

COLLECTION

The Essentials of Applied Psychology

Inside the Godfather's Mind

*What Psychology Reveals
About Crime Lords*



Gildas Garrec

Cognitive-Behavioral Psychotherapist

psychologieetserenite.com

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CBT Psychopractitioner

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What Psychology Reveals About Crime Lords — from the DSM-5 to the streets

Gildas Garrec

CBT Psychopractitioner — Cognitive Behavioral Therapy

"The difference between a CEO and a godfather is the suit. Barely."

— Robert D. Hare, creator of the PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist-Revised — the world's standard scale for measuring psychopathy, scored out of 40 points)

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Disclaimer

This book is a clinical analysis. It neither glorifies nor condemns. It dissects.

The diagnostic hypotheses formulated in this work are retrospective and based on public sources: biographies, court testimonies, documentaries, published psychiatric evaluations. None of the subjects analyzed was personally examined by the author.

The PCL-R scores assigned are reasoned clinical estimates, not formal assessments. A valid PCL-R evaluation requires a semi-structured interview lasting several hours and access to the complete collateral file. What we offer here is an exercise in applied analysis — rigorous in method, cautious in conclusions.

Fictional characters are analyzed as narrative constructs whose behaviors can be read through the lens of clinical psychology. Their "diagnoses" are tools for understanding, not clinical truths.

This book does not constitute a diagnostic manual in any way. Any person experiencing psychological difficulties is encouraged to consult a mental health professional.

Introduction — Why analyze the psychology of mobsters?

On May 23, 1992, half a ton of TNT exploded under the A29 motorway, near Capaci, Sicily. Judge Giovanni Falcone, his wife Francesca Morvillo, and three escort officers died instantly. The detonation was so powerful that it registered a seismic signal of magnitude 3.

Fifty-seven days later, Judge Paolo Borsellino was assassinated by the same method. Via d'Amelio, Palermo. Five additional escort officers.

The man who ordered both massacres, Salvatore "Totò" Riina, watched the television news that evening with his family. He ate dinner normally. He slept.

How does a human being order the assassination of seven people — including the wife of a man he has never met — and sleep without difficulty? How does a human mind compartmentalize violence and normalcy to such a degree?

This is the central question of this book.

What this book is not

This book is not a true crime account (a literary and audiovisual genre dedicated to real criminal cases, told in narrative form). There will be no dramatic reenactments, no cliffhangers, no morbid fascination. Bookstores and streaming platforms already overflow with content that transforms criminals into seductive anti-heroes.

Nor is this book a moral indictment. Moral judgment is the work of judges and juries, not the clinician's. A forensic psychiatrist evaluating a defendant does not "condemn" him — he describes a psychological functioning. That is exactly what we are going to do.

What this book is

An exercise in applied clinical analysis.

Each profile is treated as a case file. We will apply the tools of contemporary clinical psychology:

The DSM-5 (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th edition, American Psychiatric Association, 2013) provides standardized diagnostic criteria. When we refer to "Narcissistic Personality Disorder" or "Antisocial Personality Disorder," we are referring to precise clinical categories with operationalized criteria.

The ICD-11 (International Classification of Diseases, 11th revision, World Health Organization, 2022) offers a complementary framework, particularly through the new dimensional model of personality disorders that replaces rigid categories with a spectrum of traits.

The PCL-R (Psychopathy Checklist-Revised, Hare, 1991, revised 2003) remains the gold-standard tool for assessing psychopathy. Its 20 items, scored from 0 to 2, produce a score out of 40. The diagnostic threshold is set at 30 in North America, 25 in Europe. We will use it systematically for real profiles.

The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE), developed by Felitti and Anda (1998), quantify the impact of developmental trauma — a factor omnipresent in mafia trajectories.

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth, 1978; Main & Hesse, 1990) illuminates relational dynamics within criminal organizations, where tribal loyalty often replaces the secure attachment absent in childhood.

Structure of the analysis

The book is divided into five parts.

Part 1 lays the theoretical foundations. Before analyzing individuals, we must understand the psychological mechanisms common to all mafia profiles: compartmentalization, tribal loyalty, rationalization, the founding trauma, and narcissism as a driving force. We will then explore the psychopathy spectrum, the code of honor as a parallel morality, and childhood as the breeding ground for organized crime.

Part 2 analyzes twelve real profiles: Al Capone, Pablo Escobar, Lucky Luciano, Griselda Blanco, Toto Riina, John Gotti, Anthony Spilotro, Kazuo Taoka, Amado Carrillo Fuentes, Matteo Messina Denaro, Haji Mastan, and Vyacheslav Ivankov. For each, we will propose reasoned diagnostic hypotheses and an estimated PCL-

R score.

Part 3 dissects five iconic fictional characters: Tony Soprano, Michael Corleone, Walter White, Tommy Shelby, and Gustavo Fring. The goal is not to "diagnose" fictional characters, but to analyze what their narrative arcs reveal about our collective understanding of criminal psychology.

Part 4 focuses specifically on women in the mafia — wives, accomplices, and bosses — an angle systematically under-analyzed in the literature.

Part 5 broadens the frame: why the mafia fascinates us, and what psychological levers exist to prevent mafia recruitment.

A methodological note

The retrospective analysis of historical figures is a delicate exercise. We do not have clinical interviews, complete histories, or psychometric tests. We have biographies — often hagiographic or demonizing —, court testimonies, memoirs of turncoats, and sometimes partial psychiatric evaluations.

Each diagnostic hypothesis will therefore be presented as such: a hypothesis. We will systematically use conditional formulations: "traits compatible with," "profile suggestive of," "PCL-R score estimated between X and Y." Clinical rigor demands it.

That said, the exercise is not futile. Retrospective analysis is a recognized method in forensic psychiatry and historical psychology. It has been applied to figures as diverse as Adolf Hitler (Langer, 1943), Vincent van Gogh (Blumer, 2002), and Steve Jobs (Isaacson, 2011). The goal is not definitive diagnosis but understanding the psychological dynamics at work.

The common thread: the normalcy of evil

If this book has a thesis, it is this: mobsters are not monsters. They are human beings whose psychological functioning can be described, analyzed, and — to a certain extent — understood with the tools of clinical psychology.

This thesis is not an excuse. Understanding is not excusing. A psychiatrist who explains the neurocognitive mechanisms of a serial killer does not "justify" his crimes. He makes the phenomenon intelligible.

Hannah Arendt spoke of the "banality of evil" regarding Adolf Eichmann. In the

mafia world, evil is not banal — it is systemic. It is embedded in organizational structures, cultural codes, family dynamics. It is transmitted from generation to generation, like a genetic patrimony of crime.

It is this machinery that we are going to dismantle, gear by gear.

Let us begin.

Preliminary Chapter — What Is the Mafia?

Definitions and Distinctions

Before entering the minds of crime bosses, we must name precisely what we are talking about. The word "mafia" has become a catch-all term that everyday language applies indiscriminately to any form of organized crime. This is an error. The mafia, cartels, gangs, and triads are distinct phenomena — in their structure, their culture, their relationship to power, and their psychology.

The Mafia — the State Within the State

The word mafia originally designates the Sicilian Cosa Nostra, born in the latifundia of rural Sicily in the nineteenth century. Etymologically, the term may derive from the Arabic mahyâs (boastfulness) or the Sicilian mafiusu (handsome, bold, self-assured).

Clinical definition: The mafia is a criminal organization founded on familial or pseudo-familial bonds, a ritualized code of honor (omerta), territorial control, and the capacity to substitute itself for the State in the functions of protection, justice, and economic redistribution.

Distinctive psychological characteristics:

- Rigid patriarchal structure: the capo di tutti i capi embodies absolute paternal authority. Loyalty is vertical, unconditional, and sanctioned by death.
- Ritualization: initiation ceremonies (the punciutu — finger prick, burning of a holy image, blood oath), dress codes, coded language. These rituals create an identity bond that activates the same neural circuits as religious belonging (Inzlicht et al., 2009).
- State substitution: the mafia does not merely violate the law — it replaces it. It dispenses justice, collects taxes (the pizzo), offers protection and employment. The mafioso perceives himself as a man of order, not as a criminal.
- Transgenerational transmission: one is born into the mafia. The godfather's son is raised to inherit. Trauma and loyalty are transmitted like a genetic patrimony.

Main organizations: Cosa Nostra (Sicily), 'Ndrangheta (Calabria), Camorra (Naples), Sacra Corona Unita (Apulia), American Mafia (Five Families of New York).

The Cartels — the Business of Violence

Definition: A cartel is a criminal organization centered on drug trafficking, structured like a multinational corporation, operating primarily in Latin America.

Psychological differences from the mafia:

- Pure economic motivation: the cartel is a business. The mafioso speaks of honor; the narcotrafficker speaks of margins. Pablo Escobar did not claim to dispense justice — he bought the State directly.
- Instrumental violence vs. cultural violence: in the mafia, violence is codified, ritualized, measured. In the cartels, violence is spectacular, excessive, designed to terrorize. Decapitations, narcomensajes (messages left on corpses), torture videos published on social media — this ostentatious brutality has no equivalent in the mafia tradition.
- Absence of a structured code of honor: no formal omerta, no standardized initiation rituals. Loyalty is purchased, not sworn. It lasts as long as the money flows.
- Mass recruitment: where the mafia recruits through family, the cartel recruits through poverty. The sicarios (hitmen) are often teenagers from the poorest colonias, recruited as young as 12-14. The psychological profile is different: less primary psychopathy, more traumatic desensitization.
- Organizational lifespan: mafia families last generations. Cartels explode and reform within a few years, driven by arrests and internal wars. The Medellín cartel (Escobar) lasted 15 years. The Gambino family has existed since 1910.

Main organizations: Sinaloa Cartel, Jalisco New Generation Cartel (CJNG), former Medellín Cartel, former Cali Cartel, Primeiro Comando da Capital (PCC, Brazil).

The Gangs — the Brotherhood of Territory

Definition: A gang is a territorial criminal group, usually urban, founded on neighborhood belonging, ethnic or racial identity, and a less formalized hierarchy than the mafia.

Psychological differences:

- Primary identity function: the gang replaces the absent family. For a fatherless adolescent (a theme we know well), the gang offers what the home does not: structure, protection, recognition, identity. The typical gangster profile is one of disorganized attachment (Main & Hesse, 1990) who finds in the gang a substitute attachment system.
- Primal territoriality: the gang defends a territory of a few streets. The mafia controls entire regions. The relationship to space is radically different — more visceral, more immediate, more linked to daily survival.

- Low institutionalization: no codified rituals comparable to the mafia, no stable formal hierarchy. Leadership is often charismatic and ephemeral — the most violent or most respected member, until his incarceration or assassination.
- Reactive violence vs. strategic violence: gang violence is often impulsive, linked to respect (disrespect = death), to immediate territorial conflicts. Mafia violence is calculated, planned, rational. Riina waited years before striking Falcone — a gangster would have shot within the week.
- Age of entry: 11-16 for gangs, compared to 18-25 for the mafia. This difference is critical: the prefrontal cortex of a 13-year-old does not have the capacity to assess long-term consequences. Desensitization to violence sets in before neurological maturation.

Main organizations: Bloods, Crips (Los Angeles), MS-13 (Mara Salvatrucha), Latin Kings, Gangster Disciples, French banlieues (less formalized organization but comparable dynamics).

The Triads — the Millennial Tradition

Definition: Triads are Chinese criminal organizations whose origins trace back to the anti-Qing secret societies of the seventeenth century. The term "triad" refers to the symbolic triangle of Heaven-Earth-Man.

Psychological differences:

- Historical and symbolic rootedness: the triads claim a tradition of patriotic resistance (overthrowing the Qing dynasty, restoring the Ming dynasty). This founding mythology — even when it has become fictional — confers a symbolic legitimacy that neither cartels nor gangs possess.
- Extremely codified rituals: 36 oaths of loyalty, elaborate initiation ceremonies (ingestion of blood mixed with wine, passage under crossed swords), numbered hierarchy (489 = Dragon Head, 438 = Deputy, 426 = Red Pole). The degree of ritualization surpasses even that of Cosa Nostra.
- Organizational flexibility: unlike the pyramidal rigidity of the Italian mafia, triads operate as networks. Members can belong to multiple groups simultaneously. This plasticity makes them more resilient to police operations.
- Different relationship to violence: triads favor intimidation and corruption over direct physical violence. The concept of mianzi (face) is central: losing face is worse than losing one's life. Violence, when it occurs, is often collective (cleaver attacks, choppers) and ritualized.
- Diaspora and globalization: triads operate on a global scale through the Chinese diaspora. From Hong Kong to Vancouver, from London to Sydney, they exploit closed community networks that Western law enforcement struggles to penetrate.

Main organizations: Sun Yee On, 14K, Wo Shing Wo (Hong Kong), Bamboo Union (Taiwan).

The Yakuza — the Honor of the Outcast

Definition: The Japanese yakuza (gokudō) is a criminal organization unique in the world for its degree of institutionalization. Until the 1990s, yakuza operated openly: identified headquarters, business cards, official magazines.

Psychological differences:

- Origin in social exclusion: yakuza historically recruit among the burakumin (Japanese untouchables) and Korean zainichi — populations marginalized by Japan's informal caste system. The yakuza is an outcast who rebuilds an identity through transgression.
- The body as oath: irezumi (full-body tattooing) and yubitsume (ritual amputation of a finger phalanx as a sign of apology) are irreversible physical marks of belonging. No other criminal organization demands such radical bodily transformation.
- The concept of giri-ninjō: social obligation (giri) takes precedence over personal feeling (ninjō). The yakuza acts out of duty to the group, even against his own interests. This sacrifice of individuality to the collective is psychologically the inverse of Western mafia narcissism.
- Structural decline: the anti-yakuza laws of 1992 and 2011 reduced membership from 184,000 (1963) to fewer than 25,000 (2023). The yakuza is the only major criminal organization in continuous demographic decline.

Main organizations: Yamaguchi-gumi, Sumiyoshi-kai, Inagawa-kai.

The Bratva — Post-Soviet Chaos

Definition: The Russian mafia (Bratva = brotherhood) was born among the vory v zakone (thieves-in-law) of the Soviet gulags, and exploded during the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

Psychological differences:

- Carceral origin: the Bratva's codes were born in the Stalinist labor camps. The vory had their own rules: never cooperate with the State, never work legally, never have a family. This radical antisocial code is unique in the criminal world.
- Post-Soviet opportunism: the oligarchs of the 1990s are not traditional mafiosi — they are businessmen who used violence to privatize State assets. The boundary between legitimate business and organized crime is more blurred in Russia than anywhere else.
- Violence without ritualization: the Bratva kills with a pragmatic brutality devoid of the theatricality of cartels or the ritualism of Cosa Nostra. A kontrakt (assassination contract) is executed cleanly, without messages, without staging. Efficiency comes first.

- Symbiosis with the State: where the Italian mafia corrupts the State, the Bratva is the State in certain regions. The distinction between political power and criminal power is sometimes nonexistent — a phenomenon that analysts call the "mafia state."

The Albanian Mafia — The Clans of the Kanun

Definition: Albanian criminal clans are structured around the fis (family clan) and governed by the Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini, a medieval code of laws that codifies honor, vendetta (gjakmarrja), and hospitality.

Psychological differences:

- Ultra-violence as cultural norm: blood vendetta is a sacred duty. The Kanun prescribes that the murder of a clan member must be avenged — indefinitely. Entire families live in confinement (in blood) for generations.
- Absolute clan loyalty: the structure is more closed than Cosa Nostra. Admission is strictly ethnic and familial. Albanian clans are considered by Europol as the most difficult criminal organizations to infiltrate.
- Control of the routes: Albanian clans dominate heroin trafficking (the Balkan route) and cocaine trafficking into Europe. They have supplanted Cosa Nostra and the Camorra in several markets.
- Estimated PCL-R profile: 22-30 — instrumental psychopathy, no gratuitous cruelty but extreme brutality when necessary.

Nigerian Criminal Fraternities — The Shadow Brotherhoods

Definition: Nigerian criminal organizations (Black Axe/Neo Black Movement, Supreme Vikings, Buccaneers) were born in the university fraternities (cults) of the 1970s-80s, transformed into transnational criminal networks.

Psychological differences:

- Intellectual origins: a fact unique in global organized crime — these organizations were born in universities. The founders were students — not Sicilian peasants or favela kids. The profile is more cognitive, more manipulative, less impulsive.
- Syncretic ritualism: ceremonies blend Yoruba traditions, voodoo, and Western symbolism (Freemasonry). Rituals sometimes include elements of juju (sorcery) used to terrorize victims and ensure member loyalty.
- Cybercrime: the Yahoo Boys (online scammers) and Nigerian BEC (Business Email Compromise) networks generate billions of dollars. It is the only major criminal organization where the keyboard has replaced the gun as the primary tool.

- Global expansion: presence in 80+ countries, with autonomous cells operating without central supervision — a model resembling a commercial franchise.

Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs — The Motorized Brotherhood

Definition: The Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs (OMGs) — Hells Angels, Bandidos, Pagans, Outlaws — are criminal organizations structured around biker culture, with a quasi-military hierarchy.

Psychological differences:

- Rebel identity: the 1%er patch claims membership in the 1% of bikers that the American Motorcyclist Association once labeled "outlaws." Identity is constructed against society, not in parallel (mafia) nor as a substitute (gang).
- Military structure: president, vice-president, sergeant-at-arms, treasurer, prospects (probationary period). Internal discipline is comparable to the army — and many members are military veterans (Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan).
- Territorial violence: wars between clubs (Hells Angels vs. Bandidos, Great Nordic Biker War 1994-97) reach military intensity — car bombs, rocket launchers, targeted assassinations.
- Drug trade: OMGs are the principal producers and distributors of methamphetamine in North America and Australia.

The Corsican Milieu — Island of Beauty, Island of Blood

Definition: The Corsican milieu is a clan-based criminal organization rooted in the island traditions of vendetta and honor, historically linked to the Marseille milieu (French Connection).

Psychological differences:

- Nationalism and criminality: the border between Corsican independence movements and organized crime is porous. The FLNC (National Front for the Liberation of Corsica) long coexisted with criminal networks, sharing men and logistics.
- Insular omerta: the homicide clearance rate in Corsica is among the lowest in Europe. The culture of silence is not a mafia code — it is an insular cultural trait that precedes and transcends criminality.
- French Connection: in the 1960s-70s, Corsican and Marseille laboratories refined 80% of the heroin consumed in the United States. The Turkey-Marseille-New York pipeline was the first truly intercontinental drug route.

Chechen Groups — The Violence of the Caucasus

Definition: Chechen criminal groups (obshchina) were born in the context of the Chechen Wars (1994-2000) and operate primarily in Russia and across Europe.

Psychological differences:

- Collective war trauma: the two Chechen Wars produced an entire generation of men desensitized to extreme violence. The transition from combatant to criminal is fluid — the skills are transferable.
- Reputation for brutality: Chechen groups are feared even by the Russian Bratva. Their reputation for disproportionate violence is a strategic asset — it reduces the need to actually exercise it.
- Mountain code (adat): Caucasian traditions of honor, hospitality, and vendetta (kanly) structure internal relations. The code is older and more rigid than the Sicilian omerta.

The 'Ndrangheta — The Most Powerful Mafia in the World

Definition: The Calabrian 'Ndrangheta is often confused with the Sicilian Cosa Nostra, but it is a distinct organization, older in some of its traditions, and today the most powerful mafia organization in the world — ahead of Cosa Nostra, the Camorra, and all others.

Historical origins: The term "'Ndrangheta" likely derives from the Greek andragathía (courage, virility), a legacy of the Greek colonization of Calabria in antiquity. The organization took shape in rural Calabria in the nineteenth century, against a backdrop of poverty, feudalism, and the absence of the State. The first documented 'ndranghetisti appear in the 1860s-80s, in the rural areas of Reggio Calabria, Vibo Valentia, and Crotona. Unlike Cosa Nostra, the 'Ndrangheta has never had a centralized "Commission": each 'ndrina (family clan) is sovereign over its territory. It was only in 1991, during a secret gathering at the Madonna di Polsi sanctuary in the Aspromonte (discovered by the Carabinieri), that the existence of a coordinating body — the Camera di Controllo — was revealed. The 'Ndrangheta exploded in the 1970s-80s with kidnappings for ransom (the kidnapping of John Paul Getty III in 1973, whose ear was cut off by the kidnappers, is the most famous) and then pivoted to cocaine trafficking in the 1990s, establishing direct connections with the Colombian cartels via Calabrian communities in South America.

Iconic figures: Giuseppe "'Ntoni Peppe" Piromalli (1921-2005), patriarch of the Piromalli 'ndrina of Gioia Tauro, transformed the port of Gioia Tauro — built with public funds for the development of the Mezzogiorno — into the principal Mediterranean transit hub for cocaine. He officially owned nothing and lived in a modest house. Giovanni Cataldo "John" Violi (born 1975), boss of the Violi 'ndrina

in Hamilton (Ontario, Canada), was convicted in 2021 for cocaine trafficking — the "Crimine Infinito" investigation revealed that the Canadian 'Ndrangheta was directly subordinate to the Camera di Controllo of Reggio Calabria, with identical initiation rituals filmed by police. Rocco Morabito (born 1966), nicknamed "the cocaine king of Milan," was the 'Ndrangheta's biggest fugitive — arrested in Uruguay in 2017, escaped from prison in 2019 by sawing through the bars of his cell, recaptured in Brazil in 2021 in a São Paulo apartment.

Notable event: On August 15, 2007 (Assumption Day), six men were shot dead in front of the "Da Bruno" restaurant in Duisburg, Germany. The victims were members of the Pelle-Vottari 'ndrina of San Luca (Calabria), murdered by hitmen from the rival Strangio-Nirta 'ndrina — a vendetta (faida) that had been raging since 1991 (the so-called strage di San Luca affair). The Duisburg massacre shocked Europe: for the first time, European public opinion realized that the 'Ndrangheta was not a localized Calabrian phenomenon but a globalized organization exporting its violence to the continent. Germany, which had no anti-mafia legislation, discovered that the 'Ndrangheta had been embedded in the country since the 1970s — with massive investments in restaurants, real estate, and construction in North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, and Baden-Württemberg.

Psychological anecdote: Initiation into the 'Ndrangheta follows a ritual codified since the nineteenth century, filmed for the first time by the Carabinieri in 2014 in a garage in Frauenfeld, Switzerland. The candidate stands with a knife and a pistol laid out before him on a table, a holy image of Saint Michael the Archangel burning in his hands. He pronounces: "I swear on the point of this knife and on the bullet of this pistol to remain faithful to this active society, as the active society is faithful to me. If I should ever betray, may my flesh burn like this holy image." What is remarkable is the permanence of the ritual: the words are identical to those documented in nineteenth-century trials. Judge Nicola Gratteri has noted that 'ndranghetisti recite this oath with the same conviction as a priest reciting the Eucharist — not as a conventional formula but as a performative act that transforms identity. The mafia baptism erases the civilian person and creates a "man of honor" — the same logic of symbolic death and rebirth as the initiatory rituals of traditional societies, applied to a criminal end.

Current state (2024-2026): The 'Ndrangheta is unanimously regarded by European intelligence services as the most powerful mafia organization in the world. Its annual revenue is estimated between €44 and €55 billion (Eurispes, DIA). It controls 70-80% of the cocaine entering Europe, via the ports of Gioia Tauro, Antwerp, Rotterdam, and Hamburg. The "Rinascita-Scott" operation (January 2020, 334 arrests including lawyers, elected officials, and a former senator) revealed the scale of the 'Ndrangheta's infiltration into Calabrian institutions.

Present in more than 30 countries (Germany, Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Brazil, Argentina), it has colonized markets that Cosa Nostra never reached. Manpower is estimated at 6,000-8,000 active members and 20,000 affiliates. Its current strategy is "submersion": unlike the era of kidnappings and bloody vendettas, today's 'Ndrangheta favors invisibility — public-procurement infiltration, real-estate laundering, penetration of large-scale retail chains, control of agricultural cooperatives.

Differences from Cosa Nostra:

- Blood-family structure: where Cosa Nostra is organized into territorial families (which are not necessarily blood-related), the 'Ndrangheta is built around the 'ndrina — the biological family clan. You cannot join the 'Ndrangheta. You are born into it. This genetic closure makes it nearly impenetrable to infiltrators.
- Revenue: estimated at €53 billion/year (Eurispes, 2013) — i.e., 3.5% of Italian GDP. The 'Ndrangheta controls 80% of the cocaine entering Europe through direct agreements with Colombian and Mexican cartels.
- Global footprint: present in 30+ countries (Germany, Australia, Canada, South America), it has colonized territories Cosa Nostra never reached.
- Psychological profile: more discreet than Cosa Nostra (no flamboyant bosses like Gotti), more patient, more methodical. The 'ndranghetista is an office-style psychopath — cold, calculating, invisible.

Criminal activities:

- Cocaine trafficking (the 'Ndrangheta controls 70-80% of the cocaine entering Europe — direct agreements with Colombian cartels, dissident FARC and Bolivian producers).
- Public-procurement infiltration (construction, waste management, transport, healthcare — the 2020 "Rinascita-Scott" operation revealed systematic infiltration of Calabrian institutions).
- Extortion (pizzo — levied on businesses, companies and self-employed professionals in Calabria).
- Usury (loans at usurious rates to struggling firms, followed by takeover of the company).
- Toxic-waste trafficking (illegal dumping of industrial waste in Calabria and Campania — the "Land of Fires").
- Kidnapping for ransom (the historical market — in decline since the 1990s).
- Food counterfeiting (olive oil, wine, cheese — the 'Ndrangheta controls farming cooperatives in southern Italy).
- Arms trafficking (from the Balkans, via the Calabrian coast).

Money-laundering methods:

- Real estate is the primary vehicle — in Calabria, in northern Italy (Milan, Turin, Lombardy), in Germany (North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria — entire neighborhoods built with cocaine money), in Switzerland, in Australia

(Melbourne, Sydney), in Canada (Ontario, Quebec).

- Large-scale retail (supermarket chains, fast-food franchises).
- Construction and public-works companies (in Italy and Germany — the post-earthquake reconstruction in Emilia-Romagna was infiltrated).
- Agricultural cooperatives (exploitation of European CAP subsidies — the 'Ndrangheta is the leading fraudulent beneficiary of farm aid in Italy).
- Wind farms and solar panels (renewable-energy subsidies in Calabria and Sicily have been massively captured).
- Casinos and online gambling (expanding).
- Offshore shell companies (Panama, Switzerland, Australia).

Main 'ndrine: Piromalli, Comisso, Alvaro, De Stefano (Reggio Calabria), Cataldo-Violi (Canada).

The Turkish and Kurdish Mafia — The Babas of Heroin

Definition: The Turkish and Kurdish mafia — historically called the Babas (fathers) — is a criminal network specialized in heroin trafficking along the Balkan route, with strong ties to certain factions of the Turkish "deep state."

Historical origins: The Turkish mafia took shape in the 1970s-80s through the rise of opium and heroin trafficking from Afghanistan to Western Europe. The "Balkan route" — Afghanistan → Iran → Turkey → Bulgaria → Western Europe — is controlled by Turkish and Kurdish networks operating from Istanbul, Diyarbakır, and the diasporas of Berlin, Rotterdam, and London. The phenomenon of the Babas — historic mafia figures such as Behçet Cantürk, Dündar Kılıç, or Alaattin Çakıcı — overlaps with the dynamics of the Turkish "deep state" (derin devlet), notably revealed by the Susurluk affair (1996), in which a car accident exposed the existence of a triangle linking police, politicians, and far-right grey-wolf hitmen.

Psychological characteristics:

- Nationalism as a binding principle: Turkish nationalism (and, by symmetry, Kurdish nationalism) plays a structuring ideological role. Several historical Babas were Turkish ultra-nationalists, recruited by the deep state for political assassinations.
- Geopolitical pragmatism: the boundary between mafia and intelligence services is more porous than anywhere else in the world. Mafia logistics serve covert operations and vice versa.
- Specialization in heroin: where the cartels diversify (cocaine, fentanyl, methamphetamine), Turkish networks remain very specialized in heroin — historical control of the supply chain.

Criminal activities: Heroin trafficking (the Balkan route — Turkish networks control

60-80% of the heroin entering Western Europe). Trafficking in human beings (Syrian, Afghan, and Iraqi refugees toward Europe — control of the Aegean and Bulgarian land routes). Money laundering (gold market, real estate in Istanbul and Antalya, money-changers in the Grand Bazaar). Counterfeit cigarettes (large-scale Turkish production exported to the EU). Arms trafficking (from the Caucasus and former Soviet stocks). Industrial-scale extortion (especially within the Turkish and Kurdish diasporas in Germany).

Iconic figure: Sedat Peker (born 1971), former ultra-nationalist Baba, became famous in 2021-2022 for a series of YouTube videos (broadcast from his exile in Dubai) in which he revealed in detail the connections between Turkish organized crime, the AKP government, and certain elements of the security services. The videos drew tens of millions of views and triggered a political crisis in Turkey.

The Israeli Mafia — The Technological Outsider

Definition: Israeli organized crime is a recent (1980s) and atypical phenomenon: born of the meeting between Russian-speaking immigration from the former USSR and the technological infrastructure of Israel.

Historical origins: Massive immigration of Soviet Jews after 1989 (about 1 million people, many from Ukraine and the Caucasus) imported into Israel a fraction of the post-Soviet criminal underworld. Figures such as Ze'ev Rosenstein, Yaakov Alperon, and the Abergil family structured rival clans operating between Tel Aviv, Netanya, and South America. The Israeli mafia stands out from other organizations through its ties to the technology industry — several historical figures had backgrounds in the IDF intelligence services (particularly Unit 8200), which produced an unusual hybridization between organized crime and the cyber sector.

Psychological characteristics:

- High cognitive level: the average level of education is higher than in other criminal organizations. Some networks employ scientists, engineers, financial analysts.
- Explosive violence: outdoor settling of scores, sometimes with bombs in public places (Tel Aviv 2003, Bat Yam 2008). Israeli violence is more theatrical and less ritualized than Italian violence.
- Cyber specialization: Israeli networks have invested heavily in spyware (the cases of NSO Group / Pegasus and Candiru, although officially private companies, have ties to former criminals), online betting, cryptocurrency money-laundering platforms.

Criminal activities: International drug trafficking (Israeli networks were pioneers in

MDMA from the Netherlands to North America in the 1990s-2000s — Israeli ecstasy). Online fraud (binary options, Forex scams — a fraud worth tens of billions of dollars centered on Tel Aviv until being banned in 2017). Cybercrime and the sale of spyware (gray market for surveillance tools). Diamond trafficking (Tel Aviv is one of the world's leading diamond hubs — partial control of opaque flows). Real-estate money-laundering (Florida, London, Cyprus, Israel).

Afghan Warlords — The Opium Economy

Definition: Afghan warlords (jangsalaran) are not mafiosi in the classical sense — they are tribal leaders, ex-mujahideen, or former Taliban commanders who control entire regions and the local opium economy.

Historical origins: Forty years of war (Soviet invasion 1979, civil wars 1992-2001, Taliban regime 1996-2001 then 2021-present, US occupation 2001-2021) destroyed the Afghan state and created a fragmented landscape where regional commanders rule with private militias. Opium poppy cultivation, concentrated in Helmand, Kandahar, and Nangarhar, generates 80-90% of the world's heroin. The boundary between warlord, mafia, and political authority is undefined: Karim Khalili (Hazara), Abdul Rashid Dostum (Uzbek), Ismail Khan (Tajik) are at once politicians, warlords, and traffickers.

Psychological characteristics:

- Endemic violence: the level of war violence absorbed by these men over decades places their PCL-R profiles in extreme zones. The boundary between psychopathy and post-traumatic adaptation is sometimes impossible to draw.
- Tribal code (Pashtunwali): Pashtun Pashtunwali — honor (nang), hospitality (melmastia), revenge (badal) — structures internal relations. It is an ancestral code, not a mafia code, but it functions as one.
- Shifting alliances: a warlord can be Soviet-aligned, then mujahideen, then Taliban, then American-aligned, then Taliban again — without contradiction. Loyalty is to the tribe, not to ideology.

Criminal activities: Opium and heroin production (Afghanistan supplies 80-90% of global heroin). Extortion of NGOs and reconstruction projects. Trafficking in cultural antiquities (looting of Buddhist and pre-Islamic sites). Trafficking in women and girls (exploitation of the displaced). Smuggling of precious stones (lapis lazuli, emeralds — Panjshir).

African Cartels — The New Routes

Definition: "African cartels" is a generic term for several distinct organizations: West African networks (Nigeria, Ghana — overlap with Nigerian fraternities discussed earlier), East African networks (Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique), and South African organizations (Cape Town gangs, the Pondo Mafia of the Western Cape).

Historical origins: Africa is a transit zone — between South America (cocaine), Asia (heroin, methamphetamine), and consumer markets in Europe and the Middle East. The 2010s saw the explosion of the "African route": cocaine from Colombia and Brazil transits via Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau ("Africa's first narco-state"), Ghana, Nigeria, and then northern Africa or Europe. South Africa, with its sophisticated banking infrastructure, has become a continental money-laundering hub.

Psychological characteristics:

- State weakness as a structural advantage: where Italian or Mexican mafias must corrupt or fight a strong State, African networks operate in fragile or captured States. Whole portions of certain governments are themselves criminal entities.
- Identity violence: in South Africa, the gangs of Cape Town (Numbers Gangs, Hard Livings, Americans) operate on a numbered hierarchy (the 26s, 27s, 28s) inherited from colonial-era prisons. The level of internal violence is extreme.
- Ethnic recruitment: family and clan loyalties (Igbo, Yoruba, Akan, Fulani) often shape network boundaries.

Criminal activities: Cocaine and heroin transit (Africa is the new hub between South America/Asia and Europe). Trafficking of protected wildlife (ivory, rhino horn, pangolins — feeding Asian demand). Trafficking in human beings (Sahel migrants toward Europe, sexual exploitation in the Gulf and Middle East). Illegal mining (gold, diamonds, coltan — especially in eastern DRC). Petroleum theft (Nigeria — siphoning of Niger Delta pipelines). 419 fraud and BEC scams (West Africa).

The Indian Mafia — Bollywood, Gold, and Cricket

Definition: Indian organized crime — the D-Company of Dawood Ibrahim, the Chhota Rajan gang, the Nirmal Singh group — is rooted in the cosmopolitan port of Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and combines Bollywood, gold smuggling, and cricket-match fixing.

Historical origins: Modern Indian organized crime emerges in 1960s-70s Bombay around gold smuggling (gold was rationed in India, fueling a colossal black market). The figure of Haji Mastan (covered in Chapter 15) marks the apogee of

this charming-mafioso model. After 1980, Dawood Ibrahim built the D-Company, an organization implicated in the 1993 Bombay bombings (257 dead) — likely as retaliation for the anti-Muslim Babri Masjid riots. Dawood, in exile in Karachi (Pakistan) since the 1990s, is on most-wanted lists in India and the United States. The Indian mafia is unique in that it openly mixes religious dimensions (Hindu/Muslim tensions) with criminal economics.

Psychological characteristics:

- Symbiosis with Bollywood: gangsters finance films, marry actresses, sometimes order kidnappings of producers (the murder of Gulshan Kumar in 1997 by the D-Company is the most famous case). The cinema-crime overlap is structural.
- Religious and political dimension: communal tensions (Hindus vs. Muslims) shape recruitment and rivalries. The D-Company is predominantly Muslim; Chhota Rajan is Hindu.
- Cricket match-fixing: bookmakers connected to the underworld manipulate cricket-match outcomes — a multibillion-dollar industry. The 2000 Hansie Cronje scandal (former South African captain, paid by Indian bookmakers) revealed the depth of the phenomenon.

Criminal activities: Gold and diamond smuggling. Bollywood film financing and racketeering of the industry. Cricket match-fixing. Hawala (informal money transfers across the diaspora). Drug trafficking (particularly mandrax for South Africa). Targeted assassinations.

The PCC and Comando Vermelho — Prison as the Cradle (Brazil)

Definition: The Primeiro Comando da Capital (PCC, founded 1993 in São Paulo) and the Comando Vermelho (CV, founded 1979 in Rio de Janeiro) are Brazilian criminal organizations born inside the prison system and structuring the drug trade in the favelas.

Historical origins: The CV emerges in 1979 at Cândido Mendes prison (Ilha Grande), where political detainees from the military dictatorship and ordinary criminals are held together. Marxist-Leninist ideas (read by political prisoners) merge with the codes of the underworld to produce a hybrid organization — political and criminal — that takes control of the favelas of Rio after the prisoners are released. The PCC is born in 1993 at the Taubaté prison, in reaction to the Carandiru massacre (October 1992, 111 prisoners killed by military police). It then becomes a hyper-organized prison force structuring inmates and the drug trade across São Paulo State and several countries (Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia).

Psychological characteristics:

- Quasi-religious organization: the PCC functions as a brotherhood with a written constitution (16 articles), monthly mandatory dues, internal courts, weddings sealed in the name of the Familia. The level of organization rivals that of the Yakuza.
- Carceral identity: where mafias recruit by family or community, the PCC and CV recruit through prison. Crossing the threshold of prison is a foundational rite of passage.
- Ideological dimension: the founding texts of the PCC explicitly mention "freedom, justice, peace" and a "war against State oppression." The violence is presented as revolutionary, not predatory.

Criminal activities: Cocaine trafficking from Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia toward Brazil and then Europe (the PCC controls the port of Santos — Brazil's largest port). Marijuana trafficking from Paraguay. Bank robberies (including the spectacular 2017 Ciudad del Este heist, \$40 million). Targeted kidnappings of bankers, businessmen, and judges. Internal racketeering of inmates. Assassination of police officers (the May 2006 PCC offensive killed 60 police officers in São Paulo).

Mainland Chinese Organized Crime — Beyond the Triads

Definition: Mainland Chinese organized crime — distinct from the historical Hong Kong and Taiwan triads — has exploded since the 1990s under the impact of breakneck economic development, capitalism without rule of law, and the partial complicity of certain Communist Party officials.

Historical origins: The opening of the Chinese economy under Deng Xiaoping (1978-1992) created the conditions for the emergence of an opaque post-socialist criminal economy. Local networks (heishehui — "black societies") flourish in the southern coastal provinces (Guangdong, Fujian) and in the regions of the great inland cities (Chongqing). The 2009-2012 anti-mafia campaign led by Bo Xilai in Chongqing — before his own fall — revealed the depth of collusion between local cadres, businessmen, and heishehui. More than 4,000 people were arrested, including senior police, prosecutors, and judges.

Psychological characteristics:

- Symbiosis with the Party-State: the boundary between official corruption, corporate fraud, and organized crime is porous. Some criminal networks operate with the implicit protection of local cadres, in exchange for kickbacks or services rendered.
- Specialization in financial crime: the Chinese economy of recent decades has

produced specialists in financial fraud, money laundering, and grey-market cryptocurrencies. The level of technical sophistication is high.

- **Discreet violence:** unlike Latin American cartels or biker gangs, Chinese networks favor invisibility. Settlings of scores exist but are rarely public. The objective is to remain below the State's radar.

Criminal activities: Cybercrime (phishing campaigns, scam call centers in Cambodia and Myanmar — Sino-Burmese scam compounds). Massive-scale financial fraud (Ponzi schemes, online lending platforms). Cryptocurrency money-laundering (Tether/USDT — the Chinese diaspora is one of the largest international users). Counterfeiting and dumping of pharmaceuticals (active ingredients made in China). Trafficking of protected wildlife (rhino horn, ivory, pangolin scales — China is the largest consumer market). Trafficking in human beings (women from Southeast Asia, North Korea — forced marriages and sexual exploitation).

Comparative Table — Psychology of Organized Crime

Organization	Motivation	Structure	Violence	Code	Recruitment	PCL-R	Entry age
Cosa Nostra	Power + honor	Familial pyramid	Codified, measured	Omerta	Family	25-35	18-25
'Ndrangheta	Discreet profit	Blood ('ndrina)	Invisible	Blood bond	Birth	25-33	Birth
Cartels	Pure profit	Entrepreneurial	Spectacular, excessive	Informal	Poverty	20-35	14-20
Gangs	Identity + territory	Fluid territorial	Reactive, impulsive	Neighborhood	Neighborhood	15-30	11-16
Triads	Tradition + profit	Decentralized network	Ritualized, collective	36 oaths	Community	20-28	16-22
Yakuza	Social obligation	Quasi-feudal	Ritual (yubitsume)	Giri-ninjō	Social exclusion	15-25	18-25
Bratva	Profit + power	Variable	Pragmatic, cold	Vory v zakone	Gulag / business	25-35	20-30
Albanian Mafia	Clan honor	Clans (fis)	Ultra-violent	Kanun	Ethnic clan	22-30	16-22
Nigerian Mafia	Profit + status	Fraternities (cults)	Manipulative	Juju / rituals	University	20-30	18-25
Turkish Mafia	Geopolitics	Deep state	Strategic	Nationalism	Ideology	22-30	18-25
Israeli Mafia	Technology	Networks	Explosive	None formal	Immigration	20-28	20-30
Afghan Warlords	Survival	Tribal	Endemic	Badal	Tribe	20-30	14-20
African Cartels	Resources	Armed militias	Militia-style	Variable	Poverty	15-30	12-18
Biker Gangs	Rebellion	Quasi-military	Territorial	1%er	Veterans	20-28	20-30
Corsican Milieu	Nationalism	Clan-based	Vendetta	Insular omerta	Family	22-28	18-25
Chechen Groups	Survival + honor	Clan-based	Disproportionate	Adat	War	25-32	14-20

What This Book Covers

This preliminary chapter has mapped nineteen distinct criminal ecosystems: the Italian and Italian-American mafia (Cosa Nostra and 'Ndrangheta), Latin American cartels, urban gangs, Chinese triads and mainland Chinese organized crime, the Japanese yakuza, the Russian Bratva, the Albanian mafia, Nigerian criminal

fraternities, outlaw motorcycle gangs, the Corsican milieu, Chechen groups, the Turkish and Kurdish mafia, the Israeli mafia, Afghan warlords, African cartels, the Indian mafia, and the Brazilian PCC and Comando Vermelho.

In the chapters that follow, we will primarily analyze profiles drawn from the Italian and Italian-American mafia, Latin American cartels, and the cinematic and television fiction inspired by them — while drawing on the other organizations whenever their specificities illuminate a mechanism, a profile type, or a psychological dynamic that the Mediterranean and American models alone cannot explain.

This choice is not a value judgment. Each of these nineteen organizations would merit its own volume. It is a choice of coherence: the profiles analyzed in depth share a common cultural soil (the Mediterranean, the Americas) and have produced the majority of clinical and judicial data available in Western languages. The other organizations appear throughout the book as counterpoints — confirming, nuancing, or contradicting the patterns observed in the core organizations.

Now that the terrain is mapped, let us enter the mechanisms.

PART 1 — THE MECHANISMS
