#### Towards a theory of organized crime: some preliminary reflections<sup>1</sup>

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We owe Dick Hobbs some of the most insightful and lively analyses of professional and organized crime (e.g., 1988; 1995; 2013; Pearson and Hobbs, 2001). In his latest book *Lush Life*, Dick Hobbs (2013) has also magisterially shown how the term "organized crime" has since the 1990s been misused by skillful moral entrepreneurs and politicians to signify the growing popular concern for crime and the increasing insecurity of our late modern societies and to justify far-reaching legal and institutional reforms at both the national and international level.

Given the public concern about organized crime and the vast array of legal and institutional reforms adopted to control it, it is important to reflect upon the determinants of organized crime. Without a better understanding of these determinants and the causal models linking them to the different forms of organized crime, in fact, policy interventions risk selecting unrealistic goals or even obtaining counterproductive results. Yet this avenue has not been systematically pursued. Even though research on organized crime has greatly expanded over the past 25 years, most studies are descriptive, tend to focus on specific phenomena and/or are often circumscribed to single national or even sub-national contexts, reflecting the difficulties of the empirical data collection (see Hobbs and Antonopoulos, 2014, for a review of the research methods used). As a result, comparative research has remained very limited (see Fijnaut and Paoli, 2004 for an isolate case) and no systematic attention has so far been given to the causes of organized crime (for an overview of recent research, see Paoli, 2014).

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is to a large extent based on Paoli (2013) and (2014a).

# **Reflections On Organized Crime Patterns And Control**

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