

Institution: University of Bath

Unit of Assessment: D27

Title of case study: The Neapolitan Mafia at home and abroad.

1. Summary of the impact

According to the Home Office's 2009 report on organised crime, *Extending our Reach*, *A Comprehensive Approach to tackling Organised Crime*, serious organised crime is perceived as a local problem by British citizens. Foreign organised crime groups are not even mentioned. Allum's (Lecturer at Bath since 2002) research on the activities of the Neapolitan Mafia, the Camorra, in Naples and across Europe has highlighted the pervasive nature of this organised crime group, especially in its relationship with local economies and political elites. More importantly, her research has identified that English law enforcement agencies do not have the tools that are fit for the purpose of identifying the activities of the various Italian organised crime groups in the UK. Allum's research has thus informed policy debate and practice around the issues relating to Italian organised crime groups in Italy, in the UK and Europe. It has also improved the quality of evidence around Italian organised crime groups to enhance public understanding of the harm they pose to societies, the economy (in particular, in relation to money laundering activities), and the resilience of local politics in Italy and abroad.

2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)

Allum's research on the Camorra incorporates 5 aspects: (a) understanding and analysing the Camorra in Naples, (b) analysing the relationship of the Camorra with its local setting – civil society, the economy and local politics (1) (c) analysing the Camorra outside of its territory of origin (6) and (d) the fight against organised crime (2, 4), (e) the role of women in Italian organised crime groups (specifically, the Camorra) (3). Her research enhances and often counters the existing literature because it applies a simple 'structure and agency' approach to analysing organised crime combined with rich use of empirical data (in-depth interviews with police officers, judges and state witnesses). The predominant theories applied to understanding and analysing Italian organised crime either focus on cultural explanations (organised crime groups are the by-product of a particular culture) or rational choice theory (such groups are 'an industry of private protection' providing services of protection where the state is missing). Based on empirical case studies and extensive fieldwork, Allum's approach highlights the necessity to go beyond cultural and economic approaches.

This research on the Camorra, in Naples and abroad, breaks free from traditional approaches to adopt an innovative one that has not so far been adopted to explain such criminal behaviour. Allum's 'structure and agency' approach is inspired by Giddens (1996) and seeks to explain the interaction between the micro- or individual level and the macro- or contextual level of analysis. In this fashion, an explanatory balance is introduced to give equal space to the individual's behaviour and the specific context within which it occurs. This approach enables a better understanding of the development of the Camorra in the post war period. In particular, it allows a better analysis of the Camorra's links with local political elites. This dynamic two level approach allows for some novel considerations about the intricate relationships between organised criminals, local politicians, businessmen and administrators in local Italian councils.

Allum's application of this approach to the Camorra's mobility abroad also produced some interesting conclusions. It enabled the analysis to go beyond traditional concepts within the literature, such as 'colonisation', 'transplantation', 'new branches', 'outlets' and 'settlements'. This new approach allows for a more precise analysis that explains why some countries and not others were chosen as hosts, as well as why criminals move abroad and the nature of their accomplices. In particular, the concept of 'functional mobility' was developed to explain how organised crime groups move abroad while remaining in contact with their local territory. In other words, to truly understand the movement of organised crime groups, it is important to focus both on the local context and on global markets. This approach highlights the necessity for European law enforcement agencies to understand Italian organised crime groups in both their local and global



context as well as the need for better European wider cooperation to combat them.

3. References to the research

- (1) Allum, F (2006) Camorristi, Politicians and Businessmen, Organized Crime in post-war Naples (Northern Universities Press), ISBN-10: 1904350054 | ISBN-13: 978-1904350057 (can be supplied by HEI on request)
- (2) Allum, F (2006) 'Pentiti di Camorra' (pp. 185-205) in *Pentiti, I collaboratori di giustizia, le istituzioni, l'opinione pubblica*, (ed) A. Dino, Roma: Donzelli Editore, ISBN-10: 8860360951 ISBN-13: 978-8860360953) (can be supplied by HEI on request)
- (3) Allum, F (2003) 'Donne nella Camorra Napoletana 1950-2000' in Donne e Mafie a cura di G. Findaca, L'Universita di Palermo pp.14-21 IN ENGLISH 'Women doing it for themselves or Standing in for their Men? Women in the Neapolitan Camorra 1950-2000,p 9-18, in Women and the Mafia edited by G. Findaca, 2007, Springer, ISBN-10: 0387365370 | ISBN-13: 978-0387365374) (can be supplied by HEI on request)
- (4) Allum, F, and Fyfe, N (2008) 'Developments in State Witness Protection Programmes: The Italian Experience in an International Comparative Perspective', *Policing, A Journal of Policy and Practice*, vol. 2, issue 1, pp 92-102, DOI: 10.1093/police/pan001
- (5) Allum, F and Allum, P (2008), 'Revisiting Naples: Clientelism and Organized Crime', Journal Of Modern Italian Studies, vol. 13, issue 3, pp. 340-365, DOI:10.1080/13545710802218569.
- (6) Allum, F (2012) 'Italian Organised crime in the UK', *Policing, A Journal of Policy and Practice*, Oxford, OUP 2012, December 6 (4), DOI: 10.1093/police/pas02.

4. Details of the impact

The research has (a) influenced the methods, ideas and ethics of individuals and organisations in the Law Enforcement sector and shaped the manner in which this has been portrayed through the media; and (b) provided a source of expert advice to governments (via Law Enforcement agencies) and the Private Sector in the UK and internationally, thereby influencing policy and practice.

In terms of **direct impact**, this research has:

- (1) Impacted on private sector organisations' working in Law Enforcement internationally by changing perceptions of the geographical spread of the Camorra and by raising awareness of its increasing presence beyond Europe (D)
- (2) Impacted on public sector Law Enforcement agencies in the UK and abroad with regard to awareness of (a) the breadth of intelligence that multi-national companies hold on material crucial to understanding to the spread of organised crime (see Reference 4); (b) the role of 'white collar facilitators' in international organised crime (E)
- (3) Raised awareness of the importance of inter-agency co-operation, including between the Public and Private sectors (D)
- (4) Raised awareness about Italian organised crime groups among Home Office officials to inform their strategic approaches to tackling organised crime in the UK.
- (5) Contributed to the European Parliament's internal policy document on combatting organised crime/terrorism in the European Union which will be used as a basis for MEPs to develop legislation
- (1) Allum initiated and organised two Knowledge Transfer funded seminars on the topics of 'Italian Mafias in the UK' (14 May 2012) and 'Getting to the cash? A Comparative Discussion on confiscation legislation: is a common framework possible?' (14 September 2012). She invited representatives from the Home Office, British Law Enforcement agencies (for example, Thames Valley Police, The Metropolitan Police, The Greater Manchester Constabulary, Association of Chief Police Officers, Serious and Organised Crime Agency, The Financial Conduct Authority -FCA-), Italian Law Enforcement agencies (The Anti-Mafia Prosecution Bureau DDA, Naples, la Guardia Di Finanza, London), Private companies (BAT) and associations (British Bankers Association). There was a clear debate and engagement around the threat of Italian organised crime groups in the UK and this has informed delivery of services: 'I have found Felia Allum's research of great interest as it has shown how Crime Groups that are normally considered to be European based are now actively involved in Organised Crime in different continents. This will help my decision making process when conducting my analysis and producing my conclusion -is this an indigenous



Crime Group from Bolivia or Colombia or are the characteristics that of an Italian, or other foreign based, Crime Group?' (C).

- (2) She was invited by the Metropolitan police to present her research at the Metropolitan Police's London Regional Confidential Unit 's away day (14/3/13). This research informed and will influence their policing practice: 'Allum's research 'inform[ed] the way we look at these groups which should encourage us to include the white collar facilitators as well as the criminal fraternity' (D).
- (3) She has had regular meetings with representatives from different law enforcement agencies (for example, Thames Valley Police, Italian Financial Police, Antimafia police (DIA, Rome) and Naples Prosecution service) to discuss her on-going research and its implications for them. To summarise, the interaction and dialogue with law enforcement agencies has been an on-going two way process in this research. It benefited both partners as it informed the research and provided new insights for them. As a top Italian Antimafia police officer noted: Allum's 'analysis and published work are enhancing our understanding of these evolving phenomena. [...] Some outcomes and ideas steaming from [her] research are eligible to be taken into account for such preparatory works [forthcoming Italian presidency of the Council of the European Union, sem 2, 2014] Practitioners can clearly learn from [her] findings'. (E)
- (4) She was interviewed for the Journal *Police Professional* in an article entitled 'Territorial challenges' (Feb 28, 2013) to explain her research. Police practitioners read this journal across the 43 British constabularies (6,000 printed copies).
- (5) She participated in a private roundtable, organised by the Royal United Services Institute, London (24/5/13) and discussed the 'Strategic Approaches to Organised crime' as they assist the Home Office in reviewing their approach to tackling organised crime.
- (6) She contributed to the European Parliament's study on *'Europe's Crime-Terror Nexus: Links between terrorist and organised crime groups in the EU'* (Directorate General for Internal Policies Policy department C: Citizens' rights and Home Affairs, December 2012, PE462. 503), which underpins the European Parliament's internal policy on terrorism in the EU.

In terms of **public engagement**, this research has:

- (1) Changed perceptions of the historical nature of the Camorra's link with Naples (A)
- (2) Changed perceptions of the underlying drivers of organised crime in Italy (B)
- (3) Provided educational materials ('II crimine organizzato a napoli' (Napoli, L'Ancora, 2011) used as set text book for 2 courses at l'Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II (00151 -Storia Contemporanea and 28156 Storia Sociale e storia economica contemporanea for 2013-2014)

More specifically:

- (1) Allum's research on the Neapolitan Mafia (the state witness protection programme, relations with local politics, the fight against the Camorra) in Naples and Italy has contributed to a wider public understanding of the Camorra in Naples. It has extended the range and improved the quality of evidence to enhance Italian, British and European general public understanding of the major issues relating to organised crime and the Neapolitan Camorra in Italy and Europe. In particular, her work informed the work of screenwriter, filmmaker and novelist Ben Hopkins in his film Naples Open City 1943-1948 (tigerlilyfilms). In 2009, this documentary was distributed on mainstream TV channels in UK (BBC 2, BBC 4), Arte (Germany/France) and tsr in Switzerland. She advised on whom to interview as well as what to stress and highlight: 'I read Felia Allum's work on organised crime in Naples, which was very influential in forming my ideas about the complex social and economic situation in post-war Naples' (A).
- (2) Allum's research came to the attention of the BBC Radio 4 programme 'Thinking Allowed' (radio audience of around 990,000 per edition, 250,000 people per month who subscribe to the podcast and another 100,000 who listen again via the I-player). She was interviewed twice to explain various aspects of her research. In August 2012, she contributed to a debate on the Italian family, the Neapolitan Family and the Camorra family: 'Her expertise and experience meant she was able



to give a perspective on the role of the family in Italian life that I was not able to get from anyone else, despite speaking to many social scientists both in the UK and in Italy [...]. I was extremely pleased to be able to include her in our programme' (B). In February 2013 (6/2/13, 4.00-4.30 pm), she participated to a debate on 'Organised crime in the UK' with Professor D. Hobbs (Essex University) where she presented her findings on the Neapolitan Camorra in the UK. By being interviewed on mainstream British radio, Allum's research informed the British general debate about the state of Italian families and their relationship with criminal families as well the presence, activities and harms the Italian organised crime groups pose the UK and Europe.

- (3) Allum's research on the fight against organised crime has also informed the public's understanding of the problem. Her work has been quoted in various articles: (a) on the Italian State witness protection programme ('Italy's secret anti-mob weapon: witness protection', 14/10/12, distributed to main US news distributors: abcnews.com, newtimes.com, myfoxchicago.com, newsyahoo.com, newsday.com, bloomberg businessweek.com) and (b) in *The Telegraph* on 9/1/2010: 'Italy claims finally defeating the mafia' (by Nick Squires, daily circulation of the Telegraph: 634,113, July 2011). This shows that different aspects of her research have been used to engage more broadly in the general debate on the fight against organised crime in Italy.
- (4) Allum's research has provoked a debate among those working in the area of policing in the UK. She wrote an opinion piece for the Journal, *Policing* 'Italian Organised crime in the UK' was published in December 2012 and prompted a reply by Gachevska, K. (2012). 'On the Persistence of the Mafia 'ghost': A Reply to Felia Allum', Policing 6(4): 360–364. (3,069 institutional subscribers; only 4% are from the UK, 25% from Europe and 14% from North America, with 57% falling into the Rest of World bracket). A reply 'Italian Organised crime in the UK: continuing the debate?' was subsequently published in *Policing* (Jan, 2013, 7 (2): 227-232). As a result of her academic work, Allum was asked to contribute to '*Policing UK 2013*' on the topic of 'organised crime' (edited by P. Neyroud, Witan, 2013) to present her thoughts. As already noted, this led to her being interviewed for the Journal *Police Professional* in an article entitled 'Territorial challenges' (Feb 28, 2013).

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

- A Screenwriter, filmmaker and novelist. Email: 10/10/12.
- B Series Producer *Thinking Allowed BBC* Audio & Music. Email: 12/10/12
- C AIT Intelligence Manager, Anti Illicit Trade Intelligence Unit, Email: 12/10/12
- D London Regional Confidential Unit, New Scotland Yard, Email: 28/3/13
- E EU-international office, DIA (Anti-Mafia police), Rome, Email: 7/6/13