

# Understanding the Mafia.

Session 4. The markets of the Mafia.

# Before we start, let's choose a logo.

The idea behind these is that by talking about the mafia we can try to understand and break the culture of *omertà*, expanding on the one of *legalità*.

- Which one do you prefer?

1)



2)



3)



4)



5)



# The markets of the Mafia.

The mafia, to generate as much profit as it does, **controls** and **works** within various markets. Here we will see them, isolated, but often **these markets are interconnected** with each other.

- Can you name some of these markets?

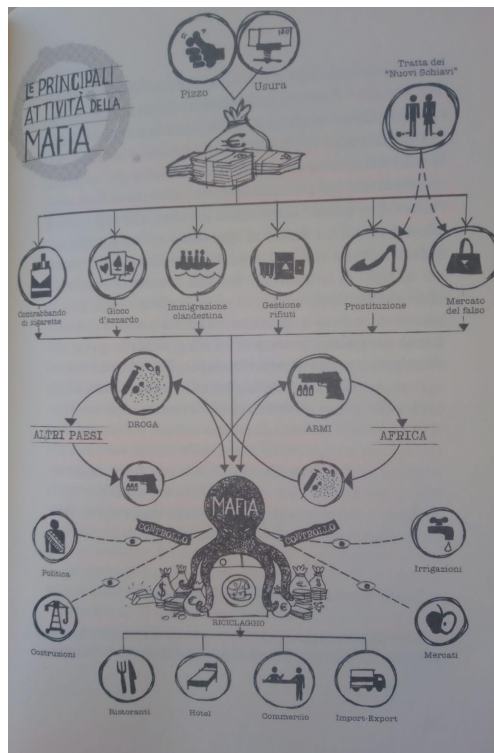


Figure 1. Nicaso, Antonio. “La mafia spiegata ai ragazzi”. Arnoldo Mondadori, 2010. pg. 49.

# Outline.

1. Agromafia and caporalato.
2. Falsification of public contracts (*appalti truccati*).
3. Counterfeit (*contraffazione*).
4. Gambling.
5. Human trafficking and the smuggling of humans.
6. Illegal construction (*abusivismo edilizio*).
7. Inducement to vote.
8. Kidnaps.
9. Narcotrafficking.
10. Prostitution.
11. Racketeering (extortion and *pizzo*).
12. Smuggling of cigarettes, tobacco and other merchandise.
13. Thefts.
14. Trafficking of weapons.
15. Usury.
16. Special case study: Covid-19 and the Mafia.

Agromafia and caporalato.

# Agromafia.

- all of the illegal activities carried out in the agricultural sector (“Agromafie e Caporalato” 1, Chiabrando 4).
  - going from the agricultural production to their transformations and arrival in the ports,
  - from the markets to the grand distribution,
  - from the packaging to the commercialization of products (Chiabrando 4)

# Revenues and statistics.

- 2015 report on agricultural crimes in Italy:
  - influx in the profits the agromafia generates, going from 14 billion euros in 2013, to 15.4 billion at the time of the report
  - an increase of at least 10%, caused by both internal and external factors, such as climate change that diminished the agricultural products and the diminishing bank loans and credits to various enterprises (Montante and Saso 14, 65, 95, 141)

# Olive Quick Decline Syndrome (OQDS).

- 2013, in Puglia where there are many olive groves and a chain of hotels
  - the bacterium *Xylella fastidiosa* is found, affecting 6 billion olive trees and 8 billion hectares of terrain (Montante and Saso 19-20)
  - it destroys olive trees.
  - fishy investigations:
    - 1) in 2013 said presence of bacterium was just found while reports stated the bacterium's presence back in 2010 (Montante and Saso 25)
    - 2) no bacteria was found in the olive trees surrounding Bari, only the ones in the zone of Gallipoli, where the chain of hotels are, 200 km from Bari (Montante and Saso 26).

Figure 2. Martelli, G.P. and Boscia, D., and Porcelli F. and Saponari M. "The olive quick decline syndrome in south-east Italy: a threatening phytosanitary emergency". *European Journal of Plant Pathology*, 8 october 2015.





# Centro Agroalimentare di Roma (CAR) - the food industry of Rome.

- Within the CAR, illegal work and exploitation has been observed
  - for a total of 1,500 individuals per month, some of which are minors.
  - Many are immigrants, many of whom are Egyptian
    - work for 150 to 250 euros per month (Montante and Saso 31).
    - The minors, once reach the CAR have their documents taken away and get exploited as they have to pay back the cost of the travel to get to Italy, totally up to an average of 10,000 euros (Montante and Saso 32).

# Caporalato.

- dates back to the second world war
  - mainly known in the agricultural sector.
- the exploitation of *braccianti*, workers, that under the control of the a *caporale*, an intermediary figure between the workers and the land owners that manages the work of the *braccianti*.
  - The *braccianti* often work in the fields
  - get salaries below the minimum wage (between 25 and 30 euros daily), aboutely no insurances and inhumane hours of labor that can reach up to 12 hours daily on the fields picking crops.
- law n. 138/2011 criminalizing the *caporale* “Illegal intermediary and labour exploitation”,
  - later reformed in 2016 into the new law n. 199.
  - plan to contrast the *caporale* : 20 february 2020
    - based on a two year plan to try and prevent, monitor, contrast, protect, assist and reintegrate the *braccianti* (Villafrate, “Agromafie e Caporalato” 1- 3, Mangano).
- What can you do on an individual basis to support a legal, environmental-friendly and human-rights-friendly agricultural market?



Figure 3. Salzano, Roberta. “Rapporto tra caporalato e riduzione in schiavitù.” *Cronache di ordinario razzismo*, 11 april 2019.



Figure 4 . Moramarco, Mimmo. “Caporalato parte in Puglia la filiera etica”. *Le cronache*, 24 settembre 2019.

# The *Km zero* or farmers' markets.

- reduction of prices as the products are produced within 70 km of the location in which it is sold
- reduction in the emission of CO<sub>2</sub> associated with transportation
  - 1 Kg of kiwis imported from New Zealand to Italy travels 18 thousand Km and emits 25 Kg of CO<sub>2</sub>,
  - 1 Kg of peaches from Argentina to Italy travels 12 thousand kilometers and emits 16 kg of CO<sub>2</sub> (Montante and Saso 164).
- suppose to guarantee the quality and freshness of the products that do not have to be packaged, labeled, and are grown according to its agricultural season (Montante and Saso 163).
- does not guarantee the dignity of the worker.

# Fair Trade, *mercato equosolidale*.

- fair trade: “trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development” and largely focuses on the “marginalized producers and workers, especially in the South” pole (Mehta, “Il Commercio Equo e Solidale”).
- WFTO has set out 10 fundamental principles for becoming a fair trade organization;
  - 1) creating opportunities for economically disadvantaged producers;
  - 2) to deal fairly and respectfully with trading partners and all stakeholders;
  - 3) concern for the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of marginalised small producers;
  - 4) payment of a fair price;
  - 5) ensuring no child labor and forced labor;
  - 6) no discrimination based on race, caste, nationality, religion disability, gender, sexuality, political affiliation, HIV/AIDS status of age;
  - 7) ensuring good working conditions
  - 8) increase development for small producers by developing their skills and capabilities;
  - 9) raising awareness of Fair Trade and the possibility of greater justice in world trade;
  - 10) respect for the environment (Mehta, “Il Commercio Equo e Solidale”).
- 355 Fair Trade Enterprises that “impact 965,7000 livelihoods, 74% of whom are women” (Mehta).
- In Italy: Fair Trade is Altromercato
  - 105 associates and 225 stores.
  - trades with 155 organizations of producers in over 45 countries (“Chi siamo”).

# *Made in Italy* and forgeries.

- the forging of the *Made in Italy*
    - in the origin of the product, in the agricultural field
  - three main products that are commonly forged are; olive oil, tomato products, and prosciutto.
  - EU regulation n.1169/2011 obliges the indication of the origin of the product and the art. 4, comma 49 and 49-bis of the law n. 350 of the 24 december 2003, protects the *Made in Italy*
    - the mafia has infiltrated the market to forge both of these regulations and gain profit (Montante and Saso 29, 145-6).
    - For example, olive oil will be smuggled into Italy from other countries, primarily Spain and Greece, within the EU, and the MENA region, in particular Tunisia and Turkey, outside of the EU (Montante and Saso 37, 63, 72)
    - Tomatoes will be smuggled from Tunisia, Morocco and the Canaries (Montante and Saso 38).
    - The meat to make the prosciutto, some comes from Chile (Montante and Saso 46).
  - sold at a much higher price, altering the quality on the labels and its place of origin (Montante and Saso 37, 53-4).
  - it can be harmful for the consumer that might be buying very low-quality products (Montante and Saso 54, 60, 76).
    - in the operation “Bufale Sicure”, investigating mozzarelle di bufala from the region Campania, 7 farms were found to produce infected milk and mozzarelle in bad conservation states (Montante and Saso 60).
  - The false *Made in Italy* has been found to accumulate 60 billion euros in the global market, which is double of the revenues of the Italian export of agricultural goods (Montante and Saso 149).
- Policies have been made to hold actors accountable and inspections are taking place, but this seems to not be enough. What measures can be taken to counter and prevent this illicit market?

# Restaurants.

- With the economic crisis, the mafia has stepped in and offered security and an opportunity for investing and expanding, by becoming partners with the company.
  - money laundering (Montante and Saso 57).
- report estimates there are approximately 5,000 restaurants/bars in the hands of the mafia in Italy (Montante and Saso 58). In march 2014 five restaurant/bars in Rome, with a value of over 6 billion euros, were seized in the investigation “tramonto” (Montante and Saso 59).

Falsification of public  
contracts (*appalti truccati*).

# Public contracts.

- State guarantees the realization of the infrastructures and other needs the society might have.
- It is a fundamental instrument to the development of the società (Spartà 25).
- According to the Public Procurement Indicators of 2014, Italy spends around 169.8 billion euros annually, a total of 10.5% of its GDP (Spartà 26).



# The mafia's infiltrations.

- Public contracts create both a mean for money laundering and monetizing the illegal activities into legal ones
  - generates much profit from public spending and the services such contracts later provide (Spartà 26).
  - gains power within the territory as it provides jobs and services for many, generating consensus and legitimacy within the society (Spartà 27-28).
- punishable by the article 353 of the penal code which invisions a fine going from 103 to 1.032 euros and incarceration for six months to five years (Spartà 27).

# The grey area, *l'area grigia*.

- The associates of the mafia that corrupt and make deals with politicians and administrators work within what is referred to as “area grigia”, grey area.
  - replaced the violent means previously used by the mafia (Spartà 28).
  - strategy of the late 1980s in Sicily in Sicily
  - trial which gave the name Metodo Siino, Siino method, to this tactic (Spartà 30-31).
  - today much more complex with various actors specializing in either the execution of the activity, the technical-professional realization of the illegal activity and finally the intermediary that takes care of the negotiations between mafia and institutional actors (Spartà 32-35).

# EXPO 2015, Milan.

- EXPO 2015, in Milan, a project that generated 260 million euros annually (Spartà 37,44, Sasso).
- In July 2016, eleven people were arrested do the the infiltration mafiosa, of cosa nostra, within the EXPO.
- The pavilions of the *palazzo congressi*, the auditorium, France, Qatar, Guinea and the stand of Poretti Beer had been altered.
- Fiera Milano delegated the realization of the EXPO 2015 with international advertisements and financial support, dictated by Nolostrand.
  - Nolostrand put Dominus in charge of constructing the EXPO, which was administered by “teste di legno”, but actually could be traced back to two individuals, Giuseppe Nastasi and Liborio Pace, associated with the mafia (Sasso).



Figure 5.6. “EXPO 2015 Milan - guide de pavillons, ce qu’il faut voir et comment s’y rendre”. Vie nocturne Guide de la ville, 6 may 2015.

Counterfeit  
(*contraffazione*).

# Counterfeit.

- the act of falsifying or imitating fraudulently.
  - from agricultural *Made in Italy*, to the clothing and fashion statements *Made in Italy*, to technological softwares, CDs and DVDs, to toys, to mediations (Chiabrando 4-5, Micara 54).
- it damages the companies, because unable to sell all their products.
- It damages the State and its society as it results in tax evasion and hence fewer services and it overall alters the functioning of the economy.
- It exploits the most vulnerable (Chiabrando 4-5, Gulino 45).
- In Italy it is estimated to generate 6 billion and 900 million euros annually, according to a report published by CENSIS (Gulino 45).

# MEDICRIME.

- international convention that obliges the various states to implement legal restorative action when it comes to the forging of medications (Micara 69)
- forging of medication is primarily a transnational issue and it is one that can have detrimental effects on the health and lives of people (Micara i.g).

# Countering the counterfeit.

- Industries should first and foremost attain a patent from either the State, the EU or international entity,
  - it allows the temporary right of monopoly on a certain invention.
- an industry should also create its own brand that allows for the identification of a good and its origin.
  - If a good is seen to have been counterfeited, it is the industry's responsibility to denounce the violation as to allow the *guardia di finanza* and the customs agency to step in and take economic and retributive consequences (“Contraffazione e falso”).

Gambling.



# Means for money laundering and extortions.

- generates a consistent amount of revenue.
- It is estimated that for every apparatus that has been taken by the mafia, it generated around 1,000 euros per every week it is used (Torrigiani 14)
- used as a means for money laundering.
- used to foster their other business of extortion as once one has used up all their money in gambling, they go to various clans to ask for more money which they will then have to repay with an enormous interest (Torrigiani 5-6, 11).

# The mafia's infiltration.

- high demand for gambling has allowed for the penetration of the mafia within the sector
- evolution towards online platforms has further facilitated the mafia within the sector (Torrighiani 5).
- Gambling is a business that globally, in 2016, generated 470 billion dollars (Torrighiani 7).

# The State.

Gambling in Italy is controlled by the State (Torrigiani 11).

# Antimafia and its solutions.

- July 2016, the team Antimafia proposed five points to the Parliament regarding how to contrast the mafia in the gambling business which were approved.
- The five points are the following;
  - 1) more barriers for entrepreneurs to enter the gambling business,
  - 2) a revision of the penal and administrative sanctions making them tougher,
  - 3) the reinforcement of the measures against money laundering, tracing all the revenues,
  - 4) the reinforcement of antimafia politics and
  - 5) a new governance of the sector (Torrigiani 29-30).

Human trafficking and the  
smuggling of humans.

# The difference between human trafficking and smuggling.

- Human trafficking entails the recruitment and illicit transport of people with the scope of exploitation,
  - many times sexual or labor exploitation (De Zulueta 7-8, Santino).
  - take other forms such as the trafficking and selling of organs (Pangerc 76).
- The smuggling of humans also works with illegal transportation and favoring clandestine migration, but it does not entail the exploitative end.
- many times it is very hard to draw the line as the smuggling of migrants does not guarantee an exploitative-free process (De Zulueta 7-8, Santino).

# A profitable business.

- business that generate much revenue.
- because the price that has to be paid by an individual to be able to get transported illegally is very high (De Zulueta 11-12).
- The revenue also used to corrupt officials, bureaucrats, politicians and law enforcement.
- revenue of 31 billion dollars annually,
  - third largest business controlled by criminal organizations, after narcotrafficking and the trafficking of arms (Santino).

Payment to traffickers	
Destination/route taken	Price in US dollars per person
<i>To EUROPE</i>	
Bulgaria – Europe	4,000
Greece – France, Italy, Germany	800 – 1,200
Turkey – Greece	1,400
Hungary – Slovenia	1,500
Kurdistan – Germany	3,000
North Africa – Spain	2,200 – 3,500
Sri Lanka – Turkey	4,000
Pakistan – Turkey	4,000
Dominican Republic – Europe	4,000 – 10,000
Dominican Republic – Austria	5,000
China – Europe	10,000 – 15,000
Afganistan/Lebanon – Germany	5,000 – 10,000
Iraq – Europe	5,000
Iran – Europe	5,000
Africa – Ireland	5,000
Eastern Europe – Ireland	3,000
<i>To USA</i>	
China – New York	35,000
China – USA	30,000
Middle East – USA	1,000 – 15,000
Pakistan/India – USA	25,000
Mexico – Los Angeles	200 – 400
<i>To CANADA</i>	
Iran/Iraq	10,000
Venezuela	1,000 – 2,500
<i>OTHERS</i>	
China – Argentina	30,000
Arab States – UAE	2,000 – 3,000
Philippines – Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan	3,500

Figure 7. International Organization for Migration, Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe, Geneva, 2000.

# A transnational phenomenon; Ad hoc.

- analyze the relation between the mafia and human trafficking/smuggling using a transnational approach
- phenomenon that knows no borders.
- It is a process that starts with the small criminal organizations in the country of origin to then intertwine those of the country of transition and lastly the country of destination.
  - criminal organizations from Eastern Europe, the Albanian, the Bosnian, the Nigerian, the Turkish, the Russian and the Chinese mafia (De Zulueta 21, 23, Pangerc 31).
- local criminal organizations and new forms of mafia are what the Italian national Antimafia have named *Ad hoc* in 1997 (Pangerc 31).
  - each Ad hoc specializes in a certain nation they will traffick or smuggle.
    - the turkish mafia focuses on the illegal migration of the Kurds while the Nigerian mafia focuses a lot on the trafficking of Nigerian women for sexual exploitation (Pangerc 33).
- interconnected to transportation of drugs, tobacco and weapons (Pangerc 35).



- Due to the complexity of this trade and the interconnectedness of various local and international criminal organizations, who should be in charge of taking effective measures and how? Should it be the State, NGOs, IGOs or others who carry out such measures? What allows for such trade to continue? Is an understanding of the root causes of human trafficking and the smuggling of people necessary for the implementation of effective responses? If so, how?

Illegal construction  
(abusivismo edilizio).

# What it implies.

- the illegal construction of structures and is synthesized by the terms *ciclo illegale del cemento*, the illegal cycle of concrete.
- illegal because:
  - 1) the construction takes place without authorization and in some cases it happens on lands that are dangerous and highly susceptible to earthquakes and floods.
    - in 2018, after very heavy rains, the river Milicia, in Sicily, flooded, provoking the death of 10 people, of which 9 were in a villa that had been illegally constructed and flooded (“Maltempo, tragedia a”).
  - 2) following the scope of building as much as possible spending the least possible amount, many times the concrete that is used is not of good quality and mixed with other ingredients that further increase the danger of such construction (“Abbatti l’abuso”, “Il ciclo illegale”).
    - toxic waste was mixed within the concrete, provoking what journalists refer to as “sick-building syndromes” - cancers and illnesses for the families that later moved into those structures (Gatti).
  - 3) implies the re-emergence of the phenomenon of *caporalato* (“Abbatti l’abuso”).



Figure 8. Bonfardino, Rosaura. “Maltempo, tragedia a Casteldaccia, esonda il fiume Milicia: 9 morti”. Monreale press, 4 november 2018.

# Its statistics.

- 2019 report of Legambiente, the illegal cycle of concrete has gone up by 68% in 2019, from 3,908 crimes in 2018 to 6,578 crimes in 2019 (“Il ciclo illegale”).
- It is estimated, in fact, that every year this illegal market produces more than 20 thousand houses (“Abbatti l’abuso”).

# Earthquakes.

- Italy is geographically placed in an area susceptible to earthquakes and the infrastructure in Italy is not built accordingly so once earthquakes occur it usually ends up with many deaths and much destruction.
- The mafia uses this for its own benefit, falsifying public contracts aimed at the reconstruction of cities and villages (Spartà 38)



Figure 9. “Séisme en Italie: la ville d’Amatrice attaque Charlie Hebdo”. L’est Républicain. 25 november 2016.

- To what extent is the use of irony acceptable to highlight the infiltration of the mafia within a context that has provoked much sufferance and losses? Does the actor using the irony matter?

# The campaign '*Abbatti l'abuso*', 'Fight the abuse'.

- campaign, launched by Legambiente aims at demolishing the structures that have been constructed illegally.
- it might provoke some resistance, but the idea is that by demolishing these a strong message of law and order is passed, slowly altering the culture and conception of illegal constructions to be deemed illegal, immoral and harmful to both humans and the environment (Biffi and Fontana 4-5).

# Manmade fires, forests burn.

- How does the mafia pursue its businesses in lands that are occupied or protected by the government?
  - They burn it down.
  - “Every summer Italy burns”.
- in 2016 more than 27,000 hectares of forests and green areas have been burned by 4,635 arsons, *incendi dolosi*.
- data has doubled since the previous year which saw 2,250 arsons.
- damage in 2016 augmented to 14 million euros
- costs to extinguish the fires were around 8 million euros (“Dossier Incendi” 3, Galullo).
- been criminalized as an ecocrime by the law n. 68 in the Italian penal code passed in 2015 (“Dossier Incendi” 4).
- usually sparked in the summer, but now initiated in winter as well, with the region Liguria being at the top of arson in the winter months.

*Incendi boschivi da Gennaio ad Aprile 2017*

Regione	Provincia	Data incendio	Sup. percorsa dal fuoco	Sup. regionale percorsa dal fuoco
Liguria	Genova	16/01/2017	643	
Liguria	Imperia	17/01/2017	1.604	
Liguria	Imperia	18/01/2017	109	
Liguria	Imperia	19/01/2017	47	
Liguria	Genova	13/03/2017	52	2.455
Lombardia	Como	21/04/2017	270	270
Piemonte	Torino	08/01/2017	84	
Piemonte	Verbanio-Cusio-Ossola	16/04/2017	67	151
Puglia	Taranto	11/04/2017	50	50
TOTALE				(Equivalente al 3,9% del totale bruciato) 2.926

Tab. 1 - Fonte: elaborazione Legambiente su dati European Commission Emergency Management Service Copernicus EMS (aggiornato al 26/07/2017) - [http://effis.jrc.ec.europa.eu/static/effis\\_current\\_situation/public/index.html](http://effis.jrc.ec.europa.eu/static/effis_current_situation/public/index.html)

Figure 10. “Dossier Incendi 2017”. Legambiente, 27 July 2017, pg 14.



Figure 11. Costa, Sergio. “L'Italia brucia per mano dell'uomo: sono dolosi gli incendi che stanno distruggendo i nostri boschi”. Greenme, 2 August 2020.

Inducement to vote.



# The right to vote.

- in 1882 the right to vote is extended to all males above the age of 21 having completed elementary school (Melissari 49).
- only in the 1970s that the mafia changes positions in regards to the State and decides that is much more convenient making affairs with it (Melissari 65).
  - mafia starts to have greater power in the inducement to vote, exchanging money or favors for votes, but also in the infiltration of administrative positions, being themselves elected (Melissari 49)
  - many communal administrations that were dissolved as found to be associated with the mafia (Melissari 75, Saviano 2011).
  - in the 2010 elections in Campania, one voter was given 50 euros to vote for a specific candidate (Melissari 78).
  - politicians buying their votes from the mafia through corruption, protection and guaranteed services, such as the falsification of public contracts (Melissari 59).
  - politicians do not only buy votes from the mafia with money, but rather also favors of other kinds, the Italian jurisdiction has a problem as it only punishes and condemns, in the art. 416 ter c.p., the exchange of money for votes (Melissari 7, 61).

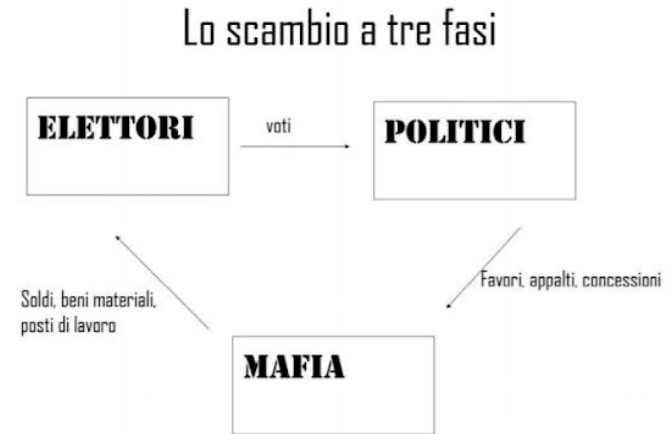


Figure 12. Melissari, Laura. "Il voto di scambio e il voto di preferenza: il caso della Calabria". Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali, 2012-2013. pg. 61.

# Clientelism.

- defined, in political terms, as “the relationship between individuals with unequal economic and social status (“the boss” and his “clients”) that entails the reciprocal exchange of goods and services based on a personal link that is generally perceived in terms of moral obligation” (Briquet).
- some studies have compared the mafia to clientelism as they both exercise power.
- The difference lies in the way in which these exercise power in their favor;
  - the first uses physical violence as well as social and territorial control,
  - while clientelism focuses on an exchange between patron and client which have similar private interests (Melissari 60).

Kidnaps.

# Many scopes.

- much more rare but nonetheless persists.
- to obtain money
- but also:
  - 1) distracting law enforcement from other much more important markets and routes,
  - 2) vengeance or part of a *faida*, a war between different families of clans.
- Kidnaps saw a big boom in the 1970s,
  - law n. 497 passed in 1974 condemning and punishing kidnappers
  - Law n. 82, passed in 1991 allows the blockage of the goods of those sharing blood with the individual that has been kidnapped as to impede the payment of the ransom and discourage kidnaps (Fischetti).

# Giuseppe Di Matteo.

- 1996, the adolescent Giuseppe Di Matteo is killed by his kidnappers, affiliates of cosa nostra.
- strangled and melted in acid without pity.
- an act of vengeance.
- Giuseppe was the son of santino Di Matteo, a member of cosa nostra that had been arrested in 1993 and had started to collaborate with the justice system
  - saying the names of those that had provoked the attacks and the judges Falcone and Borsellino.
- these types of atrocious homicides, to show their potence and ferociousness, following a kidnap, have been named “*lupara bianca*” or “white shotgun” by journalists (Fischetti, Lupi).



Figure 13. Lupi, Federica. “A boy and the mafia”. B. History. 6 september 2019.

Narcotrafficking.

# Trafficking.

- many ways to transport drugs:
  - by sea, arriving in the ports, in big containers.
  - by plane, via individuals who are called “backpackers” or “ovulatori”, which ingest ovules containing drugs and are supposed to eject via the anus once arrived at destination.
    - if one of the ovules explodes while inside the individual, the person dies of overdose (Tatarelli, Saviano 2014).
- how food, for example, bananas are used to hide the drug and transport it, unnoticed at the borders (Saviano 2014).



Figure 14. “Ingerisce oltre un chilo di droga, arrestato”. Il Tirreno, 15 december 2018.

# Production.

- each place focus on a particular drug
- Cocaine is predominantly produced in Latin and South America.
  - initially cartels in Colombia (ex. cartel de Medellin)
  - now, in competition with the cartels of Colombia there are the cartels of Mexico
  - production of cocaine in Peru.
- competition led to new technologies
  - such as the genetic modification of the color of cocaine plants in Mexico as to make it more difficult to individualize (Tatarelli).
- 1990s the 'ndrangheta first comes into contact with the colombian cartels and makes deals to internationalize the cocaine market (Giannini 11).
- Italy also imports cocaine from the neighboring Spain and Netherlands, with the help of the Albanian mafia.
- Heroin and opium, on the other hand, is primarily produced in Afghanistan (Tatarelli).

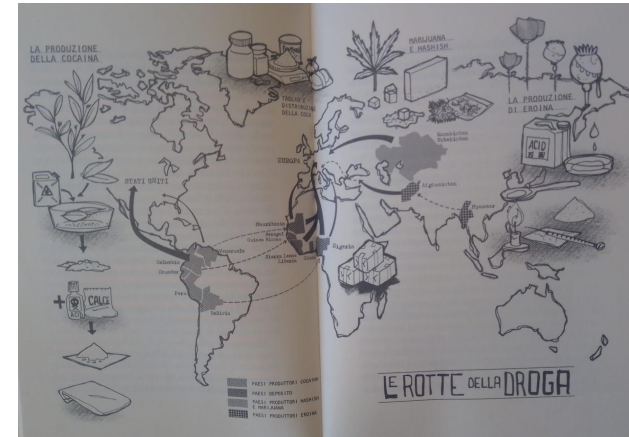


Figure 15. Nicaso, Antonio. "La mafia spiegata ai ragazzi". Arnoldo Mondadori, 2010. pgs.52-53.



# Distribution.

- Italy is a country of consumption for both cocaine and heroin
- also a country of transition, like Turkey and Iran, for the trafficking of heroin to northern Europe (Tatarelli).
- the drugs that stay in Italy, while being fully controlled by the Italian mafie, are not only distributed by the Italian mafie but also by small external criminal groups, in particular Romanians, Tunisians, Moroccans and Egyptians.
  - the use of emigrated criminal groups being used for marginal roles (“Doc XXXVIII” 534).

# Revenue.

The 'ndrangheta controls 80% of the cocaine that arrives in Europe and hence generates a revenue of 46 billion euros annually (Bongiovanni).

Prostitution.

# Prostitution in Italy.

- 1958 law Merlin, regulated prostitution becomes forbidden and the 'houses of pleasure' or '*bordelli*' banned
- Prostitution in Italy, while in itself is not deemed a crime, becomes a crime in three situations;
  - 1) when there is a third party involved that exploit,
  - 2) when there is the favoring of prostitution, and,
  - 3) when one is induced into prsotituion.
- Prostitution in itself is deemed a crime only when there are minors involved, as states in the art. 600 bis of the Penal Code (Bellitto).

# Human trafficking.

- much of the prostitution in Italy is the result of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and hence many of the prostitutes are of Nigerian origin (Pangerc 33, Minniti).
  - these women, oftentimes also minors, get terrorized by their *maman* - women that accompany them and manipulate them through voodoo or juju rituals.
  - tight collaboration between the Nigerian and Italian *mafie* (Minniti, Carletti).
  - In 2016, there were around 5,000 women trafficked into Italy for sexual exploitation, augmenting to a total of around 150 million euros in that year (Minniti).

- According to the jurist Massimo Kunle D'Accordi, and because prostitution in Italy has a lot of the prostitutes coming from other countries, as long as there will be politics related to migration, tough national laws that impede migrants from obtaining documents that allow them to find a lawful job, prostitution will remain high, controlled by international mafie (Carletti). To what extent do you agree? What could other obstacles that favor the continuation of prostitution in Italy? What can be done to eliminate prostitution, or at least, the illegal aspect and control of it?

Racketeering (extortion and  
*pizzo*).

# Racketeering.

- the wider umbrella of “acquiring a business through illegal activity, operating a business with illegally-derived income, or using a business to commit illegal acts”.
  - crimes such as bribery, money laundering, gambling, robbery, and extortion (Seth).



# Extortion and pizzo.

- extortion is the means used to affirm power and control over the territory as it is a form of exchange between the mafia and the people.
- receives money, the *pizzo*, as a way for the people, in particular, small businesses and entrepreneurs, to have guaranteed protection from the mafia (Rizzuti 1, 5, Spartà 29, Chiabrando 4).
  - due to the lack of the State able to guarantee for the protection of its people (Rizzuti 1).
- oldest form of revenue used by the mafia
  - profitable and efficient, lasting in the long-run as it established territorial control and fear, creating dependency between the entrepreneur and the mafia (“Estorsione”, Rizzuti 1).
- *pizzo* is regularly given to the mafia, the entrepreneur may be additionally involved in the mafia, having to hide some of their merchandise or use their own business as a coverup for their money laundering or other activities (“Estorsione”).
- Extortion is a crime punishable under article 629 of the Penal Code (Rizzuti 3).

# Countering policies.

- academic Alice Rizzuti two different types of policies:
  - 1) direct policies, such as the augment of protection for the *collaboratori di giustizia*, the adoption of preventative patrimonial measures.
  - 2) indirect policies, including those set up to create a culture of legality, such as benefits for the victims of extortion, measures aimed at improving the socio-economic development of the regions and more rigorous controls of business to assure they are mafia-free (Rizzuti 8-9).
- Which policies do you think are most effective in countering the rackets of extortions and *pizzo* and hence should be the focus of those drafting policies? Why?

# Addiopizzo.

- initiative to counter the culture of the *pizzo*
- Addiopizzo, meaning literally ‘goodbye pizzo’.
- Founded in 2004 by some of the youth of Palermo who took the initiative of putting flyers all over the city on which was written “An entire nation that pays the *pizzo* is a nation without dignity” (Rizzuti 30).
- final aim of protection the article 41 of the Constitution stating that it is everyone’s right to exercise freely their private economic initiatives, without being obstacolated by the mafia (Rizzuti 31).
- has brought forth many other initiatives creating more sensibility in regards to culture of legality.
  - ‘I pay who doesn’t pay. Against the *pizzo* change the consumption’, which is an initiative that incentivizes the consumption towards the businesses and entrepreneurs that have rebelled and denounced the mafia and its extortion (Rizzuti 32).
  - In 2007 Addiopizzo directed a project towards the youth, going into schools and sensibilizing the children on these topics (Rizzuti 33).
  - The association has also been present in many courtrooms to denounce and demand compensation for the damage caused by the extortions, guaranteed in the article 74 of the code for penal procedures (Rizzuti 42).

# Additional video.

If you speak Italian, watch the following video for an anecdote and a testimony who decided to refuse and denounce the mafia when asked for the *pizzo*, in 2020.



# Libero Grassi.

- It is not easy to decide to not pay the *pizzo* and denounce the mafia, as that can be at the cost of one's life.
- Libero Grassi, the 29 of august 1991 is killed by cosa nostra because he refuses to pay the *pizzo* (“Mafia: 27 anni”).



Figure 16. “Mafia: 27 anni fa omicidio Libero Grassi, Addiopizzo 'contro racket poche denunce’”. Antimafia Duemila, 21 august 2018.

Smuggling of cigarettes,  
tobacco and other  
merchandise.

# Smuggling of cigarettes or tobacco-related products.

- defined by article 1 of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC):
  - it is any practice or behavior that violates the law and relates to the prosecution, transportation, possession, distribution, selling or buying of tobacco, including any practice or behavior that facilitates these activities (Angelini and Calderoni 93).

# Low risk, high profit.

- it's low risk and high profit.
- this market deals with an activity that is legal or usual.
- Cigarettes are also heavily consumed and relatively easy to transport (Angelini and Calderoni 93).
- In Italy, this activity has become big again since the 90s.
  - most of the cigarettes come from Eastern Europe - Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria - where cigarettes are bought legally, one packet for less than a euro, and then smuggled into Italy and sold illegally by the camorra or 'ndrangheta.
  - Most recently, the smuggling of cigarettes in Italy does not only come from Eastern Europe but from China as well, with the use of the Internet and the committing of cybercrimes (Chiabrando 5).



Thefts.

# Thefts.

- the action of appropriating a good that is of someone else's ownership, through the use of threat or violence ("Le rapine" 77).
- decrease in thefts since the 90s and now even though they have increased, it is not the mafia's major source of revenue ("Le rapine" 86).
- damages provoked by thefts are of 1,6 billion euros while 2,1 billion euros and used for protecting equipment such as alarm systems (Chiabrandò 4).

Trafficking of weapons.

# Trafficking of weapons.

- UN Protocol against the production and trafficking of illegal weapons, their parts, components and munition for the illegal market defines this illegal market as the importation, exportation, acquisition, selling, transporting of the illegal weapons and their part from one country to another without authorization from the States involved.
- not just a source of revenue but also essential for their other criminal activities such as narcotrafficking.
- Weapons and their munitions are long-lasting and easily stocked and hidden.
  - They can be used even after decades of acquiring it (Camerini 88).
- Most of the weapons in Italy come from Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Turkey (Camerini 88, 91).
  - Turkey takes the weapons from the unstable regions of the Middle East and traffic them to Europe (Camerini 92).
- In Italy, it is estimated that in 2010 the illegal market of weapons augmented to a revenue of 46,7 million euros and that these weapons represent 8-10% of the total weapons commercialized in the country (Camerini 89).

Usury.

# Usury.

- an illegal loan or *strozzinaggio*, literally choking someone.
- the act of loaning money via illegal channels with a high interest rates to a person or an enterprise who usually has economic difficulties.
- Why do associations mafiose bother taking part in this risky market?
  - 1) they can guarantee the return of the money by using violence or taking a quota or the entire capital of the enterprise and take possession of it
    - ex. the 'ndrangheta with the business Perego.
  - 2) usury is linked to other illegal markets as the money that is being lent often is the revenue of other illegal markets that is used to recycle it and infiltrate the legal market. The borrowed money however does not all enter the legal market but is sometimes also used in other illegal markets, in particular drugs and gambling (Salha and Riccardi 120).

# Times of crisis.

- usury market flourishes in times of economic crisis as desperate families and businesses go to them to borrow money.
- after the 2008 crisis and
- today, in 2020, with the covid-19 pandemic (Salha and Riccardi 121).

# Ethical issues.

While some groups such as the camorra have always been involved in this illegal market, other associations mafiose such as cosa nostra actually only ethically accepted this market, as well as the one of prostitution and gambling, at the beginning of the 80s (Salha and Riccardi 120).



# Revenues.

- revenues of usury have been calculated indirectly, such as calculating the number of victims to be those enterprises that have been refused a loan from the bank (Salha and Riccardi 121).
- total of 4 million and a half euros worth of revenue for various clans mafiosi throughout Italy from 2014 to 2016,
  - who ask interest that go from 40 to 400% annually and from 16 to 200% monthly (Torrigiani 6).

# Special case study: Covid-19 and the Mafia.

# Seizing the opportunity.

- crises provide the perfect opportunity for the mafia to profit, steal from State resources and have less forces putting pressure on it.
- expansion of the mafia's infiltration within the pharmaceutical industry
- greatly infiltrated all those businesses that are now necessary due to the ongoing pandemic, such as all the sanitation and cleaning services
- drug market saw a boom in the time right before the lockdown, with an augment in the consumption of drugs, most likely due to the idea of being confined, as speculated by Saviano.
- pandemic is not just beneficial for the mafia's economy but also for their power as there are fewer efforts put forward for the fight against the mafia and silence prevails.
  - current issue that has to be dealt with is the virus.
- mafia has stepped forward in places where the State lacked an efficient response, and hence the mafia is providing a system of welfare, with food and loans at much lower interest rates than usual.
- once the pandemic will be over, the entrepreneurs that got some sort of support from the mafia will have to repay their debt
  - Saviano urges States to immediately give out financial help to those that need it as to prevent the further strive of the mafia once the pandemic has become under control (Saviano 2020, Pipitone e Trinchella).

# An interesting investigation.

A journalist from Vice News went to Naples to investigate how the “business is booming for the Italian Mafia during Covid”. The most interesting sections of this investigation are the following; from 2:05 to 3:50, then from 7:08 to 9:50 and then from 11:04 to 11:46.



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