela where, according to the Prosecutor General of this Province, there are continuing intimidation episodes such as arson of cars (600 in one year), together with shots addressed against shops and private houses. Victims do not report these crimes, symptoms of the power of these organizations that could be explained as autonomous from Mafia organizations (p.51)

Data show the decline and its transformation of traditional OC in Italy. Its infiltration in the legitimate economy is part of its continuum and will continue as long as the reproduction of illegal markets will feed it. The dirty capitals will become very soon part of the legitimate capital of the economic enterprises in Italy, as it has happened in the US, in Russia and everywhere.

This conclusion has two policy implications:

First: how to accelerate the decline of Italian mafias and how to mitigate their infiltration in the legitimate economy;

Second: how to anticipate and/or minimize the process of fragmentation that contains many different variables (*disappearance* of traditional OC; processes of marginalization of young; etc.)

Project Proton analysing the psychological, social and economic factors that drive the recruitment from C.O. and simulating the propensity to recruitment develops «What if solutions» legislative (more prevention) and investigative (more economic investigations)

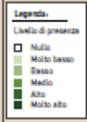
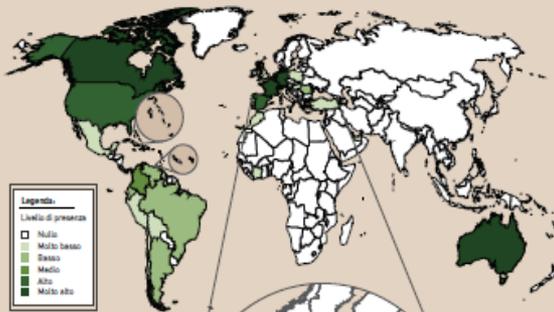
LE MAFIE ALL'ESTERO

Dove sono le mafie italiane nel mondo

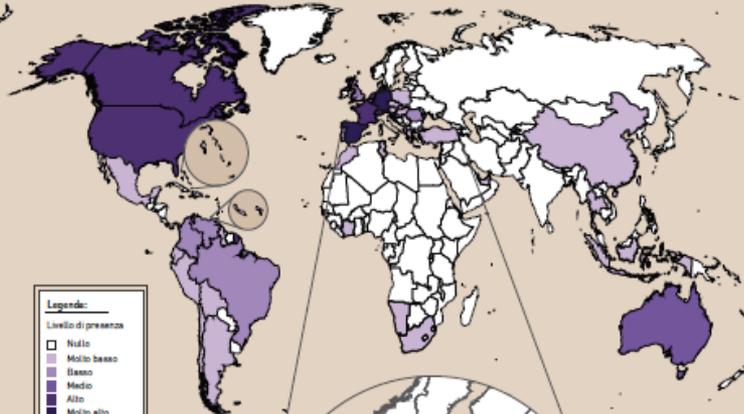
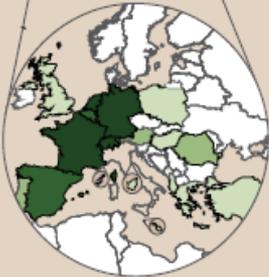
Somma dei riferimenti alla presenza generica, presenza stabile, latitanti e arresti. Relazioni DIA e DNA, anni 2000 - 2016*

*Solo relazione DIA 1° semestre

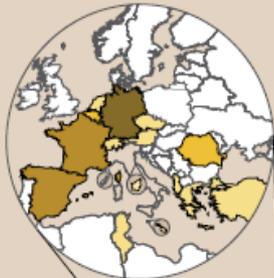
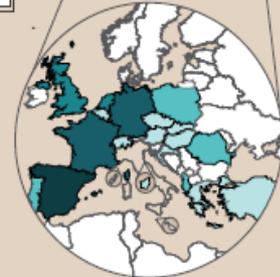
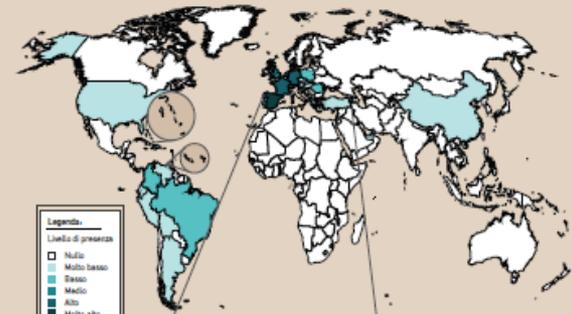
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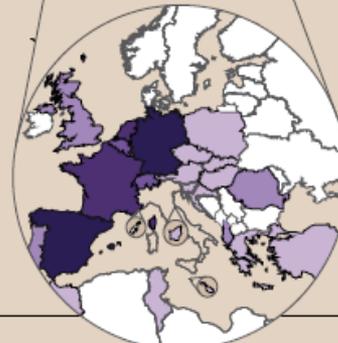
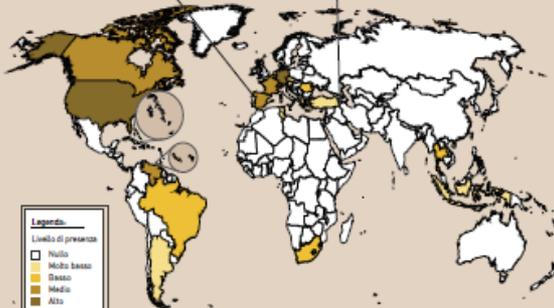
'Ndrangheta



Camorra



Cosa Nostra

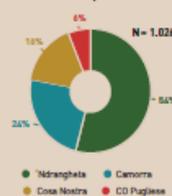


Le mafie italiane sono fortemente presenti nelle destinazioni tradizionali dell'emigrazione italiana (Germania, Nord America, Svizzera, Belgio, Australia), nonché negli snodi fondamentali dei principali traffici illeciti (Spagna e Paesi Bassi).

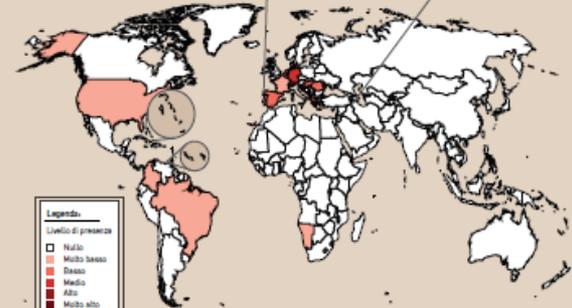
La 'Ndrangheta è di gran lunga l'organizzazione

maggiormente proiettata all'estero, con livelli di presenza alti o molto alti in tutte le destinazioni citate. La Camorra resta invece più concentrata in Europa occidentale, mentre Cosa nostra è presente anche nelle Americhe. Più limitata e circoscritta la presenza all'estero della criminalità organizzata pugliese.

Ritorni per mafia (%)



CO Pugliese

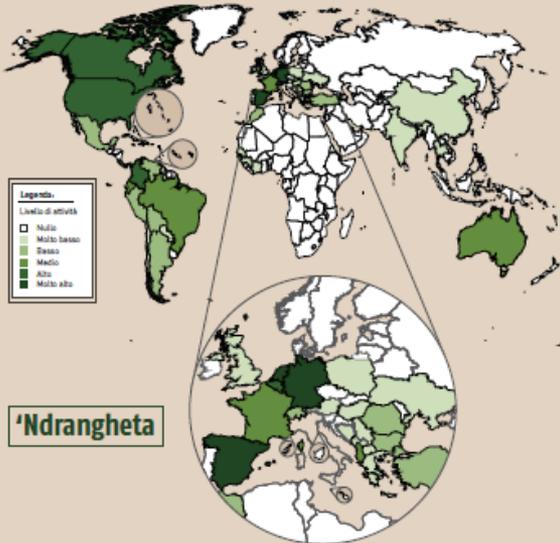
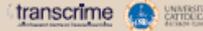


N.B.: la classificazione della mappa centrale è basata su valori di scala differenti da quelli adottati per le mappe delle singole mafie

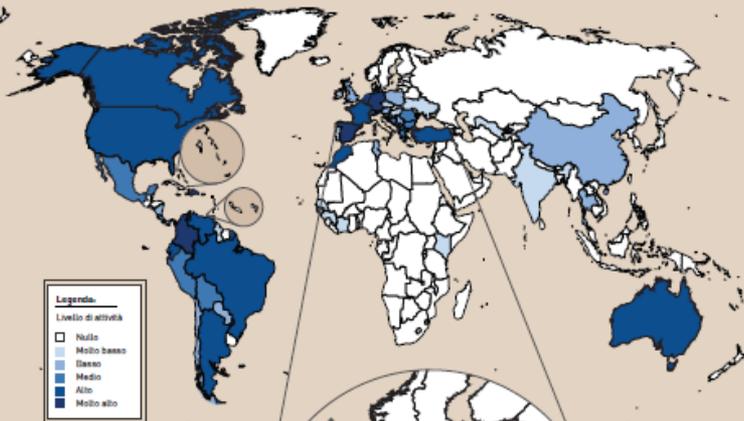
Mafie italiane e traffico di droga

Riferimenti alle attività connesse al traffico
illecito di sostanze stupefacenti.
Relazioni DIA e DNA, anni 2000 - 2016*

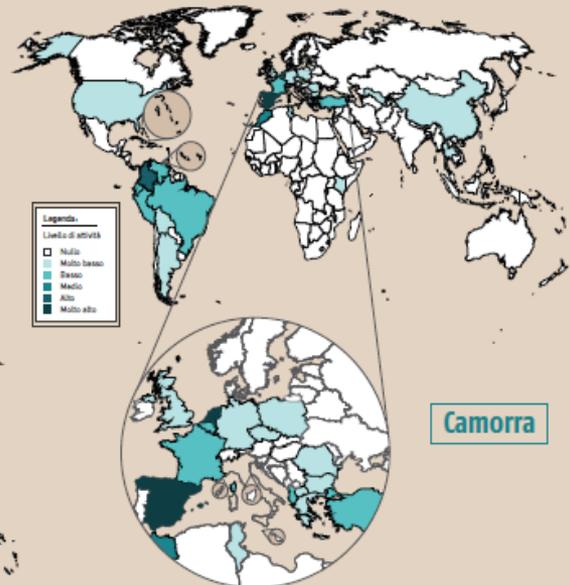
*Solo relazione DIA 1° semestre



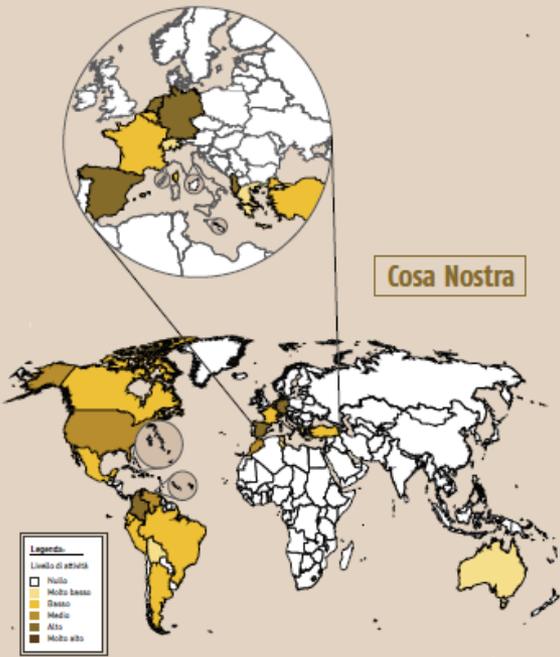
'Ndrangheta



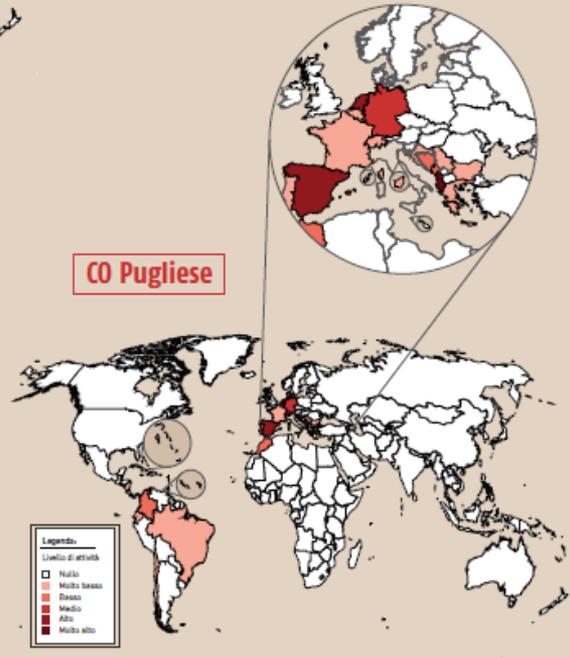
Cosa Nostra



Camorra



CO Pugliese



Spagna, Germania e Paesi Bassi rappresentano fondamentali hub per l'importazione delle droghe. Queste provengono per lo più da Colombia e Albania (ma anche da Marocco, Turchia e altri paesi dell'America Latina) e sono destinate ai mercati europei, del Nord America e dell'Australia.

La 'Ndrangheta è l'organizzazione più attiva in questo settore ed è presente in tutti questi contesti, così come Cosa nostra. La Camorra è meno presente in Germania, mentre la criminalità organizzata pugliese si concentra particolarmente in Albania (e, in misura minore, in altri paesi dell'area balcanica).

Riferimenti per mafia (%)

'Ndrangheta	48%
Camorra	26%
Cosa Nostra	17%
CO Pugliese	10%

N = 833

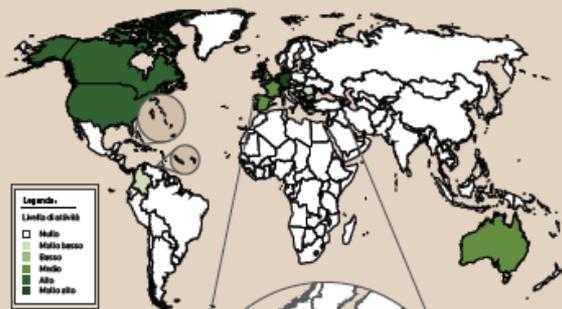
N.B.: la classificazione della mappa centrale è basata su valori di scala differenti da quelli adottati per le mappe delle singole mafie

Mafie italiane, riciclaggio e infiltrazione nell'economia legale

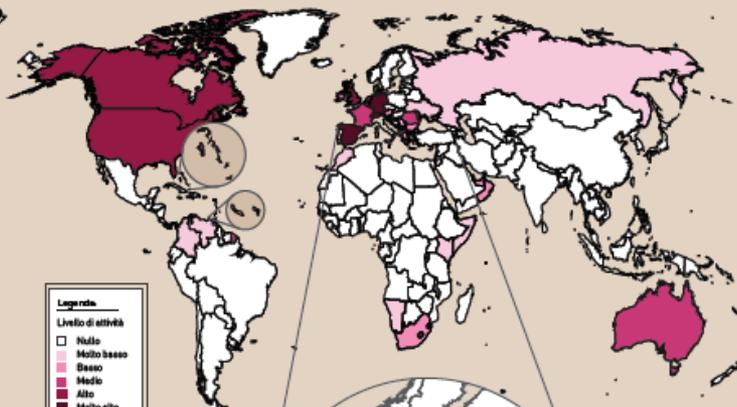
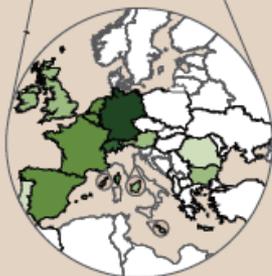
Somma dei riferimenti alle attività di riciclaggio e infiltrazione nell'economia legale. Relazioni DIA e DNA, anni 2000 - 2016*

*Solo relazione DIA 1° semestre

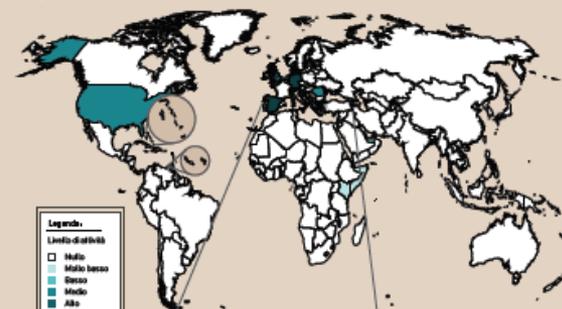
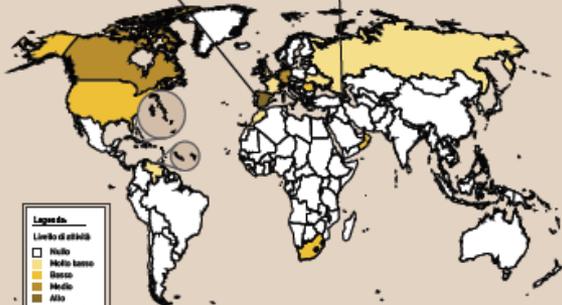
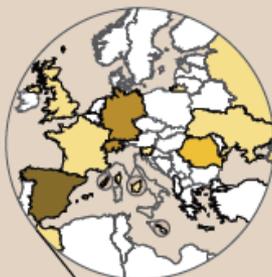
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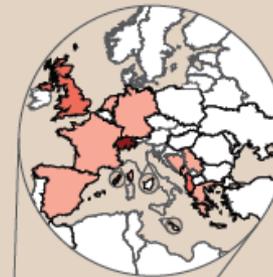
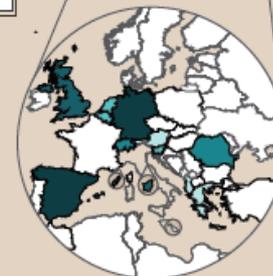
'Ndrangheta



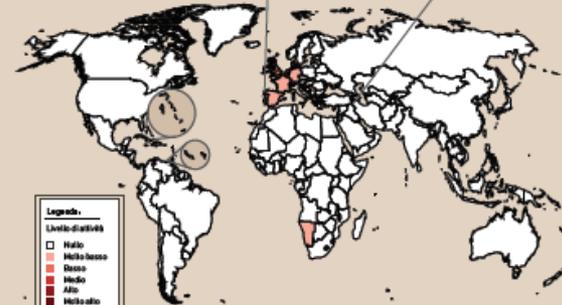
Cosa Nostra



Camorra



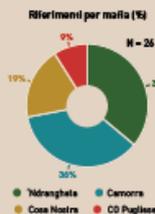
CO Pugliese



Il riciclaggio e l'infiltrazione delle mafie italiane nell'economia legale hanno luogo principalmente in Europa occidentale, nell'America settentrionale e in Australia. Rilevante la presenza nei paradisi fiscali (Svizzera su tutti, ma anche San Marino, Bahamas e Principato di Monaco).

Camorra e 'Ndrangheta sono le organizzazioni più attive in

questi ambiti. La Camorra ha una presenza più concentrata in Europa (ma anche negli USA), e reinveste anche in Romania, mentre il raggio di azione della 'Ndrangheta comprende anche Canada e Australia. È meno rilevante l'attivismo estero di Cosa nostra e della criminalità organizzata pugliese in questi ambiti.



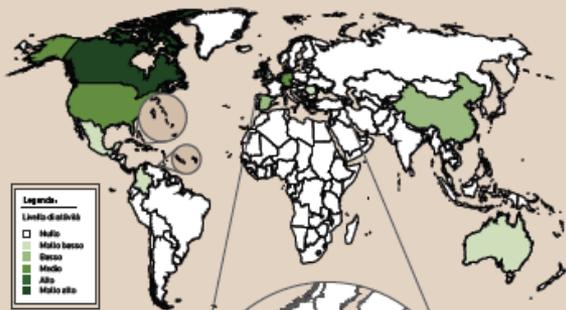
N.B.: la classificazione della mappa centrale è basata su valori di scala differenti da quelli adottati per le mappe delle singole mafie

Mafie italiane e altre attività illecite

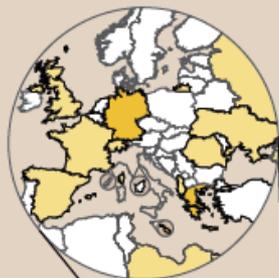
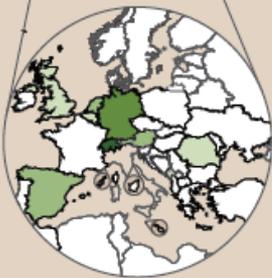
Somma dei riferimenti ad attività illecite quali traffico di prodotti del tabacco, merci contraffatte, armi e altre categorie residuali.
Relazioni DIA e DNA, anni 2000 - 2016*

*Solo relazione DIA 1° semestre

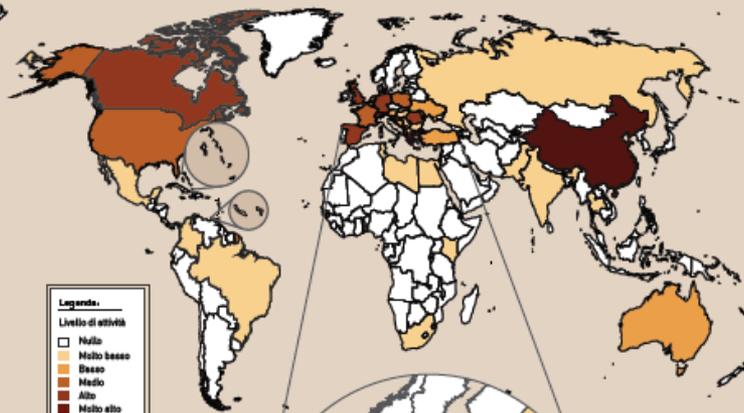
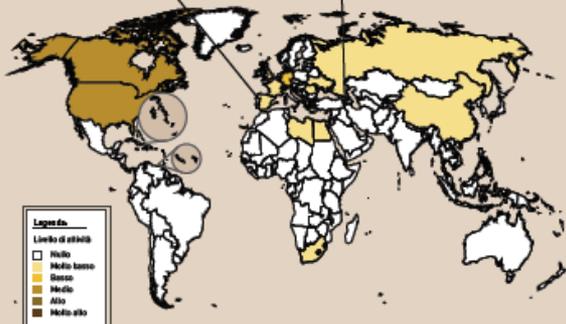
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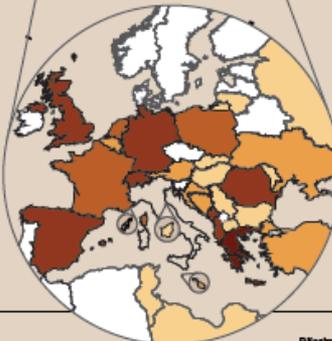
'Ndrangheta



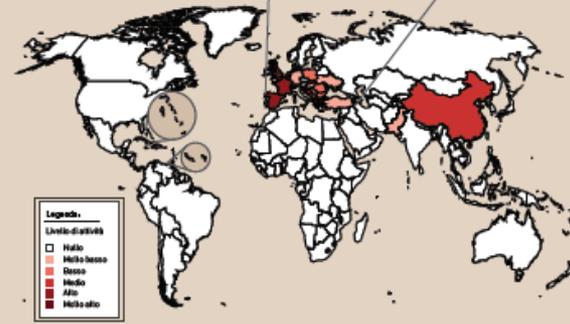
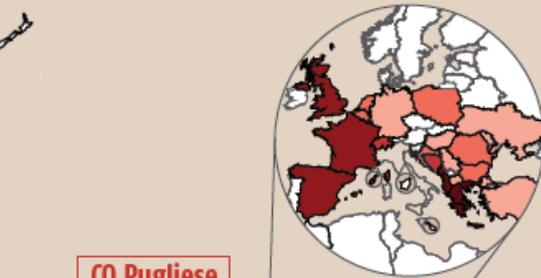
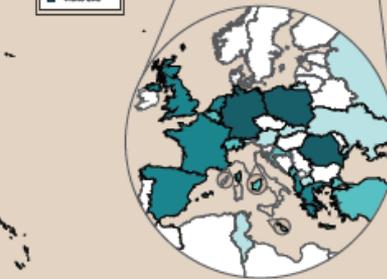
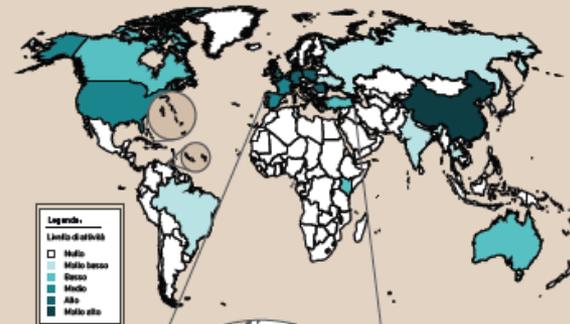
Cosa Nostra



Camorra



CO Pugliese



La proiezione estera delle mafie italiane in queste attività si rivolge principalmente verso paesi di produzione (Cina, Romania, Polonia), snodi portuali per l'importazione (Grecia, Albania, Montenegro) e mercati di destinazione (Germania, Regno Unito, Svizzera, Paesi Bassi, Spagna, Francia e Nord America).

È forte in questi settori l'attivismo delle cosche pugliesi e di quelle camorristiche. Se la criminalità organizzata pugliese risulta naturalmente proiettata nell'area balcanica, la Camorra è più attiva in Cina e nell'Europa orientale (Romania, Polonia). Più limitate e circoscritte ai mercati finali di consumo l'attività della 'Ndrangheta e di Cosa nostra.

Riferimenti per mafia (%)



N.B.: la classificazione della mappa centrale è basata su valori di scale differenti da quelli adottati per le mappe delle singole mafie



Conference of the Parties

United Nations Convention against
Transnational Organized Crime

Side event on “Changing O.C.: lessons from EU PROTON Project - Vienna 18 October
2018

Hypotheses about the future of OC in Europe

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Hypotheses on OC In Europe

Discussion about the future of OC in Europe is relevant for focusing on:

- Topics and priorities
- Directions taken by preventive and control policies
- Contents of training modules for LEAs
- Development of LEAs skills and capabilities

Signals show that OC is changing fast in the world and in Europe due to different processes. By interpreting these signals we could point out three clusters and their directions:

1. Traditional OC (structured) slowly disappearing from the Police radar, where it has been for a long time, because of violence. Its prevalent Direction: infiltration in the legitimate economy. This happens in Western Europe and could follow in the Balkans.

2. Local (flexible), as an increasing number of OC groups, but smaller and more local, linked to the territories where they operate. Activities are at global level also via cybercrime, their organizational structures are more flexible. Direction: a progressive fragmentation of organized crime groups producing more conflicts and violence

3. Emergent, as a mix of ethnic and local groups due to the migration processes in Europe and elsewhere. Direction: progressively becoming as the local at point 2

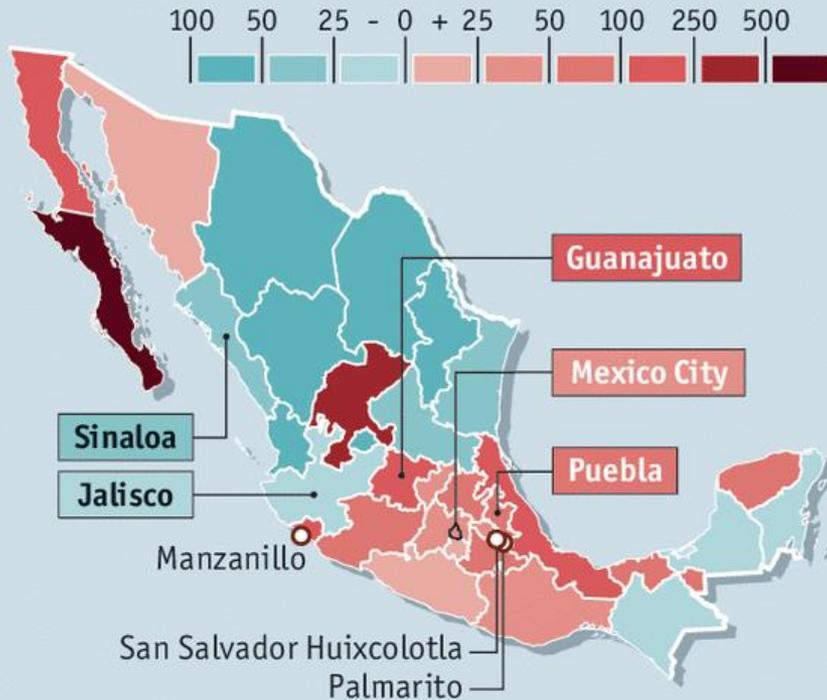
- United States: a mix of all
- Canada, Canadian Police College 2017: “Traditional organized crime groups such as the Hells Angels and the Italian mafia **are no longer the only known organized crime groups prevalent in society**. Police face the emerging “organization” of street gangs that are evolving into a different type of criminal organization and have different modus operandi”.
- Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission 2017 similar to SOCTA 2017: GLOBAL BUSINESS OF ORGANISED CRIME
Key enablers ~~of~~ technology and digital infrastructure, encrypted communication - highly networked and connected criminals, professional facilitators ~~of~~ money laundering organisations, and offshore service providers

What happens in developing countries. The example of Mexico

Murder moves south

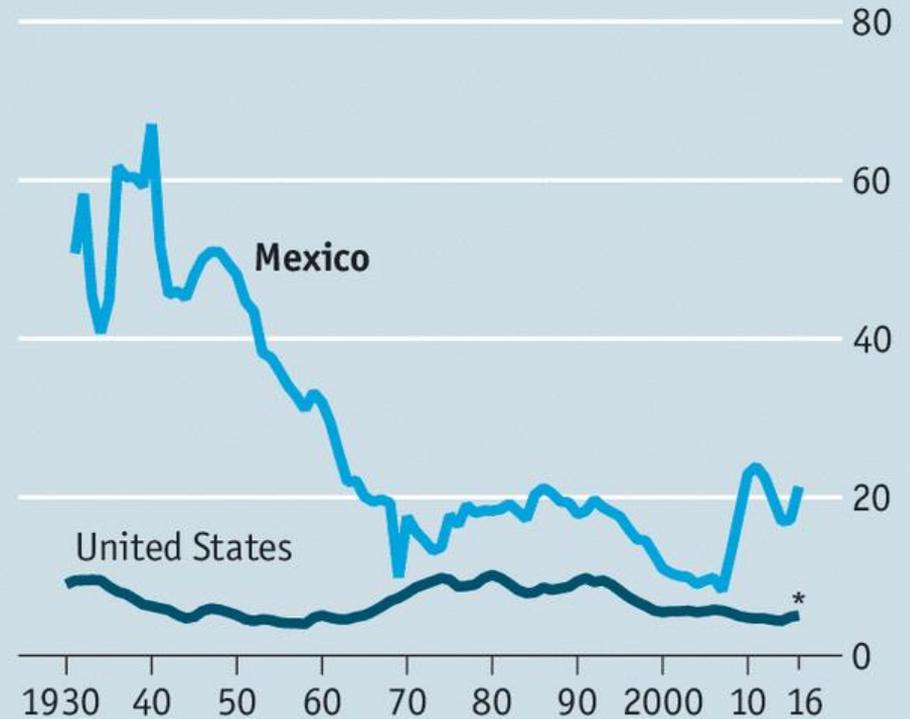
Mexico, % change in murders

By state, January–March, 2011–2017



Murder rate

per 100,000 population



Sources: Mexican Interior Ministry; INEGI; FBI; Manuel Aguirre Botello; Megan Sasinoski

*Estimate

- (from the Economist May 11,2017) ...in 2017 the killing is now back to its worst levels. If the year continues as it has begun, the number of murders in 2017 will be the highest yet. There were 6% more homicides in the first three months of 2017 than during the same period in 2011. **But the distribution of violence is changing. As northern gang wars wind down, smaller-scale battles are erupting in the south.**
- One reason for this is the change in the way gangs operate, brought about by the drugs war. Police targeted their bosses, often successfully.
- Leaderless gangs do not disappear. Instead, lower-level gangsters fight for control or leave to form their own groups, leading to a violent reordering of the organised-crime hierarchy. The re-arrest last year of Joaquín “El Chapo” Guzmán, the boss of the Sinaloa gang, six months after his escape from prison, triggered conflicts within the group. The gang also clashed with rivals seeking to exploit its weakness, notably the Jalisco New Generation gang, with which it fought in the port of Manzanillo and elsewhere.

- *The smaller gangs lack the manpower and management skills to run full-scale drug operations. They concentrate on distributing drugs locally and on such crimes as kidnapping and extortion. Both have increased by around 20% Mexico-wide between the first three months of 2016 and the same period this year. Fuel theft also suits downsized gangs. Mr Mier says that in his area of Puebla the business is run by three gangs in two towns just 20km apart.*
- Gangs of London: 20% growing increase of homicides in respect to 2014: 100 homicides in London until the end of August 2018

- the Neapolitan «paranze» have the format of specific gangs operating in Naples. Even if they have origin in the old camorra families, their business model is different. Very violent in excluding competitors, they earn money for the day-by-day business. Their culture is the group they belong to. The identity group is represented by the dress code and tattoos.
- Are these gangs the signal that something is changing in Italian OC?
- Changes on business model, their independence from traditional Camorra groups

Hypotheses: traditional OC goes versus flexibility 1° direction

- The future of OC in Europe could follow the patterns of US, CANADA, AUSTRALIA:
 - 1. Structured traditional organizations will develop their infiltration in the legitimate economy. They are in a process of slowly disappearing and/or of minimizing their presence on the illegal markets
 - 2. **Smaller, flexible organizations will grow with a different business model from the traditional ones, some similar to a gang model, others more specialized in white collar crimes. This could be the future of OC in Europe.**

- This transformation of **traditional OC could depend** on 3 main factors:
 1. The impact of law enforcement policies, mainly investigative techniques and confiscation policies, together with the changes in the structure of the illegal markets;
 2. Anti-corruption policies that reduce the collusion with political and administrative institutions;
 3. The structure of the illegal markets where flexible organizations operate successfully and compete;

Their involvement in the legal activities could become the only chance for survival until their complete immersion in society. This process could be accelerated by strong policies controlling and confiscating their assets.

Hypotheses: gangs go.. in the opposite direction: more organized

Recent research (still not published) on gangs transformations state that gangs (at least in England) “are evolving into more organized and profit-oriented entities than a decade earlier. The new operating model rejected visible signs of gang membership as “bad for business” because they attracted unwanted attention from law enforcement agencies. Faced with a saturated drugs market in London, gangs moved out to capture drugs markets in smaller UK towns in “county lines” activities”.

“This more business-oriented ethos has changed the meaning of both territory and violence. While gang members in the original study described an emotional connection with their postcode, territory is increasingly regarded as a marketplace to be protected. Similarly, violence has moved from an expressive means of reinforcing gang identity to being increasingly used as an instrumental means of protecting business interests”.