

Universities in the fight against mafias

Research, teaching and training

Edited by Stefano D'Alfonso and Gaetano Manfredi

Federico II University Press



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Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

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Universities in the fight against mafias. Research, teaching and training, translation of the book, S. D'Alfonso e G. Manfredi (edited by), *L'università nella lotta alle mafie. La ricerca e la formazione*, Donzelli Publisher, 2021, Collection «Mafie e corruzione», directed by Stefano D'Alfonso and Rocco Sciarrone

This book has been published in partnership with



Scientific committee

Antonio Acconcia, Giuseppe Amarelli, Luciano Brancaccio, Paolo Canonico, Vincenzo Caputo, Carolina Castellano, Stefano Consiglio, Daniela De Leo, Ernesto De Nito, Serena Forlati, Gabriella Gribaudo, Gaetano Manfredi, Gianluigi Mangia, Vittorio Mete, Giuseppe Muti, Michelangelo Pascali, Ferdinando Pinto, Maura Ranieri, Attilio Scaglione, Pasquale Sabbatino, Giovanni Starace, Andrea Tomo, Alberto Vannucci, Anna Maria Zaccaria

This publication is part of the research project co-funded by the Parliamentary committee of inquiry into mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones, and the University of Naples Federico II as an implementation step of the memorandum of understanding signed by the Committee and the CRUI.

As indicated in the forthcoming pages, this research was conducted in partnership with the CRUI, the anti-mafia parliamentary committee and the ministry of University and Research when this was led by ministry and Professor Gaetano Manfredi.

The person in charge of this research project is Professor Stefano D'Alfonso and the activity has been developed within the operations of the interdisciplinary research lab on mafias and corruption (Lirmac) of the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Naples Federico II in partnership with numerous professors of other Italian universities.

The book cover shows a section of the fresco of the Federico II University Board Room from the early 1900s. The artist is Gaetano D'Agostino. The subject depicted is the great historical ride of 1615, with the University's move from the convent of San Domenico Maggiore to the Palace of Studies. The city enters the Academy.

The photograph on the cover is by Professor Isabella Valente, published in the cultural heritage portal (porbec.it), in the Federico II section – Università dell'arte.

This English edition has been translated from the Italian by Daniele Lombardi and Alessio Mirarchi.

Universities in the fight against mafias : Research, teaching and training /
Edited by Stefano D'Alfonso and Gaetano Manfredi. – Napoli : FedOAPress,
2022. – 223 p. ; 24 cm.

Accesso alla versione elettronica: <http://www.fedoabooks.unina.it>

ISBN: 978-88-6887-145-1

DOI: 10.6093/978-88-6887-145-1

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Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
Centro di Ateneo per le Biblioteche “Roberto Pettorino”
Piazza Bellini 59-60
80138 Napoli, Italy
<http://www.fedoapress.unina.it/>
Published in Italy
Prima edizione: ottobre 2022

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We would like to dedicate this work to the memory of a prosecutor and a scholar who showed great commitment in providing an open and inclusive contribution to the understanding, prevention and repression of organised crime.

*To Filippo Beatrice,
for his kindness as a human, his professionalism as a prosecutor and his attention to detail as a scholar. He was always open to dialogue and cooperation with the academic world.*

This book is dedicated to his commitment, both on the job and in society, and to his deep sensibility.

*To Amato Lamberti,
for his academic, political and institutional effort, always driven by great attention to students whom he considered as the flashes of a new dawn for the rebirth of society and territories.*

I. The role of Italian universities in the anti-mafia system

1. *The rationale of an investigation into the role of Italian universities on the subject of organised crime. Organisation of the work**

This research is the fulfilment of one of the objectives set out in a Memorandum of Understanding (see Annex I below) signed by the Conference of Italian University Rectors (CRUI) and the “Parliamentary committee of inquiry into mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones “, established in the 17th legislature by Law no. 87 of 19 July 2013.

The aim of the memorandum was to enhance the role of universities as places of education in terms of knowledge and skills, but also as ideal social environments from which ethical and cultural principles must stem to protect the academy itself, the institutions and society. In order to have a knowledge base, the CRUI has undertaken to create, for the first time in Italy, a survey of university teaching and research on the subject of organised crime.

The interdisciplinary research laboratory on mafias and corruption (Lirmac) of the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Naples Federico II has supported the CRUI in the implementation of this activity, which is part of a wider scientific project initially co-funded by the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee and the University of Naples Federico II and, subsequently, renewed by the same university. The project was also shared and co-funded by the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee established in the 18th legislature by Law 99 of 7 August 2018 and by the Ministry of University and Research.

The first results of this research activity can be summarised as follows.

Firstly, a survey of teaching activities has been made, through specific questionnaires sent to all the member Universities of the CRUI, which provided ex-

* This paper has been written by Stefano D’Alfonso and Gaetano Manfredi.

haustive information on teaching and higher education activities. The results have been collected by the CRUI and can be also accessed via their website¹. The official presentation of the results took place during a hearing on 7 November 2017 at the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee by the then president of the CRUI, Professor Gaetano Manfredi, and Professor Anna Maria Zaccaria, a member of Lirmac². In addition, the results were also reported in President Manfredi's contribution to the «Stati Generali Lotta alle Mafie» (Forum on the fight against Mafias) held on 23-24 November 2017.

More recently, this research project has been enriched by the participation of professors from many Italian universities who have committed their time to updating the review of teaching and completing that of research papers.

The second result has been the creation of a review of research papers, whose aim is to report the scientific activities of Italian universities.

The CRUI and Lirmac carried out a survey of publications in the field of mafias. The original element in the creation of the database can be mainly found in the data-collection methodology employed which entailed a limited commitment of time on the part of universities in terms of activities to perform and time to dedicate. The universities, in fact, followed guidelines provided by the CRUI and Lirmac to extract data directly from the Iris databases which collect the scientific products of their own researchers, thus avoiding time-consuming manual data-entry which would have represented a significant increase in the workload of administration or academic personnel. A total of sixty-four universities replied indicating research products relevant to the scope of the investigation while two do not possess products that comply with the request and two papers were entered by us through autonomous access to the Iris University system.

This project has two main useful outcomes.

Firstly, the creation of a database that can be accessed quickly and easily which allows, through a simple search by key word, to find professors and universities that have scientifically investigated, within the realm of their macro-sectors and corresponding individual academic disciplines, specific subjects that involve the phenomenon of organised crime. In this way, scholars, institutions, investigative and judicial organizations, journalists, activists and, more generally,

¹ www.cruai.it.

² The stenographic record of the hearing can be downloaded at the link on the website of the Chamber of Deputies www.camera.it

citizens, will be able to conveniently identify and track the scientific effort made over the years.

This platform also makes it possible to overcome typical disciplinary barriers which, in fact, block the spread of existing scientific production and the identification of sector's experts and teams (such as those operating in workshops) that could be consulted for the purpose of in-depth analyses as in the case of law design, for instance.

The CRUI is entrusted with making the database available online on its website for consultation and investigations. The review will be progressively maintained up to date, especially through the contribution of the Interdisciplinary research laboratory on mafias and corruption of the University of Naples Federico II.

The second outcome to be achieved is the detailed representation, both from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, of the Italian scientific production in the field of organised crime. Twenty-nine of the most committed scholars from each macro-sector (Economics, Sociology, Law, History, Geography, Psychology) or from specific academic disciplines (usually open to analyses by experts of the field as is the case with Criminal Law, for instance) have given their contribution indicating, among other things: a) research topics investigated and b) those overlooked but worthy of attention, c) the rationale driving scientific commitment also with regards to the time distribution of scientific products such as monographies, journal articles, book contributions, d) the use of a foreign language.

The scientific reasoning is enriched by tables, graphs, and histograms.

The data collected also allow to highlight the presence of research groups in each university or across different institutions, partnerships and interdisciplinary approaches which are increasingly necessary in a subject with high social, economic and juridical impact, including at international level.

This work also includes a reflection, elaborated by some of the scholars working on topics relevant to us, that not only highlights the importance of the role played by the Italian Academia so far, but also puts forward new action plans. Early results have in fact shown the need to give more value to the university scientific production in terms of dissemination and sharing with the other Anti-mafia stakeholders both at institution and social level. This needs to be done not only in Italy but also abroad, which brings up the issue of the rare use of English in most academic sectors.

In addition, the research also provides significant elements to build new strategies putting the university community at the centre of an ethical and deonto-

logical pledge with a special focus on younger students, as citizens and members of the future ruling class of the country.

The series “Mafie e Corruzione”, created in 2018 with the publishing house Donzelli, has been chosen as editorial location. Its scientific committee is composed of scholars from different disciplines (e.g. Anthropology, Architecture, Law, Economics, Geography, Engineering, Literature, Forensic Medicine, Psychology, Political Science, Sociology, Statistics, History), thus trying to lay the foundations for the enhancement of an interdisciplinary approach to the subject of mafias.

In the first publication of the aforementioned series named *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l'area grigia, 2018*, by authors S. D'Alfonso, A. De Chiara and G. Manfredi, the first proposals were made on a scientific basis to deepen the role of the Italian university in the anti-mafia system, and these are discussed in this paper³. This commitment has found a specific place in an online course, freely accessible in the Mooc platform Federica Web Learning of the Federico II, targeted, in a perspective of soft-skills and lifelong learning, to university students of every degree course and to other recipients (e.g. professional associations, judges, law enforcement agencies)⁴.

This publication, in addition to the critical-descriptive objectives mentioned above, also has a dissemination objective. The reason for this choice is also of an institutional nature: for quite some time now the idea that mafias, as a systemic phenomenon, can only be tackled, in terms of prevention and contrast, with equal systematicity, has been gaining ground in the institutional and social forums, as well as in the judicial bodies (as noted in chapter 2 below). It is therefore necessary to formalise the role of training and research institutions and, in particular, of the university, also in symbolic and self-narrative terms, as well as in terms of substance.

³ The other works published by the research group are as follows. In the series “Mafie e Corruzione”: S. Consiglio, P. Canonico, E. De Nito, G. Mangia (with contributions by S. D'Alfonso, G. Melillo, R. Vona), *Organizzazioni criminali. Strategie e modelli di business nell'economia legale*, Donzelli, Rome, 2019; G. Starace, *Testimoni di violenza. La camorra e il degrado sociale nel racconto di dieci detenuti*, Donzelli, Rome 2020. This was followed by two other volumes published in two different series: S. D'Alfonso, *Potere di inchiesta parlamentare e sistema di protezione dei diritti*, published in the Collana Ricerche giuridiche, Editoriale scientifica, Naples 2020; C. Castellano, *Una questione di provincia. Criminalità e camorra tra età giolittiana e fascismo*, published in the Collana del Centro ReS Incorrumpita, Editoriale scientifica, Naples 2020.

⁴ Available on the website federica.eu

I. The role of Italian universities in the anti-mafia system

This is the first time that some scholars – only a fraction of those engaged in research, teaching and the third mission – have undertaken the task of producing a report on the role of the academy, analysing the state of the art and trying to envisage new lines of action (discussed in the conclusions). In spite of the effort made, the discussion among the scholars involved in this contribution has already revealed aspects that could have been better developed: this awareness is accompanied, however, by a willingness to accept suggestions and ideas, with the hope of shortly bringing together academics who, in addition to being united by a passion for science, share a common civic passion and culture of legality.

*2. Position and role of Italian universities in the anti-mafia system**

The group of scholars who decided to engage in this work has attempted, for the first time, to deal with the theme of mafias by recalling in a unitary context all the different scientific disciplines that have produced contributions related to this theme. This analysis is based on a survey that has produced, as already mentioned, the “Review of university teaching and research on mafias”, a real picture of what has been done so far on this specific subject, developed in collaboration with university researchers, the Conference of Italian University Rectors and the Parliamentary committee of inquiry into mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones.

Before illustrating the origin of this work – worth mentioning due to the connection between ideas generated at institutional level and their sediment in individual papers hereby presented by scholars from various disciplines – we deem it necessary to reflect upon the position of academic efforts within the context of what can be defined as the institutional and social anti-mafia system.

In particular, the decision of involving in this work some of the university researchers who are most committed to organised-crime topics, operating individually or in teams, can be explained, above all, by taking into account the following basic premise: in scientific, institutional and social contexts a firm belief has taken hold according to which preventing and fighting such a rooted phenomenon as the Mafia implies the urgent need for a systematization of prevention and

* This paper has been written by Stefano D’Alfonso.

contrast actions especially through the acknowledgement and investigation of stakeholders and their contributions in a networked perspective.

Amongst the main reasons that lead to this, also from a theoretical-scientific standpoint, there is the depiction of mafias as «systems»⁵. Criminal organisations possess spatial networks that operate within and outside them, both in traditional and non-traditional territories. In order to understand the outreach of this phenomenon an example can be provided by the relations that might sometimes exist between criminal organisations and political institutions as an expression of a sort of genetic code comprising a tendency to operate not only internally but also externally⁶.

As regards their workforce, mafia-related organisations are composed of a sort of army of professionals who, based on skills and competences honed in specific contexts and through time, operate and define dynamic strategies of adaptation and development as is the case with, for instance, the sector of international finance which did not use to be affected by mafia penetration. Once this assertion is accepted, it seems clear that the only way to counter it is to innovate our approach by creating and organising systematic models⁷.

In this area of action, the Italian university, like other institutions, must play a specific and significant role. In support of this assertion, we should consider the support function that in-depth scientific studies, whether mono- or interdisciplinary, are able to provide for every other type of analysis, in addition to the strictly scientific and educational one. Every step taken in the direction of understanding phenomena from different disciplinary points of view affects the way phenomena are interpreted. For example, there is a well-established relationship between sociological and legal studies, particularly in the field of criminal law: the contribution, partly criticised, of sociology to the legal qualification of the very crime of criminal organisation contained in Article 416-bis of the Crimi-

⁵ Referred to as such also in some of the narratives of the criminal organisations themselves: an example is the Neapolitan Camorra, which calls itself ‘o’ sistema’ (the system).

⁶ C. Visconti, *Contiguità alla mafia e responsabilità penale*, G. Giappichelli, Torino 2003, p. XXII. For a detailed picture of the different theoretical positions between law, social and historical studies, see G. Amarelli, *La contiguità politico-mafiosa. Profili politico-criminali, dommatici ed applicativi*, Dike Giuridica, Roma 2017, pp. 33-9

⁷ See N. Dalla Chiesa, *Manifesto dell'Antimafia*, Einaudi, Torino 2014, p. 19 where this statement is reached by relating the ideas expressed by Giovanni Falcone, mafia victim and anti-mafia judge, to the perspective of current times.

nal Code is well known; or the importance of a number of valuable studies on non-traditional areas of mafia roots and development, which have scientifically highlighted the factors intrinsic to this, also drawing on the measurement of « anti-mafia action as a whole, not only at an investigative and judicial level, but also with reference to the political and economic spheres, and that of so-called civil society»⁸.

The contribution of scientific disciplines is thus not only limited to their own narrow field, as they can explain positive effects far beyond these boundaries, overcoming the self-referential cut that is often attributed to university scholars. This is certainly also true for investigative literature and journalism, as well as for strictly legislative and policy-making activities. However, traditional scientific production (monographs, articles in specialised journals, contributions in books and conference proceedings, and even doctoral theses, when uploaded into the Iris system) provides access to insights resulting from rigorous approaches with the application of the rules of each scientific method or more specifically following deontological procedures and best practices⁹. In addition, the scholars themselves might be in the position of directly sharing the content of their studies, for example at parliamentary hearings, during their support activity to judges and prosecutors – think about the role of forensic medicine or criminal law studies –

⁸ The specific reference is to the work of R. Sciarone - J. Dagnes, *Geografia degli insedia mafiosi*, in R. Sciarone, *Mafie del nord. Strategie criminali e contesti locali*, Donzelli, Rome 2014, p. 70. Or consider the recent works by V. Martone, *Le mafie di mezzo*, Donzelli, Rome 2017, on one of the most difficult and controversial stories of recognition of the mafia presence, the one concerning Rome and Lazio; or the one published by a journalist and a university researcher on the presence of mafia in Veneto, G. Belloni - A. Vesco, *Come pesci nell'acqua*, Donzelli, Rome 2018.

⁹ Take history as an example where the «Deontological rules for the processing for archiving purposes in the public interest or for historical research purposes» adopted by Resolution of the Privacy Guarantor on 19 December 2018, no. 513/2018; the «Good practices for oral history», precisely those that the so-called «oralist» historians have given themselves - where «oral history» can be understood, according to the definition given by the Italian Association of Oral History (AISO) as «the particular methodology of historical research based on the production and use of oral sources» (www.aisoitalia.org). In this case, the Italian Oral History Association has intervened (even though in a document that is not a source of law) on ethical, deontological and legal issues of the use of oral sources, picking up on the international debate on the principles of oral history of the Oral History Association. Even if it is not a source of law, but rather a collection of indications resulting from the reflections of members of the association or of individuals who have had a relationship with them (e.g., jurists), when one reads the contents, it seems clear that they are suitable to support an argumentative legal path that the judge himself can follow to better understand the legal relevance of the behaviour adopted.

or in their performance of consultancy functions, for example for the Anti-mafia Parliamentary Committee.

A further aspect to consider is represented by the contribution that can be given to the international and European debate by Italian university scholars, both at scientific and institutional level, which in most cases is linked to their domestic field of action. For instance, what cannot be overlooked is the importance of preventive and repressive measures envisaged by our legal system, as well as investigative techniques considered ‘good practice’ at European and international level, affecting the institutions operating in other territories. With regards to the latter aspect, as evidenced by the data reported in our research (and on which we will focus below), we have to highlight an insufficient use of the English language in the majority of scientific disciplines, with an ensuing impairment of dissemination. This critical issue must be reviewed and addressed.

Research activity also plays a decisive role in fuelling the efforts made in the university’s other two missions: the first, teaching, which can also be interpreted according to the well-known Humboldt model, which demonstrates an unavoidable link with scientific production, and the ‘third’ (mission)¹⁰.

What has been illustrated so far represents only a partial description of the reasons underlying the importance of reflecting upon the current and future role of Italian universities, their potential and formal recognition in the sense of an acknowledgement of their function in the Anti-mafia prevention and repression system. In the highest political-institutional context, that of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones, there was clear agreement with the Conference of Italian University Rectors (CRUI) about the need for plans and actions consistent with

¹⁰ For a brief definition of the so-called ‘terza missione’ (outreach), see the guidelines provided by Anvur (National Agency for the assessment of the university system and research) *Rapporto sullo stato del sistema universitario e della ricerca. II.2.3 – La terza missione nelle università*, Roma 2013, pp. 559-83, which states: “The third mission is “the set of activities through which universities enter into direct interaction with society, complementing the traditional missions of teaching (first mission, based on interaction with students) and research (second mission, in interaction mainly with the scientific or peer communities). With the Third Mission, universities come into direct contact with subjects and social groups other than the established ones, and thus make themselves available to modes of interaction with contents and forms that are highly variable and context-dependent”.

I. The role of Italian universities in the anti-mafia system

systematic repression in its various forms¹¹. The basic premise lies in the acknowledgement of universities and university communities – which comprise students and professors in their double role of researchers and educators – as receivers of requests for legality, equality and redemption coming from institutions and society. Universities, while performing their organisation, regulatory and functional duties independently, as stated by the Constitution and current legislation, represent the place where freedom of research is exercised in its diverse ways both positive and negative (see articles 9 and 33, par. 1) and, at the same time, if we widen the scope until including the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, they are also the place for academic freedom as stated by article 13, where the three aforementioned missions are comprised. In addition, if we look at state level, especially as stated by Art. 1 of Law n. 240 of 30 December 2010, universities are entrusted with the role of ‘primary location for free research and free education within the realm of each discipline’ as these institutions are ‘places where learning happens, and knowledge is critically assessed’. Therefore, universities need to operate through a homogeneous combination of research and teaching, for the cultural, societal and economic progress of the Republic. It is in this theoretical framework, only partly outlined hereby, that we must place and formally acknowledge the objective of establishing the university’s active role in a more complex and shared articulation of the Anti-mafia system.

To this end, let us also refer to what we have already had the opportunity to discuss elsewhere, following a more detailed discussion during which we focused specifically on the archipelago of the anti-mafia in order to understand the role of the institutions involved in this direction¹², both those commonly labelled as such (e.g. the judiciary and especially the anti-mafia prosecutors) and those that have never found a terminological definition of this role, namely the university antimafia. For the time being, we will limit ourselves to a general mention of this aspect, which serves to frame the reasons that originally led the working

¹¹ At the first meeting in the seventeenth legislature between the Commission and the Conference of Italian University Rectors, President Rosy Bindi took the floor. Discussing the potential role of Italian universities in relation to the mafia and legality, she ideally placed the commitment of Italian universities within a systematic plan that opposes the “fight against the mafia” to the “systematic presence of the mafia in our country” (Crui seminar and Anti-Mafia Commission, 2015).

¹² For a closer look into this, see S. D’Alfonso, A. De Chiara, G. Manfredi, *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l’area grigia*, Donzelli, Roma 2018, pp. 17-23

group to engage in a detailed description of the role of the academicians. After this work we will have the necessary elements to understand the role effectively played, which is not sufficiently known not only outside the academic perimeter but also within it.

If we consider the systematicity of the fight against mafia-related organisations, it seems useful to recall certain concepts that are intertwined within an initial framework of needs: the usefulness of the reciprocal relationship between the different declinations of anti-mafia; the sharing of knowledge; determining the greatest possible awareness of the methodologies characterising the actions of the different anti-mafia players and the characteristics and contents of the different interpretations of details and of phenomena in their general meaning; in terms of the method of inclusion and connection in a network perspective, we need to work on the need to expand the general model of anti-mafia; looking at the players of anti-mafia, we need to reflect on the need to avert and overcome all forms of self-referentiality, especially when they are aimed at different kinds of advantage: from power or recognition in terms of career or visibility in one's own sphere of action, to prestige, legitimacy, visibility for political purposes, but also profit, when it comes to actors operating, for example, in the world of professional activities. These effects, although (only) to some extent legitimate, must not negatively affect the processes of interrelation between actors and actions.

In order to grasp the characteristics of the system, it is also necessary to include in the argumentative path the individual categories that include the players engaged on the anti-mafia frontline, imagining placing them in a sort of mind map. The recognisability of the individual players represents a need for self-representation in the anti-mafia system, to which follows, for example, the awareness of roles and the formal recognition of competences placed at the service of common aims, in the hope that this can determine the best conditions for unitary or concerted actions or characterised by the awareness of roles and contributions in the direction of common projects and aims. The recognition of the action, or rather of the anti-mafia actions in Italy cannot be likened only to the traditionally recognised banners – think of the police forces that operate within the Anti-mafia Investigation Directorate, the prosecutors of the anti-mafia district directorates, the journalists whose commitment on the ground is well known – but it must be grasped and made recognisable also when it manifests itself in other contexts, less well known in the common meaning as they are absolutely placed in competences and roles that have a wider scope. Think about the role of prefectures and their function in terms of prohibitory antimafia disclosures but

also civil servants who every day are entrusted with fulfilling their tasks with discipline and honour, as envisaged by article 54 of the Italian Constitution.

With regard to the definition of the anti-mafia system and its articulations, if on the one hand it is necessary to consider the usefulness of a substantial approach that tends to overcome the formal barriers inherent in any kind of formalisation and institutionalisation, on the other hand it is necessary to focus on the different articulations of which the system is composed. If we deprived ourselves of an overall reading that highlights the players of the anti-mafia, this would lead to a reduction in the potential for interconnection between the various actions, with inevitable effects in terms of individual and overall effectiveness and efficiency.

The observation of the roles concretely played can be the result of two different perspectives. The first, of a general character, allows the identification of the role exercised in single macro-areas of intervention. An example could be the analysis of the political-institutional anti-mafia in its specific fallout in terms of legislative interventions. One can, therefore, observe the role of the legislator as it has developed over time, understanding the attention that it has expressed about mafia-related organisations, framing it also historically (for example, this has allowed one to speak of cyclicity or discontinuity of the attention given to the fight against the mafias). But the specific interventions can also be verified in a precise manner: one thinks, recalling the best known and most significant intervention, of the decisive turning point given in 1982 with the introduction of the Article 416-bis in the Criminal Code. On the contrary, the activities carried out by the various players can be identified, for descriptive purposes, but also for the possible need to strengthen their role, also by delving into single themes of interest. The analysis of the activities carried out by the single protagonists of the anti-mafia, in fact, not only enables the measurement of the results individually achieved and the overall outcomes stemming from the interrelation between the exercise of different roles, but also allows to bring to light the criticalities consequent to inattention, eventual inefficiencies of the system or normative deficiencies. In order to better understand this statement, it may be useful to recall the analysis carried out at the time by both the Anti-Mafia Parliamentary Committee and the Scientific Committee on the involvement of liberal professions with the mafias, conducted by observing the role of the individual actors responsible for combating and preventing them (e.g. judicial bodies, professional orders, Ministry of Justice). This detailed analysis, carried out by looking at the interdisciplinarity of the subject across the different sectors of intervention, has allowed to highlight

some criticalities, amongst which the need for valuing professional orders and the university itself¹³.

A complete overview would require a rigorous in-depth study, which is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but which, albeit in synthetic terms, must be mentioned here. Let us therefore try to channel the discussion into the more concrete and specific field of the description of the different forms of anti-mafia action in Italy.

The reality of reference is complex and not very detailed in scientific terms. A useful reference is to a recent contribution that, following a diachronic approach to the phenomenon, describes the system in which the ‘fight against mafia’ is expressed through the contributions of ‘movements’ and ‘institutions’. “The actions of contrast” in the broad sense can be classified “in two major categories, each of which is further articulated within itself”: “institutional” and “movementist”. It is generally affirmed that “institutional anti-mafia” is that carried out by the bodies of the State (among these, the judiciary and the police, whose function responds to legal norms); while “movementist anti-mafia” is “the expression of individuals and organised groups in society”¹⁴.

The description of the nature of these two categories is an expression of the activities carried out before the corresponding players. The observation of these activities and of the contaminations that are sometimes detectable makes it possible to affirm that the institutional and movementist anti-mafias – which we will refer to below by the synonymous term ‘social’ – are not separate worlds. In fact, the points of junction can be numerous.

Taking a closer look at anti-mafia also serves the purpose of understanding mafia-related phenomena. The connection between specific events such as the War against the State or an earthquake and the role performed by anti-mafia players (i.e. law enforcement inquiries, the role of the judiciary, the approval of a certain law, the efforts of citizen organisations) enables a scientific description – through the lens of a historical reconstruction. This can be observed thanks to the use of different investigation methods belonging to various disciplines such as Sociology, Law Studies, Economics and Anthropology which help to under-

¹³ For a closer look into this, see D’Alfonso, De Chiara, Manfredi, *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l’area grigia* cit.

¹⁴ V. Mete, *La lotta alle mafie tra movimenti e istituzioni*, in *L’Italia e le sue regioni: l’età repubblicana*, 16 voll., IV, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, Roma 2015, p. 305-6

stand the close link between criminal activities and the corresponding reaction, in terms of contrast and prevention, of the different activities of the anti-mafia universe. We hereby want to mention two in support of our claims. Firstly, the renowned role played by Libera in 1996 when this organisation collected more than one million signatures to promote the law on confiscated assets. Secondly, we would like to talk about a less known and more specific case which, through a practical example, aims to highlight the potential inherent in the partnership between academic research and the judiciary. This case has previously been investigated in a study which we are going to recall now in its most specific aspects. In the context of a research activity, which also had as its source the activity carried out within the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee, it was observed that there was a widespread lack of communication between the judicial bodies and the professional orders in the event of legal proceedings against the professionals concerned, in particular in mafia offences. The lack of communication represented an information breakdown that prevented the orders from taking disciplinary action against their members. In the present case, the public prosecutor's office at the Court of Naples issued a directive which, by means of an internal reorganisation, stipulated that such communication should take place systematically¹⁵.

This approach allows us to detail the different forms that anti-mafia takes and could take, starting from the direct relationship between organisations and actions. Generally speaking, we can draw on a number of categories that are usually referred to by the mass media, scholars and institutions, including: 'legislative', 'investigative and judicial', 'political' or 'institutional' and 'social'. To this we could add further ones, never adopted in the debate and for different reasons. The first of these could be the «university» form which, although never categorized as such, has been thus defined in some studies¹⁶. Another form can be that of «professionals» or associations/orders. In the latter case, which is especially relevant to our purposes, there are no efforts to synthesise terminology that have gone in this direction, nor have there been any in-depth studies on the subject that have led to the recognition by the orders of a specific (and recognised

¹⁵ The reference is to the administrative order no. 51/18 adopted by the prosecutor Giovanni Melillo, concerning "Communications of the public prosecutor to the territorial professional orders for possible disciplinary initiatives". The topic is discussed in detail in D'Alfonso, De Chiara, Manfredi, *Mafie e libere professioni*, cit., p. 101-2

¹⁶ See V. Tenore, *Deontologia e nuovo procedimento disciplinare nelle libere professioni*, Giuffrè, Milano 2012, p. 6

as such) ethical “mission”, but above all (insofar as it corresponds better to the legal nature of the orders) a deontological one on the subject of combating mafias on the part of the representative bodies themselves.

We believe that terminological definition is as important as the concreteness of the action, because it facilitates recognition in every institutional and scientific forum.

Before analysing what has been done within the same forms of anti-mafia, we can already anticipate – thus making the subsequent developments of the research more understandable – the importance of the immediate or potential links between the different forms of anti-mafia. This is true at the level of ideals and principles, of (we might say) political intentions; and it is also reflected in the connection between the instruments adopted or adoptable by differently classifiable bodies. Think of the rules governing the relationship between the criminal trial and the disciplinary procedure, insofar as the former ‘marks the pace’ of the latter; or the relationship, which has not taken the form of concrete actions as it has never been investigated, that could exist between universities and professional orders in ethical and deontological training, ranging from degree courses aimed at future generations of professionals and ending with the training obligations in deontological matters for members of the orders.

II. Teaching programmes and higher education in the field of organised crime

1. *Introduction**

In recent decades, the contribution of academics and universities to the processes of change in the economic and social context where they operate has certainly grown; at the same time, expectations for a more institutionalised involvement of universities in the processes of economic and social innovation and in the development of territories have also increased¹. Many of the actions introduced by universities in this direction are included under the umbrella of the third mission which, alongside education and scientific research, entrusts universities with the task of a systematic and direct commitment to support economic and social development. The wide range of the academic third mission includes actions ranging from relations with businesses to the economic valorisation of research; from the promotion of the cultural growth of citizenship through the dissemination of knowledge, to the solution of relevant social problems or even consultancy for policy making. The relation between the academic world and society takes the shape of an engagement that, with time, becomes increasingly hybrid² compared with the more traditional models of academic and public engagement³, while taking on as objectives those typical of innovation, intended as

* This paper has been written by Anna Maria Zaccaria.

¹ M. Regini - C. Trigilia (edited by), *Università e innovazione. Il contributo degli atenei italiani allo sviluppo regionale*, il Mulino, Bologna 2019

² A. Perulli, F. Ramella, M. Rostan, R. Semenza (edited by), *Le attività di terza missione degli accademici italiani*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2018

³ Academic engagement refers to the various forms of formal and non-formal collaboration and knowledge exchange between academic researchers, industry and non-academic organisations. See M. Perkmann, V. Tartari, M. Mckelvey, *Academic Engagement and Commercialisation: A Review of the Literature on University-Industry Relations*, in «Research Policy», 2013, 42, pp. 423-42. And they are notoriously difficult to estimate; it represents the third mission model

social building arising from dialogues between complementary areas of knowledge⁴. New partnerships, promoted and supported by the EU, and linking education, research and innovation – which also have a clear regulatory significance – find a representation in the image of a 'Triple Helix' formulated by Etzkowitz and Levdesdorff⁵.

The subject of the fight against mafias and corruption is especially relevant to understanding the extent to which forms of engagement of the university can be diversified while also being closely interconnected amongst themselves and intertwined with the missions of scientific research and education. The data that we shall see below provide stimulating food for thought in these terms, especially as regards the relationships between teaching and research on the one hand and universities and territories on the other. As for the latter aspect, several studies have shown the significance of the diffusion of tertiary training institutions and their level of territorial embeddedness in favouring local development in terms of innovation and human capital⁶.

As was observed in a recent work on the relationship between universities and innovation⁷ – from which we have hereby borrowed a few elements of the analytical framework – the innovative effectiveness of universities is comprised of various factors. As a general rule, these can be grouped under three categories: exogenous, endogenous and agency. Exogenous factors especially refer to the economic, cultural and social development of the local and regional context where universities operate; here the dimension of ingenuity can be represented by indi-

most typical of the Stem (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) sectors. Public or social engagement activities include a wide range of public and social engagement actions, with useful results in terms of sharing knowledge, skills and competences between universities and those working in their territory. Such activities can also result in processes of 'mutual learning' as well as 'trust-building, mutual understanding and collaboration'; potentially acting positively on the relevance and legitimacy of universities vis-à-vis civil society. (see M. Anzivino, F. Ceravolo, M. Rostan, *L'impegno pubblico e sociale*, in Perulli, Ramella, Rostan e Semenza (edited by), *Le attività di terza missione degli accademici italiani* cit.)

⁴ R. K. Lester - M. J. Piore, *Innovation. The Missing Dimension*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA) 2004

⁵ H. Etzkowitz - L. A. Leydesdorff, *Universities and the Global Knowledge Economy: A Triple Helix of University-Industry-Government Relations*, Cassell, London 1997

⁶ J. Harrison - I. Turok, Universities, *Knowledge and regional development*, in «Regional Studies», LI, 2017, 7, pp. 977-98.

⁷ Regini - Trigilia (edited by), *Università e innovazione. Il contributo degli atenei italiani allo sviluppo regionale* cit.

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cators such as the tendency of local communities to express forms of fight against organised crime or to acknowledge their impact on the socio-economic fabric while also promoting targeted policy actions, but also as an ability to demand action on the part of universities. Endogenous factors include the structural components of the university system: regulatory aspects such as the organisation of teaching, research, laboratories; organisational choices (tending towards rigidity); the size of the enrolment and the size of the spaces; the quality of the educational offer, etc. Finally, agency factors can be considered those choices made by the universities that have a more direct impact on the attention given, in general, to the third mission activities and, in particular, to the governance of innovation (which includes more or less institutionalised relations with other local players such as foundations, local associations, local authorities, etc.): from the strategic guidelines, to the financial and human resources commitment assigned to specific departments (e.g. Utm, Utt), «to the very capacity of academics to increase their scientific reputation and visibility, and at the same time the ability to weave and nurture direct and personal relationships with the world on this basis [...]». Therefore, it is not a characteristic of the university as an organisation, but of the individuals who are part of it»⁸.

What has been said so far forms the background to the criteria and methodology used to conduct this research, whose main results are presented here, and to the analytical reflections prompted by the data collected. The idea of investigating the role of Italian universities in the fight against mafias, organised crime and corruption arose in 2017, in implementation of a memorandum of understanding adopted by the Conference of Italian University Rectors and the Anti-Mafia Parliamentary Committee. To this end, the Crui carried out a survey, updated to the academic year 2015-2016, aimed at surveying the educational activities offered by Italian universities, the dedicated structures and the events organised on these topics. Through the use of an online questionnaire sent to 66 universities, this survey had drawn up the overall context, which was summarised in a report presented at a hearing at the Committee in November 2017⁹. The results collected had enabled the identification of three macro-areas

⁸ C. Trigilia, *La terza missione e le risorse latenti degli atenei italiani*, in Regini - Trigilia (edited by), *Università e innovazione. Il contributo degli atenei italiani allo sviluppo regionale* cit., pp. 9-29: 27

⁹ The report was presented during a hearing on 7 November 2017 at the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee by the then president of the CRUI, Professor Gaetano Manfredi, and Pro-

of teaching programmes: (a) courses delivered and dedicated to the study of mafias and criminal organisations, both in degree cycles and higher education; (b) centres and teams of research devoted to scientific investigation into this subject; (c) events and/or activities organised by universities for the promotion of a culture of legality.

Assuming that the academic world represents one of the places where informed anti-mafia activities can be performed as part of a broader and more complex system (see chapter 1 above), it is possible to consider the three aforementioned areas as the main containers of educational and dissemination practices geared towards the common goal of promoting a culture of legality. This objective is also relevant, in ethical terms, to the realms of higher education and university third mission. Taking account of developments in studies and research on mafias in the years following that of the 2017 investigation, it has been deemed necessary to proceed with a new survey which, maintaining the same objectives of the previous one, would allow to update the data and to perform a broader and deeper analytical reflection. The first step taken in this direction was represented by a methodological adjustment. Based on the list of Italian universities who are members of the CRUI, the website of each institution was visited so as to find out whether there were teams, projects, activities or degree courses exclusively dedicated to the subject of mafias or corruption while also ascertaining their activation in the time frame between academic year 2016/17 and 2020/21. The reasons informing this methodology lie mainly in the fact that his kind of information can be rapidly collected, which allowed to accelerate an investigation which, had it been based on a questionnaire, would have required a longer time frame and generated issues due to, for example, missing answers and ambiguities in the questions or analytical dimensions. This has ultimately resulted in a significantly reliable overall picture being drawn. Thus, the websites and degree courses were consulted for all member universities of the CRUI and constantly compared with the previous investigation¹⁰. In particular, the

fessor Anna Maria Zaccaria, a member of Lirmac – the interdisciplinary research laboratory on mafias and corruption of the Department of Social Studies of the University of Naples Federico II. The stenographic record of the hearing can be downloaded at the link on the website of the Chamber of Deputies www.camera.it

¹⁰ The data collection was carried out by comparing it with the previous survey and by querying the search engines of the individual Italian universities using the following specific keywords in Italian: *antimafia*, *anticorruzione*, *camorra*, *camorrista*, *corruzione*, *Cosa nostra*, *criminali*, *cri-*

Universities in the fight against mafias

The total number of universities involved is 37, and a breakdown by area shows that 17 of these are in the southern regions, while 12 can be found in the northern part of the country and 8 are based in the central area (see figure 2). In addition, looking at size, 9 of these are so-called ‘mega-universities’, while 11 are large, 9 fall within the medium-sized category and 8 are classified as small (see figure 3)¹².

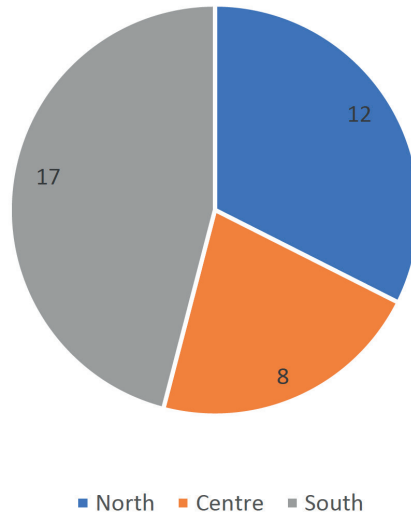


Figure 2. Number of involved universities by geographical macro-area.

¹² These categories have been established on the basis of criteria from Censis (2020). In this case, the ‘mega’ universities are: Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro, Università di Bologna, Università degli Studi di Catania, Università degli studi di Milano, Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II, Università degli Studi di Palermo, Università di Pisa, La Sapienza Università di Roma, Università degli studi di Torino. The large ones are: Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Università della Calabria, Università degli Studi della Campania Luigi Vanvitelli, Università degli Studi G. D’Annunzio di Chieti-Pescara, Università degli Studi di Messina, Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Università degli Studi di Pavia, Università degli Studi di Roma Tor Vergata, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Università degli Studi di Salerno. The medium-sized universities are: Università di Catanzaro Magna Graecia, Università di Ferrara, Università Politecnica delle Marche, Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi, Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia, Università degli Studi del Piemonte Orientale Amedeo Avogadro, Università del Salento, Università degli Studi di Sassari, Università degli Studi di Trento. Finally, the universities belonging to the small-sized category are: Università di Camerino, Università degli Studi di Cassino e del Lazio Meridionale, Università degli Studi di Foggia, Università degli Studi dell’Insubria, Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa di Napoli, Università degli Studi Mediterranea di Reggio Calabria, Luiss Guido Carli and Università degli Studi di Teramo.

II. Teaching programmes and higher education in the field of organised crime

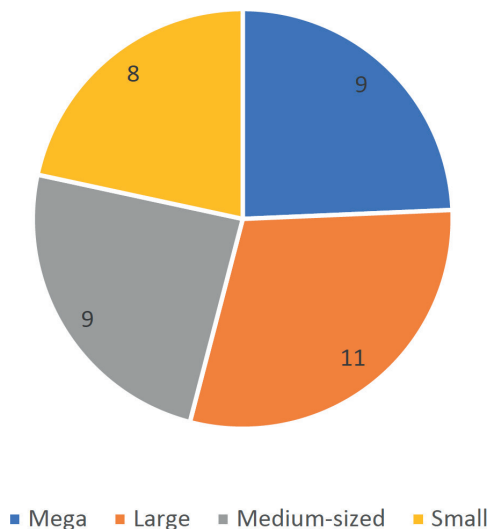


Figure 3. Number of involved universities by size

Following the data-collection and mapping stages, data elaboration was performed with the aim of obtaining as clear a picture as possible of the way in which teaching, facilities and post-graduate programmes are distributed across the various universities and geographical areas. Firstly, frequency tables were set up for the distribution of activities and facilities/centres over the academic years 2016/17 to 2020/21 organised by region and individual university. This breakdown successively enabled to perform a bivariate analysis of some of the main variables such as geographical macro-area (North Centre, South)¹³ and size of each university (mega, large, medium-sized, small). Unfortunately, no relevant data emerged in terms of third-mission activities. As regards summer and winter schools, in fact, the investigation was carried out through the search engine 'Google' and the other search tools embedded in each university's website but the confusing results brought up prevented the definition of an exhaustive mapping for the period considered by the research¹⁴.

¹³ In the wake of the previous survey, the same subdivision of the geographical areas of Italy has been maintained, with the regions grouped into the macro-areas north, centre and south, with the islands also included in the latter.

¹⁴ Incidentally, it must be said that on a meta-analytical level this research has revealed the opportunity (or rather, the need) for a more systematic and, so to speak, institutionalised col-

2. *Teaching programmes**

The growing scientific attention devoted to organised crime or corruption-related phenomena over the last few years, of which an in-depth analysis is provided in this publication (see chapter 3), has driven a significant increase in the number of teaching programmes on this subject. As regards the activation or presence of specific courses, since academic year 2015/16, in the universities surveyed there has been a gradual increase both in the number of workshops or laboratories involved in teaching activities and in the number of courses focused exclusively on the study of mafias and corruption. As at academic year 2020/21, a surge of 47% is recorded compared with the previous survey, which means that over five academic years the availability of this type of courses has nearly doubled¹⁵. However, this positive trend has not bridged the gap between geographical areas which emerged in the last investigation where an uneven distribution of courses had been registered across the national territory, with teaching programmes being concentrated in the Northern regions.

lection and organisation of this type of information. The current uncertainty of the data (which, more broadly speaking, extends to the entire field of third mission activities) inhibits an accurate assessment of the academic commitment on this front which, in our opinion, runs the real risk of being underestimated.

* This paper has been written by Anna Maria Zaccaria and Federico Esposito.

¹⁵ It is important to underline that we hereby refer to teaching activities specifically dedicated to the subject of mafias and corruption. This is necessary due to the fact that there is a considerable number of courses and teaching programmes where only individual modules focus on these subjects. This is the case, for instance, with criminal law or criminology courses where these topics are dealt with in a non-exclusive manner. Such programmes have thus been left out of the present investigation, differently from what had been done in the previous study of this kind. In order to enable a comparison between the results of both surveys, the teaching programmes only partially dedicated to the subject have been removed from the 2015/16 dataset.

II. Teaching programmes and higher education in the field of organised crime



Figure 4. Distribution of teaching programmes across the national territory in academic year 2020/21¹⁶. The map does not provide a number for those regions whose universities lack the facilities or courses investigated (value 0)

As can be seen in figure 4, in 2021 slightly less than half of the 50 courses dedicated to this phenomenon were activated in universities of the North (24 courses), with the highest concentration recorded in Lombardy and Piedmont. Central regions accounted for 8 courses (6 in Lazio) while southern universities numbered 18 courses.

¹⁶ Regions shown in black are those where universities do not offer any of the three facilities/activities that form the core of this investigation (laboratories/workshops, higher education courses or subject-specific programmes). The blue regions (Sardinia and Marche) are those where at least one of the three aforementioned facilities/activities can be found although, in this case, they do not offer courses dedicated to the subject of mafias which explains why in this category they are allocated a value of zero.

As for the chronological trend of subject-specific teaching programmes in CRUI member universities by geographical macro-area, an overall picture is provided by figure 5 below.

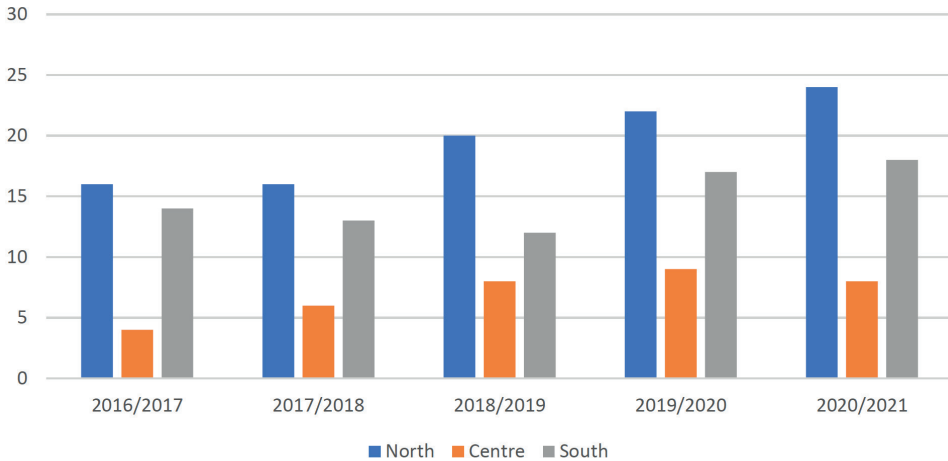


Figure 5. Distribution of courses by geographical macro-area

As already mentioned, the total number of courses is on the rise. In particular, in the northern regions there has been a steady and rather substantial increase over the last three years, while the trend for universities in central Italy has been fluctuating. As far as the southern universities are concerned, the number of courses on offer increased from 14 in 2016 to 18 today, but looking at figure 5 it is clear that this growth is concentrated in the last two years. A reflection on these data, albeit brief, should be made here. The relatively limited contribution of the southern universities, which are located in the areas where the so-called traditional mafias originated, is in many ways contradictory. With the exception of those in Calabria, the universities in the south of Italy have activated few courses dedicated to the phenomena of organised crime and corruption: this is the case of Campania and Sicily, with only 3 and 4 courses respectively. This figure is not in line with the one referring to research laboratories and scientific production on the subject where, as we shall see later on, there is a high level of engagement of southern universities and scholars. There are several factors that can contribute to the explanation of these inconsistencies, especially with reference to the remarkable figure recorded by the northern universities.

First of all, public awareness of the weight of mafias in the territory should be

II. Teaching programmes and higher education in the field of organised crime

considered. In recent years, the social alarm generated by the presence of mafia organisations in the northern regions has grown considerably, raising questions at various levels among different social stakeholders.

External inputs undoubtedly represent stimuli for the academic world which tends to listen to territories and take action, by means of its instruments, for the fight against illegality. This also seems to be borne out by the trend of courses on offer at universities in Central Italy, an area where the risk of mafia presence has been long perceived as nonthreatening. Take the region of Lazio, for instance. Despite the fact that its territorial proximity to the Caserta province had resulted in a 30-year long history of Camorra penetration, this area was long considered as a happy place where criminal phenomena could only be interpreted as foreign bodies coming from a different world¹⁷.

As is commonly understood, this situation is different in the Mezzogiorno. This is where mafia-type organisations have a longstanding history, well-known to the general public and widely recognised by the whole society. It seems therefore obvious that the element of «acknowledgement» of the mafia presence in its economic, social and cultural impact on territories, is not enough in itself to explain the different performance shown by universities in the production of an appropriate educational offer. What, on the contrary, seems to be relevant is to consider a multitude of different factors concerning the social structure, the environment, the economy, scientific production and organization of universities as is the case with, for example, professors' mobility or the tendency/ability of a certain university to join research networks or educational projects at national and international level. Thus, this aspect needs to be investigated further also with the aim of shedding light on the links with a more evenly distributed and effective action on the part of Italian universities in the fight against mafias.

Going back to the results of the survey, we can see in figure 6 that the courses dedicated to mafia and corruption phenomena are mainly offered at mega and large universities, although over the last few years these have also grown considerably in medium-sized and small universities¹⁸. Among the mega universities, the most significant contribution comes from the universities of Milan and Tu-

¹⁷ V. Martone, *Le mafie di mezzo. Mercati e reti criminali a Roma e nel Lazio*, Donzelli, Roma 2017. Actually, this trend also concerns the North-East. Cfr. F. Rispoli (edited by) *Rapporto Liberaldèe. La ricerca sulla percezione e la presenza di mafie e corruzione*, Gruppo Abele, Torino 2018.

¹⁸ Here the increase in teaching is largely linked to the launch of a curriculum on crime and deviance in the Sociology degree course at the University of Salento.

rin, where in 2020/21 there were 9 and 5 courses respectively. The share of courses in large universities is distributed fairly evenly across the national territory and follows a stable trend (see figure 6).

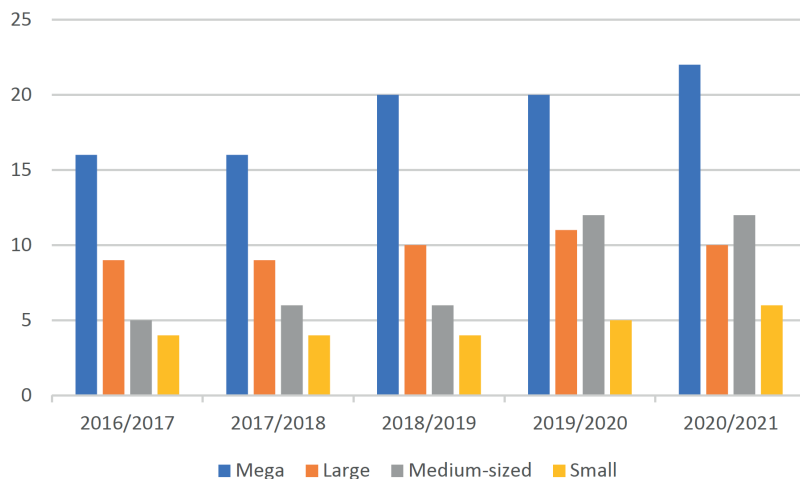


Figure 6. Distribution of courses by university size

Another interesting piece of information is provided by an analysis of the distribution of courses across macro-scientific sectors¹⁹.

¹⁹ The disciplinary macro-areas considered refer to the Miur classification. On the basis of the survey, it was possible to trace the subjects to the following macro-areas: a) legal area: law and related courses; b) area of political and social sciences: political science, international relations, science of administration and related courses, sociology and related courses, anthropology, communication sciences; c) area of economic sciences: degree courses in economics and business and company organisation; d) area of human sciences: also includes historical sciences, learning and educational sciences and psychological science.

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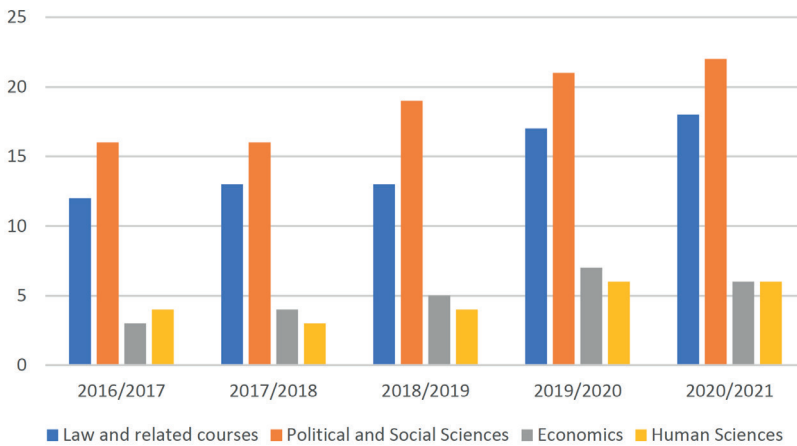


Figure 7. Distribution of courses by scientific sector. In the human sciences the disciplines of psychology and geography are also included. In social and political sciences: political science, sociology, communication, anthropology

As figure 7 shows, specific courses are concentrated in four macro-sectors. Over the period analysed, their number progressively increased in the area of Law and above all in that of Political and Social Sciences; conversely, a more limited diffusion can be found in the sectors of Economics and Human Sciences. If we take a closer look at the data, we see that, as anticipated, in law and related disciplines courses tend to focus on anti-mafia legislation and on measures for countering corruption. On the other hand, a more diversified offer can be found in social sciences, where specific courses tend to span a wider range of analytical perspectives: from the more traditional ones represented by sociology, deviance and criminology to those pertaining to the field of economic, political and organisational sociology and including the perspective of cultural and communication processes²⁰. In the realm of political sciences, a problematic issue is dealt with which concerns the relationship between the public administration and criminal powers, with a specific focus on corruption phenomena and criminal penetration in public bodies. Finally, quite limited is the teaching offer in the sector of Economics, notwithstanding the apparent emergency represented by

²⁰ More recently, at the Federico II University in Naples, the course on Sociology of Mafia Phenomena has been set up and will be available in the Social Sciences department starting from the academic year 2020-2021.

the relationship between economies and mafia-related organizations alongside the growing interest shown by scholars in the significant repercussions of mafia participation to markets and local, national or global trade. A similarly limited number of courses can be found in the area of Humanities, encompassing literary and philosophical disciplines, where the teaching activities mainly focus on a historical perspective of criminal phenomena, on the psychological consequences of behaviours and profiles of stakeholders while also reflecting upon the construction of alternative educational models²¹.

It is in mega universities where it becomes easier to find specific courses in a wider range of academic disciplines. For instance, at the university 'Statale' of Milan we can find courses in the sector of Political Sciences and Science of the Public Administration as well as in Social Sciences and International Relations alongside the Law sector. At the university 'Sapienza' there are courses in the Law area and in that relating to psychological disciplines and in Palermo there are teaching activities offered in Psychology and Law. In addition, the university of Turin offers specific courses in various academic disciplines, namely Political Sciences, Psychology, Criminology and Forensics, Sociology, Cultural Anthropology, Governance, Political and Social Sciences.

Let us now consider the distribution of specific courses by level of degree course. As figure 8 clearly shows, the courses are mainly distributed across MAs and single-cycle degrees, with the former showing a significant increase over the last three years. On the other hand, there is a more limited number of undergraduate degree courses, with the majority of them being concentrated in the area of historical disciplines. What is also interesting to notice is the figure relating to optional courses which are interdisciplinary and placed at the crossroads of various curricula and academic fields. In particular, these are often represented by interdisciplinary workshops dedicated to students of social and educational sciences.

²¹ These modules are frequently organised as workshops or offered as optional activities available for students on various degree courses

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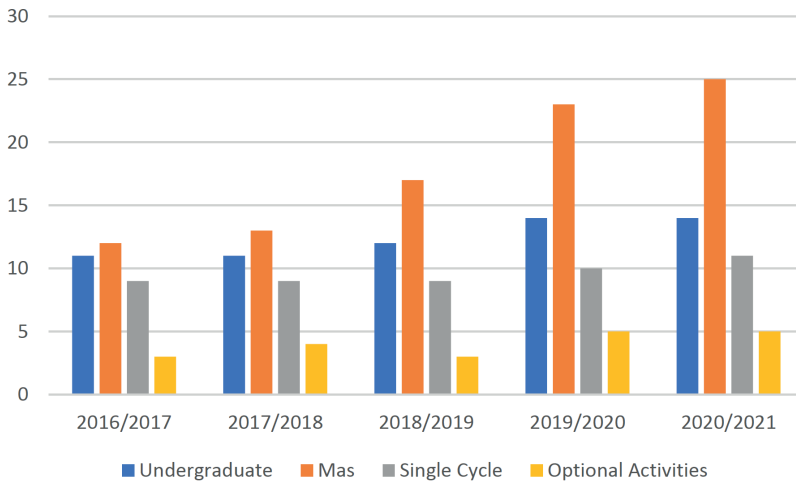


Figure 8. Distribution of teaching activities by level of degree course

In light of what has been stated so far, it seems that the offer of specific courses dedicated to the subject of mafias and corruption is mainly concentrated in few academic fields and in postgraduate degree courses. Multidisciplinary approaches are mostly employed by disciplines in the fields of law, Sociology and Political Science. Despite a significant production of scientific research, the so-called hard sciences do not show an offer of courses dedicated to the subject of mafias and corruption. At the same time, it has been noted that the majority of these courses are concentrated in the north of Italy and in mega universities. We shall see now how this distribution is rebalanced in an analysis of higher education.

3. *Higher education courses**

By higher education, we hereby mean specialisation courses, PhD cycles and MAs. The total number of higher education activities in the universities surveyed is 21, which means 6 more than the previous 2017 survey. These can be broken down into 16 MAs, 3 specialisation courses and 2 PhD courses. As for the latter, it should be stated that they originate from centres of research with a long-

* This paper has been written by Anna Maria Zaccaria and Maria Chiara Calò.

standing track record of activity. Indeed, they are represented by: (a) the PhD in Studies on organised crime linked to the Observatory on organised crime of the university Statale of Milan, established in Academic Year 2016/17 as envisaged by the memorandum of understanding between the CRUI and the Anti-mafia Parliamentary Committee, and (b) the international PhD in transnational criminology (Transcrime) of the University Cattolica del Sacro Cuore.

The higher-education offer is distributed across 14 universities, with varying frequencies depending on the academic year considered. In particular, our data show a significant growth in higher education in the universities of the Centre and South of Italy in the biennium 2018-2020. On the other hand, a reduction can be observed in the two-year period 2020-2021, which brings the overall figure to a similar level compared with the North (see figure 9).

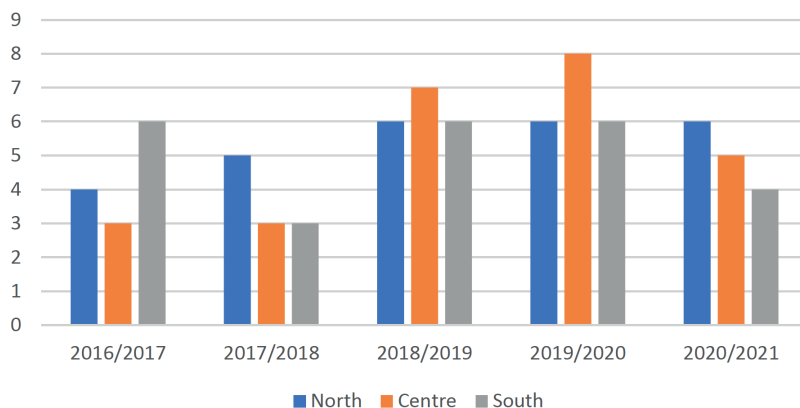


Figure 9. Distribution of higher education²² by geographical macro-area

Let us now briefly look at this fluctuating trend. As figure 9 clearly shows, in 2016-2017 the largest offer of higher education can be found in the South²³. In the following academic year, the offer is strengthened in the North and remains un-

²² By higher education, we hereby mean specialisation courses, PhD cycles and MAs.

²³ A second-level master's degree was activated at the Department of Architecture of the University of Catania in the 2016-2017 academic year and is therefore anchored to a disciplinary sector that is not present in the offer of dedicated courses. It should be added that this master will only last one year; in fact, it does not appear in the survey referred to the following years. The same applies to an (inter-university) master's degree activated at the Department of Political Science of the University of Naples Federico II, and one activated at the University of Teramo.

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changed in the Centre while in the South there is a contraction which points to a risk of disappearance for MA courses. In the biennium 2018-2020, as stated above, the offer of higher education seems to regain momentum and appears more clearly present in all of the three areas, especially in the Centre and in the South. However, this fact needs to be analysed more closely. In the former case, it is the universities of Lazio that played a key role as they offered an MA at LUISS university, 3 MAs in Tor Vergata and 1 in Cassino. As for the South, in 2010 the university of Naples Federico II launched an MA in Criminology and criminal law, criminal analysis and policies for urban security which is still running to date; at the university of Bari another MA was launched and deactivated in 2019. As can be seen, although the information provided by the survey might seem positive, there seems to be a general issue with maintaining these types of courses (see figure 10).

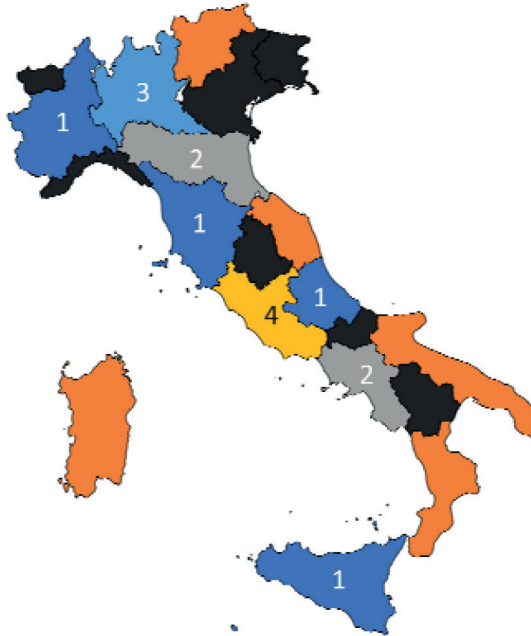


Figure 10. Distribution of higher education²⁴ across the national territory as at Academic Year 2020-2021. The map does not provide a number for those regions whose universities lack the facilities or courses investigated (value 0)

²⁴ Similarly, to what was stated for figure 4 above, the regions in black are the ones where there are no universities offering the courses investigated. The regions shown in orange have a 0 value only with reference to the survey of higher education courses.

Let us now analyse the distribution of higher education courses in relation to university size. The mega and large ones are particularly engaged in higher education while medium-sized universities have a rather limited offer, not only in higher education courses but also in laboratories and centres of research (see figure 11). In small universities, higher education activities dedicated to the subject of mafias and corruption have shown some stability in their trend, since 2018-2019. In particular, the LUISS university's importance is noteworthy as it offers both research groups and higher-education courses. Here, the collaboration in scientific research of members belonging to the departments of Law, Economics and Political Sciences has generated an Observatory on the legality of the economy; furthermore, since 2018, the School of Law of the same university has been running the second-level master's degree in Compliance and Corruption Prevention in the Public and Private Sectors, with the collaboration of external experts and professionals, such as members and officials of the National Anti-Corruption Authority (Anac) and various managers of public and private organisations.

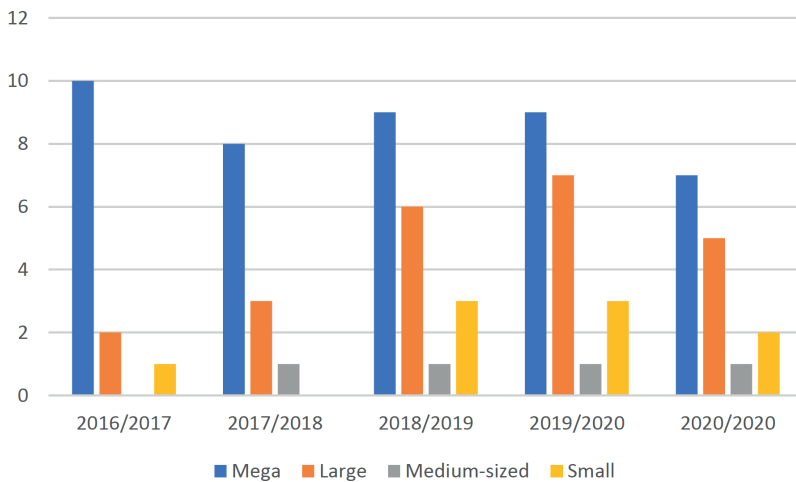


Figure 11. Distribution of higher education courses by university size

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Partnerships with external organisations or institutions are quite frequent in the sector of higher education (see figure 12)²⁵. Out of the total number of MA courses surveyed, in fact, 10 comprise the collaboration of Anac and/or Inps, Courthouse departments or law enforcement agencies, foundations and/or citizens associations, public and private organisations.

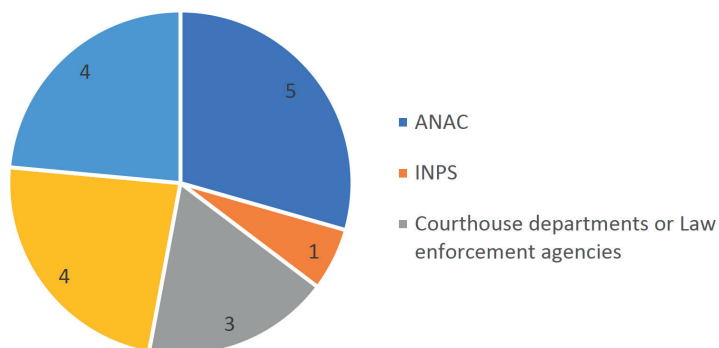


Figure 12. Partnerships for MA courses

The collaboration with “external” players is generally aimed at providing support both in terms of active training and in economic terms in the form, most frequently, of scholarships for participants. From the point of view of disciplinary fields, the majority of postgraduate courses are in the legal and economic sciences, but there is no lack of multidisciplinary approaches, in particular with scholars from the sociological and political fields. The majority of the postgraduate courses are in the fields of law and economics, but there are also multidisciplinary approaches, especially with sociological and political scholars. This is the case, for instance, of the second-level master’s degree in Analysis, prevention and fight against organised crime and corruption, now in its tenth edition, which involves several organisations committed to the fight against mafias and

²⁵ We have hereby taken into consideration Master’s degrees and higher education courses in which at least one external collaboration was registered. It has to be pointed out that a master’s degree can include more than one collaboration from outside the academic world (e.g., the 2nd level master’s degree on public tendering and prevention of corruption, University of Ferrara, involves: Anac, Legacoop Estense, Province of Ferrara, Confartigianato di Ferrara, Region Emilia-Romagna, Confindustria, Consorzio Nazionale Servizi (Cns), Associazione Italiana Trasparenza e Anticorruzione, Municipality of Ferrara and Anci Emilia-Romagna).

corruption, namely the anti-mafia association Libera alongside four Italian mega universities, one located in the centre (University of Pisa), two located in the south (University of Palermo and University of Naples Federico II) and one in the north (University of Turin)²⁶.

4. Laboratories, observatories and centres of research

As regards the facilities and centres that each university dedicates to research on the subject of organised crime and corruption, we have decided to draw a map of the laboratories, observatories and centres of research. The survey highlighted that in the academic three-year period 2016-2019, 14 universities (out of the 37 surveyed) host or have hosted facilities dedicated to this type of research; the number of universities involved increases to 16 when we take into account the successive academic biennium.

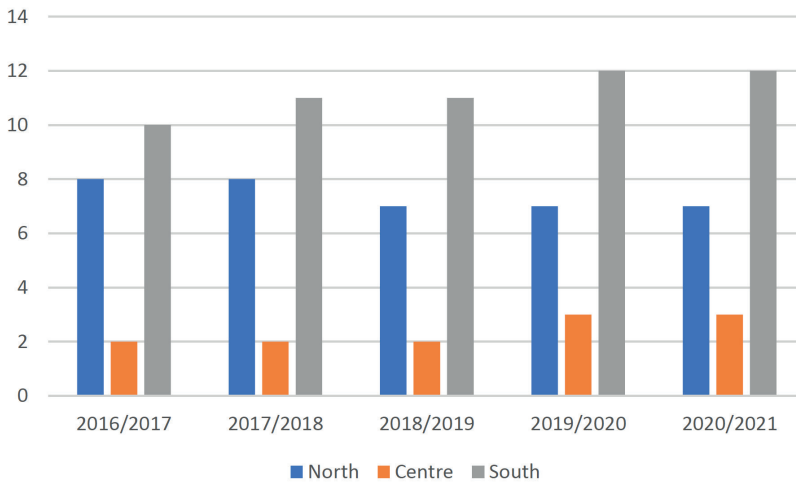


Figure 13. Distribution of research facilities by geographical macro-area

²⁶ The other two MA courses are: the 2nd level MA in International cooperation against transnational financial organized crime, since 2016 at University of Teramo, and the 1st level MA course in Criminology and security policies, since 2019 at the university of Bari.

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The total number of active facilities fluctuates, over the whole period analysed, from a minimum of 20 to a maximum of 22. Generally speaking, as can be seen in figure 13, the largest number of laboratories, observatories and centres of research can be found in the southern regions, where their number has grown from 10 in 2016/17 to 12 in 2019/20 and today. Most of these are located in Calabria and Campania²⁷. Slightly less numerous are the laboratories operating in Northern Italy's universities with a total of 8 over the whole timeframe analysed (see figure 14)²⁸.

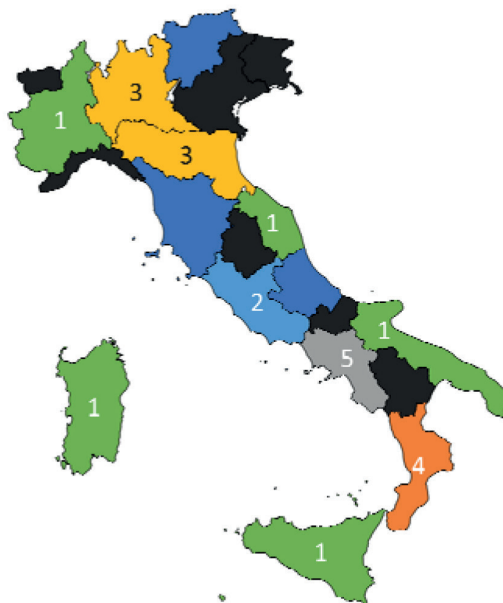


Figure 14. Distribution of research facilities by region. Academic Year 2020/21²⁹.

²⁷ As far as the region of Sicily is concerned, there is only one organisation exclusively dedicated to the research and study of mafias at the University of Messina (the Mafias Study Centre, formerly known as the Centre for Studies and Research on Mafia Crime and Political-Administrative Corruption). As for the University of Palermo, research groups on mafia phenomena have been found that are not formally registered as university facilities and therefore do not meet the research criteria. We refer here to the 3 interdisciplinary research groups on: Confiscation, administration and destination of assets and companies; Restorative justice and crime victims and Models of company organisation and crime prevention, operating at the Department of European Studies and International Integration, University of Palermo.

²⁸ In the previous survey of 2016/17, the regions with a higher concentration of facilities were Lombardy (6), Campania (5), Calabria (4) and Lazio (4).

²⁹ Again, the colour of the regions corresponds to the criteria indicated with reference to the two previous maps (figure 4 and figure 10).

Most of the specific research facilities can be found in mega, large and small universities; as for medium-sized universities, in the period analysed there are three research labs evenly distributed across the university of Ferrara, Milan Bocconi and Sassari. Out of the 37 universities considered, some possess more than one laboratory. This is the case with those located in Calabria (University of Calabria and University Mediterranea of Reggio Calabria), in Campania (university of Naples Federico II and University of Salerno), the university of Bologna and the LUISS in Rome³⁰. Therefore, two large universities, two mega and two small (see figure 15).

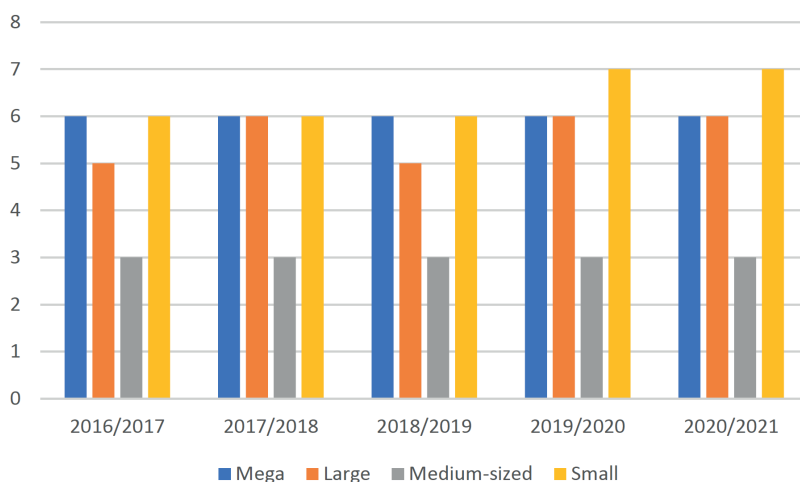


Figure 15. Distribution of research facilities by university size

On the whole, all of the facilities surveyed are made up of professors and researchers, flanked by PdD graduates, research fellows and PhD candidates. The main feature of these facilities is interdisciplinarity with the most involved sectors being law, social and economic sciences. Another frequent trait is a tendency towards developing interuniversity collaborative networks, with some of these research groups decidedly committed to seeking the collaboration of scholars and researchers from different universities. This is the case, for instance, of the interuniversity research centre on transnational crime (Transcrime) operating at the University Cattolica of Milan which brings together experts from the univer-

³⁰ Reference is hereby made to the Vittorio Bachelet Research centre on public administrations, committed to various strands and topics, amongst which anticorruption.

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sities of Bologna and Perugia. The same can be said about the interdisciplinary research lab on mafias and corruption (Lirmac) belonging to the department of social sciences of the Federico II of Naples, whose team is made up of professors and researchers from other universities. Also, in the university of Turin there is the laboratory for analysis and research on organised crime (Larco) established within the department of Culture, politics and society and which operates in partnership with many scholars from the Federico II university. Another example of interuniversity collaboration is represented by the network of Res Incorrupta of the university Suor Orsola Benincasa of Naples, comprising members from the universities of Pisa, Rome (Sapienza and Roma Tre) and Bologna. Finally, there is the interdisciplinary study lab on mafia and other mafia-related organisations (Macro) within the department of Law of the university of Ferrara which brings together the university Statale of Milan and those of Catanzaro, Florence and Bologna.

As regards the research strands, it is important to highlight that, out of the total number of 22 facilities surveyed in academic year 2020/21, three are exclusively focused on the study of corruption phenomena, especially in terms of the risks that these pose to the issue of infiltration in public administrations. The remaining 19 facilities conduct research on corruption, organised crime and economic crime at national and international level, except the social Observatory on crime of the university of Sassari whose studies focus on the local dimension.

What has just been said may serve as a basis for a few reflections. Firstly, the presence of research facilities dedicated to the study of crime and corruption seems to be closely linked to the activity of scholars who have long been involved in the scientific research and reflection about these subjects. Nevertheless, this is not always translated into the delivery of specific teaching programmes for degree courses. From this point of view, an exception is represented by the observatory on organised crime of the university Statale of Milan whose members are engaged in research as well as teaching on the subject of mafias. Also, as mentioned above, these scholars have been running a PhD programme since 2016/17. The same can be said about the Transcrime centre of research of the university Sacro Cuore which has produced an international PhD course in Criminology. These examples represent positive cases of proactive stances which, generally speaking, facilitate the reciprocal strengthening and synergy between the individual initiatives that generated them. It seems that these should be promoted and supported on a larger scale.

A second point to consider is the apparent territorial concentration of the initiatives hereby taken into account which shows a certain importance of bigger cities. The presence of research groups where research and studies have long been linked to the subjects of mafias and corruption represents a strength and their link to mega and large universities located in bigger cities certainly entails some advantages in terms of infrastructure endowment, services available, visibility and centrality in the academic world. However, anywhere they operate, these groups represent a valuable social capital which would probably need to be acknowledged and fuelled to a greater extent. It seems, in fact, that the potential of research and study networks is underused, at least in terms of a more granular penetration in territories and academic disciplines. This angle necessarily needs to take into consideration the resistance shown in terms of structures, economic and disciplinary aspects. Nevertheless, this objective would need to be pursued with the aim of pulling down barriers and build synergies while also maintaining the specific features of each methodological and theoretical vision in the approach to the subject of mafias. This is a field where Italian universities have often demonstrated complete mastery. This kind of approach is even more necessary if we consider the pervasiveness of mafias in territories, economies and social structures.

*5. Limits and potential of the university system in the field of organised crime**

The data we have just presented allow us to measure the contribution of Italian universities in the fight against mafias and corruption in terms of education, research activities and commitment. To sum up, as for teaching activities, it seems clear that the offer of courses is mainly concentrated in certain academic disciplines and in postgraduate degree courses. Multidisciplinary approaches are more frequent in the field of law, social and political disciplines. It is the mega universities of northern Italy that present the most significant teaching offer. In addition, the so-called hard sciences do not present any teaching programmes dedicated to the mafia and corruption phenomena, despite a considerable sectoral scientific production.

* This paper has been written by Anna Maria Zaccaria and Stefano D'Alfonso.

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With regards to postgraduate training, alongside the presence of a well-established PhD, a substantially fluctuating figure indicates a significant degree of mortality of master's degrees. More generally, the offer of higher education showed some recovery in the two-year period 2018-2020, especially in the Centre and in the South, but was concentrated in a few universities. As for laboratories and research centres, most of the facilities are located in mega, large and small universities. In some cases, there is more than one laboratory, regardless of the size of the university. What should be emphasised is the leading role played by lecturers and researchers, who often involve new recruits: PhDs, postdocs and doctoral students. Interdisciplinarity and the tendency to develop inter-university collaborative networks emerge as distinctive features of these facilities.

In light of the above it is possible to elaborate a few thoughts of a general nature. Firstly, it seems clear that there is a mismatch between the intense research activity on the subject of mafias and corruption and the low presence of specific teaching programmes within degree courses. This can be explained by looking at what were previously called «endogenous factors» which are dependent on structural components of the university system such as regulatory aspects, the organisation of teaching, the organisational choices of each university. However, only a more detailed analysis considering other aspects could explain more convincingly this sort of divergence which seems to suggest that universities are focused on their role as containers of activities performed by their lecturers rather than on their function as organisations that could deploy instruments and strategies for the fight against mafias and corruption.

A second point to consider concerns the low degree of territorial distribution of universities that gear their teaching offer towards the subjects hereby considered. On the one hand, these activities are concentrated in mega and large universities while on the other, this concentration is clearly more considerable in the universities of the North. Also in this case, several components come into play alongside endogenous factors intertwined with exogenous and agency-type ones. In particular, it seems important to consider the peculiarities of each local context and the issue of the visibility of universities. Assuming that the presence, in a certain university, of teams of scholars linking their research and studies to the subjects of mafia and corruption undoubtedly represents a strength, the data collected tell us that these teams are connected to mega and large universities located in big cities. This is a position of relative advantage, at least in terms of infrastructure endowment, services available and centrality of collaboration networks at the crossroads between different disciplines and research strands. All of

the above generates a virtuous cycle which, on the one hand, increases visibility for these universities and research groups and on the other facilitates the growth of the networks of research. This is what Merton defined as the Matthew effect³¹, namely a cumulative advantage implying that the various opportunities for scientific research tend to accumulate in certain scholars or scientific organisations. The reputation of universities, and probably also the reliability of their lecturers in terms of exchange of knowledge represents leverage for further development of study and research activities³². This also concerns the identity of a university which may define itself as more or less local, national or international, with a subsequent fallout on its visibility and external perception by the outer world. Local contexts, as previously mentioned, therefore have a certain weight not only in terms of socio-cultural features but also with regards to the demand for knowledge produced by universities and potentially expressed by social or public organisations who may use it as a tool for the fight against illegality.

Therefore, a reflection on the results of this research cannot be exempt from considering the combined effects of a series of factors. Reputation and visibility, dynamicity of the context, features of the university, quality of research and of the teaching offer all interact not so much in the formation of a hierarchy of universities committed to the fight against mafias and corruption, but rather in outlining different interaction modes between the university and the local context³³, which may be defined as hybrid engagement. In the specific case of interest here, despite the limits imposed by the chosen methods and the fragmentation of data, the results of this research highlight well the various forms of commitment on the part of our universities in the fight against mafias and corruption. This seems to suggest the need for simultaneously specific and universal policies, tailored to the characteristics of each university and able to stimulate more widespread commitment in territories. This is also true when looked at in terms of the considerable capital of knowledge that Italian universities possess, a

³¹ R. K. Merton, *The Matthew effect in science, II. Cumulative advantage and the symbolism of intellectual property*, in «History of Science Society», LXXIX, 1988, 4, pp. 606-23

³² A. Gherardini, *Produzione scientifica e valorizzazione economica*, in Regini - Trigilia, (edited by), *Università e innovazione. Il contributo degli atenei italiani allo sviluppo regionale* cit., pp. 61-92: 89

³³ F. Kitagawa, M. Sanchez Barrioluengo, E. Uyerra, *Third mission as institutional strategies: Between isomorphic forces and heterogeneous pathways*, in «Science and Public Policy», XLIII, 2016, 6, pp. 736-50

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sort of «hidden treasure»³⁴ which is often underused especially in contexts with varying valorisation abilities.

It is in this context that we can place a recent experience, developed in the university context, with which we would like to conclude these comments. The aim of this experience is to ‘systemise’ the university’s scientific, educational and third-mission commitment on the subject of mafias, within the framework of the transmission of knowledge between soft-skills and lifelong learning. It is an initiative developed within the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones, which deals with the relationship between professionals and mafia organisations³⁵. An ad hoc analysis has shown not only the dynamics characterising the phenomena of compromise between some professional categories and mafia groups, but also various critical points in terms of the deontological references and values of professionals, in particular those in the self-employed sector. In the light of this, specific fields of action were identified in which the university could make its contribution, starting, first and foremost, from the awareness of its role in the training of young students as future professionals, and of the potential cognitive support for the professionals themselves, within the deontological training courses planned by the professional orders and colleges, particularly those most interested in the phenomenon.

In terms of the university mission, therefore, the action straddled the gap between the first and third mission. These aims have found a specific location in an online freely accessible Mooc (Massive Open Online Course)³⁶. In view of the special nature of the course content and its objectives, two teaching models were chosen that can be described in terms of soft-skills and lifelong learning. The transversal dimension of the topics dealt with in the online course justified the choice of not framing it in a specific discipline or teaching field. This choice was also supported by the aforementioned survey carried out by the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee, which showed that compromise (or collusion), ascertained for example through convictions of mafia crimes in the courts or in

³⁴ C. Trigilia, *La terza missione e le risorse latenti degli atenei italiani* cit.

³⁵ See D’Alfonso, De Chiara, Manfredi, *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l’area grigia* cit.

³⁶ The course is called *Mafie e professioni: quale contrasto?* Designed and delivered by S. D’Alfonso, A. De Chiara and G. Manfredi, in the Mooc platform Federica Web Learning owned by the university Federico II, website: federica.eu

disciplinary proceedings by professional bodies, affects various professional categories: accountants, lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects and notaries³⁷. Therefore, the soft-skills approach can meet the potential interest of several degree courses, possibly chosen by universities that are located in territories where mafias operate and where a higher 'job risk' has been detected. The lifelong learning perspective can respond to a demand for information and in-depth study for the entire span of (professional) life, offering a complementary dimension to the strictly technical-specialist one, rather deontological – if looked at in terms of university credits (Cfu/ECTS) –, which includes respect for the regulations of the professions such as, for example, honour, dignity, reputation of individuals and categories or, more specifically, of the professional orders in which one is registered.

This is obviously an experiment that tests a 'base' on which to imagine a dynamic contribution that the academy could offer to students, the world of the professions and society as a whole, enhancing its role in transmitting the values of legality, with a competent and specialised focus on professional activities.

³⁷ Obviously, it is not in our interest to quantify and analyse here the phenomenon looking at the overall number of professionals, which is quite low. Nevertheless, this marginal phenomenon is highly critical if we look at it in terms of the contribution it makes to the establishment and development of Mafia organisations.

III. University research in the field of organised crime

SECTION I. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS AND THE REVIEW OF RESEARCH

1. *Methodological frameworks**

The data presented in this chapter are the result of an intense activity of research and study conducted in partnership by the Conference of Italian University Rectors (CRUI) and the interdisciplinary research lab on mafias and corruption (Lirmac) of the Department of Social sciences of the University of Naples Federico II. In particular, this paper aims to provide an overview of the scientific production of Italian universities on the subject of mafia organisations through a survey mainly based on the Iris digital repository of research¹. This source, as we shall see, is not without its problems. Firstly, because it is a newly created tool which does not contain the work of those who were operating before its creation. Secondly, because it only keeps track of research carried out within academic institutions. Nevertheless, the documentation analysed is of extreme relevance and interest. On the one hand, in fact, it reconstructs a rather large (albeit partial) picture in terms of numbers and territorial and chronological distribution, lending itself, although with the necessary caution, to capturing the evolution of scholars' attention and interest towards mafia phenomena; on the other hand, it offers a multidisciplinary and multidimensional production compiled for the first time in a single corpus.

The scenario that emerged from the survey is in fact extremely varied and highlights the involvement, commitment and passion of many professors at Italian

* This paper has been written by Attilio Scaglione and Elena Breno.

¹ It should be explained here that this investigation represents merely an initial attempt at building a review of research on the subject of mafias and therefore presents itself as a non-exhaustive and potentially incomplete analysis of Italian universities' scientific production

universities, whose research products offer a significant contribution to increasing scientific knowledge on mafia phenomena and promoting the culture of legality.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to describe the stages of the research undertaken to construct the database. The process of compiling and organising the research products was the result of a long procedure conducted through progressive adjustments and corrections. For analytical purposes, it is possible to break down these steps into the following stages: (1) choice of the catalogue of products; (2) access to the catalogue of research products; (3) selection of keywords; (4) experimentation on the archives of the University of Naples Federico II; (5) querying of the archives and extraction of the research products; (6) cleansing of the sample; (7) identification of the variables; (8) construction of the matrices. In the following section, each of these phases will be described in detail.

Stage 1 – choice of the catalogue of products from the Iris search. When defining the research activity, it was agreed to avoid the recourse to typical channels of data collection, such as input forms to be filled out manually, which would have entailed much longer times and higher costs both in the collection and organisation stages. In addition, since the researched information was already present in a digitalised database, the option chosen was that of a digital retrieval of data taking advantage of the benefits of computer tools.

Stage 2 – access to the catalogue of research products. The data can be found in the Iris digital repository of research, developed by Cineca in partnership with Italian universities as part of the U-Gov project. Iris (Institutional Research Information System) is an open-access digital platform of Italian Universities. Each university archive is used for the collection, promotion and dissemination of scientific products as designed by professors and researchers or by other non-directly employed individuals such as PhD graduates, within their institutional activities. Each product uploaded to Iris by a certain author is automatically transferred to the ministerial website². The current Iris repository was started as a project in 2013 with the aim of strengthening the pre-existing portals. Since 2014 it has replaced the software platform named Surplus (2007-2013) from which it imported the functions and data linked to facilities, publications, personal profiles and so on.

² See <https://loginmiuir.cineca.it/>.

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The information gathered through Iris was integrated with that extracted from the lecturers' database Cineca and with other specific web searches.

Stage 3 – Selection of key words. The repository was queried through the use of keywords in the heading of each product. The lexical items were selected by an interdisciplinary group of experts. With the aim of maximising the extraction of results and curbing within certain boundaries the number of queries to be performed in each university database, several criteria have been analysed in this selection process, which ultimately enabled an extension of the scope of the survey to different facets of the mafia phenomenon. At the end of this stage, the following list of Italian keywords was deemed suitable to the extraction of data: *mafi**, *cosa nostra*, *camorr**, *'ndranghet**, *sacra corona unita*, *criminal**, *organized crime*, *organised crime*, *concorso esterno*³, *area grigia (grey area)*, *crimine organizzato (organised crime)*, *clan (syndicate)*, *boss (mob boss/kingpin)*.

Stage 4 – experimentation on the archives of the University of Naples Federico II. Before performing data extraction, an experimentation stage was implemented based on the archive provided by the University of Naples Federico II, with two main aims: (a) assessing the extent of the corpus; (b) refining the set of keywords. At the end of this stage, fields to extract were selected and a decision was taken to also use the lexical items for the query.

Stage 5 – querying of the archives and extraction of the research products. Data collection began at the end of 2018. Through the CRUI, each university's Iris person in charge was sent an email with the instructions for performing the queries and collect the Excel matrices in excel format. The Excel collection form with the entries to extract is the result of a selection of certain items present in the digital archive. This collection strategy made data processing swifter and timings shorter. Data collection was completed in the month of March 2019. The survey was undertaken by 67 Italian universities⁴.

³ *Translator's note: According to Italian Law, the phrase 'concorso esterno' indicates the crime of aiding and abetting a mafia-related organisation and is opposed to the different felony of being a regularly participating member of a syndicate (associazione mafiosa).*

⁴ Here is a list of the universities involved: University of Bari Aldo Moro, Polytechnic of Bari, University of Basilicata, University of Bergamo; Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna; University of Brescia; University of Cagliari; University of Calabria; University of Camerino; Uni-

The data collected were exclusively used for statistical purposes in this research and the analyses performed are presented exclusively in aggregated form.

Stage 6 – cleansing of the sample. This was performed after data extraction. The cleaning of the data required a long activity of detection and correction of incorrect, incomplete or redundant products in the corpus. In particular, we eliminated, on the one hand, “duplicate” items, due to the presence of two or more keywords in the title; on the other hand, misleading items (starting from the reading of the title). Other results were also eliminated such as items relating to different topics (e.g. the adjective ‘mafic’ referring to a particular type of volcanic rock), or others whose titles do not identify a real reference to mafia-related organised crime (e.g. the expression ‘micro-crime’ or ‘criminal’ appearing in searches without further reference). In general, however, it was decided to follow an inclusive criterion in cases where the reference was not to specific mafia-type organisations but for example to a generic ‘criminal groups’.

Stage 7 – identification of the variables. Here is where a grid was built based on the definition of certain relevant dimensions such as title; nr. Author/s; year of publication; type; university; department; sex; position/role; language; academic sector. All of the variables were recodified as and when required by the variable modes.

versity of Campania L. Vanvitelli; University of Cassino and Lazio Meridionale; University of Catania; University of Catanzaro Magna Graecia; University of G. D’Annunzio Chieti Pescara; Libera University of Enna Kore; University of Ferrara; University of Florence; University of Foggia; University of Genova; University of Insubria; University of LAquila; University of Macerata; Polytechnic university of Marche; University of Messina; University of Milano; University of Milano – Bicocca; University Luigi Bocconi; University Cattolica del Sacro Cuore; Libera Università di Lingue e Comunicazione Iulm; Imt Scuola Alti Studi Lucca; Polytechnic of Milano; University Vita-Salute San Raffaele; University of Modena and Reggio Emilia; University of Molise; University of Naples Federico II; University of Naples L’Orientale; University of Naples Parthenope; University of Padova; University of Palermo; University of Parma; University of Pavia; University of Perugia; University of Piemonte Orientale Amedeo Avogadro; University of Pisa; Scuola Superiore di Studi Universitari e di Perfezionamento Sant’Anna; Luiss –Guido Carli; La Sapienza University of Rome; University of Rome Tor Vergata; University of Roma Tre; University of Salento; University of Salerno; University of Sannio; University of Sassari; Scuola Normale Superiore; University of Siena; University of Suor Orsola Benincasa; University of Teramo; University of Torino; Polytechnic of Turin; University of Trento; University of Trieste; Sissa Scuola Internazionale Superiore di Studi Avanzati of Trieste; University of Udine; University of Urbino Carlo Bo; University Ca’ Foscari Venezia; University Iuav of Venice; University of Verona.

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Stage 8 – construction of the matrices. The corpus of research products was broken down into four matrices used as measures for collection and analysis. In particular: a main matrix of «unique products» made up of 2548 records, considering each research product only once; a secondary matrix with 3051 «unique products by author» where the same product is shown as many times as the number of authors; a secondary matrix «unique products by university» comprising 2587 entries where the product is shown only once for each university, so in case the product is the result of a collaboration between two or more universities it will be shown only once for each university involved; a matrix for authors (1017) whose analysis unit, differently from the previous matrices, is represented by the authors of the research products.

A comparison with data from the SBN (National Library System)⁵ may help to clarify the relevance and peculiarity of the sample examined. This is not a rigid comparison but rather a simple validation operation for the sample. The SBN only stores dissemination or scientific-type monographs and therefore does not track other types of publications. The repository of research, conversely, comprises a wider range of products, all of which are of a scientific type. In this comparison only monographs and curated texts have been considered and these account for a mere 10% of the total number of products in the repository of research.

A comparison with SBN data enables to assess, on a general level, the quantitative relevance of the corpus of texts analysed. In the period 1999-2018 it is possible to identify 2273 products on the subject of mafias, of which 232 are monographs or curated texts. The analysis of these products also brought up 141 authors of monographs and curated texts. In the same time frame, SBN figures show the publication of 655 volumes.

The information relating to the chronological trends is particularly useful for assessing the reliability of the extraction. In the decade 1999-2008 the repository of research has an annual average of 6.1 monographs compared with 24.4 texts in the SBN. In the following decade (2009-2018) the average annual figure shows a significant increase in both samples analysed, with 17.1 products in the repository of research and 41.1 in the SBN. The two historical series therefore present comparable and common features which allow the elaboration of at least two considerations. Firstly, the sample analysed has

⁵ M. Santoro, *Introduzione*, in «Polis», XXIX, dicembre 2015, 3, pp. 305-16

a significant extent compared to that of the SBN, which also considers the subject of mafias as an editorial phenomenon. Secondly, looking at the time frame, the sample analysed presents similar characteristics to those of the one extracted from the SBN.

However, the extraction of products from the research repository, as mentioned above, is not without its problems. Before moving on to the presentation of the results, it is necessary to dwell on at least four particularly relevant issues, namely (a) the problem of uploading products to Iris, (b) the delimitation of the time frame, (c) keyword extraction, (d) heterogeneity of the documentation.

With regards to point (a), access to Iris as an institutional repository entails a “selection” of products. First of all, since the uploading is carried out directly by individual lecturers through institutional credentials provided to ‘in-service’ staff, the archive does not contain the research products of those who, due to age reasons retired before the development of the IT platform. Secondly, since the possibility of submitting papers to Iris is reserved to regular staff (professors, researchers, doctoral students, postdoctoral fellows, postgraduates, etc.), the catalogue does not keep track of a large part of the work of non-regular scholars, who constitute a significant portion of the studies on mafias. Moreover, the products of authors from outside the Italian academic world are not included: scholars, experts, researchers from foreign universities whose works are well known and present in the references. The corpus of products is therefore heterogeneous and includes an incomplete portion of authors from the academic world as well as from scientific research in general.

Moving on to point (b), although the database goes back in time and includes products published as far back as the 1970s, the time frame considered for the analysis is narrowed to the period between 1999 and 2018. On the other hand, out of the 2548 unique products extracted, only 258 are from before 1999. This is due to the way in which the products are inserted in the research repository, where uploads are performed personally by the authors who have access to the platform (as mentioned above, only the regular staff).

With regards to point (c), the selection by keywords undoubtedly presents some limitations. This method is probably only effective in capturing a part of the products. The use of this procedure, in fact, does not give the certainty of surveying the entire corpus of research products. Some titles may not even contain the identified keywords. However, we felt we had to proceed in this way as a broader terms base would have caused far greater problems than the usefulness of the greater amount of information acquired.

Finally, a consideration must be made with reference to point (d), namely the heterogeneity of the documentation and the formal characteristics of the texts. It should be borne in mind that the products differ significantly not only in terms of type and scientific approach, but also in terms of quantity (e.g. length) and quality. It is obviously not possible to take these aspects into account in this work.

*2. Analysis of the review of research**

Chronological distribution

In Italy, the field of studies on the subjects of mafia organisations has only been recently acknowledged. Over the last few years, thanks to the solution to the issue of legitimization, a qualitative and quantitative growth has been witnessed in the works from scholars employed by university institutions. From this point of view, the analysis of the review of research represents a further confirmation of the wide range of scientific works that are developed within this investigation field by various departments of Italian universities. The corpus presented in this paper is comprised of 2273 original products published between 1999 and 2018. This number is undoubtedly significant and corresponds to an average annual production of more than 110 products across the whole national territory. Thus, the database exceeds 3000 records if papers written by teams are counted not as single works but on the basis of the number of authors.

A chronological analysis enables to track the trend in time of such research products. The Italian context stands out due to a significant increase in the number of studies on the subject of mafias spanning all sectors and geographical areas. The chronological analysis shows an outstanding surge in the distribution of research products starting from the end of the first decade of the 2000s (see figure 1). Indeed, since 2009, the percentage of these products has been on the rise with a significant increase in their annual average from 6.1 to 17.1.

Nevertheless, if we take a closer look at the time frame it is possible to notice that, compared with the entire decade, there was a decline in the number of published products in the last five years considered. In 2013, in fact, the chronological series reaches a peak with 195 products. Conversely, in the following

* This paper has been written by Attilio Scaglione, Elena Breno and Stefano D'Alfonso.

years there is gradual decline with figures dropping to 131 in 2018 but still more considerable than those of the previous period.

What stands out is a progressively growing attention towards the subject of mafias. This interest was undoubtedly driven by the political, institutional and scientific debate arising from the inquiries that laid bare the spread of mafia-related organisations in the central northern regions. Take, for instance, the inquiry named «mafia capitale» about the operations of syndicates in Rome as well as the great anti-mafia inquiries in Lombardy, Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto and Liguria.



Figure 1. Annual trend of products.

Territorial distribution

If products are categorised by macro-region some significant differences can be noticed (see figure 2). Slightly more than half of the papers were published in the universities of the South (53%) and about a third in Northern universities while the remaining 16% is concentrated in the institutions of Central Italy. Looking at the chronological trend, however, a progressive increase in the number of contributions can be observed in Northern universities whose share grew from 26.7% in the first five-year period (1999-2003) to 35.3% in the second half of the decade (2014-2018). This is at least partly a result of the publicity of the inquiries mentioned above.

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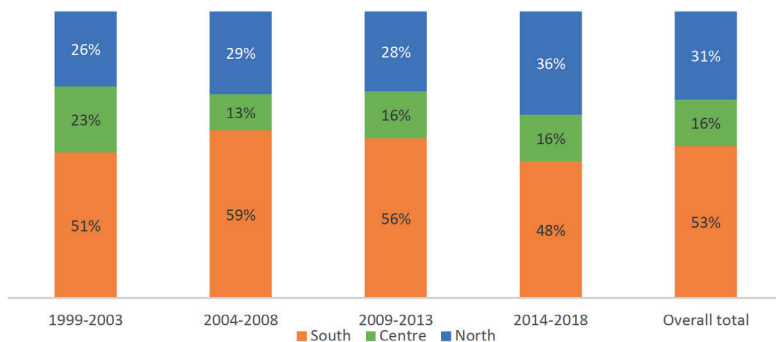


Figure 2. Percentage distribution of products by macro-area.

Having stated the higher relevance of southern regions, the data show significant variations at geographical level (see figure 3). Looking again at the 1999-2018 period, we can notice that the most significant contribution in terms of the number of products came from seven regions (two in the South, two in the Centre and three in the North) who account for over 85% of the total number of products: Sicily 31.3%, Campania 14.3%, Lombardy 12.9%, Lazio 7.4%, Tuscany 7.4%, Piedmont 7.1%, Emilia-Romagna 5%.

What undoubtedly stands out is the Sicily figure as this region accounts for almost a third of the overall number of products and, when added up with Campania, these two regions cover almost the entire scientific production of southern universities in this field. On the other hand, a more even distribution can be observed in the Central-Northern area, where big regions show more homogeneous figures.

Taking into account university size as per indications from Censis, we can see that more than 85% of products come from the biggest universities,

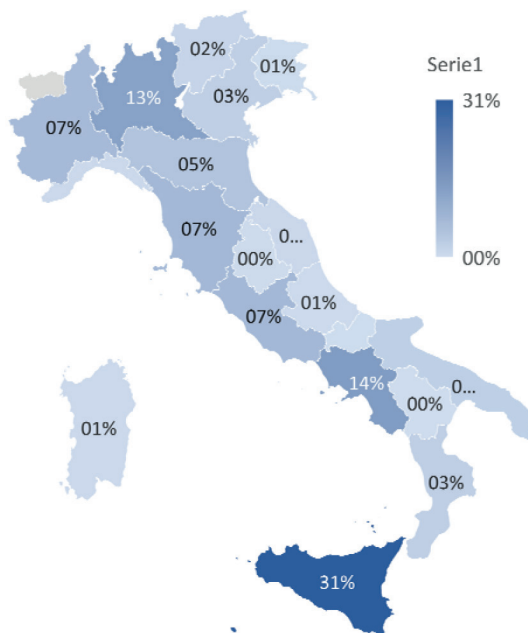


Figure 3. Percentage distribution of research products at regional level.

the so-called 'mega' which have more than 40,000 students, as well as from the 'large' ones (between 20,000 and 40,000 students). The former account for 64% of research products while the latter produce 20.5% of records. In addition, among the top 10 universities by number of products, there are 8 mega and 2 large ones. The field of studies on mafias therefore seems to be less important in medium-sized (between 10,000 and 20,000 students) and small universities (up to 10,000 students). The top three universities by number of published products are the university of Palermo, the university Federico II of Naples and the university of Turin. However, it should be stated here that these figures only consider quantitative data. It would be interesting, for instance, to relate this information to the size and available resources for each department.

Clearly, in this paper there is no room for conducting an in-depth analysis of all potentially interesting aspects. It is hoped, however, that based on the data hereby collected and on some of the elaborations presented, other analyses can be carried out by scholars to enrich the regulatory framework with an eye to supporting new scientific projects.

Academic disciplines

Table 1 presented below shows the distribution of products across the main disciplines in the twenty-year period analysed. The bar graph illustrates how the study and knowledge of the mafia phenomenon is deeply rooted in social and law disciplines which together account for more than 50% of overall scientific production. Other disciplines also give a significant contribution and these include Psychology, Economics, History which together cover more than a quarter of the total. Another significant share is accounted for by political and medical sciences.

The contribution given by most disciplines has partly changed over time. In percentage terms, over the two decades hereby considered, there was a growing number of sociological (+6%) and economic (+4%) studies. On the contrary, there was a reduction in studies in the field of Law (-5.1%), History (-2.3%) and Psychology (-6.6%).

Differences can also be found in terms of the specific attention given by different academic disciplines in the regions analysed. Sociological disciplines are more significant in the regions with a larger number of products (percentages higher than 24%). In particular, the most considerable figure can be found in Piedmont, where sociological studies account for almost 75% of the total at regional level, and in Lombardy with slightly less than 55%. The share of law studies is also especially relevant as it stands at figures below 20% only in three Italian regions. The most

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homogeneous samples can be found in Sicily and Campania where sociological and law products represent about half and slightly more than half of the total respectively. As for Sicily, there is also a significant share of studies in the fields of Psychology (17%) and History (8%) while in Campania a considerable number of products is found in Economics (14.5%) and History (14%).

Table 1. Percentage distribution of products across the main academic disciplines

| | |
|-------------------------|--------|
| Sociology | 32.8% |
| Law | 23.0% |
| Psychology | 10.0% |
| Economics | 9.5% |
| History | 6.5% |
| Political Sciences | 3.3% |
| Medical Sciences | 2.6% |
| Language and literature | 2.3% |
| Architecture | 1.6% |
| Pedagogy | 0.9% |
| Arts | 0.9% |
| Geography | 0.8% |
| Philosophy | 0.8% |
| Mathematics and Physics | 0.7% |
| Anthropology | 0.4% |
| Engineering | 0.3% |
| Agricultural Sciences | 0.1% |
| n.d. | 3.6% |
| Overall total | 100.0% |

However, Sicily is the region with the highest number of products per discipline. More than 75% of the production of psychologists, more than 50% of political subjects and about a third of the work of historians and economists is concentrated in Sicilian universities. Law Studies account for 27% of the total, while Sociology stops at 22%. In Campania, the percentages reached by the publications of Economics and History scholars stand out, with 30 and 27% respectively of the total on a national basis. A significant share of the products of legal disciplines is also concentrated in Campania's universities (14.7%). In

Lombardy and Piedmont, sociologists stand out with percentages above 20% in the first case and 15% in the second. Political sciences (17%) and history (17%) are strongly represented in Tuscany.

The main academic sectors listed in Table 1 are analysed in *Chapter III, Section 2 – University studies about mafias in the field of different scientific subjects*, starting with those in which there are the greatest contributions in a descending order.

The authors

The articles published in the period analysed were written by 930 authors. Interestingly, the average number of scholars writing about mafia-related topics each year grew significantly from 49.1 (1999-2008) to 140.1 (2009-2018), with a peak of 159 authors in 2014. As for Southern Italy, Sicily and Campania are the regions accounting for the highest percentages of authors, with 25.8% and 15.4% respectively. Other regions that stand out are Lombardy (13.4%) and Lazio (11.6%).

Another interesting piece of information regards the average number of products per author, where only three regions show figures higher than the national average (3.0). In particular, Piedmont is the first region with 4.8, followed by Sicily (3.9) and Tuscany (3.6). On the other hand, Lombardy and Campania stand just below the national average with 2.9 and 2.8 products per author respectively.

Further considerations should be made here with regards to the corpus of authors. If we take into account that access to the archive is only granted to regular staff of Italian universities, it is no surprise that 76% of the total number of authors on record are permanently employed while the remaining 24% is accounted for by individuals on short-term contracts such as PhD graduates, research fellows and other types of contract workers within the university system.

Leaving the latter individuals aside, due to the difficulty in identifying them, we can see that the corpus of authors takes on the shape of an upside-down pyramid – as is obvious when considering the higher average age of authors belonging to the more advanced categories – with a broad base made up of full professors accounting for 30% of the total, followed by associate professors (26%) and researchers (20%), until the lower narrow end of the pyramid accounted for by research fellows (6%) and PhD candidates (6.5%).

If we continue our analysis without considering non-regularly employed staff, we can see that the total number of authors surveyed accounts for 2% of overall university professors. This is a low figure, consistent with the niche-type character of studies on mafias. Nevertheless, as already mentioned in the methodology chapter, this figure is a partial one and does not take into account a significant share of

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scholars who escape this survey. Anyway, this is still an upward trend with increased importance due to the high level of interdisciplinarity in the field of studies on mafias which enhances its appeal both inside and outside of the academic world.

Going back to the authors of the database, it is interesting to notice that about a third of these are law scholars (31% with an average of 2.2 products per author), while sociologists, albeit being the most productive with 6.7 products per author only account for 14.5% of the total. These categories are followed by economists (11.6%) and historians (6.3%) and psychologists (5.3% with a higher than average per-capita production of 5.6 products per author).

As for the distribution by gender, the difference between men and women seems remarkable with 64% of authors being men and 36% women. Over the course of the years, though, this gap has been reduced by over 9 percentage points with women's share increasing from 29.5% in the period 1999-2003 to 38% in 2014-2018. This increase is more marked in the North of Italy where women account for 40% of the total while in the South and in the Centre of the country their share stands at 34% and 33% respectively. If we look at the ten regions with more than 30 authors, the women component appears greater in percentage terms in Puglia, Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia-Romagna with figures comprised between 45% and 40% which are still below the 50% threshold. In Piedmont, Sicily and Lazio women account for slightly more than a third of the total. The gender gap is wider in Campania (30%) and above all in Tuscany (36%) Calabria (23%).

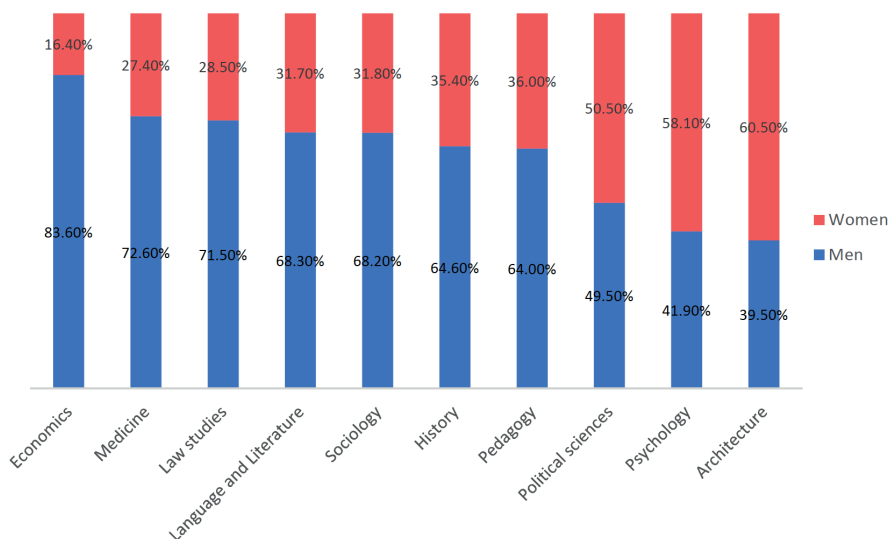


Figure 4. Percentage distribution of authors by gender and academic discipline

The comparison by academic macro-sector allows to highlight the different involvement of women in the research on mafias. Female scholars are less frequently present in the field of Economics where they account for a mere 20% of the total, and their share is also low in History, Law, Medicine and Political Sciences with percentages ranging from 30% to 37%. The female component appears more significant in the fields of Pedagogy (43%), Languages and Literatures (44%) and Sociology (44%). The male/female ratio is only reversed in two cases, namely among architects where women account for 52% and among psychologists where the increase in the female component is even more remarkable (61%) (see figure 4). It should be noted here that these observations do not take into account the overall distribution of products by gender within each academic discipline.

Types of research products

Let us now analyse types of products. Journal articles and essays in books account for about three quarters of the total number of publications included in the repository of research on mafias. On the other hand, monographs or curated texts account for 10%. The remaining products are comprised in various categories, such as «conference proceedings» (8.4%) and «PhD dissertations» (1.4%). The category «other» (4.2%) is comprised of products of a different type such as reviews, reports etc.

Publications of articles in scientific journals increased by more than five percentage points, from 38.3% in the period 1999-2008 to 43.9% in the time frame 2009-2018. Conversely, in the same period products published in books recorded a reduction from 35.3% to 32.8%. table 2 shows the distribution of publications by type in the period analysed.

A comparison between geographical macro-areas shows that the sample of Centre-North universities, with 47%, has a larger number of articles in journals than the sample of southern universities (40%). If we take a closer look at the regions with a larger number of products, we see that in Emilia-Romagna, Piedmont and Tuscany articles in journals exceed 50% of the overall corpus, as opposed to what happens in Campania where the lowest percentage is recorded (35.5%). Within the sub-sample of the South, higher percentages are shown by the categories of essays in books (38% vs 31%) and monographs (7.3% vs 5.7%). A final consideration should be made here about Emilia-Romagna, which also presents the larger number of monographs and curated texts, and Campania where the largest number of essays in books is recorded.

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Table 2. Percentage distribution of products by type in the period 1999-2018.

| | <i>Year decade 1999-2003 and 2004-2008</i> | <i>Year decade 2009-2013 and 2014-2018</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--------------------|--|--|--------------|
| Other | 4.60% | 4.00% | 4.20% |
| Article in journal | 38.30% | 43.90% | 42.50% |
| Curated text | 2.60% | 4.30% | 3.90% |
| Monograph | 7.20% | 6.10% | 6.30% |
| Proceedings | 11.90% | 7.20% | 8.40% |
| Essay in book | 35.30% | 32.80% | 33.40% |
| PhD dissertation | 0.10% | 1.80% | 1.40% |
| Overall total | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

The prevailing editorial position of research products presents a few differences if academic disciplines are considered separately. Articles in journals are more commonly found in Law (46%) and Economics (45%) while Sociology (38%) shows the lowest percentage. Monographs are more frequently used by Historians. Monographs, curated texts and essays in books are less frequently used in Psychology, a sector where there is a high percentage of conference proceedings (28.5%).

Collaborations and internationalization

Collaborations are a crucial part of every scholar's academic pathway. Although the writing of a text represents neither the only nor the most significant form of collaboration among authors, levels of collaboration can be measured through *co-authorship*, i.e. the sharing of a text between many scholars.

An analysis of the data shows that more than a third of research products (37%) are the result of collaboration between two or more authors (41% two authors, 22% three authors, 19% four authors and 17% five or more authors).

Over the twenty-year span analysed, the number of co-authorships increased. This tendency remained stable over the course of the five-year timeframes. This might mean that authors have gradually strengthened their collaboration networks. The percentage of works written by more than one author grew by more than 20 percentage points, from 21% in 1999-2003 to 43% in 2014-2018 (see figure 5). This figure, nevertheless, does not differentiate between the different types of collaboration: within the same department, between departments of the same university or departments of different universities.

Universities in the fight against mafias

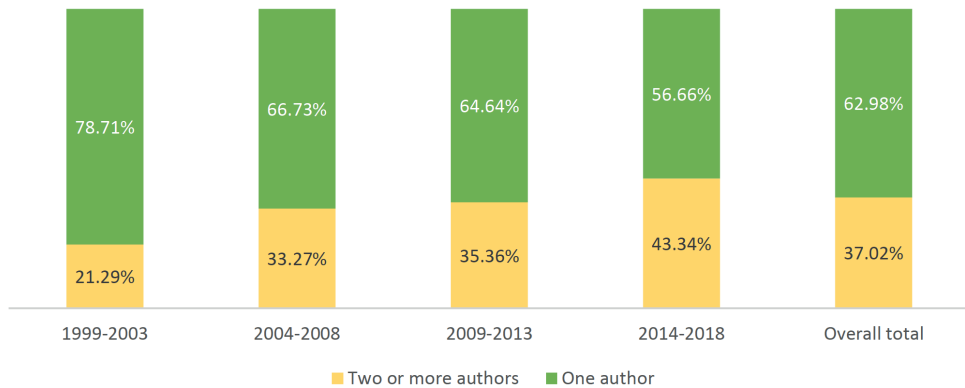


Figure 5. Percentage distribution of products with one or more authors.

Interest in teamwork seems higher in the sample of southern (40%) and northern (37%) regions while the sample of regions in central Italy shows a decidedly lower figure (27%). A closer look at each individual region enables a clearer identification of differences. Among the 10 regions with the largest number of publications, Sicily and Lombardy are those with the highest percentages of papers written by more than one author, with 46% and 45% respectively. Significant figures in terms of collaboration are also shown by Puglia (41%) and Lazio (39.5%), while the lowest values are recorded in Veneto (23%), Tuscany (16%) and Calabria (5%).

In addition, an analysis by sector also unveils other aspects. Teamwork seems to be a constant in Medicine, Psychology and Economics with percentages exceeding the 80% threshold. Conversely, individual work seems to be preferred by scholars of languages and literatures, Law scholars and historians with percentages of collaboration ranging between 9.5% and 13.5%. Clearly, this fact can also be explained in light of the assessment criteria on publications used for the *Abilitazione scientifica nazionale* (National Academic Qualification) in Italy. This is the case, for instance, of law scholars, whose works can only be considered if attributable to one single author, except for curated texts as in the same book there will naturally be a distinction between the contributions coming from each individual author (see figure 6).

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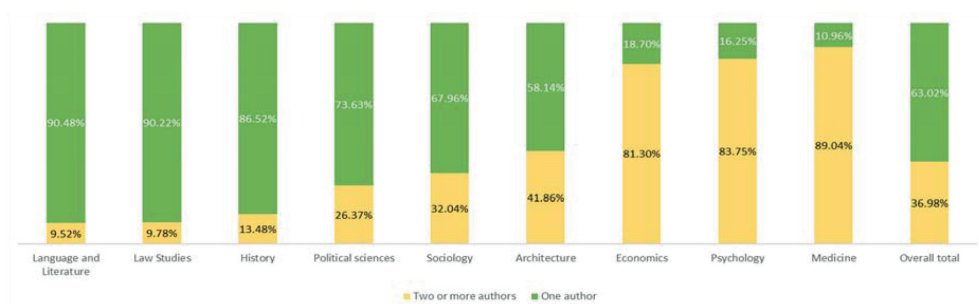


Figure 6. Percentage distribution of products with one or more authors by academic macro-sector

The last aspect to be analysed in this work concerns the presence of products in foreign languages. This is a fact that can also be read in terms of the internationalisation of research. The growing availability of studies in English can undoubtedly contribute to increasing the weight and presence of Italian scholars in the context of international research. On the other hand, it is paradoxical to note that, in the field of studies on mafias, the bibliographies of foreign scholars often almost completely ignore the works published in Italian.

Only 28% of the publications contained in the corpus were written in English or other languages. This is a significant figure that certainly indicates a critical point of academic research on the subject of mafias. However, it is worth noting that the number of publications in this language has increased significantly over the years. While up to 2008 the percentage of products in English stood at 16%, in 2014-2018 this figure reached 37%, an increase of more than 20 percentage points. This trend was not evenly distributed across the entire national territory. In the North, the percentage of studies in English or other languages reaches 35% while in the South and in the Centre this figure stands at 25% and 21% respectively.

The analysis by subject also allows us to highlight significant differences in terms of internationalization. Higher-than-average figures can be found in Economics (68%), Medicine (62%) and Political Sciences (54%). A mere 30% of publications in Architecture and 28% in Sociology are written in a language different from Italian. Finally, products in English or other languages are extremely rare among historians and law scholars, with percentages of 13% and 11% respectively.

One final consideration can be made with regards to the comparison between publications in a foreign language and the number of authors. These two variables

show that the choice of writing in English or other languages is more frequent in co-authorships (47%) than in works with a single author (17%) (see figure 7).



Figure 7. Percentage distribution of products in Italian or English and other languages

SECTION 2. UNIVERSITY STUDIES ABOUT MAFIAS IN THE FIELD OF DIFFERENT SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS

1. *Sociology**

The sociology of mafias

For a long time, the mafia phenomenon was not among the subjects studied by sociology. It was not considered a relevant subject for social research, nor was it deemed to be particularly interesting for the analysis of the conditions in Southern Italy or in some of its areas⁶. In fact, in the first decades of the Republic, the subject did not attract much attention even from other academic disciplines⁷. It

* This paper has been written by Rocco Sciarrone.

⁶ The topic was probably also in the way of the paradigms in fashion to explain the social dynamics and processes of southern Italy (seen as a homogeneous whole, while the mafia was present in one area and not in another, maybe even adjacent to the first). Thus, for example, research was carried out on development processes or on other aspects of collective importance in areas with a high density of *mafiosi*, without ever mentioning or considering the mafia, behaving in practice as if it did not exist.

⁷ For a critical framework of the literature in social sciences on the subject of mafias, see U. Santino, *Dalla mafia alle mafie. Scienze sociali e crimine organizzato*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli

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was mainly journalists and writers who wrote about it, alongside some law experts and historians. Between 1945 and 1993 there were about 2500 publications on the mafia phenomenon⁸, among which it is very rare to find sociological works, at least until the beginning of the 1980s.

Starting from the mid-1950s, we can find the books written by Danilo Dolci which caused a sensation soon after their release only to be almost completely forgotten afterwards⁹. In the 1960s some sociologists can be found who authored articles in journals, mainly in the form of reflections or debates rather than analyses, on the issue of *mafia*, often exclusively intended as the Sicilian criminal organization¹⁰. It is therefore not easy, for those approaching the subject, to find references in the field of social sciences: this problem is often solved by citing authors from the past, such as Leopoldo Franchetti, Giuseppe Alongi and Antonino Cutrera¹¹ who, although not being sociologists, have written works of great interest to this subject area.

On the other hand, going back in time, it is very significant that the most important social science publications for a long time were produced by foreign authors in the 1970s. These are the well-known works of the sociologist Henner Hess and the anthropologists Anton Blok and Jane and Peter Schneider, whose

2006. The first chapter of this book is dedicated precisely to Sociology (pp. 15-111).

⁸ A. Bedotto (edited by), *Mafia: panorama bibliografico* (1945-1993), Franco Angeli, Milano 1994

⁹ See D. Dolci, *Banditi a Partinico*, prefazione di N. Bobbio, Laterza, Bari 1956; Id., *Inchiesta a Palermo*, Einaudi, Torino 1957. Very relevant to this analysis is also: F. Alasia - D. Dolci, *La mafia come impedimento allo sviluppo della zona dello Jato*, in «Cronache meridionali», XI, 1964, 10-2, pp. 103-20.

¹⁰ See, for instance: D. De Masi, *Sopralluogo nella Sicilia della mafia*, in «Nord e Sud», X, 1963, 46, pp. 17-40; *I mafiosi alle urne*, in «Nord e Sud», XIII, 1965, 63, pp. 6-21; *Il ministro e i mafiosi*, in «Nord e Sud», XII, 1966, 73, pp. 66-74. Another significant example of the same period is F. Ferrarotti, *La mafia di Sicilia come problema dello sviluppo nazionale*, in «La Critica Sociologica», 4, 1967, pp. 127-39, which anticipates the results of a research that would be published a decade later. Also, in the 1960s Michele Pantaleone's books have a great impact and, alongside other newspaper investigations, compensate for the absence of sociological analyses and investigations: M. Pantaleone, *Mafia e politica*, Einaudi, Torino 1962; Id., *Mafia e droga*, Einaudi, Torino 1966; Id., *Antimafia: occasione mancata*, Einaudi, Torino 1969.

¹¹ L. Franchetti, *Condizioni politiche e amministrative della Sicilia*, vol. I, in *La Sicilia nel 1876*, 2 voll., con S. Sonnino, Barbera, Firenze 1877; G. Alongi, *La mafia nei suoi fattori e nelle sue manifestazioni. Studio sulle classi pericolose della Sicilia*, Bocca, Torino 1886; Id., *La camorra. Studio di sociologia criminale*, Bocca, Torino 1890; A. Cutrera, *La mafia e i mafiosi: origini e manifestazioni. Studio di sociologia criminale*, Reber, Palermo 1990 (1st ed. 1900).

original editions date back to 1970, 1975 and 1976 respectively¹². These three books would have a considerable and long-lasting influence on the study of this phenomenon¹³. In particular, Hess' book would deeply and steadily mark the field of sociological analyses on the subject of mafias. In the 1970s there were also two monographs of Italian sociologists, namely Nando Dalla Chiesa¹⁴ and Franco Ferrarotti¹⁵. These two works are rarely cited in references and reviews of sociological literature on the subject of mafias. It is worth mentioning that the latter work is the result of a research entrusted to Ferrarotti by the Anti-mafia parliamentary committee when this institution was first founded, during the VI legislature. The investigation was carried out by a research group coordinated by Ferrarotti, between 1963 and 1967, in Palermo and in other three local towns (Bagheria, Corleone and Trappeto). The report of this research was submitted to the Committee in May 1967 and then included in the minutes with the title *Inchiesta sociologica sulla mafia in Sicilia* (Sociological investigation into the mafia in Sicily). This text was also published as a book in 1978 with small modifications in the introduction and conclusions.

The work of a vast research programme carried out in Calabria in the second half of the 1970s, coordinated by Giovanni Arrighi, together with Fortunata Piselli and Pino Arlacchi, has also received scant mention. In the 1980s, these investigations produced a series of important publications to understand the genesis and development of the Calabrian mafia, with a very original research approach, also from a methodological point of view¹⁶.

¹² H. Hess, *Mafia and Mafiosi: The structure of power*, Lexington Books, Lexington, MA 1970; A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village, 1860-1960*, Harper & Row, New York 1974; J. Schneider and P. Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, Academic Press, New York 1976.

¹³ Other books worth mentioning here are P.A. Allum, *Politics and Society in Post-war Naples*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1973; and E. C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, The Free Press, Glencoe, IL. 1958, which, although not focused on mafia or a specific traditionally mafia area, would influence to a great extent the interpretations of the phenomenon, including those of a sociological type.

¹⁴ N. dalla Chiesa, *Il potere mafioso. Economia e ideologia*, Mazzotta, Milano 1976

¹⁵ F. Ferrarotti, *Rapporto sulla mafia: da costume locale a problema dello sviluppo nazionale*, Luigi, Napoli 1978

¹⁶ F. Piselli - G. Arrighi, *Parentela, clientela e comunità*, in *Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità ad oggi. La Calabria*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. Placanica (edited by), Einaudi, Torino 1985, pp. 365-492; G. Arrighi - F. Piselli, *Capitalist Development in Hostile Environments: Feuds, Class Struggles and Migrations in a Peripheral Region of Southern Italy*, in «Review. Fernand Braudel Center», X, 1987, 4, pp. 649-751; F. Piselli, *Circuiti politici mafiosi nel secondo dopo-guerra*, in

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However, it is precisely in the period between the 1980s and the early 1990s that a specific field of sociological studies on the subject of mafias started to take shape¹⁷. To this regard, a crucial book is that by Pino Arlacchi on entrepreneurial mafia¹⁸, followed – as for the Sicilian mafia – by Raimondo Catanzaro's works¹⁹ and, later on, by Diego Gambetta's publications²⁰. As for the so-called *camorra*, the investigations carried out by Amato Lamberti²¹ are worth mentioning here alongside the broader and more criminological contributions from Ernesto Savona and Vincenzo Ruggiero²². In the same period, special attention is also given to the way in which the political system works and to the relationships between politics and mafia²³. In the 1980s again another more complete sociological reflection is started about Anti-mafia²⁴ and about social representations and com-

«Meridiana», 2, 1988, pp. 125-66; P. Arlacchi, *Contadini, latifondo e mafia nella Calabria tradizionale. Le strutture elementari del sottosviluppo*, il Mulino, Bologna 1980

¹⁷ So much so that the term «mafologist» was coined, see F. Sidoti, *La mafia e i mafiosi*, in «queste istituzioni», 57, 1983, pp. 1-18.

¹⁸ P. Arlacchi, *La mafia imprenditrice. L'etica mafiosa e lo spirito del capitalismo*, il Mulino, Bologna 1983. See also Id., *Mafia e tipi di società*, in «Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia», XXI, 1980, 1, pp. 3-49; Id., *I gruppi mafiosi nello sviluppo economico del Mezzogiorno*, in «Democrazia e diritto», 1983, 4, pp. 21-30

¹⁹ R. Catanzaro, *La mafia come fenomeno di ibridazione sociale. Proposta di un modello*, in «Italia contemporanea», 156, 1984, pp. 7-41; Id., *Il delitto come impresa. Storia sociale della mafia*, Liviana, Padova 1988; Id., *Il governo violento del mercato. Mafia, imprese e sistema politico*, in «Stato e mercato», 23, 1988, pp. 177-211

²⁰ D. Gambetta, *Mafia: i costi della sfiducia*, in «Polis», 2, 1987, pp. 283-305; Id. *La mafia siciliana. Un'industria della protezione privata*, Einaudi, Torino 1992

²¹ See A. Lamberti, *Camorra come sistema di potere*, in «Il Progetto», II, 1982, 12, pp. 61-7; Id., *Dalla camorra «massa» alla camorra «impresa»*, in «Il Progetto», VII, 1987, 40, pp. 11-6; Id., *La camorra, questa sconosciuta*, in «Rinascita», 20 maggio 1989, pp. 11-5; Id., *Così governa la camorra*, in «MicroMega», 4, 1990, pp. 111-26; Id., *La camorra. Evoluzione e struttura della criminalità organizzata in Campania*, Boccia, Fuorni 1992. About the camorra, in the same period, see also F. Barbagallo (edited by), *Camorra e criminalità organizzata in Campania*, Liguori, Napoli 1988.

²² E. U. Savona, *Sistema di giustizia penale e criminalità organizzata*, in «Annali di sociologia», III, 1987, 2, pp. 227-86; V. Ruggiero, *Crimine organizzato: una proposta di aggiornamento delle definizioni*, in «Dei delitti e delle pene», II, 1992, 3, pp. 57-99.

²³ E. Sgroi, *Mafia, potere e società civile*, in «Rassegna di teologia», XXIV, 3, pp. 238-63; A. Tulumello, *Strutture organizzative e rapporto col potere politico della mafia siciliana*, in «Teoria politica», II, 1986, 2, pp. 165-78; F. Sidoti, *Mafie e Parlamento*, in «queste istituzioni», 71, 1986, pp. 59-77; Piselli, *Circuiti politici mafiosi nel secondo dopo-guerra* cit.; P. Fantozzi, *Politica, clientela e regolazione sociale. Il Mezzogiorno nella questione politica italiana*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 1993.

²⁴ P. Arlacchi - N. dalla Chiesa, *La palude e la città. Su può sconfiggere la mafia*, Mondadori, Milano 1987; S. Costantino, *A viso aperto. La resistenza antimafiosa di Capo d'Orlando*, prefazione

municative aspects of mafia phenomena²⁵. In addition, new research strands are developed such as the one from the early 1990s about women and mafia whose first contributor was Renate Siebert²⁶.

In the same period, between the 1980s and the 1990s, alongside scholars from different subjects, there are numerous sociologists getting across their reflections and analyses in the journal named «Segno», based in Palermo, founded and directed by Nino Fasullo. At the same time, the number of articles in academic journals is also on the rise. Among these, special attention to the topic of mafia is dedicated by «Meridiana. Rivista di storia e scienze sociali» which published a memorable monograph issue with an interdisciplinary approach in 1990²⁷.

In the mid-1990s, Pino Arlacchi organized a conference to bring together young researchers, newly graduated students and PhD candidates who were trying to study mafia-type organized crime²⁸. Some of the participants in the conference will continue to feed into this research file in later years after embarking on their academic careers²⁹.

The field of sociological studies on mafias, therefore, has been slowly but gradually acquiring its own identity. The same process can also be seen in other disciplines, particularly in the fields of history and law, and there is a need for interdisciplinary comparisons³⁰. The scientific production on mafias is naturally

di F. Ferrarotti, La Zisa, Palermo 1983. Cfr. anche G. Fiandaca - S. Costantino (edited by), *La legge antimafia tre anni dopo. Bilancio di un'esperienza applicativa*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1986.

²⁵ A. Lamberti, *Camorra: analisi e stereotipi. Televisione, radio e giornali in Campania*, Rai radiotelevisione italiana, Roma 1985; M. Morcellini (edited by), *Mafia a dispense. Stili della rappresentazione televisiva*, 2 voll. (I: Ricerca ed interpretazioni; II: Metodologia e documenti), Nuova Eri, Roma 1986; G. Priulla (edited by), *Mafia e informazione*, Liviana, Padova 1987.

²⁶ R. Siebert, *Le donne, la mafia*, il Saggiatore, Milano 1994. See also A. Puglisi, *Sole contro la mafia*, La Luna, Palermo 1990.

²⁷ This is the double issue 7-8, over 400 pages long, edited by S. Lupo e S. Mangiameli (whose introduction is especially important: *Mafia di ieri, mafia di oggi*, pp. 17-44). The sociologists that contributed to this issue are: Piero Fantozzi, Diego Gambetta, Paola Monzini, Alessandro Pizzorno.

²⁸ Conference: *La giovane ricerca italiana sulla grande criminalità*, Sesto Fiorentino, 8-9 December 1995

²⁹ A different fate will be that of Paola Monzini, whose untimely death has left us with some remarkable works such as the following: *L'estorsione nei sistemi di criminalità organizzata*, in «Quaderni di Sociologia», XL, 1996, 11, pp. 134-60; *Gruppi criminali a Napoli e Marsiglia. La delinquenza organizzata nella storia delle due città (1820-1990)*, Meridiana Libri, Catanzaro 1999.

³⁰ Besides the abovementioned «Meridiana» issue, a significant example is represented by G. Fiandaca - S. Costantino (edited by), *La mafia, le mafie*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1994.

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influenced by the events that have affected the mafia and anti-mafia fronts in the same period. We are thinking of the extreme violence of the mafia wars, the long trail of murders of members of the institutions and innocent victims, the maxi-trial in Palermo, the phenomenon of state witnesses, the massacres of the early 1990s, and the repressive action that followed until the 2000s³¹.

This introduction has now led us to the new millennium, which is to say the point in time since when academic publications have been stored in the repository of research. As a matter of fact, we will now focus on data and information analysis as provided by the Iris database which, as mentioned above (see chapter III), can be considered reliable from 1999 onwards. Consequently, the style and register of this analysis will also change. After analysing the way in which sociological studies took shape in the field of mafias, we will also see its developments in the university sector over the last twenty years. The aim is not to go into the content of the publications, but to observe their trend over time, the weight of sociological publications with respect to other disciplines, the distribution by region, university, academic discipline, and the main thematic fields. When analysing the data hereby presented it will be a good idea to keep in mind the limits of the database used which, as mentioned above³², only includes the publications produced by authors that are members of the regular staff employed by Italian universities. Therefore, this corpus comprises very significant works but offers a limited overview as it does not include the publications written by three types of scholars: non-academics³³, members of foreign universities³⁴ and young researchers without a full-time employment contract³⁵.

³¹ On the basis of the National Library Service Catalogue (Opac Sbn), taking into account all literary genres (novels, essays, investigative works, memoirs), it has been calculated that between 1948 and 2018, 3365 books were written with the words 'mafia', 'camorra' or 'ndrangheta' in the title. 64% of these were published after 1992. (M. Ravveduto, *Lo spettacolo della mafia. Storia di un immaginario tra realtà e finzione*, Edizioni Gruppo Abele, Torino 2019, p. 25).

³² See chapter III, Section I.

³³ Think about the works of authors like Umberto Santino, Isaia Sales and Enzo Ciconte which have a significant influence in the field of studies on mafias, especially in the sociological sector, despite the fact that these publications are mainly historical in nature.

³⁴ In recent decades, there has been an increase in the work of 'foreign' scholars on Italian mafias. These individuals are often Italians working in foreign universities.

³⁵ PhD candidates and research fellows, some of whom are in the Iris repository as co-authors of full professors.

Academic publications

In the Iris repository the area of sociological disciplines is the one with the largest number of academic publications specifically dedicated to the mafia phenomenon. A total of 990 out of 3051 in the period considered by this survey, equal to one third of the total number of publications surveyed. Sociology is followed by the macro-sectors of Law Studies, which, however, accounts for just under a quarter of the total, while all the other disciplinary areas are below 10%. In fact, only Psychology, Economics and History show figures close to 10% while the other subjects stand well below 5%.

In the first years of the survey, publications in Law Studies are more numerous than those in Sociology but starting from 2008 the proportion is reversed. Indeed, since 2009 there has been a significant increase in publications in the sociological sector with a growing trend which reaches a peak in the 2013-14 biennium (see figure 1). It is therefore no coincidence that 2014 represents the year where the largest number of publications was produced, with 245.

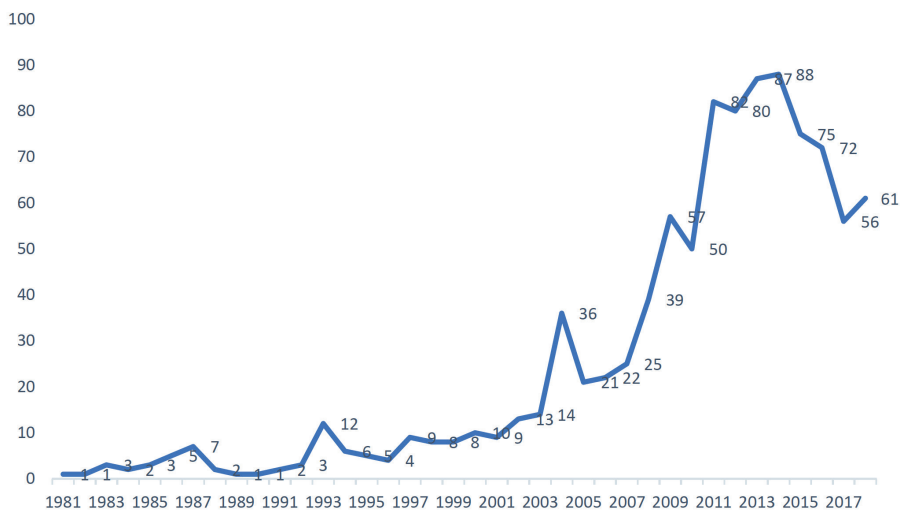


Figure 1. Number of publications in the sociological area in the period 1981-2018

As we have seen, until the 1990s the number of academic publications on mafias is very small in general, and so it is also in the field of Sociology. Between 1999 and 2003 sociological publications are about ten per year and represent more than a quarter of the total publications. In the following five years, sociological publications almost triple, reaching 29% of the overall total. As men-

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tioned above, the quantitative leap occurs in the following years: between 2009 and 2013 the growth of sociological publications is exponential, reaching over 35% of the total number of research products included in the database. This figure levels off in the following five years (see table 1).

Table 1. Number of Publications in Sociology macrosectors and total macrosectors.

| | <i>1999-2003</i> | <i>2004-2008</i> | <i>2009-2013</i> | <i>2014-2018</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Sociology | 54 | 143 | 356 | 352 | 905 |
| All macrosectors | 202 | 493 | 1004 | 1059 | 2758 |
| % Sociology on total | 26.7 | 29.1 | 35.5 | 33.2 | 32.8 |
| Sociology: yearly average | 10.8 | 24.0 | 71.2 | 70.4 | 45.2 |

(absolute values and % Sociology on total)

The groups of academic recruitment fields in sociological disciplines³⁶ are comprised of six academic disciplines. With respect to the publications on mafias, the most significant are General Sociology (30%) and Sociology of Law, Deviance and Social Change (29.6%), followed by Economic sociology and Sociology of work and organizations (22%) and finally, by Political Sociology (8.6%) as shown by table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of Publications by scientific and sociological disciplines.

| <i>Academic Discipline</i> | <i>Number of publications</i> | <i>%</i> |
|--|-------------------------------|----------|
| SPS/07 – General Sociology | 297 | 30.00% |
| SPS /12 - Sociology of Law, Deviance and Social Change | 293 | 29.60% |
| SPS /09 - Economic sociology and Sociology of work and organizations | 215 | 21.72% |
| SPS /11 - Political Sociology | 85 | 8.59% |
| SPS /08 – Sociology of culture and communication | 51 | 5.15% |
| SPS /10 – Urban and environmental Sociology | 31 | 3.13% |
| Not specified | 18 | 1.82% |
| Overall total | 990 | 100.00% |

³⁶ Sociological sciences are comprised of two groups of academic recruitment fields: 14/C – Sociology and 14/D – Applied Sociology. These are broken down into two academic recruitment fields and six academic disciplines.

The distribution of authors by academic discipline places General Sociology in first place, with 38% of the total number of sociological authors included in the survey, followed by Sociology of Law (26%), Sociology of Culture (14%) and Economic Sociology (12%).

The picture changes if we consider the number of publications on mafias as a ratio of the varying number of professors belonging to each academic discipline³⁷: the first place is held by Sociology of Law, with 4.6 publications per author and the following positions are held by Economic and Political Sociology, with 1.6 and 1.5 publications per professor respectively. Lower figures are shown by General Sociology (0.75 publications per professor) and the last ones are Urban and environmental Sociology (0.43) and Sociology of culture and communication (0.15). This last figure is very significant, if we consider that this sector includes almost a third of Italian sociologists (it is the second largest sector after General Sociology). However, this figure is also interesting for substantial reasons: it seems that sociologists in this field are less interested in the study of the mafia phenomenon. A paradox emerges here: the issues related to the cultural and symbolic dimension are among those most present in the public debate and among those most discussed also within the anti-mafia movement, but they are relatively less studied at scientific level, at least within the disciplines that should be among the best equipped to do so³⁸. This paradox is confirmed if, alongside Sociology of culture and communication, we also consider Cultural Anthropology which only has 16 publications in this survey. This aspect needs to be highlighted as around these subject certain assumptions are often shared which nevertheless have not been backed up by reliable scientific research or analysis.

Amongst sociologists there is a good level of specialization in the field of mafias as borne out by the fact that the average number of products per author is 6.9. This is the highest figure of all macro-sectors considered, followed by 5.3 in Psychology, 3.8 in Political Sciences and 3.6 in History. Looking at the average number of products by author in each academic discipline, there is a similar picture to the abovementioned one relating to absolute numbers per professor: in first position, there is Economic Sociology with 13.4 products per author,

³⁷ This was calculated by means of the search engine of university staff on the Miur website (February 2021): <https://cercauniversita.cineca.it/php5/docenti/cerca.php>

³⁸ These are in fact more studied in the sectors of other academic disciplines, even within the Sociology area itself.

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followed by Political Sociology (9.4), Sociology of Law (8.4), Clinical Psychology (8.2), Social Psychology (6.3) and General Sociology (5.5).

Naturally, some authors are more active and specialised: for example, one third of the publications in the sociological area are by only four authors, who represent at the same time more than 10% of the total number of publications in the Iris database. On the other hand, as we have seen, sociologists are responsible for the largest number of publications, although they account for just over 14% of the total number of authors surveyed.

As regards the distribution of publications by gender, the share of production from male authors is 70%, a much higher figure than that observed in the field of sociological disciplines where the percentage of male authors is 55%³⁹.

While 30% of sociological publications was produced by two or more authors, the same value at overall level reaches the figure of 35% but is definitely higher for other disciplinary areas such as Economics (79%) and Psychology (84%). In the field of Sociology there seems to be a preference for individual research and in fact only a few research groups can be found.

More than a quarter of sociological publications is in English (27%), the same percentage observed as overall average value but decidedly lower than in other disciplines such as Political Science (53%) and Economics (62%).

Looking at publications in terms of academic role of authors, we can see that associate professors are the most productive (41%), followed by full professors (30.9%) and researchers (12.7%), while research fellows and doctoral candidates account for slightly more than 4% and 3% respectively (42 and 34 publications in absolute numbers) amounting to figures that are by far greater than those recorded in most of the macro-sectors considered in their entirety. As has been seen, this category of authors is clearly underestimated in the database used for this investigation since this is mainly aimed at permanently employed professors. The data can still be interpreted as a witness to publishing projects involving young researchers⁴⁰.

As far as the type of research product is concerned, most of the publications have been included in books or represent articles published in specialised jour-

³⁹ A similar percentage to that recorded by all authors in this survey.

⁴⁰ It is likely that research fellows and doctoral candidates appear in this database as co-authors alongside professors. Thus, it would also be a good idea to conduct a survey of their research publications comprising PhD dissertations, whose number seems to be on the rise with regards to topics that concern the study of mafias and anti-mafia.

nals, with both of these types accounting for 39% of the total number of publications in the sociological area. As can be seen in table 3, these are followed by monographs, with 9%, which is a slightly higher figure than the average (8%) and only lower than that of historical disciplines (11%).

Table 3. Publications in the sociological field by type of product.

| <i>Type</i> | <i>Number of publications</i> | <i>Value %</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Essays in books | 393 | 39.70% |
| Articles in journals | 384 | 38.79% |
| Monographs | 89 | 8.99% |
| Curated texts | 56 | 5.66% |
| Other | 36 | 3.64% |
| Proceedings | 24 | 2.42% |
| Doctoral dissertations | 8 | 0.81% |
| Total | 990 | 100.00% |

The geographical distribution of sociological publications is mainly concentrated in the northern regions (48%) while the southern ones account for 36% and the central ones cover more than 16%. The mafia phenomenon therefore tends to be studied more by sociologists from universities in the north of Italy. This seems to be a special feature of sociological publications, as when looking at the overall number of publications from all disciplines, the result changes, with a higher percentage in the South (51%) than in the North (31%). In Legal Studies, for instance, this distribution is confirmed, while in other fields an even higher percentage is recorded in the South (around 70% in History and Economics and over 80% in Psychology). These figures are also obviously confirmed at regional level. As far as sociological disciplines are concerned, Lombardy is in the lead (22%), followed by Sicily (20%), Piedmont (15%) and Campania (12%). The very low number of publications in Calabria (2.2 per cent) and Puglia (0.6 per cent) is significant.

The overview changes when the number of authors by region is taken into account: in first place again is Lombardy (19%), then we can find Sicily, Campania and Lazio (with percentages between 13 and 14%), followed by Piedmont (almost 10%). Overall, the distribution by authors – rather than by publications – is relatively more evenly distributed at territorial level: 41% in the North, 38% in the South and 21% in the Centre.

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A breakdown of data by university shows a different geographical situation. Looking first at publications, we can see that the University of Palermo is first (17.7%), followed by those of Turin (15.4%), Milan Cattolica (13.8%) and Naples Federico II (9.1%). On the other hand, when the number of authors by university is considered, we can see that the first place is held by the University Cattolica of Milan with 20 authors accounting for 13%, while the universities of Naples Federico II and of Rome La Sapienza jointly share the second place with 9%, followed by Palermo (8%) and Trento (6%). This figure might in part be seen as an indicator of the presence of more or less established research groups within each university.

The thematic fields

Due to the large number of publications, it is not easy to reconstruct a summary of the topics studied within the field of Sociology. We have tried to do this by looking at titles of publications and by relying on personal knowledge of the reference literature, thus identifying a series of categories and key words through which a classification can be made of research products in the database.

Table 4. Main topics and approach of sociological publications*.

| <i>Topic</i> | <i>Number of publications</i> | <i>Value %</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Theoretical approach, general topics (including Cosa Nostra)** | 100 | 10.1 |
| Methodological approach, estimates and measurements | 28 | 2.8 |
| Camorra | 36 | 3.6 |
| 'Ndrangheta | 22 | 2.2 |
| Sacra Corona Unita | 10 | 1.0 |
| Foreign mafias, migration flows | 27 | 2.7 |
| Politics, power, violence, territory control, extortion | 101 | 10.2 |
| Expansion towards non-traditional areas (in Italy and abroad) | 97 | 9.8 |
| Globalisation, international and transnational organized crime | 31 | 3.2 |
| Institutional anti-mafia, policies, regulations, contrast (Italy, Europe) | 78 | 7.9 |
| Social anti-mafia, movements, organisations | 49 | 4.9 |

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| | | |
|---|-----|------|
| Symbolic and cultural dimension, image, representations, perception | 75 | 7.6 |
| Women, family, minors | 40 | 4.1 |
| Church, religion | 15 | 1.5 |
| Legal economy, mafia-related businesses, collusion, grey area | 86 | 8.7 |
| Illegal markets | 21 | 2.1 |
| Corruption, economic crime, 'mafia capitale' | 22 | 2.2 |
| Other, no category*** | 152 | 15.4 |
| Total | 990 | |

* Each publication was classified on the basis of a single topic considered predominant, then associated with one of the entries presented in the table. This operation made the data more readable, but obviously involved a certain 'forcing', as all publications deal with topics falling under several entries.

** For obvious reasons, many publications often make prevalent or exclusive reference to Sicilian mafia, making it difficult to distinguish them from more general writings⁴¹.

*** Included here are reviews and critical notes, as well as all those publications that on the basis of the title could not be classified in one of the identified categories.

First of all, three research and study strands stand out, each of which included about 10% of surveyed publications. The first included the works of a theoretical and general nature but also those that tend to consider Cosa Nostra as an ideal-typical model of the mafia phenomenon. Here, we can also find those studies which aim to produce, more or less exhaustively, a general theory of mafias. This group of publications is also flanked by that encompassing methodological studies (2.8%), or those that present estimates and measures of certain mafia-related phenomena as well as those focusing on specific investigation methods and techniques.

A second field of research concerns certain peculiar features of the phenomenon that, taken together, can be traced back to its political dimension: not only the mafia-politics relationship, but the mafia as a political subject, hence the themes of violence and control of the territory, together with those of the relevance and functioning of the extortion-protection mechanism. The first two areas concern themes that we can consider foundational to the field of study we are analysing. The third, on the other hand, concerns a field of research that has

⁴¹ This is also the case, for example, with much of the work cited in the first paragraph.

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developed considerably, especially in recent years: the processes of territorial expansion in non-traditional areas, i.e. other than those of historical genesis, with specific reference to the presence of mafia groups in the central-northern regions and abroad. This is a fast-growing field that not only studies diffusion mechanisms and settlement patterns, but also includes a number of case studies at local and regional level. On the other hand, studies dealing with the dimension of globalisation and the issues of international and transnational organised crime (which make up just over 3% of the total) tend to be placed in a broader macro dimension.

We then have publications – albeit in small numbers – concerning specific types of mafia. Apart from the case of Cosa Nostra, as mentioned above, which is represented across the board in several studies, there are relatively more publications on the Camorra (3.6%) and fewer on other mafias. It is significant that the so-called foreign mafias are more studied than the ‘ndrangheta.

To the three main literature strands identified we could add three others, which can be distinguished on the basis of a general thematic aggregation. The size of these strands is quite similar and each weighs in at around 13% of the total number of sociological publications surveyed. One field concerns studies on anti-mafia, for which we have a good concentration of works (8%) on institutional anti-mafia, i.e. with a focus on control actions, regulations and policies, not only concerning Italy but also Europe.

On the other hand, there are fewer publications on the social anti-mafia side (5%), i.e. in particular the initiatives and activities of movements and associations. For ease of analysis, we can distinguish the two remaining strands by observing that one focuses mainly on cultural factors and the other on economic factors. In fact, one set of publications concerns the cultural and symbolic dimension of the mafias⁴², including studies focusing on the imaginary, social representations, communication and perception aspects of the phenomenon (a total of 7.6%, of which 2% relate to perception). In this same group of publications, we can include those on the Church and religion (1.5%) and those on women, the family and minors (4.1%), emphasising, however, that the latter largely con-

⁴² Here, only partial confirmation can be found of what has been observed in the previous section on publications focusing on this dimension: as mentioned above, the cultural and symbolic aspects of the mafia phenomenon are most likely to be studied predominantly by sociologists belonging to scientific and disciplinary fields other than the Sociology of cultural and communication processes.

cern the subject of ‘women of mafia’, while there are few publications on minors and even fewer on the subject of the family⁴³. The last group of publications concerns the presence of mafias in the legal economy, thus the topics of mafias, collusion and the so-called grey area (overall 8.7%). To this same strand we can add, finally, the studies focused on illegal markets (2.1%) and those dedicated to the relations between mafias, corruption, economic and white-collar crime (overall 2.2%).

Concluding remarks: potential and criticalities

The analysis carried out paints a picture of an established field of sociological studies, now institutionalised as a relevant area of research. As we have seen, the publications cover a broad spectrum of topics. At the same time, the potential for developing new avenues of research appears evident and promising. A positive sign is represented by the fact that there is an increasing number of PhD dissertations focused on this topic⁴⁴. At the same time, the number of articles published in specialized sociology journals is also on the rise⁴⁵.

However, certain shortcomings in attention and knowledge should be mentioned. To give one significant example, greater consideration should be given to the role of family ties. At the same time, in-depth empirical studies on all the thematic dimensions identified would be useful. An increase in sociological analyses and research to be carried out in Calabria and on Calabria would undoubtedly be desirable. More generally, there is an urgent need to initiate wide-ranging research programmes on the ‘ndrangheta. Publications on what is repeatedly defined “the most dangerous mafia in the world” have undoubtedly

⁴³ A surprising fact, considering the importance given to this topic on the media and at scientific level.

⁴⁴ The mafia phenomenon is now part of the training and research programmes of many doctorates relating to sociological disciplines. Examples of doctorates that focus more specifically on the subject are the International Doctorate in Criminology at the Università Cattolica in Milan and the Doctorate in Organised Crime Studies at the Università Statale in Milan. In both, the sociology component is very relevant.

⁴⁵ In 2015, there was the launch of the ‘Rivista di Studi e Ricerche sulla criminalità organizzata’ (Journal of Studies and Research on Organised Crime), an online journal of the University Statale of Milan, founded and directed by N. dalla Chiesa. The journal is interdisciplinary but with a strong sociological imprint. But especially since the mid-2000s, many sociological journals have dedicated sections or monographic issues to the mafia phenomenon.

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grown in recent years⁴⁶, but the vast majority of these works – although sometimes of a certain interest – do not meet the requirements and standards demanded by scientific communities. Also with reference to Sociology, as we have seen, the ‘ndrangheta is a little-studied topic, and paradoxically, more studied in the North than in the South, i.e. more in the areas of new expansion than in those of origin.

Even ‘localised’ sociological research – based, for example, on case studies or community studies – seems more abundant in the central-northern regions than in the south. On the other hand, it would be very useful to expand analyses on the transformations of the mafias in areas of historical roots. In the same way, it would be very important to initiate research projects on antimafia, on the front of institutional antimafia but even more so on the front of social antimafia. Greater attention should also be given to methodological aspects in this field of studies. A complementary recommendation to the already mentioned wish to increase empirical investigations. There is indeed an enormous need for research, especially for extensive and articulated research programmes, thus with adequate availability of human and financial resources⁴⁷.

In conclusion, we can wonder whether and how useful sociological research on mafias is. The question is complicated and cannot be addressed fully here. Let us therefore try to offer just a few points for reflection. Referring to R.K. Merton⁴⁸, Arnaldo Bagnasco argued that the problem is not whether a science is useful, but how it can become so:

⁴⁶ Considering the entire production of books on mafias (non-fiction, fiction, journalism, etc., based on Opac - Sbn data), in the period 1948-2018, books on the ‘ndrangheta are 10% of the total, compared to 12% for the camorra and 78% for the Sicilian mafia. Breaking this down into two periods, between 1948 and 1992, books on the ‘ndrangheta account for 5%, while between 1993 and 2018 there is a considerable increase, with this figure reaching 12% of the total (M. Ravveduto, *Lo spettacolo della mafia*, p. 26). Most of these books are, however, produced outside academic circles. This is a significant difference compared to studies on the camorra. On the whole, also books on the latter do not seem to be very numerous (especially if compared with those on the Sicilian mafia), but the share of scientific publications is undoubtedly higher than for the ‘ndrangheta.

⁴⁷ On the other hand, there are only a few research groups that are specifically oriented towards studying mafia phenomena. Structured groups with a significant sociological component are currently present at the University of Naples Federico II, the University Cattolica of Milan, the University Statale of Milan and the University of Turin.

⁴⁸ R.K Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, The Free Press, New York 1968.

Indeed, the paths sociology can take to become useful are many, but they do not allow for shortcuts or impatience: truth and usefulness must grow together. Impetuousness in trying to answer a practical problem can cause perverse effects that are worse than the initial problem; just as, indeed, the assertive statements of a critical sociologist often fail to take into account the effects they cause, or just as, on the other hand, the analytical subtleties of scientific sociologists can sometimes resemble the refusal to tackle practical problems⁴⁹.

In recent years, the influence of social studies on mafias has undoubtedly grown: in broad terms, by disseminating a more well-founded knowledge of the phenomenon among the public and in public debates on the subject; in specific terms, by being able to make a contribution to the elaboration and definition of institutional interventions and public policies; and in some cases, even by providing patterns of analysis that have informed legal and juridical guidelines.

However, it is precisely the recognition of the usefulness of sociological research on the mafia phenomenon that suggests two final recommendations: a risk to be avoided and an objective to be pursued. In a nutshell, the risk is that of creating a 'mafiological sociology', a real risk especially if the demands of condemnation override those of analysis. In fact, claiming that mafia is an 'evil' does not exempt one from being precise and rigorous from a theoretical and methodological point of view.

In any case, it is not enough to have a Sociology 'against' the mafia, but rather, a 'good' Sociology is needed, one that is as professional and scientifically grounded as possible⁵⁰.

The objective to be pursued is instead to encourage interdisciplinary research, which is indispensable for tackling the analysis of a complex and multidimensional phenomenon such as the mafia. It is therefore necessary to avoid the self-referentiality of Sociology and rather remember that it succeeds in giving its best when it tries to act as a bridge and connective tissue between different analytical and disciplinary perspectives.

⁴⁹ A. Bagnasco, *Prima lezione di sociologia*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2007, p. 158.

⁵⁰ The combination of anti-mafia activism and academic research is in some respects inevitable and in some circumstances even desirable, and it is fully consistent with the public engagement function of universities. A function that must obviously be performed with a critical spirit and in full autonomy, and which must always be based on solid scientific knowledge.

2. *Law Studies**

With reference to the analysis of the contributions from scientific disciplines to the study of mafias, an initial methodological premise that we wanted to make is that the individual disciplinary macro-sectors are generally dealt with by a university researcher recognised as an expert in the field for his scientific commitment.

There are, however, some specific conditions in which it was deemed necessary to apply a methodological variant that envisages the involvement of several scholars in the analysis of scientific products pertaining to disciplinary scientific sectors falling within the same macro-sector. These are cases in which scholars deal with one or more Academic Discipline.

There are two conditions to which reference is made.

The first concerns the case in which there is a considerable number of contributions in certain macro-sectors. This is the case with Law Studies.

The second condition is given by the substantial difference that exists between some academic disciplines belonging to the single macro sector in terms of the expertise of the individual scholars: think of the profound distinction between Criminal Law and Private Law or, to give a further but different example, that between Political Economy and Economics and Business Management, which fall within the common macro sector of Economics.

The following academic disciplines are included in the macro-field of Law Studies, which is discussed in more detail here, and whose affiliated scholars have dealt with the topic of mafias:

- IUS/01 – Private Law
- IUS/02 – Comparative Private Law
- IUS/04 – Business Law
- IUS/07 – Labour Law
- IUS/08 – Constitutional Law
- IUS/09 – Public Law
- IUS/10 – Administrative Law
- IUS/11 – Ecclesiastical and Canon Law
- IUS/12 – Tax Law
- IUS/13 – International Law

* This paper has been written by Stefano D'Alfonso.

- IUS/14 – European Union Law
- IUS/15 – Civil Procedural Law
- IUS/16 – Criminal Procedure
- IUS/17 – Criminal Law
- IUS/18 – Roman and Ancient Law
- IUS/19 – History of Medieval and Modern Law
- IUS/20 – Philosophy of Law
- IUS/21 – Comparative Public Law

In light of the above, the macro-sector ‘Law Studies’ has been broken down into 5 scholars for each of the following academic disciplines:

1. Private Law, Comparative Private Law, Business Law, Civil Procedural Law, Labour Law
2. Constitutional Law, Public Law, Administrative Law, Ecclesiastical and Canon Law, Tax Law
3. International Law and European Union Law
4. Criminal Procedure and Criminal Law

The different academic disciplines grouped in this way are therefore analysed according to the guidelines applied to all macro-sectors indicated in Chapter 3, Section I.

Prior to the analytical study of the scientific production developed by individual scholars, in order to also have an overall analysis for the macro-area of Law Studies, it is deemed appropriate to provide a single reading, so as to avoid the dispersion of a synthetic overview.

Firstly, among the different disciplinary macro-sectors, the law studies one, as can be seen in figure 2, shows considerable attention on the part of scholars,

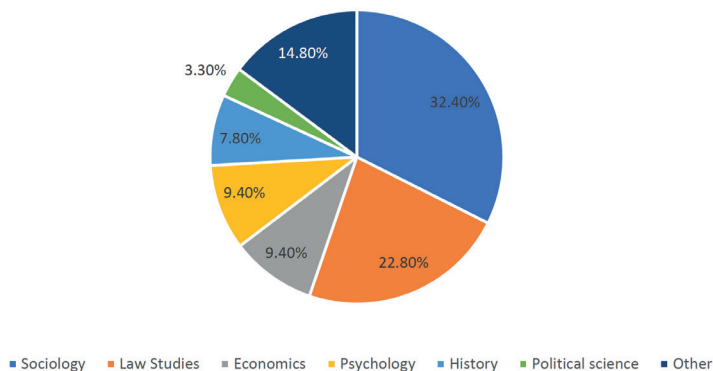


Figure 2. Publications by academic macro-sector

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which is only surpassed, from a quantitative point of view, by scholars from the sociology macro-sector, which is notoriously the one most sensitive to the scientific study of the mafia phenomenon in its various articulations. Law studies are followed by studies from the macro-sectors of Psychology, Economics and History.

Looking at ‘law studies’ in detail, from a quantitative point of view, it is useful to highlight the distribution of scientific works among the various scientific disciplines. This is well represented by figure 3.

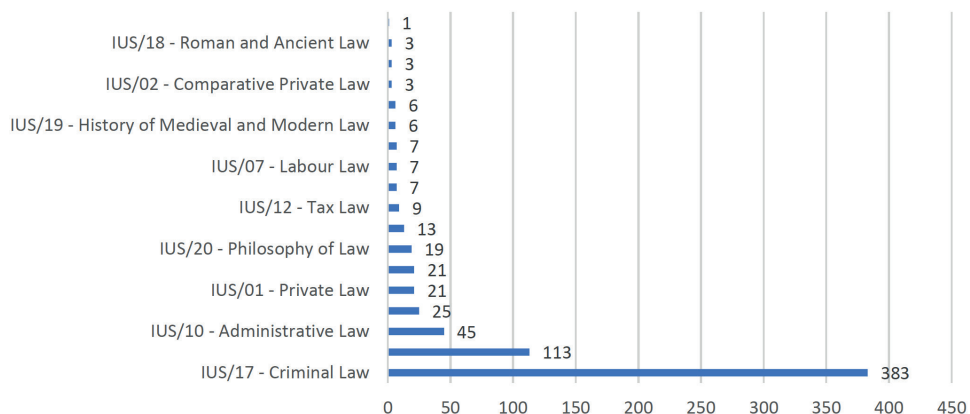


Figure 3. Total number of publications by Academic Discipline in the macro-sector ‘Law Studies’

The criminal law disciplines – first and foremost Criminal Law, which has almost 400 publications, and then Criminal Procedure, with over 100 – confirm the increased attention that scholars in this field have been devoting to the subject of mafias for quite some time. The peculiarities of the scientific commitment are described in the dedicated paper below⁵¹. It is also interesting to note that the Academic discipline Criminal Law, taken individually, is by far the one with the greatest commitment of legal scholars compared to all the academic disciplines.

⁵¹ See section on Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure by Giuseppe Amarelli.

The reasons underlying this distribution of the Criminal and Procedure Academic disciplines seem easy to determine. The criminal-legal aspects of the mafia phenomenon have always been at the centre of a scientific debate which, albeit enriched by several scientific disciplines, requires constant attention in following both the evolution of laws and the regulatory aspect within the dual scope of 'the established law' and of 'the view to the future law'.

Going back to the distribution of academic disciplines within the macro-sector of 'Law Studies', the role of Administrative Law can be highlighted and analysed alongside similar disciplines such as Constitutional Law and Public Law. Many of the topics addressed overlap while others are more specific to that particular academic discipline, as illustrated in Chapter 3, Section 2 above.

Looking at the total number of publications by university in these academic disciplines, we can observe a fairly even distribution of attention levels, although there seems to be more commitment on the part of the University of Palermo and the University of Naples Federico II.

In addition, there seem to be quite high levels of attention on the part of scholars in the field of International Law, which has general-interest relevance as the topics addressed are original and followed at international level (see Chapter 3, Section II above). This discipline can be put together with Comparative Public Law and European Union Law although the latter two disciplines show lower levels of attention devoted to the themes of the present publication (see Chapter 3, Section II for a more detailed analysis of this).

Disciplines such as Private Law and Business Law, which overlap in some subjects such as confiscation and its consequences at different levels, albeit from different perspectives, also have a special weight in the attention that jurists pay to the subject. As for the former, the one with the greatest productivity, the predominant role of the Sicilian universities of Messina and Palermo can be noticed.

A further discipline whose contribution should be highlighted is Philosophy of Law. The University of Bologna demonstrates the greatest scientific interest. It was decided to treat this academic discipline jointly with other disciplines or topics whose number of publications was not deemed sufficient to require a specific in-depth study (e.g. Theoretical Philosophy, History of Philosophy and History of Medieval and Modern Law). On the other hand, a particularly active discipline such as Legal Sociology, Deviance and Social Change, due to the characteristics of the topics dealt with and its inclusion in another macro-sector, is developed in the in-depth studies dedicated to the macro-sector of Sociology.

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Further disciplines are also included in broader analyses in view of the lesser attention devoted in the individual academic disciplines. Among these is Labour Law, which, albeit representing at first glance a visual angle through which to investigate important phenomena related to the mafia phenomenon (e.g. mafia penetration in the workplace and therein the protection and safeguarding of labour relations) has few active contributions and mainly from the University of Catanzaro.

An interesting fact is the distribution of scientific contributions in the legal sciences at regional level and more specifically by university.

In terms of 'macro-territorial areas', the number of legal contributions from universities in southern Italy accounts for more than 50% of the total (figures 4-5).

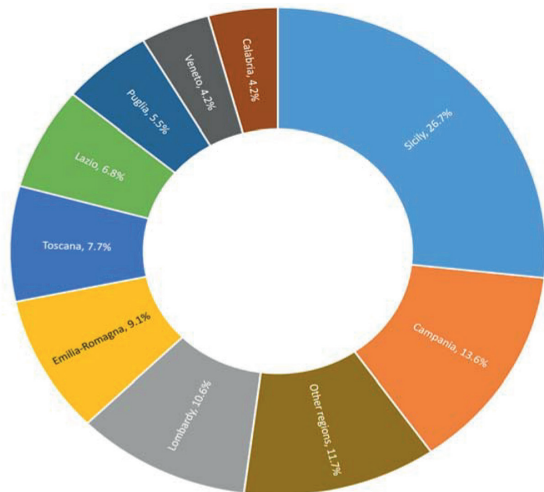


Figure 4. Total number of publications by region

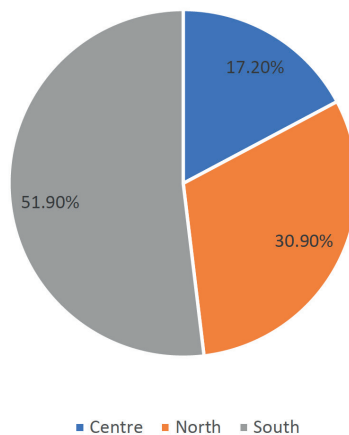


Figure 5. Distribution of products by geographical macro-area

What stands out is that the region of Sicily is the one that has paid the most attention to mafia issues over time, mainly thanks to the contribution of scholars in Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure. In these areas, the most active university is that of Palermo (which, incidentally, also confirms the figure when all the disciplinary macro-sectors are considered together). The Sicilian universities also record a concrete commitment on the part of scholars of Administrative Law, as well as of other disciplines, which is highlighted by the table below with reference to Palermo (figure 6).

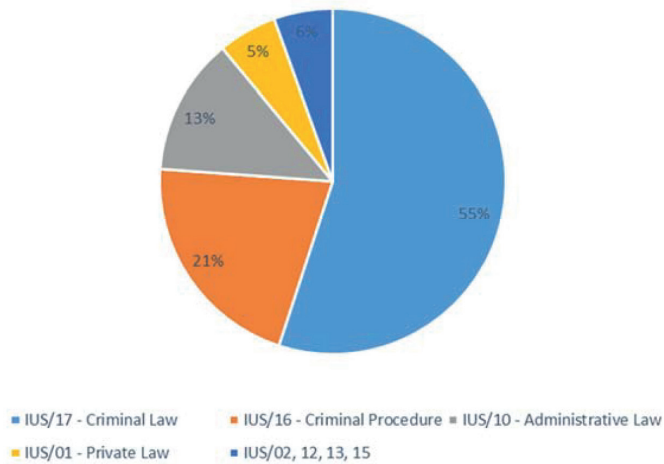


Figure 6. Total publications in the macro-sector Law Studies. University of Palermo

An equally significant role is played by the University of Catania, and almost exclusively by Criminal Law scholars (figure 7).

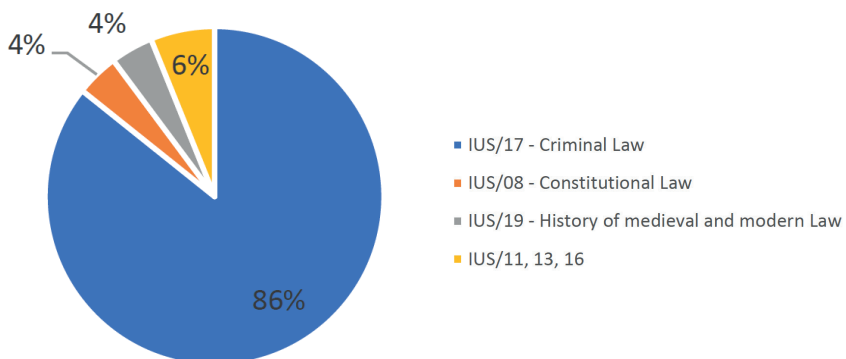


Figure 7. Total publications in the macro-sector Law Studies. University of Catania

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Another university that is significantly committed to law studies is the Federico II of Naples: Criminal Law contributes predominantly to this result.

Many other universities are similarly committed, as shown in the following diagram (figure 8).

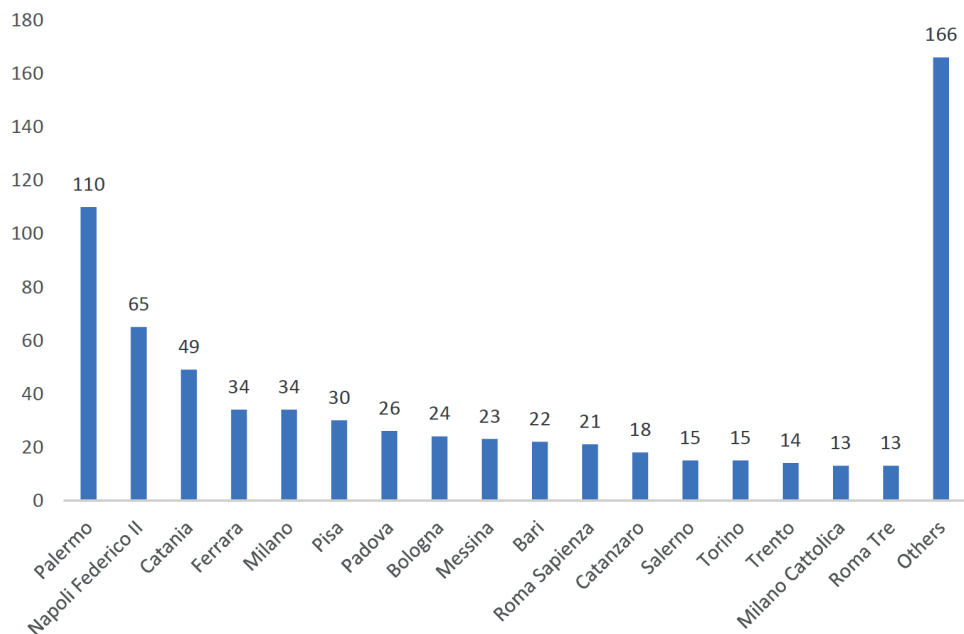


Figure 8. Total number of publications in Law Studies by university

It might also be interesting to link the analysis of content to the chronological distribution of scientific production. Keeping in mind that the most specific aspects of each discipline will be dealt with in dedicated parts of this volume, it can be interesting to notice some general features of the macro-sector of Law Studies (see figure 9 for the chronological distribution of publications).

Since the 2000s, production has been fluctuating, with a peak between 2012 and 2013. This surge is produced by Criminal Law first (see figure 9) and then, in 2013, by Criminal Procedure and Administrative Law.

Universities in the fight against mafias

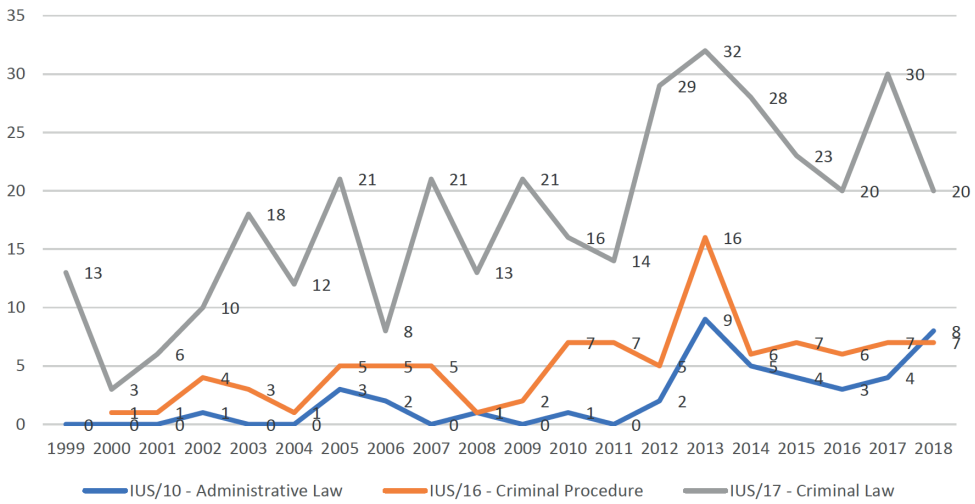


Figure 9. Chronological distribution of publications in Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure and Administrative Law (1999-2018).

If we take a closer look at the titles of publications, the surge in their number can be explained, for example, by referring to the introduction of the new anti-mafia Code, approved with legislative decree n. 159 on 6th September 2011 and which has a strong influence on many legal aspects falling within the scope of different academic disciplines.

At the same time, a significant interest can be detected in the topic of ‘concorso esterno’⁵² which has been the subject of several legal pronouncements, including from the Italian Cassazione (Supreme Court). This topic has always been one of the most commonly investigated by Criminal disciplines (see Chapter 3, Section II for a more detailed analysis of this).

These are merely a few examples of potential in-depth analyses that could be carried out by cross-referencing a variable like time with content-related aspects for each of the disciplines that form the object of the detailed investigation.

The data we currently possess enable the observer to elaborate a few further considerations. Amongst these, the use of other languages of communication,

⁵² *Translator’s note: According to Italian Law, the phrase ‘concorso esterno’ (external participation) indicates the crime of aiding and abetting a mafia-related organisation and is opposed to the different felony of being a regularly participating member of a syndicate (associazione mafiosa).*

different from Italian. The figures confirm a fact that is well-known to Law Studies scholars, which is to say that almost all of the papers in this sector are written in Italian. As for most of the academic disciplines, the percentage of Italian articles is almost 100% – this is the case, for instance, with some of the most important ones such as Administrative Law, Constitutional Law and Public Law. In other disciplines, the use of a foreign language for publications is close to 10%, as is the case with Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure and Private Law, with the former two showing the use of languages different from English, i. e. mainly Spanish and some works in German and French. Clearly, when looking at publications belonging to International Law, the percentage of works written in a foreign language is much higher and stands at around 40%.

This fact can be commented on in different ways. Firstly, in terms of the ability to contribute to the European and international debate on mafias. For instance, many publications of our Law scholars would receive much wider attention and greater impact if their dissemination potential was increased as they could contribute not only to the scientific debate but also to the in-depth analysis carried out by European and international institutions. As is commonly understood, many of the legal norms established in our codes are widely and greatly praised abroad. Take the identification of ‘*associazione mafiosa*’ (mafia-type organisation), for example, alongside its related other crimes such as ‘*concorso esterno*’ (external participation). The same can be said of other disciplines and norms, such as those related to (anti)money-laundering or to the regulations and application of norms in the field of asset confiscation. In order to understand how publications from Italian scholars might contribute to the international debate, a few papers from International Law experts can be considered, as these are the ones that make the wider use of a foreign language in their publications (mainly English). While a more in-depth analysis of this sector can be found in Chapter III, Section II, we can here point out that publications in English in the sector of International Law have been mainly focused on topics relevant at international and European level, including those that support policy making, spark debates on new regulations (i.e. *International Law and transnational organised crime, Regulation of Money Laundering*) and help broader frameworks in need for more commonly shared features (i.e. *The Notion of Organized Crime and the European Convention on Human Rights; The Notion of Organised Crime: Why Definitions Matter; Redefining Organised Crime: A Challenge for the European Union?*).

Taking a closer look at sectoral studies in a foreign language on topics related to our own legal system, it can be noticed that the authors are foreigners or

Italians permanently working for foreign institutions such as universities. Besides the obvious appreciation for such contributions, we cannot but highlight that there is wasted potential of Italian contributions, including on issues of domestic interest.

In light of the above-mentioned considerations, scholars of Law Studies should probably focus their attention on this fact which can also be observed in most of the other academic disciplines, except a few where there seems to be a clearly higher percentage of papers written in English due to specific features (i.e. Economics).

Another important indicator regards the types of publication according to the categories of the Iris database. The sector of Law Studies stands out for showing a higher-than-average figure in monographies (figure 10).

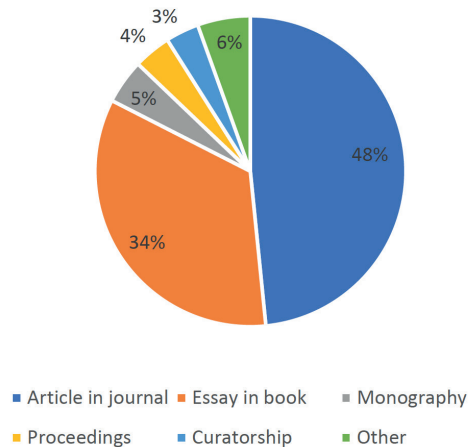


Figure 10. Total publications in Law Studies by type.

Although this mostly depends on the specific features of each macro-sector (on the whole, for instance, the number of monographies in Economics is limited), we believe that such a large number of monographies represent a plethora of in-depth and complex studies which can contribute to the scientific and institutional debate on these issues. Take monographies on the abovementioned ‘concorso esterno’ (external participation) for instance, or those about the politics-mafia relationships and on the links between mafias and professionals, as well as those on asset confiscation, the dissolution of city councils, the penitentiary regulation 41-bis, or mafia-related tax and asset audits.

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Furthermore, two extra pieces of information need to be reported here. First of all, there seems to be a majority of contributions produced by single authors, rather than teams, differently from what happens in other disciplines. One of the reasons underpinning this trend can be identified in the specific features of each academic discipline involved in this macro sector, where it is generally more convenient for authors to publish and sign articles under their sole name.

One last fact regards the distribution by gender amongst authors of publications, where males account for 70% of the total.

*Private Law, Comparative Private Law, Business Law, Labour Law**

This section of the report has dealt with the results of research activities carried out in several academic disciplines included in the Private Law realm, hereby broadly intended.

In particular, what is included in this area are the products falling within the scope of Private Law (IUS/01), Comparative Private Law (IUS/02), Business Law (IUS/04), Labour Law (IUS/07) and Civil Procedural Law (IUS/15), totalling about 40 contributions distributed across a period ranging from 1993 to 2019. Nevertheless, our attention is mainly devoted to works published since the year 2000, as the Iris database only guarantees high reliability in the period 2000-2018, with a few extra entries for 2019.

The first point to highlight is the uneven distribution of scientific products in the different legal disciplines considered. Indeed, more than half of these products belongs to Private Law, with 21 in Private Law and 3 in Comparative Private Law. In addition, 14 other studies are produced in the Business Law area, with an even distribution within this sector among Business Law and Labour Law (7 works each) and only 1 paper in the area of Civil Procedural Law.

As regards the research topics of each sector, the picture is varied, partly due to the variety of disciplines investigated. Despite this, it seems noteworthy to highlight the frequency of products that analyse general features of mafias alongside others that focus on more specific aspects of the phenomenon.

Thus, for instance, in Private Law there are wide-ranging studies aimed at investigating the interactions between Civil Law and regulations combating mafia-type organisations at both subjective and objective levels, as well as studies

* This paper has been written by Maura Ranieri.

revolving around the identification of innovative ways to re-use confiscated assets and others focused on more specific aspects.

Among the latter, one often finds reflections on antimafia forfeiture measures analysed through the lens of civil Law, with a specific focus on confiscation. In these cases, attention is often devoted to the protection of third-party creditors when applying forms of condemnation. In addition, specific issues are addressed such as that of the so-called 'antimafia trust', also in the light of certain rulings by Administrative Courts, alongside forms of liability identified by Legislative Decree No. 231 of 8 June 2001, or even mafia infiltration in the national football leagues. All this further confirms that the analysis can encompass several different areas of Civil Law due to the ramifications of mafia-type criminal groups affecting various sectors.

Other studies, also in the field of Comparative Law, tend to focus on family-law issues such as, for instance, the need to protect minors living in mafia-type contexts or the regulation of parenthood for those individuals who are syndicate members or fugitives.

Similarly, in Business Law, in addition to reflections on the so-called mafia business, there are studies focusing on more specific aspects, sometimes in continuity with the analysis of Private Law scholars and in other cases with more specific features such as the investigation into the investment markets, stocks and bonds as means to combat mafia-type criminal groups.

With regards to the academic discipline of Labour Law, it is worth noting the greater concentration of studies aimed at investigating the interrelations between labour law and measures to combat mafia-type organised crime from a general and systemic perspective.

In this area, in fact, we can find publications focused on mafia infiltration into economic sectors and workplaces in terms of its fallout on labour relations within companies and on the safeguarding of labour rights. Besides these, there are also a few contributions encompassing the following topics: (a) the inclusion of mafia-related attacks in labour-related risks, (b) the study of the boundaries of legitimate dismissals, especially when considering the interrelation between the general labour discipline and antimafia regulations.

On the other hand, our investigation has not highlighted the presence of specific papers on illegal labour, and there can be two reasons for this. Firstly, the key words used for extracting the scientific products from the database do not include any terms belonging to that area. Secondly, the most advanced studies have now definitely debunked the myth that illegal labour is only linked to mafia-type

organisations. Indeed, illegality in labour relations is unfortunately a much more common and generalised phenomenon, not limited to mafia businesses.

Finally, with regards to the sector of Civil Procedural Law, there is a contribution on the topic of foreclosure and on the additional interpretations on the subject of antimafia confiscation.

In view of this summary description of the research themes that are most closely examined in the individual scientific and disciplinary fields covered here, it is important to emphasise how, especially in recent years, there has been increased attention towards the legal repercussions of the infiltration of mafias into the legal economy and the spread of that 'grey area', with its heterogeneous and variable geometry, which plays a key role in supporting the activities of mafia groups.

Despite this, it has been deemed necessary to recommend an intensification of studies on these subjects as there still seems to be a general gap to fill in comparison with other sectors. If on the one hand the number of scientific products on mafias in Criminal Law is obviously significant, with 383 studies making it the first academic discipline, it is also true that the total of 39 products in four academic disciplines seems modest, especially in light of the latest evolutions of mafias and regulatory actions.

On the other hand, as far as the classification of products is concerned, there are three broad types, albeit diversely distributed in terms of numbers: monographs, essays in books and articles in journals.

The presence of these types of products is consistent with trends in the reference macro-area, since they are products typically associated with Law Studies. At the same time, data relating to the distribution across the three abovementioned categories of product is also consistent with the figures shown at general level: in Law Studies, 65% of publications are articles in journals, 18% are represented by essays in books and 12% are monographies.

Nevertheless, the uneven distribution across different types of products provides further food for thought. In fact, 22 products belong to the category 'article in journal', 6 are classified as 'essays in books' and 4 are monographies which were all published in the last decade.

Precisely this last fact is indicative of how, more recently, there has been an effort by scholars to conduct more complex and systemic investigations than in the past, but also compared to what is compatible with the features of other scientific products, such as contributions in journals or books, where attempts, albeit present, to develop broader reflections, must be measured against the peculiarities of these specific types of products.

This is worth noting if one reflects on the need to reason in complex terms with respect to the mafia, not only because of the many facets of this phenomenon but, even more so, because of the need to respond to an experience that involves a plurality of interests, rights and principles, sometimes even opposing ones. Thus, it seems urgent to devise a complex strategy encompassing all these multiple aspects and which, from the perspective of Law Studies, requires an increasingly systemic approach aimed at averting the risk that certain interests, rights and principles tend to prevail over others.

The chronological distribution of contributions also shows interesting facts. Indeed, more than half of contributions were published in the 2012-2019 period and slightly more than 10 were released in the previous twenty years.

This can be understood by making reference to the evolution of antimafia regulations. In fact, legislative decree n. 159 (so-called antimafia Code) came into force on 6th September 2011 and was revised deeply through Law No. 161 of 17 October 2017.

Although legislative bodies had already been interested in the mafia phenomenon for quite some time, it is almost certain that regulations suffered from fragmentation, lack of systematicity and stratification. The purpose of the Code is therefore to counter these issues by proposing a text that includes a systematic approach.

At the same time, the antimafia Code with its successive frequent modifications, focuses more than in the past on offences and examples that are bound to be of interest to scholars operating in the abovementioned academic disciplines. An example of this is the review of preventive asset measures or the introduction of various assessment tools.

In this regard, too, however, there is continuity with the general data in the area of Law Studies where, as is to be expected, the peaks of scientific production are recorded in the time interval that saw the advancement and then approval of the draft antimafia Code.

The geographical distribution of the scholars who have dealt with the subject in the various fields, on the other hand, still shows a clear disproportion between the areas of the country, which, in turn, reflects the same geographical distribution of products by macro-areas (76% in the South, 15% in the Centre and 9% in the North).

Indeed, 26 products belong to scholars working in southern universities, with a clear prevalence of Sicilian universities. The remaining part is divided across scholars belonging to universities in Central Italy (5) and in the North (3).

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Therefore, a greater attention of scholars rooted in the southern territories continues to be noted, although it must be acknowledged that the stereotype according to which mafias are only linked to certain territorial contexts, or to specific economic spheres, has been overcome. That is to say that, as is now well known, there are no territories immune to mafia infiltration, nor sectors that are totally unaffected by attempts at contamination; if anything, there are peculiarities of individual territories as well as of different sectors.

Almost all of the scientific products are written in Italian; only one contribution is in English, which is consistent with the tradition of Law Studies, notoriously tied to the use of the national language.

Finally, the analysis of scientific products shows something interesting about the authors. Almost all contributions are written by permanently employed scholars, mainly full and associate professors.

Nevertheless, it must be highlighted that the number of contributions does not match the number of scholars, so that a certain scholar is often the author of more than one work, which confirms the idea that over the last decade, some researchers have been addressing the topic of mafias consistently and systematically.

The overall analysis of products included in the academic disciplines hereby considered shows a growing interest in the topic which can be explained by considering the evolution of laws and regulations, particularly significant over the last decade.

Therefore, the increased interest in mafias by scholars in the fields of Private Law, Business Law and Labour Law, can be explained thanks to the new anti-mafia Code and successive measures which, directly or indirectly, contributed to the fight against organized-crime groups especially by taking into account the transformation that these underwent and their increasing ability to penetrate the legal economy and the world of work.

In light of this, an even stronger commitment to the study of mafias would be desirable, especially from these perspectives, so as to ensure that all stakeholders are accounted for, and to guarantee greater respect for the constitutional values and principles that come into play whenever measures or regulations to counter mafia-type organized crime are designed.

*Constitutional Law, Public Law, Administrative Law, Ecclesiastical and Canon Law, Tax Law, Comparative Public Law**

Several academic disciplines will be analysed in this article. A first set of them is characterized by a close link between four academic disciplines, namely Constitutional Law (IUS/08), Public Law (IUS/09), Administrative Law (IUS/10), Comparative Public Law (IUS/21).

These disciplines, when considered as a whole, provide a significant number of publications (85), which makes it possible to carry out a specific in-depth qualitative analysis. This will of course be more limited in quantitative terms due to the low number and the disciplines considered.

Conversely, for the other two disciplines mentioned here, namely Ecclesiastical and Canon Law (IUS/11) and Tax Law (IUS/12), which are profoundly different from one another, the number of publications does not allow us to conduct a similar analysis.

In fact, the former discipline only shows 7 specific publications while the latter has 9. Consequently, there is limited possibility that interesting data can be extracted. For both of these disciplines, it can be said that the topic of mafias has not so far sparked interest among scholars.

Ecclesiastical and Canon Law. Looking at publications in this sector, three authors can be found. The publishing category is still articles in journals. The single author, professor of Ecclesiastical Law, who has so far paid the greatest attention to mafia-related topics in Italy, is employed by the University of Calabria. Between 2009 and 2015 the main research strand was that of Mafia-Church relations with a specific focus on 'ndrangheta. Amongst other aspects analysed by another author we can find: the distinction between *peccatum* and *delictum*, the relationship between external and internal fora, the principle of legality and certainty which can be found in Canon Penal Law.

The limited attention paid in the legal sphere does not allow the role of the Church to emerge, for instance by considering the regulated instruments it has as an institution.

In more general terms, there are topics that by their very nature lend themselves to joint readings with other disciplines. One example concerns the apparent ambiguity of the Church in its relations with the mafias that has emerged

* This paper has been written by Stefano D'Alfonso.

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in certain situations and territories, even ascertained in the courts. At the same time, another aspect that escapes in-depth study is the Church's commitment through the 'ecclesial anti-mafia', which certainly plays a decisive role in many territories – even to the point of sacrifice paid even at the cost of one's life (a contribution on Don Pino Puglisi must be mentioned) – and which more generally finds concrete correspondence in the words of popes John Paul II and Francis. The topic is, however, explored in depth by other legal sciences, as noted below in the section on Administrative Law, Public Law and Comparative Public Law. From a broader interdisciplinary perspective, it must instead be observed how in other disciplinary sectors, including sociology and history, as can be verified through our database, the topic has been explored in depth over time, in an articulate manner, even through monographic works.

Tax Law. Among those who follow the debate that takes place in some of the bodies responsible for understanding the mafia phenomenon, for example the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee, there is a common understanding of the need for an in-depth examination of issues relating to fiscal profiles linked in particular to economic activities and tax evasion. The same can be said with regards to issues such as that of companies and seized assets, which, as is known to judicial administrators and judicial authorities, in operational terms manifests a series of complexities that end up having repercussions on management, with various types of fallout.

These topics can be found in the scientific contributions in Tax Law that appear listed in our research database.

The number of specific contributions is, however, limited.

At the moment of writing, we do not possess all the elements necessary to understand whether other contributions in this sector, with titles lacking direct reference to mafias, might have performed in-depth analyses relevant to the present investigation. Nonetheless, a consideration can be made here about the need to plan a higher degree of commitment on the part of scholars in Tax Law. This would give a decisive contribution to legislative activity in the fight against mafias.

From a strictly quantitative standpoint, the available data do not provide us with the high degree of significance that would make it possible to draw further conclusions.

Constitutional Law, Public Law, Administrative Law, Comparative Public Law. For reasons that can be easily argued by looking at our research topics,

these four disciplines can be reviewed simultaneously, bearing in mind the methodological specifications and different sensitivities. The themes we refer to can be summarized as follows.

The dissolution of City Councils due to organized crime infiltration. The numerous in-depth studies conducted in each of the abovementioned disciplines have focused on the application of this measure and on the evolution of administrative and constitutional norms, with special attention devoted to constitutional aspects. This topic continues to spark interest due to the frequent use of the principles set out in the *Testo unico degli enti locali*, legislative decree n. 267/2000. Crime journalism and the reports of various national agencies (the six-monthly one from *Direzione Investigativa Antimafia*, the annual one from the *Direzione Nazionale Antimafia* alongside the findings of the latest concluding report from the Parliamentary Anti-Mafia Committee established with law 19th July 2013, n. 87) bear witness to the severity of the phenomenon, also measured through its high frequency and all its implications.

The attention paid by scholars is also decisive in supporting the debate that takes place in institutional forums, particularly the legislative one, where in recent years efforts have been made to explore the margins of regulatory revision in response to concrete situations that are not always easy to address in terms of 'the established law' (think of the debate that has taken place on the so-called 'third way', as an alternative to dissolution and archiving).

A further theme that is widely dealt with, mainly by scholars of administrative law, is that of the 'antimafia documentation', especially the 'prohibitory antimafia disclosures' and their reflects on the relations between administrations and companies. The concreteness of the subject continues to occupy a privileged position in the doctrinal debate, with positions that mainly investigate the balancing of interests between the protection of the administration and the system of guarantees, considering not only constitutional principles but also European ones (consider what has been elaborated in the rulings of the Strasbourg judges). The in-depth studies on this subject are to be cross-referenced with those more typical of criminal law, as is amply shown in the dedicated paragraph.

The third main theme which scholars tend to focus on is that of 'companies' and 'seized or confiscated assets'. It is the scholars of Administrative Law who, evidently in light of their specific competence, carry out in-depth analyses of the underlying issues. These, have been recently addressed again through new legislation and require constant updates of norms as they pose challenges when

solutions are to be found in terms of the problems that arise with reference to certain rights, including that of work and its safeguarding.

There are also elements of an 'ideological' nature that it would be important to trace back to the legal methodology and that require special attention: consider in particular the question of the reallocation of seized assets.

One aspect that should be further investigated is the role of local authorities, with reference to administrative procedures, to the role of municipal regulations and, above all, in the ex-post evaluation of the actions carried out, also in consideration of the political activities conceived through the financial support of the third sector involved in the management of assets – little known and not applied is the rule that provides for the control by local authorities on the use of real estate allocated in concession to communities, bodies and associations and voluntary organisations, in consideration of what is provided for in the special agreement that regulates the duration and use of the asset (see Article 48, par. 3, letter c, of the Anti-Mafia Code). It seems necessary that scholars, especially in Administrative Law, increase their efforts in this field, due to the symbolic value of inefficient asset management for the local communities and territories where this phenomenon can cause distrust of institutions and increased support for local mafia organisations. In these cases, the tools of law studies also take on special importance for the political, cultural, economic and social consequences.

Even in this case, the fallout on knowledge coming from the scientific commitment can only be a consequence of the joint study of contributions produced by scholars of different disciplines, amongst which there are the Criminal and Procedure ones, alongside those dealing with business and sociological issues, which have been investigated in depth in the corresponding paragraphs of this volume.

A further topic that has been discussed more recently concerns the 'role of professional orders and universities' in preventing and combating mafias.

As regards the former aspect, the role of professionals has been analysed both from the sociological and legal standpoints, with an eye to these individuals' support for mafias. These cases fall within the scope of the so-called 'grey area' and manifest themselves in forms of compromise, collusion and collaboration with mafia organisations.

Beyond the criminal law aspects, which we will not discuss here, these scientific investigations have made it possible to measure the phenomenon and understand the critical regulatory aspects of the liberal professions system, namely (a) the role of the professional orders and colleges through the exercise of regulatory and disci-

plinary powers, (b) the penal prejudice which, in the event of criminal proceedings initiated against the liberal professions prevents from taking disciplinary action, (c) the lack of circulation (at the input of the public prosecutor's offices or the territorial disciplinary bodies of the professional orders) of information concerning the adoption of preventive measures or the activation of criminal proceedings, with the consequent impossibility for the professional orders or the competent ministries to intervene in view of the prerogatives granted to them by the legal system.

Lastly, it is believed that the role of universities should be further investigated, framing it from the point of view of constitutional principles and the university system; the results of this investigation could constitute the legal basis on which to build, including through the support of other sciences, a new role for universities in the anti-mafia system (on which we focus above in Chapter I and below in the conclusions).

A further topic that has always been of interest to scholars of Constitutional Law and Public Law is that of ineligibility for public office. Our database probably does not bring back the numerous works that we know have been published, because the scientific products uploaded onto the Iris system do not always include in their titles the words closest to the terms 'mafia' or 'organised crime' on which the database has been arranged. We know, however, that the question has always been the subject of in-depth scientific study, in view of (a) the important value of legislation on the subject – aimed at avoiding the candidature of individuals who have been convicted, for example, of a series of crimes, including mafia-related ones – and (b) the uncertainties at the level of constitutional legitimacy that have seen the Constitutional Court and lawmakers intervene several times. The efforts made by doctrine and case law, which have not without difficulty defined this case in constitutional terms, continue to require the attention of scholars. Not least, consider the 2020 turnaround of the Supreme Court with the Chiocchini ruling issued in joint session (on this point see Chapter 3, Section II, on criminal law).

Quantitative analysis. Once we have analysed the content profiles of the disciplines under investigation, it is of interest to us to examine some aspects inherent in the commitment made in these disciplines by the universities.

In terms of statistical significance, we can consider four disciplines at the same time since, as mentioned, they are closely related: Administrative Law, Constitutional Law, Public Law and Comparative Public Law. The two further different disciplines of Tax Law and Canon and Ecclesiastical Law do not have a sufficient number of publications to be taken into account and thus, they are not statistically significant (as the following figure shows).

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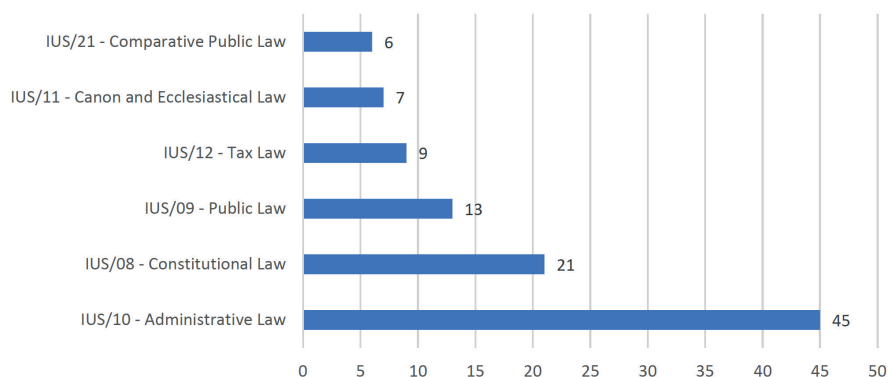


Figure 11. Total number of publications

On the whole, the universities that show the highest levels of commitment are the ones from Sicily (mainly the university of Palermo) and from Campania (the University of Naples Federico II), alongside others from Lombardy and Lazio.

Looking at geographical distribution, attention towards the topic of mafias is higher in Southern Italy's universities (figure 12).

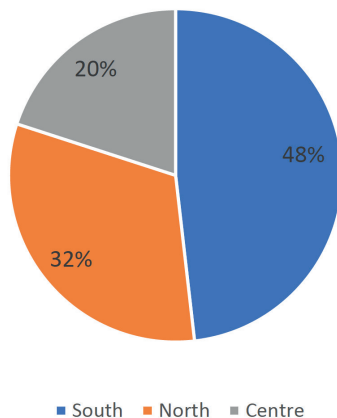


Figure 12. Publications by macro-area

This figure is in line with the general figure for all macro-sectors, as well as the general figure for Law Studies. Among the reasons for this is the consolidation in southern law schools of studies on topics historically perceived as being close to the territory in which the universities are located.

The most committed scholars are those of Administrative Law, especially at the university of Palermo.

The distribution between universities is more even in Constitutional Law and Public Law.

Looking at data on the types of scientific products, it can be observed that there are few monographies dealing with our topics, while the most numerous are scientific legal journals.

In Law Studies, almost all publications are produced by individual authors. This fact differentiates these studies from others – e.g. economic or sociological studies – and the reason lies, as already noted in the general analysis of law studies (see Chapter III, Section II), in the specificity of this macro-area where a publication is assessed, e.g. for competition purposes, if the author can be identified.

On the other hand, a fact to which attention should be paid concerns the use of the language of publication, which always corresponds to Italian. As already mentioned, the effect of this is the significant reduction in the circulation of studies beyond national borders, among scholars as well as in the various institutional spheres, e.g. the European ones. If, on the other hand, more use were made of the English language, the in-depth study, both in terms of the established law and the view to the future, of legal institutions known to be good practice could ensure a considerable contribution to the debate whilst also probably facilitating the not always easy dialogue between our representatives, for example, in the European institutions, as well as in judicial bodies.

A final data point is the distribution between authors in terms of academic position. It is mainly full professors and associate professors who have made a contribution compared with a lower commitment on the part of researchers. At first glance, this might indicate less attention on the part of younger scholars. For the sake of completeness, this data should be mentioned, but in our opinion, it should be cross-referenced with other variables (e.g. age of researchers), which we are unable to describe in view of the connotations of our research.

*International Law and European Union Law**

Scientific production on the fight against mafias in International Law and European Union Law amounts to a total of 28 publications in the repository of research, with 24 unique products.

* This paper has been written by Serena Forlati.

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A significant share of those publications is by scholars working at two research centres specialized in the study of this phenomenon, namely the 'CROSS' of the University of Milan Statale and the 'MaCrOLab' (now Macrocrimes Centre) of the University of Ferrara. This explains why most of the publications considered (16) are from authors of Northern Italian universities, while 6 are authored by scholars working in Central Italy and 6 – including a brief introduction and an essay in the *'guida al diritto'* published by the newspaper Sole24Ore – are from Southern universities.

More than 43% of these publications have been written in English and published in international volumes or journals, such as the prestigious *German Yearbook of International Law* or the *International Criminal Law Review*. The greater possibility of international dissemination that this entails must, however, be weighed against the overall number of publications surveyed, which is relatively low. This is both in absolute terms, in comparison with other legal fields, and with reference to the time span considered. The latter factor is interesting as the historical period considered here featured significant developments in the fight against organized crime both in International Law and European Union Law. Significant examples are the adoption of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo, 2000) and pieces of EU legislation on fighting organized crime, namely Council Framework Decision 2002/584/JHA on the European arrest warrant, Council Framework Decision 2008/841/JHA on the fight against organized crime, Regulation (EU) 2018/1805 on the mutual recognition of freezing orders and confiscation orders.

This fact may be explained by a variety of reasons. On the one hand, some major Italian publications dedicated to the international dimension of the fight against organized crime have been edited and written by prosecutors or judges directly involved in negotiations or other institutional activity regarding the analysed instruments. For instance, this is the case with Elisabetta Rosi's edited volume *Criminalità organizzata transnazionale e sistema penale italiano* (Ipsos 2007). Going back to European Union Law, differently from what happens in other countries, in Italy the relevant profiles of 'European Criminal Law' are mostly investigated by scholars of Criminal Law, while institutional questions touching upon the Space of Freedom, Security and Justice tend to be addressed without specific reference to cooperation in Criminal matters or to the fight against organized crime, thus escaping our analyses.

This same difficulty can be found in international law: not many publications in the database address specific criminal phenomena, often involving organised crimi-

nal groups (e.g. corruption, trafficking in human beings and smuggling of migrants). Neither does it include works that, albeit noteworthy, are not entirely dedicated to the fight against mafias. For instance, the database does not mention Christian Ponti's monography on *Crimini transnazionali e diritto internazionale* (Giuffrè, 2011). Another monography which would have not been included in the database, even had it been published before 2019, is Roberto Virzo's *La confisca nell'azione internazionale di contrasto ad attività criminali* (ES, 2020). Nevertheless, both these publications address the topic of the fight against mafias extensively. Finally, it should be reminded that, in light of recent events such as the adoption of the mechanism for review by the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, new publications have been produced since 2019.

*Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure**

Numbers and trends in scientific publications in the sector of substantive and procedure Criminal Law. Within the macro-sector of Law Studies, a significant role is played by substantive Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure, including Prison Law. This is because the main measures used by the legislator for combating mafia-type organized crime are represented by: (a) identification of crimes, (b) aggravating or mitigating circumstances, (c) restraining and reward rules of prison and procedure law, (d) ad-hoc praeter delictum measures (Table 5).

Table 5. Distribution of products by Academic Discipline

| <i>Author: Academic discipline</i> | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| IUS/17 – Criminal Law | 383 |
| IUS /16 – Criminal Procedure | 113 |
| Total | 496 |

Indeed, over the last two decades, scientific production in these academic disciplines was especially lively and diversified, as it carried out in-depth and thorough analyses on nearly all of the main legal-criminal aspects of mafia-type organized crime. This was mainly done through heterogeneous types of work that were generally geared towards the same evolutionary path.

* This article has been written by Giuseppe Amarelli.

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As regards the most interesting topics, there has been an intense theoretical debate which has informed the publication of several scientific products, such as the following: (a) essays centred on crime policy directions in terms of the established law and of the view to the future law in this subject, or the individual newly passed reforms, (b) rulings regarding the most significant decisions of judges, especially in terms of legitimacy, where the abovementioned new laws have been applied and which represent crucial reference points for reasonable application of the law or, alternatively, rulings introducing elements of discontinuity in the interpretation of the law which are strongly disapproved by theory. With regards to this latter point, it should be mentioned that in the early 2000s there were several critical contributions from many Italian scholars on the subject of ‘concorso esterno’ (aiding and abetting) aimed at denouncing certain unreasonably wide interpretations of the scope of this crime on the part of some judges.

After that, there were a few more remarkable works where the analyses focused on more relevant and controversial instances, analysed through theoretical positions and taking into account the early arrest warrants issued by the courts.

Once a higher level of maturity in legal-penal reflections was reached, it was possible to produce more in-depth or monographic works such as manuals.

The early publications of this type, which came from single authors who were researchers and then became full or associate professors thanks to such publications, were centred around some of the most significant topics in the legal debate and offered sound reference points to steer or revive the scientific debate on such issues. At the same time, some of these publications managed to influence successive applications of the law in courts.

In commentaries or other similar works, attempt has been made to analytically reconstruct the entire sub-system of anti-mafia legislation – or some of its macro-areas – almost always in collective volumes edited by full professors.

Above all, in this last subclass of scientific products, a mention should be made of notable publications by magistrates involved in the front line of the fight against organised crime.

Chronological distribution. From the standpoint of chronological continuity, there have not been any gaps or significant pauses in the scientific activity but only ‘peaks’ of production about certain crimes or procedures corresponding to law reforms or important judicial decisions in national or European courts. Therefore, over the two decades hereby considered, antimafia legislation has at-

tracted constant and homogeneous attention from the area of criminal law with variations recorded in terms of the specific focus of individual works (figure 13).

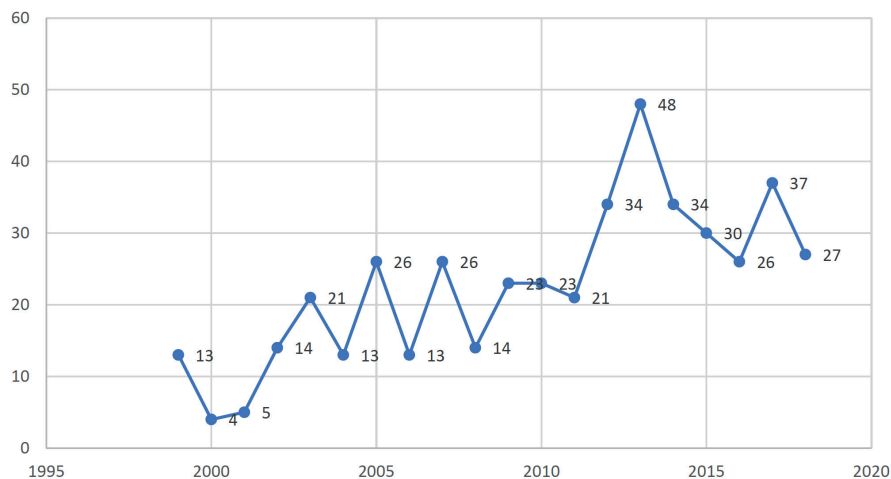


Figure 13. Chronological distribution of products by academic discipline (1999-2018)

Main topics addressed. From a qualitative-quantitative point of view, on the other hand, the topics on which, more than any other, the studies of the doctrine have focused in the last twenty years are as follows:

- a) the crime of mafia-type association under Article 416 bis of the Criminal Code, with particular attention to the notion of associative participation and, recently, after an intense judicial debate culminating in two decisions of ‘non’ referral to the supreme court in joint session in 2015 and 2019, with a focus on its controversial application to the so-called new mafias. These are criminal organisations other than the traditional ones such as delocalised mafias, foreign mafias and indigenous mafias, above all ‘mafia capitale’, the true ‘epi-centre’ of a lively scientific debate stemming from the twin precautionary decisions of the Supreme Court in 2015.
- b) ‘concorso esterno’ (aiding and abetting). About this, two monographies were published in the early 2000s and there was a more recent collection of essays in 2014, besides numerous notes to rulings and articles, especially after certain arrests of the Supreme Court contradicting what was established in the 2000s, and after the Mannino ruling issued by the Supreme Court in joint session in 2005 which solved doubts and contrasts on the subject. More recently, much attention has also been devoted to the judicial nature of this

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case after the 2015 Contrada ruling of the ECHR and to the dispute over the erga omnes efficacy of the rulings contained therein and, therefore, to the possibility of considering the judgement to be overturned even for Contrada's so-called 'younger brothers' who did not lodge an appeal in Strasbourg but were nevertheless convicted of external aiding and abetting for acts committed before 1994, the year in which the Strasbourg judges defined the criminal type of the offence of external aiding and abetting.

- c) mafia-type circumstances, especially after the 2001 Cinalli ruling of joint session, the 2013 Adami ruling on the aggravating circumstance of transnationality, and the very recent 2020 Chiocchini ruling that clarified the legal nature of the two aggravating circumstances of the mafia-type method and mafia facilitation under Article 416 bis. 1 c.p.; as well as the 2019 Supreme Court ruling on the Spada syndicate case that confirmed the applicability of the aggravating circumstance of the mafioso method even in the absence of a mafia group effectively operating in a certain geographical area.
- d) The State-Mafia pact, about which some university professors have taken a strong stance and denounced that in the ongoing trial there are issues with the prosecution's case which might make it difficult to pinpoint crimes in terms of type, unlawfulness and guilt. This is mainly because facts will likely be reconstructed through a historical-like rather than legal method as in the case of the aggravated crime of threat or violence against a political body of the State pursuant to article 339 of the Criminal Code.
- e) The phenomenon of politics-mafia connections and the numerous reforms of the crime of vote trading between political organisations and mafia groups, pursuant to article 416 ter of the Criminal Code. This was edited between 2014 and 2019 in a rational fashion at first, by bringing back its effectiveness, and at a later moment, it was modified by extending its scope in an exaggerated way while putting electoral campaign pacts on the same level as activities falling within 'concorso esterno' (external aiding and abetting). This means that a crime of mere behaviour, consisting of a simple agreement, is considered the same as other crimes where on the contrary it is necessary to ascertain that the defendant has performed activities which caused the strengthening of, or gave support to, the entire mafia-type organisation.
- f) praeter delictum preventive measures, especially after the enactment with Legislative Decree No. 159/2011 of the Antimafia Code which has, in part, rewritten its discipline; as well as after the adoption of certain fundamental decisions by national and European case law, such as rulings No. 24 and 25

of 2019 of the Constitutional Court, the 2018 Gattuso ruling of the Supreme Court in joint session and the 2017 De Tommaso ruling of the European Court of Human Rights.

- g) Prohibitory antimafia disclosures, due to their increasing number and frequency as well as their difficult compatibility with guarantee and predictability principles which should always be the basis for any measure that strongly limits the fundamental rights of individuals. In particular, scholars have denounced a sub-category of prohibitory antimafia disclosures, the so called 'generic' as this seems hardly compliant with constitutional and conventional principles especially after the abovementioned De Tommaso ruling of the Strasbourg Court.
- h) the procedural double track gradually constructed by lawmakers in matters of organised crime with the establishment of the National Anti-Mafia Prosecutor's Office and the peripheral branches of the DDA (Antimafia District Directorates), and with certain procedural rules derogating from the ordinary ones.
- i) The discipline of trial collaboration, with specific reference to procedure aspects linked to the management of witness protection programmes for the so called '*pentiti*' (collaborators of justice) and other considerations regarding the controversial political and criminal reasons for granting reductions in jail time.
- j) the regulations on undercover operations, especially after Law No. 124/2007 with which the procedural and substantive discipline of undercover agents was finally regulated in a clear and organic manner, excluding the possibility of resorting to the controversial and closely related figure of the so-called agent provocateur and, consequently, declaring the non-usability in trial of the evidence unlawfully acquired by the latter.
- k) the particularly strict provisions on pre-trial detention, especially after the Constitutional Court's sentence no. 48/2015 concerning Article 275 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which declared its partial constitutional illegitimacy with respect to external aiding and abetting, rescuing the adequacy of pre-trial detention measures only for the crimes referred to in Article 416 bis, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Criminal Code, i.e. those of participating in and 'directing' criminal organisations.
- l) the penitentiary discipline of life without parole and related reward measures, especially after the recent and crucial interventions of the Grande chambre of the ECHR with the 2019 Viola ruling and of the Constitutional Court

with ruling no. 253/2019 with which its constitutional and conventional legitimacy was questioned, especially in the part in which this penitentiary discipline makes access to prison benefits conditional on the convicted person's procedural cooperation, considering, on the basis of an unreasonable and arbitrary presumption, that without dissociation there can never be an effective detachment of the offender from the criminal groups in which he was included.

Topics for further study. In spite of this intense scientific production, the growing need to align certain institutions of substantive, procedural and criminal antimafia laws with European law, especially with the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, and the constant need to monitor the evolution of national case-law, which is not always linear, give rise to some issues that deserve to be adequately investigated by criminal and criminal procedural science in the near future.

In particular, a new commitment by legal theory is needed to define the notion of 'participant in a mafia-type association', for the purposes of determining when the crime under Article 416-bis(1) of the Criminal Code applies, after recent legal blunders, above all the 2017 Portari ruling by the Italian Supreme Court. This ruling resurrected definitions of associative participation to mafia that had been superseded by the aforementioned 2005 Supreme Court Mannino ruling issued in joint session, and led to an unreasonable extension of the list of punishable behaviours. It would also be appropriate to shed light on how and why the same notion of associative participation applicable for the purposes of Article 416 bis of the Criminal Code is interpreted in different terms when applying personal or patrimonial preventive measures and whether it is reasonable to extend it, in this pre-crime perspective, also to the different phenomenon of '*concorso esterno*'.

Another classic subject in need of clarification is *concorso esterno*, after a very recent turnaround by the Supreme Court, which in its 2020 Chiocchini ruling issued in joint session circa the aggravating circumstance in Article 416-bis.1, paragraph 1, of the Criminal Code, in an *obiter dictum* distanced itself from the specificity statute laboriously co-defined by the same Supreme Court in joint session in the famous 2005 Mannino ruling, after an intense vertical and horizontal diachronic jurisprudential dispute. An interpretation choice to focus on and criticise appropriately is the recent, irrelevant reinstatement of the requirement of participation to the activities of the mafia association only in its moments of

perturbation as a distinguishing feature of the *concorso esterno* criminal conduct, established by the first 1994 Supreme Court Demitry ruling issued in joint session, and then abandoned with the 2002 Carnevale ruling.

Remaining on *concorso esterno*, we must shed light, from a purely procedural perspective, on the currently open question of the applicability *erga alios*, i.e., to other cases, of the 2015 Contrada ruling issued by the European Court of Human Rights. This would lead to overturning the conviction verdicts against offenders guilty of *concorso esterno* before 1994. In 2019, the Supreme Court in joint session issued the Genco ruling excluding such applicability, but there is a pending appeal to the ECHR on the Inzerillo case to decide on the matter. In this regard, it must also be clarified which procedural remedy is to be employed in this circumstance, between a review at a European level, an enforcement review, or other remedies put forward by some scholars.

Again, after the 2017 ECHR De Tommaso decision and rulings no. 24 and 25 of the Italian Constitutional Court in 2019, the discipline needs to explore the concept of 'preventive measures', as has already been done in two 2020 works, a monography and a manual. An attempt must be made to eliminate the main unanswerable questions regarding the constitutional and conventional aspect of criminal law and of the sanctions system, dealing also with the eventual *non bis in idem* which might arise with the application to the same conduct of preventive measures, especially confiscation, and of the criminal sanctions set out in Article 416 bis of the criminal code.

In terms of pre-crime prevention, new measures targeting assets, aside from confiscation, must be examined. These measures are aimed at the recovery of an enterprise, rather than at its exclusion from the economic circuit, in those instances where attempts at mafia infiltration turn out to be merely occasional.

The same kind of commitment by criminal law would be useful for a better definition of the prohibitory antimafia disclosure system, so as to recalibrate it in accordance with conventional European law, especially in order to define the factual situations when the Prefect may issue a measure which is so potentially 'destructive' for the addressees. In fact, after the ECHR's clarifications concerning preventive measures, several doubts have arisen on the conventional and constitutional legitimacy of so-called 'generic' prohibitory disclosures.

It would then be advisable to reflect thoroughly and rationally on the institution of *ergastolo ostativo* (life without parole) in the light of the aforementioned decisions of the ECHR and of the Constitutional Court. As necessary as it is to fight the mafia, the draconian nature of such a definitive penalty merits judicious and balanced reasoning on the part of criminal law, as it is difficult to reconcile

with the re-education goals of punishment expressly laid down in Article 27(3) of the Constitution.

Furthermore, it is necessary to carefully redefine mafia prison rules, paying special attention to the persistent problem of the hard prison regime (*carcere duro*) provided for in Article 41 bis of the Penitentiary Code, and to the recent anti-Covid emergency regulations culminating in the 2020 ‘Anti-scarcerazioni’ (anti-prison releases) decree, which attempted to balance the social defence requirements underlying imprisonment measures with the need to guarantee the rights of prisoners and the protection of their health.

Lastly, after the recent ‘Falcone Resolution’, passed on 17 October 2020 by the Conference of Parties to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, it might be useful to shed light on the impact on national criminal law of the 2000 UN Palermo Convention against Organised Crime, so as to carefully monitor the level of implementation it has reached within our legal system.

Geographical distribution. As regards the geographic distribution of scientific production (Table 6), the universities that in recent years have consistently produced the most publications devoted to the criminal profiles of antimafia legislation are:

- the University of Palermo, with works on negotiation and on laws relating to prisons; on the crime of mafia association, on its applicability to the new forms of mafia and on the institute of voluntary judicial control for the recovery of companies subject to occasional attempts at mafia infiltration; on transnational organised crime; and on antimafia legislation;
- the University of Messina, with contributions on the crimes of mafia-type association and vote-trading with mafia, among others;
- the University of Catania, with contributions on the Contrada ruling on *concorso esterno*, on prevention measures and on various aspects of antimafia legislation;
- the Federico II University of Naples, with contributions on *concorso esterno*, on vote-trading with mafia, and on prohibitory antimafia disclosures and the lines of criminal policy pursued in the fight against the mafia;
- the Roma Tre University, with a 2020 book, among others, that investigated all the substantive and procedural profiles of antimafia legislation, as well as contributions on participation in mafia associations;
- the University of Bologna *Alma mater studiorum*, with works on criminal law concerning organised crime, and on mafia enterprises;

- the University of Milan, with a book on preventive measures and a number of publications by other young scholars in major Italian legal journals;
- the University of Reggio Calabria, with works on preventive measures, vote-trading with mafia and aggravating circumstances for mafia crimes.

Table 6. Distribution of products by region.

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Sicily | 136 | Liguria | 10 |
| Campania | 73 | Piedmont | 10 |
| Lombardy | 53 | Umbria | 7 |
| Tuscany | 41 | Sardinia | 6 |
| Emilia-Romagna | 36 | Marche | 4 |
| Apulia | 32 | Friuli Venezia Giulia | 3 |
| Lazio | 30 | Molise | 3 |
| Veneto | 23 | Abruzzo | 2 |
| Calabria | 14 | | |
| Trentino-Alto Adige | 13 | <i>Total</i> | 496 |

Language of the works. Almost all contributions are written in Italian. Only in a few rare cases we find works that deal with aspects of Italian antimafia criminal law in other languages, particularly English.

*Philosophy of law, History of medieval and modern law**

Introduction. Within legal-philosophical studies, mafia has been the subject of analysis in a very diverse manner, both in terms of time and discipline. In contrast to the lukewarm interest shown in the past, it is now possible to detect a general upward trend in research output on the subject. However, important differences remain between the various disciplines.

In legal studies, specifically, there is a significant gulf between the very prolific production to date of some disciplines, such as criminal law⁵³, and the output of other disciplines. In particular, the philosophy of law, sociology of law and history of law fields have long remained on the margins of this research path. The reasons can obviously only be conjectured, and the following paragraphs

* This paper has been written by Orsetta Giolo.

⁵³ See the specific detailed discussion on this subject.

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will attempt to explore them; in any case, they seem to be attributable to a sort of widespread ‘diffidence’ towards mafia as an object of study. The reasons for the approach that for a long time has characterised the more theoretical and historical perspectives, can probably be traced back, on the one hand, to the relatively recent evolution of the awareness of the mafia phenomenon itself, and on the other to the increase in the volume of legal material concerning mafia⁵⁴, which is also quite recent. It is no coincidence that the first studies in these areas emerged almost at the same time as the exponential growth of legislation and judge-made laws, from the early 1990s onwards, and gradually increased over the last two decades, in the same time frame covered by this mafia research registry.

A very similar dynamic can also be discerned in purely philosophical studies: the number of publications, linked to interest in this research object, has grown over the last two decades. However, the number is still low, which denotes the continuing marginal nature of this research path, probably for reasons that partly overlap those concerning the legal fields just mentioned and partly, as will be shown shortly, for the difficulty of tackling the themes and issues relating to the mafia phenomenon from a purely theoretical point of view.

The paper will first highlight the findings of research that has already been carried out, in terms of themes, characteristics of the research products and data concerning the authors.

Subsequently, we will focus on the difficulties that may have hitherto prevented the development of a massive, highly desirable reflection in the areas analysed here. In conclusion, some lines of reflection that could become the object of future research in some of these disciplines will be proposed.

Current situation. The data collected in this work allow us to outline some general characteristics of the research produced over the last twenty years, pertaining to the academic disciplines of the legal area IUS/18, IUS/19 and IUS/20, and of the philosophical area M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06. These characteristics concern: the temporal distribution of products; the type of contributions; the language of the publications; the geographical location; the academic position and the gender of the authors; the topics of the works.

⁵⁴ So much so that interest is also growing in other areas besides criminal law: from administrative law to international law and so on. On this point, please refer to the specific sections of this work.

Starting with temporal distributions, publications so far are 37⁵⁵ (33 unique ones).

In this list, there is no noticeable regular increase in the number of studies, but rather an irregular trend that has had an upwards trajectory for the last ten years. As already emphasised, this is due to the growth of interest in the mafia phenomenon even within these disciplinary fields.

In detail, there are 19 studies pertaining to philosophy of law and sociology of law (IUS/20). There are 8 studies pertaining to the history of law disciplines (IUS/18 and IUS/19). There are 10 contributions from the philosophical disciplines (M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and MFIL/06).

As for the type of products, the data show that out of a total of 37 papers, 17 are journal articles, 11 are essays in collective books and 2 are monographs, while 4 papers are curatorships and 3 are classifiable under 'other'.

Most of the research is published in Italian (32 works) and only a few works are in English (4) or other languages (1): in the IUS/20 discipline, there are 15 publications in Italian, 3 in English and 1 in a third language; in the IUS/18 and IUS/19 discipline, all the works (8) are in Italian; in the M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 disciplines, 9 publications are in Italian and 1 in English.

The vast majority of the contributions are attributed to a single author (29), and there are only a few co-authored works (4). This ratio holds true for all academic disciplines: IUS/20 (14 single author; 5 co-authored); IUS/18 and IUS/19 (6 single; 2 co-authored); M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 (9 single; 1 co-authored).

As for the gender ratio, in general terms there is a slight prevalence of female authors (21) over male ones (16), although the ratio varies significantly across the single disciplines: in IUS/20 there is a clear female majority (14 authors versus 5); in IUS/18 and IUS/19 there is a male predominance (3 authors versus 5); in M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 there is also a male predominance (4 authors versus 6).

The territorial distribution of the authors is fairly consistent between the universities of Southern Italy, Sicily and Calabria (13), Central Italy (7) and Northern Italy (17). Nonetheless, different academic disciplines show different ratios: IUS/20 sees the clear prevalence of works originated in Northern Italy universi-

⁵⁵ By way of background, there were a total of 40 works pertaining to these disciplinary fields, since a study in the philosophy field was published in 1992, and two studies were published in 1998 (one pertaining to philosophy, and the other to history of law).

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ties (14) compared to those in the South and the Centre (4 and 1, respectively), while the ratio is reversed for the IUS/18 and IUS/19 disciplines, where Southern universities are prevalent (15) compared to those in the Centre and the North (2 and 1 respectively); the same occurs for the M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 disciplines (South: 7; Centre: 1; North: 2).

With regard to the academic position of the authors at the time of publishing, 12 are full professors, 16 are associate professors, 5 are assistant professors, 1 is a research fellow, 2 are PhD students and 1 is under the category 'other'. These positions are distributed among the disciplines with some variability. In the IUS/20 discipline, in fact, there are 3 full professors, 13 associate professors, 2 assistant professors and 1 research fellow; in the IUS/18 and IUS/19 discipline, there are 4 full professors, 3 assistant professors and 1 'other'; in the M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 sectors, there are 5 full professors, 3 associate professors and 2 PhD students.

Finally, the existence of different research paths on the topics addressed can clearly be detected within the various disciplinary perspectives.

In the philosophy of law and sociology of law fields, the most common topics, on the one hand, concern the problem of defining the mafia phenomenon, both because of its variability and complexity and because of the divergences that emerge between sociological and criminological definitions and those of a purely legal nature; on the other hand, they concern issues relating to the management of confiscated assets and to 'grey' enterprises, i.e., mafia infiltration in the business world. In this regard, it should be emphasised that these two macro topics have been studied in particular by scholars belonging respectively to the universities of Ferrara and Bologna.

In the same academic discipline, other studies are dedicated to the presence of mafias in the Emilia Romagna region, or to aspects linked to the development of crime in urban areas, or even to individual criminal organisations, such as a contribution dedicated to the entrepreneurial nature of the Camorra; other works are more theoretical – such as an essay dedicated to 'legal-sociological notes' on the mafia phenomenon – or explore specific aspects of antimafia legislation, such as the works dedicated to money laundering or the critical aspects of emergency legislation.

On the other hand, the field of legal history includes some studies dealing with biographical reconstructions or the genealogy of organised crime, the relationship between mafia and politics in Italian procedural history, and the repression of organised crime in Roman law.

In the M-FIL/01, M-FIL/02, M-FIL/03 and M-FIL/06 disciplines there are in-depth studies on the psychological aspects of the ‘mafia personality’, such as an essay devoted to the ‘mafia mind’; analyses of certain concepts, such as ‘autonomy’, that take on particular meanings with reference to mafia activity; or studies on the representations of mafia from the point of view of particularly significant figures – such as Father Puglisi.

Some methodological matters. In light of what emerges from the data collected here, it seems useful to reflect on some of the issues that might have led to the late blooming of attention towards mafia in the disciplines in question.

It is worth emphasising, first of all, a peculiarity that distinguishes the legal fields examined from other ‘neighbouring’ disciplines. The discrepancy between the large amount of material produced by the history and sociology fields and the much smaller output produced by the history of law and sociology of law is evident. In the latter two, instead of driving interest in the investigation of mafia crime, the legal component seems to have deterred it, presumably for methodological and theoretical reasons.

First of all, it is necessary to reiterate what I already pointed out at the beginning of this contribution with regard to legal studies in general. Several factors have contributed to the marginal position the study of mafias occupies within these disciplines. Among those, the recent development of legislation and case-law, as well as that of institutional antimafia, and the long-standing ambiguities in the interpretation of the mafia phenomenon itself, which is sometimes perceived as a political rather than a legal problem, and sometimes as a purely criminal issue and not as a complex social phenomenon.

However, it is possible to recognise some specific ‘difficulties’ related to the peculiarities of the perspectives in question.

As is well known, the mafia phenomenon is difficult to understand, primarily because of the secrecy that characterises the structure and activities of mafia organisations: for example, this aspect has certainly affected the initiation of legal-sociological research, because of the specific characteristics of the method applied by this discipline⁵⁶. It is well known that sociology of law concerns the study of society and law in their reciprocal relations and interactions, and this

⁵⁶ For a deeper insight into the specificities of the legal-sociological method, see V. Ferrari, *Prima lezione di sociologia del diritto*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2018.

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implies the possibility of studying and knowing ‘directly’ the phenomenon under investigation in relation to law. The secrecy and unknowability of mafia give rise to a highly detrimental short-circuit for the legal-sociological perspective: what is known about the phenomenon itself largely comes from the procedural acts and rulings, the content of which is in turn qualified and defined by the law itself, and dependent on it. This correspondence between the phenomenon under investigation and its juridical representation, with no possibility of knowing the phenomenon in and of itself, separately from its definition, has undoubtedly been the main obstacle to the development of a legal-sociological research movement, due to the impossibility of perceiving the distance between juridical representation and social phenomenon, which is essential for investigation purposes. However, this obstacle is becoming less and less debilitating thanks to the volume of studies recently produced in the sociological sphere, coupled with the increase in the production of case law: this large quantity of available material now makes it possible to study mafias with greater objectivity and the possibility of examining and comparing facts, reconstructions, evaluations and legal representations. It is no coincidence that, as the data show, legal-sociological studies have increased steadily in recent years.

These considerations can probably also be applied to the philosophical and legal-philosophical disciplines: the increased amount of material has made it less complicated to identify issues that can be analysed even from a more strictly theoretical standpoint.

With regard to the legal-philosophical field, specifically, it is perhaps worth highlighting another difficulty that may have influenced the way the topic of mafia is addressed. In fact, the subject is sometimes considered particularly burdensome because of the tension between the legal-philosophical concepts related to the notion of *garantismo* (protection of civil rights) and some leanings of the antimafia movement. The concept of *garantismo*, especially when applied to criminal law, is deeply rooted in philosophy of law studies⁵⁷, which have significantly contributed to the affirmation of notions of law and punishment that are firmly oriented towards the respect of fundamental rights and freedoms. Some policies to combat mafias are instead aimed at weakening criminal organisations even through the use of legal instruments that conflict with this approach: suffice it

⁵⁷ In this regard, one need only recall Ferrajoli’s fundamental contribution in *Diritto e ragione. Teoria del garantismo penale*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2018.

to recall the judicial vicissitudes and the legal and political debates surrounding Article 41-bis, *ergastolo ostativo* (life without parole), and the so-called ‘double track’ adopted in procedural law. The public debate surrounding the urgency of the fight against mafias – often bolstered by emergency-type rhetoric, despite the existence of mafias spanning more than a century – may therefore have unintentionally contributed to increasing the gap between theoretical perspective and practical needs, instead of fostering collaboration between the two.

Some prospects for investigation. Despite the methodological difficulties and distrust, the heightened interest in recent years can be interpreted as a consequence of the partial evolution of the situation.

As mentioned repeatedly, there has been an exponential increase in the number of regulations that make up the current antimafia legislative framework, just as there are now a great many rulings on mafia-type organised crime. On the other hand, the volume of historical and sociological studies has reached truly remarkable proportions, and the amount of information and level of knowledge on the phenomenon itself is much more consolidated.

This means that there has been a gradual process of verification and validation of what pertains to the mafia phenomenon, especially as regards the aspects that are most pertinent and interesting for the disciplines in question.

The range of issues to be analysed and investigated from the specific perspective of these disciplines is therefore beginning to emerge more clearly. Therefore, we can take the liberty of suggesting some topics that could become the subject of in-depth study, with particular reference to philosophy of law and sociology of law.

First of all, it would be important to enrich in a legal-philosophical key the reflection already underway in other areas – particularly in the sociological disciplines – concerning the origin of mafia power, in its relation to the dominant forms of ‘legal’ power that have succeeded one another in different eras. It would, in fact, be interesting to reflect on the constitutive characteristics of mafia power, in order to identify its peculiarities, and consequently, plan and design more effective policies to combat them.

It is well known that mafias adapt their interests and investments to the evolution of the economy and the very structure of society (moving from latifundia to public procurement, from construction to drug trafficking); in the same way it would be necessary to investigate how mafia power is articulated, how it adapts and changes in relation to the transformations that lawful power under-

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goes; or whether lawful power and mafia power interact more easily when they respond to similar models and strategies; or whether policies to combat mafias can become increasingly efficient the more the lawful power models distance themselves from mafia power. Consider, for example, the temporal coincidence between the affirmation of constitutional state power during the second half of the 20th century and the establishment and progressive consolidation of antimafia policies, thanks to a precise definition of the limitations of legitimate power, and accordingly, of the forms that criminal power takes. Or consider the other coincidence relating to today's spread of new models of 'legal' power with a neo-liberal imprint – oriented towards global governance and deregulation, centred on 'relationships', promoters of a model of society 'under private law' – and the increasing international spread and interaction between mafia-type criminal groups, in the context of an increasingly difficult distinction between legality and illegality⁵⁸. These considerations would probably contribute to the legal-philosophical and political-philosophical takes on the contemporary notion of power, through an analysis of its current mechanics and the increasingly close and uninhibited interaction between criminal and legal power. In fact, it seems extremely relevant to wonder about the role currently played by mafia power, in a historical phase characterised by a sort of 'maximisation' of power, rather than limitation or minimisation (as hoped for by the process of constitutionalisation, which today is experiencing major setbacks)⁵⁹.

Moreover, the model of mafia power could be examined in two other directions: firstly, in its competition with state power (as regards control of the territory, exercise of force, collection of money, and offer of protection), investigating in depth, from a legal-philosophical point of view, issues that have already been explored from a historical and sociological perspective⁶⁰; secondly, looking at mafia's authoritarian expression rather than its 'democratic' or 'anarchic' one, in

⁵⁸ On the definition of power in times of neo-liberalism, see M. De Carolis, *Il rovescio della libertà. Tramonto del neoliberalismo e disagio della civiltà*, Quodlibet, Macerata 2017; M. R. Ferrarese, *Governance: A Soft Revolution with Hard Political and Legal Effects*, in «Soft Power», 1, 2014, pp. 35-56: 40; L. Bazzicalupo, *Editorial*, in «Soft Power», 1, 2014, pp. 11-6: 13.

⁵⁹ On the deconstitutionalisation process see L. Ferrajoli, *Poteri selvaggi. La crisi della democrazia italiana*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2017.

⁶⁰ In this regard, Umberto Santino's numerous studies on mafia as a political subject are of fundamental relevance: these texts contain the conceptual and, at the same time, design map from which a legal-philosophical analysis may start. Specifically, see U. Santino, *La mafia come soggetto politico*, Di Girolamo, Trapani 2013.

relation to the different types of mafia organisation and criminal strategies. Additionally, with regard to the characteristics of mafia power, the element of violence should be further analysed, in its constant transformation and adaptability to different contexts and, at the same time, in its relationship with the changes that the notion of force is undergoing in societies dominated by the neo-liberal paradigm⁶¹. In fact, the global processes of force privatisation seem particularly favourable to the spread of mafia criminal behaviour and the type of power that this involves. The processes – initiated at a global level – of the privatisation of force do in fact seem particularly fertile for the spread of mafia-like criminal behaviour and for the conception of power that this conveys. These themes have already been dealt with, notably in the sociological sphere⁶², but further significant insights could come from studies of a philosophical and legal-philosophical nature.

In the philosophy of law field, we could also coherently place the study of mafias as systems of massive violation of fundamental rights. Personal liberty, economic freedom, physical integrity, political rights and social rights are inevitably jeopardised in the territories controlled by mafia. Access to legal guarantees (right to sue, to initiate legal action, to compensation for damages) is also prevented by threats of grave retaliation. From this point of view, the legal-philosophical perspective could help analyse these violations in order to make countermeasures even more effective, and to shape them in accordance with the need to develop and strengthen the instruments that guarantee the abovementioned rights, transcending the merely repressive dimension.

Finally, from the point of view of legal theory, an analysis of the legal argument adopted in the motivation of verdicts in mafia trials could be of particular interest, in order to understand which legal arguments are more common and which are omitted, and why. Such a study would make the rulings themselves even more intelligible and open to scrutiny, making the judiciary's work in this area more controllable.

⁶¹ On this point I dare refer to O. Giolo, *Il diritto neoliberale*, Jovene, Naples 2020. On the recent transformations of the relationship between law, power and force see V. Giordano - A. Tucci, *Razionalità del diritto e poteri emergenti*, Giappichelli, Turin 2013.

⁶² Umberto Santino's works are essential in this regard as well. See for example U. Santino - G. Chinnici, *La violenza programmata*, Franco Angeli, Milan 1989. See M. Massari - V. Martone (eds.), *Mafia Violence: Political, Symbolic and Economic Forms of Violence in Camorra Clans*, Routledge, London 2019.

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The controllability of legal decision-making acts (judicial, but also administrative and legislative ones)⁶³ helps ensure the respect of fundamental rights; from this point of view, the contribution of the legal-philosophical perspective could be particularly significant to analyse an issue we have mentioned earlier: that is, the tension between the approach of *garantismo* and the effectiveness of antimafia policies. This issue is increasingly crucial, also in view of the recent judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and the Constitutional Court⁶⁴. It needs to be addressed in order to ensure that antimafia legislation as a whole, as well as its application, are fully consistent with the fundamental principles of the Italian legal system and international law. Let us reiterate that the issue is extremely sensitive: on the one hand the fundamental rights of people involved in mafia trials must be respected, on the other it is just as important to adopt and implement highly efficient instruments, that are suitable for such a complex phenomenon as mafia. A legal-philosophical, thorough reflection on the protection of rights and on legality, which, at the same time, addresses the dramatic aspects that are undeniably part of the fight against mafias (suffice it to recall the huge price in blood paid by members of law enforcement and judiciary, as well as institutions and civil society), would probably make it possible to overcome the current, sterile clash between those who support the *garantismo* philosophy and those who think it necessary to adopt instruments and policies that depart from the respect of fundamental principles.

Moving to sociology of law, other aspects emerge as particularly interesting to investigate. As mentioned earlier, the amount of legislation and case law on mafia is indeed substantial, but legal-sociological studies have not yet analysed that output. Indeed, there is no research on the role of legal officials in the application of legislation, in the production of case law, in the conduct of investigations, as well as in the enforcement of punishments. These are classic themes for the sociology of law discipline, and have not yet been widely addressed in the specific case of mafia crimes.

Furthermore, it would be extremely interesting to carry out a legal-sociological analysis of the rulings of mafia trials, from a variety of perspectives. By way of

⁶³ On the controllability of legal acts, intended as decision-making acts, see B. Pastore, *Decisioni argomenti controlli. Diritto positivo e filosofia del diritto*, Giappichelli, Turin 2015.

⁶⁴ See the European Court of Human Rights judgment, Section I, Marcello Viola v. Italia (no. 2), Ric. n. 77633/16, 13 June 2019, and judgment no. 253 of the Italian Constitutional Court, 4 December 2019 (hearing held on 23 October 2019), judgment no. 253

example, a possible objective of such analysis would be identifying the constants and variables in regulatory enforcement, on the basis of temporal and geographical contexts, court levels, people involved in the trials (experts, witnesses, civil parties, defendants), and so on. In this perspective, special attention could be paid to the 'victims of mafia', in order to study their characteristics (in terms of geographic and temporal contexts, roles, etc.), but also to detect the role they played in the shaping of antimafia policies and, in particular, in the most recent cases and trial practices.

These are just some of the aspects that deserve to be investigated further. However, this should be done with the awareness that it is impossible, as well as counterproductive, to undertake such research with a rigid separation of disciplines: working on this topic only within a sector, without interdisciplinarity, is not desirable, and probably not fruitful.

Studying the mafias is crucial for the creation of effective law enforcement policies, but such a study must necessarily occur through cross-fertilisation and interaction between different disciplines and perspectives, as is often the case already, and as suggested by the complexity paradigm⁶⁵. This would allow proper deconstruction of every aspect of mafia crime.

The hope is that the increased academic interest in mafia will gradually foster the spread of this line of study in the philosophical, legal-historical, legal-philosophical and legal-sociological disciplines as well. The contribution of more theoretical perspectives may hopefully contribute to the growth of this 'plural' knowledge, and to a better understanding of which implications the presence of mafia has in the context of contemporary societies. Ultimately, it would lead to the design of policies that are increasingly consistent with the fundamental principles of the constitutional order.

⁶⁵ U. Santino, *Dalla mafia alle mafie. Scienze sociali e crimine organizzato*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2006.

3. *Psychology, pedagogy, and psychiatry**

Statistical data

First, the various academic disciplines pertaining to psychology will be disaggregated, separating them from pedagogy and psychiatry disciplines (Table 7). Eventually, at a later stage, they will be combined again in order to be compared with the total number of publications.

The Clinical psychology and Dynamic psychology disciplinary groupings include 225 contributions (of which, 127 unique ones) out of 280 (166 unique ones) in the whole area of psychology; they are therefore in substantial majority compared to the other disciplines. This is to be expected, since they represent the branch that delves into the inner world of people and tries to shed light on the deeper aspects of personality.

Table 7. Distribution of products by discipline (Psychology)

| Author: discipline | |
|---|-----|
| M-PSI/08 - Clinical psychology | 164 |
| M-PSI/07 - Dynamic psychology | 61 |
| M-PSI/06 - Work and organizational psychology | 20 |
| M-PSI/05 - Social psychology | 19 |
| M-PSI/04 - Developmental and educational psychology | 8 |
| M-PSI/01 - General psychology | 7 |
| M-PSI/03 – Psychometrics | 1 |
| Total | 280 |

Of these two disciplines, Clinical psychology includes 164 contributions, while Dynamic psychology includes 61. The decision to combine the two disciplines was taken because from an academic point of view, but also from a research and teaching point of view, there is often a synthesis and one can frequently cross over into the field of the other. However, it should be noted that clinical psychology features predominantly: this implies that there has been a more marked focus on detecting psychopathological processes, as well as the mental functioning and behavioural manifestations of the subjects.

* This paper has been written by Giovanni Starace.

Works by authors from other disciplines are distributed as follows: 20 contributions for Work psychology and 19 for Social psychology. It is surprising to note the paucity of research in Social psychology, which traditionally studies group functioning, social representations and other issues concerning the relationship between individuals and society; all these perspectives are, in fact, useful for highlighting the problems which arise from the presence of organised crime. However, these aspects have likely been studied and investigated more deeply in sociological research. There are also eight authors in the field of Developmental psychology, which will later be incorporated with those in the area of pedagogy, due to the similarity of the subjects dealt with. Quite predictably, there are few contributions by General psychology and Psychometrics.

In terms of the position of the authors within academia, we can see that there is an equal number of associate professors and full professors, and that their sum is almost equal to the total of all other subjects combined: doctoral students, researchers, research fellows and unspecified.

The region with the highest number of contributions is Sicily with 34 authors, followed by Campania with 6, Lombardy with 4 and other regions with low numbers of contributions.

Looking at the total data, we see that Sicily has the largest number of works, followed by Campania and Lombardy and then by Tuscany, with a gap which is not as large as it is in the case of psychology. Since the authors are predominantly from Sicily, it goes without saying that Sicilian universities are the institutions where most of the work was produced.

Out of the total 280 products, 190 belong to the University of Palermo, and another 37 are distributed among the universities of Messina, Enna and Catania. It is worth noting that among the other universities we find the University of Padua with 19 works, which ranks immediately after Messina, with 24; such a high figure for the University of Padua can be explained by the fact that its departments of Psychology are traditionally large, and by the presence of a group of faculty members who are particularly active in this type of research.

Referring to the general data, we see that the University of Palermo accounts for more than 60% of the products and is followed at a considerable distance by Messina, Padua, Cattolica University of Milan, Kore University of Enna and Federico II University of Naples.

Thus, in the field of psychology, Sicily as a whole has provided the largest number of publications.

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The scientific production by pedagogues amounts to 23 works, predominantly pertaining to History of education and Theories and science of education. In contrast to psychology, the region with the highest number of publications is Calabria (9), followed by Sicily (8). Finally, the papers by psychiatrists include two contributions, both from the University of Palermo.

The relationship between two figures must also be considered: the total number of psychology papers is 280, while the number of authors is 51. This means that there is a considerable output by the same people, i.e., that there are particularly prolific authors who have mainly pursued this specific line of research, while for others organised crime is only an occasional research topic. In fact, many authors have written more than one essay, and some of them stand out for their very substantial production: out of 280 total works, more than half of the essays can be attributed to six authors. For this reason, all data, from university location to academic position and so on, should be viewed taking this variable into account.

The temporal distribution of publications in the field of psychology saw an initial increase in 2005, further growth in 2007, and a peak in 2009; in 2018, there was a return to the initial percentages, that is, to the production levels of the 1990s. The same applies to the general data, with a slight variation as regards the peak of production, which shifts to a few years later, to 2013 (figure 14).

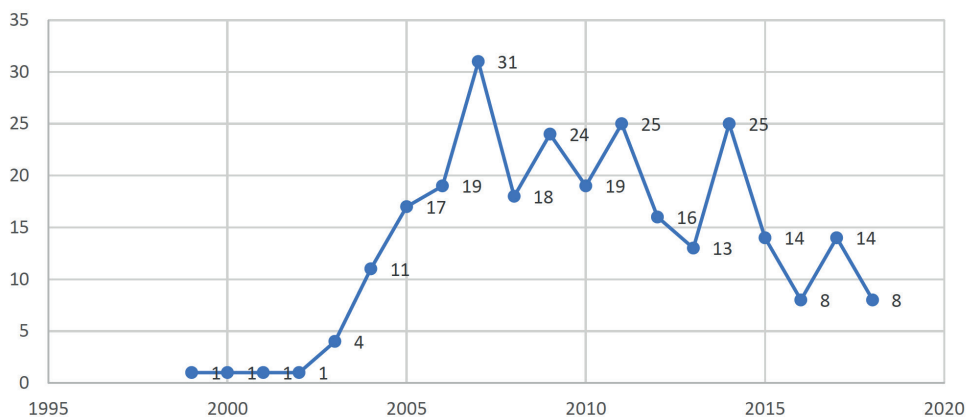


Figure 14. Temporal distribution of products (Psychology).

Data concerning the geographic macro-areas are predictable, since we have already identified the locations of the universities: 80% of the works originate in the South and 20% in the North. This differs from the general data, where the

number of works produced in the South is lower, at about 50%, with Central Italy at about 17% and the North at 32%. Therefore, in the general data there is a more uniform territorial distribution, whereas in the case of psychology and pedagogy the production is much more prominently situated in the South.

There is a slight prevalence of male authors, who account for 57% of the total, while females account for 43%. The situation is different when analysing the overall data, where males make up 65% of the total and females 35%; the percentage for pedagogy is similar to the latter. The higher percentage of women in the field of psychology, despite the research topic addressed, reflects the well-known feminisation of the psychological professions. In addition, most of the works were published in journals or collective works, while monographs account for 15% of the works.

Type of products

There is no clear connection between the topics dealt with and the author's position in the academic discipline. To research a specific topic, it is advisable to extend the search to all disciplines, and not only to the one where a title corresponding to one's needs can be easily found.

Firstly, the writings whose authors belong to the disciplinary fields of Dynamic psychology and Clinical psychology will be addressed. As mentioned above, these are two similar thematic groupings, and such similarity is also attested by the contents of the works produced.

There is a wide range of publications relating to psychopathological aspects; this appears to be the most substantial part in terms of number and breadth of works, out of all the authors examined. To be more specific, this means the psychopathological aspects in their various facets, i.e.: first of all, the psychological profiles of the subjects examined, the behavioural aspects and the specific psychopathological problems that emerged. There are also issues which are collateral to the overall psychological frame, such as relational attitudes, representing a specification of the main theme; in addition, there are contributions that deal more directly with communication (explicit and implicit). Moreover, there are works that try to assimilate the phenomenon of mafia with other sociopathological manifestations such as homophobia and fundamentalism.

This group of writings on psychopathological aspects can be likened to those that study the mafia context in a broad sense, since subjective manifestations are rooted in that sphere. In these works, the characteristics of mafia communities are traced, with their specific properties, family ideologies, through a social-psy-

chological analysis of the contexts in question. The works on adolescents should not be overlooked. They will be mentioned again in the Pedagogy and Developmental psychology section, but they are also addressed by Dynamic and Clinical psychology authors because of the closeness they may have to a more general clinical discourse. For example: growing up in a context of mafia, being the children of mafia members, etc.

A considerable number of publications describe psychotherapeutic experiences with people involved in mafia contexts, both those who directly participate in criminal activities and those who are on the margins but have been affected by the presence of mafia. There are some works that deal with a specific theme pertinent to psychotherapy, namely therapist countertransference: this concerns the experiences lived and the emotions felt by the therapist during the process of treatment, the investigation of which is particularly useful and valuable to experience in depth what the patient is manifesting. Finally, other subjects compromised by mafia power were examined: the church, the 'drawing rooms', referring figuratively to the local bourgeoisie, politicians and, in general, white-collar workers. All these works concern clinical analysis; to these, we can assimilate some works, not very numerous but well characterised, dealing specifically with destructive processes: first of all, sociopathy and actions that tend to degrade the fabric of community, and the psychic costs borne by women for the criminal activities of the mafia families to which they belong.

In this last group, concerning the damaged subjects who have called for interventions of a psychological nature, we find writings on the victims of racketeering, the psychophysical activity of police officers and escorts working to oppose it, and the experiences of magistrates arising from their activity.

Lastly, this section will deal with Dynamic and Clinical psychology, focusing on the theme of interventions considered potentially useful to 'remediate' such a degraded situation. These range from the promotion of awareness of social degradation to the development of strategies to create prospective change.

There are fewer works by authors belonging to different academic disciplines, and despite the specificity of these works, they deal with themes already addressed by colleagues from other disciplines. Works belonging to the General psychology field analysed intrapsychic problems in mafia people, that is, the mental structure and the conceptual systems of the subjects examined. Moreover, by addressing a more general theme such as the "mafia psyche" and "mafia feeling," the understanding of legality in the contexts analysed was highlighted. Finally, the section on Developmental psychology, which was incorporated into

the Pedagogy section because of the similarity of the research carried out. Most of the writings focus on educational processes that aim to correct the 'anteducational' ones experienced by young people who grew up in mafia contexts. In addition, there are works aimed at defining the values to be proposed and included in educational activities. Finally, there are studies on activities that concern the prevention of criminal experiences.

A separate chapter is dedicated to women: their role as educators, the role they play in families, which often counters the introduction of minors into criminal life. Finally, the marginalisation of mafia and 'ndrangheta women in the places where they live and their aversion to the values which are dominant in the families.

These are the general lines of scientific production in the fields of psychology and pedagogy. A rich and varied production, but, again, if one desires to document a specific theme that pertains mainly to a particular academic discipline, it is appropriate to verify the presence of the same theme in other areas; after all, it is evident that a clear distinction between the various disciplines is often hard to establish.

4. *Economics*

*Economics, Economic policy, Public economics**

In a 1968 paper, Gary Becker proposed that the tools of economic analysis, particularly those of choice under uncertainty, can be used proficiently to formalise the decision of a rational individual to pursue an illegal action and analyse its implications from a social point of view.⁶⁶ Since then, more and more scholars have used such tools to deal with issues directly or indirectly related to crime and, in particular, to mafia-type organisations.

According to a database that collects the works of academics in Italy, from 2000 to 2019 more than 100 papers classifiable as economic analyses were published that had mafia (or related terms) as a keyword. Half of the total scientific output appeared in scientific journals, and a quarter consists of essays published in books (see figure 15). Most of the works are empirical in nature and provide

* This paper has been written by Antonio Acconcia. Many thanks to Dr. Carla Ronza for her useful suggestions.

⁶⁶ G.S. Becker, *Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach*, 'Journal of Political Economy', LXXVI, 1968, 2, pp. 169-217.

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evidence often based on econometric analysis; some scholars have also attempted to provide an interpretative key for the mafia phenomenon through the development of theoretical models. The language preferred by the authors is English (see figure 16), as is the case for almost all subjects related to economic analysis and political economy.

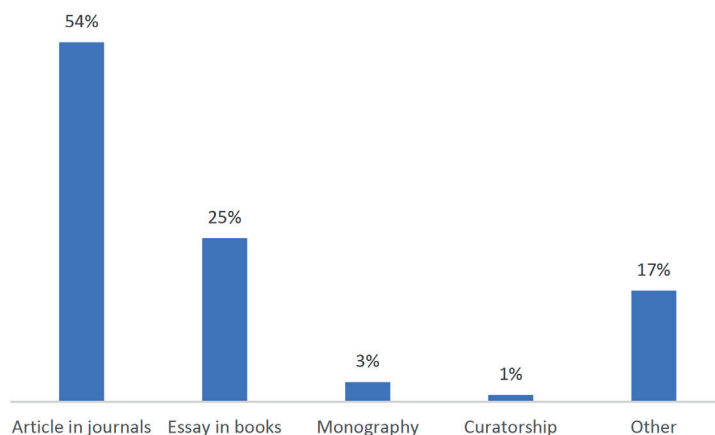


Figure 15. Type of scientific product.

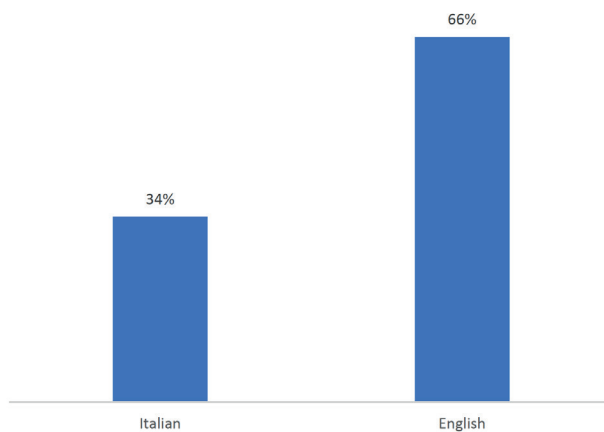


Figure 16. Language of publications.

In recent years, scientific output has clearly increased, due to a growing awareness that the problems related to mafia-type organisations involve institutions, businesses, and families, i.e., the three main subjects that characterise an economic system.

About two-thirds of the entire scientific production has in fact been produced in the last decade (see figure 17). Works showing the unequivocal negative impact of mafia-type organisations on economic development are most likely the main motivation behind this growing interest.

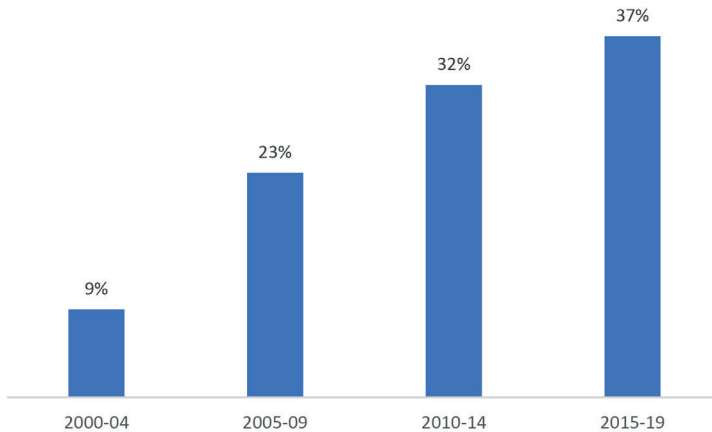


Figure 17. Temporal evolution of publications.

As expected, the distribution of authors by university reflects the long-standing territorial distribution of mafias in Italy; over 40% of the 165 authors are academics from the universities of Messina or Federico II. However, it should be noted that, particularly in recent years, studies on mafias are becoming more common also among scholars from universities located in Central and Northern Italy, like Pavia, Bologna, and Bergamo. This is presumably, at least partially, an effect of the increasing ramifications of mafia activities in the wealthier areas of Italy. Moreover, we note that such studies are mainly conducted by authors with the role of full or associate professors (see figure 18). Given the generally growing interest in topics involving economics and mafia, this is probably linked to the fact that maturity is required in order to deal with such themes. Only 19 of the 165 authors are female, or just over 10%, a percentage that does not reflect the gender distribution of the Italian academic population.

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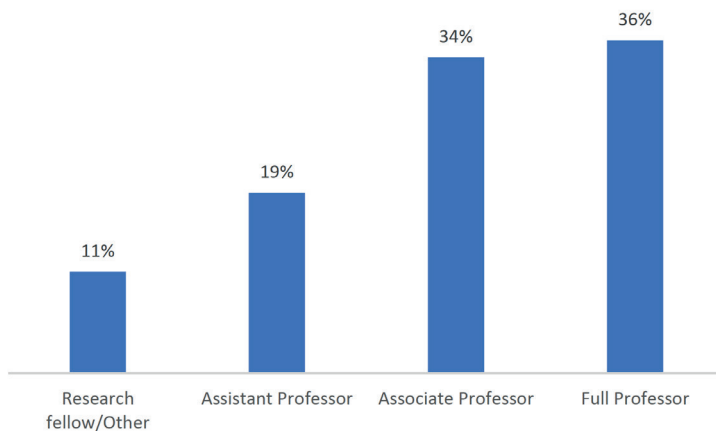


Figure 18. Position of the authors within university.

Research themes. Given the pervasiveness of mafias in Italy's economic and social structure, the topics addressed by scholars cover a broad spectrum of issues related to mafia-type organisations, which can be grouped into four main categories: (I) origins, organisational structures, and prevalent activities; (II) law enforcement actions; (III) external relations; and (IV) direct and indirect economic effects. The common denominator of the approach adopted is considering mafia members as economic agents whose behaviours are driven by incentives to perform certain actions rather than others. The concepts adopted are often those of scarcity, supply and demand, competition, market power and equilibrium, factors of production and unemployment.

The issue of the economic effects of mafia-type organisations is present in little less than half of the entire scientific production. The other two main categories are the origins of mafias and the counteractions adopted by the State. Relatively few works deal with the theme of external relations, despite its crucial importance, probably because it is difficult to find data on the subject.

Large part of the works concerning the effects of mafia-type organisations on the territory is concentrated in the universities of Catanzaro, Messina and Naples Federico II. The latter is also the university where about half of the production related to counteractions is concentrated, followed by the University of Catanzaro. Finally, the highest share of works written in English is found at the Federico II University.

Origins and structure. The main idea that has been put forward to explain the origins of mafias is related to the need for protection: a mafia-type organisation can emerge as an entity providing protection in a context characterised by lack of trust in the institutions responsible for such protection in the first place⁶⁷. The mafia presents itself as an institution that is more efficient than the state in securing private property and contract enforcement, being able to rely on the use of violence. Thus, the market for protection arises from the weakness of institutions.

In this context, economic agents interested in receiving protection begin competing with each other, since the probability of an individual suffering harm increases with the number of other agents seeking protection; the potentially worst outcome for an individual would be to have no protection when everyone else has. Demand-side competition thus incentivises the activity of the often-monopolistic mafia-type organisation.

Some empirical analyses provide support for the hypothesis outlined above. The need to protect one's assets is, according to many scholars, the reason for the birth of mafia in Sicily, although different competing hypotheses have been put forward on the exact circumstance that determined the demand for protection⁶⁸. The weakness of institutions also appears to be the ultimate reason for the growth of Cosa Nostra. The rising protest of the 'Fasci Siciliani' – a movement that spread in Sicily at the end of the 19th century, involving agricultural labourers, miners and workers, who demanded a reduction in taxes, a revision of the agrarian contracts and more rights in general – induced landowners and local politicians to seek Cosa Nostra's intervention to deal with the unrest⁶⁹. This event is thought to have given new life to the Sicilian mafia.

The evidence at an international level does not seem to contradict the studies concerning Italy. Pinotti⁷⁰ analysed the activity of criminal organisations in 147

⁶⁷ D. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia: the business of private protection*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA), London 1996.

⁶⁸ For example, see: P. Buonanno, R. Durante, G. Prarolo, P. Vanin, *Poor institutions, rich mines: Resource curse in the origins of the sicilian mafia*, in 'The Economic Journal', CXXV, 2015, 586, pp. F175-F202; A. Del Monte - L. Pennacchio, *Agricultural Productivity, Banditry and Criminal Organisations in Post-Unification Italy*, in 'Rivista italiana degli economisti. The Journal of the Italian Economic Association', 2012, 3, pp. 347-78.

⁶⁹ D. Acemoglu, De Feo, G. D. De Luca, *Weak States: Causes and Consequences of the Sicilian Mafia*, in 'The Review of Economic Studies', LXXXVII, February 2019, 2, pp. 537-81.

⁷⁰ P. Pinotti, *The causes and consequences of organised crime: Preliminary evidence across countries*, in 'The Economic Journal', CXXV, 2015, 586, pp. F158-F174.

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countries from 2006 to 2013. In particular, the influence of criminal organisations on the economic and social structure of a country is measured using the results of the Executive Opinion Survey, which is published annually by the World Economic Forum. Using the quantity of primary exports as a proxy for the quantity of natural resources, and therefore for the demand for protection, the results show how organised crime has spread more rapidly in places with a higher quantity of natural resources and limited presence of institutions.

The broad spectrum of activities pursued – which reflects a strong presence in various legitimate economic activities, from traditional ones such as construction, public tenders, public and private health care, to recent ones like trade, waste management, real estate and financial investments, renewable energies – results not only from the exploitation of the force of intimidation of the associative tie and of the condition of subjugation and silence (*omertà*) which derives from it, but also from the wide network of external contacts developed by crime organisations and from their internal structure⁷¹, in which the degree of centralisation can determine the success of individual members⁷².

However, it is also true that if institutions are weak the abundance of natural resources, or more in general the high economic potential of a territory, can represent an obstacle to economic development, as it becomes fertile ground for the birth and development of criminal organisations. Analyses of the United States and other contexts suggest that mafia does not proliferate because of social and economic backwardness, but because of the opportunities that can be created in the area, which are sometimes the result of specific public policies⁷³.

Counteractions. The main instrument for fighting mafias is the provision of benefits for collaborators of justice who disclose information on the activities of mafia members. However, economic analysis has long suggested that sentence reductions should be carefully weighed, because of two conflicting effects: on the one hand, they increase the number of informants and, consequently, the likelihood that mafia bosses will be prosecuted; on the other, they reduce the oppor-

⁷¹ S. Villani, M. Mosca, M. Castiello, et al., *A virtuous combination of structural and skill analysis to defeat organized crime*, in 'Socio-Economic Planning Sciences', 65(C), 2019, pp. 51-65.

⁷² G. Mastrobuoni, *The value of connections: Evidence from the Italian-American Mafia*, in 'The Economic Journal', CXXV, 2015, 586, pp. F256-F288.

⁷³ F. Varese, *Mafias on the move: How organized crime conquers new territories*, Princeton University Press, Princeton-Oxford 2011.

tunity cost of participating in the criminal organisation, thereby enabling it to attract recruits more easily. In fact, the data show that since the introduction of a 1991 law concerning collaborators of justice, the number of trials leading to convictions has increased, as has the number of mafia bosses brought to justice.⁷⁴ As suggested by economic analysis, success has been generally less significant in instances where there was strong cohesion between the organisation's members, and results decrease over time.

Since mafia organisations are often able to offer services by tapping into a demand that would otherwise go unmet (for instance, by providing protection or securing employment for those who would otherwise stay unemployed), they are able to expand their business and at the same time increase social acceptance. The equilibrium thereby established guarantees the persistence of mafia activities over time.

Alongside actions aimed at repressing criminal activity, through the drafting and implementation of anti-mafia laws, actions that reduce the driving factors behind demand for mafia are therefore desirable, making interaction with crime less convenient for economic agents who are not affiliated (e.g., through policies aimed at promoting competition), or more aware of the negative aggregate effects of illegal activities.⁷⁵

Effective counteractions must therefore consider both sides of the market, selecting instruments on the basis of the type of interaction that takes place in the market between criminal organisation and non-affiliated agents, and carefully assessing the indirect effects of the instruments put forward.

External relations. Article 416 bis of the Italian Criminal Code – introduced in 1982 – establishes that a mafia-type organisation is organisation whose members use the power of intimidation deriving from the bonds of membership, the state of subjugation and conspiracy of silence that it engenders to commit an offence. In the twenty years following the introduction of mafia as a specific criminal offence, there have been approximately two hundred cases per year in Italy involving this crime; more than five thousand people have been convicted of mafia association.

⁷⁴ A. Acconcia, G. Immordino, S. Piccolo, P. Rey, *Accomplice Witnesses and Organize Crime: Theory and Evidence from Italy*, in 'The Scandinavian Journal of Economics', CXVI, 2014, 4, pp. 1116-59.

⁷⁵ A. M. Lavezzi, *Organised crime and the economy: A framework for policy prescriptions*, in 'Global Crime', XV, 2014, 1-2, pp. 164-90.

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In recent years two main changes have occurred: (i) the activity of mafias in Italy has become increasingly widespread in high-income areas of the North and the Centre; (ii) it has become more difficult to prosecute mafias through the defining requirements specified by the aforementioned law – namely, the intimidating force of the associative tie – since for criminal groups it is no longer necessary nor convenient to display their power of intimidation in order to pursue their aims. Corruption often replaces the use of force, at least when it comes to public tenders. The strong mix of mafias, public spending and corruption is the key element of institutional weakness in Italy. Corruption, organised crime (often, but not always, with the connotation of being mafia-related) and public spending are similar to the three interconnected vertices of a triangle.

The figures quantifying the phenomenon show what is apparent to all: corruption is growing over time and is becoming increasingly widespread and pervasive. A link between mafia infiltrations in institutions, corruption, and public spending also emerges. Some studies reveal a link between public spending and the presence of organised crime⁷⁶, as well as a link between corruption and mafia infiltrations in public institutions⁷⁷. Analysis by economic sector shows a statistically detectable link between spending and corruption, for assets subject to public tender⁷⁸.

The circumstance that the decision-making power over public spending at a local level lies in the hands of individuals who have a direct relationship with firms willing to pay a bribe has a salient implication: mafia gangs no longer have the necessity and convenience to display their power of intimidation. The willingness to take bribes from one party and the desire to do business from another – i.e., the supply of and demand for corruption – are the relevant elements. In order to get a picture of the situation which is as accurate as possible, it is useful to consider not only corruption related to mafia activities but also corruption

⁷⁶ E. Felli - G. Tria, *Produttività e crimine organizzato: Un'analisi delle regioni italiane*, in 'Sviluppo economico', IV, 2000, 1, pp. 79-101; R. Caruso, *Spesa pubblica e criminalità organizzata in Italia: evidenza empirica su dati Panel nel periodo 1997-2003*, in 'Economia & lavoro', XLIII, 2009, 1, pp. 71-3.

⁷⁷ B. S. Sergi - R. Qerim Qerimi, *Fighting corruption and organised crime as a means of socio-economic development in south-east Europe*, in 'South-East Europe Review', 2, 2007, pp. 81-94; A. Acconcia, G. Corsetti, S. Simonelli, *Mafia and Public Spending: Evidence on the Fiscal Multiplier from a Quasi-experiment*, in 'American Economic Review', CIII, July 2014, 7, pp. 2185-209.

⁷⁸ A. Acconcia - C. Cantabene, *A Big Push To Deter Corruption: Evidence From Italy*, in 'Giornale degli Economisti', LXVII, March 2008, 1, pp. 75-102.

from generic criminal organisations. Otherwise, one risks underestimating the extent of the problem.

Direct and indirect economic effects. It is now a widespread belief that the presence of mafia organisations slows down the economic growth of the area in which they operate. Often, we speak of the economic and social cost of mafias, intended primarily as a curtailment of investment opportunities and economic development. Given that the channels through which the effects of mafia can occur are manifold, in addition to studies that highlight the link between the rise of mafia organisations and public spending, there are others examining the link with foreign investment⁷⁹ and business productivity⁸⁰. In the Apulia and Basilicata regions, the data suggests that the presence of mafias would have reduced the per capita GDP by 15-20%, compared to what would have otherwise been achievable without such presence⁸¹.

It has also been shown that mafia infiltration in politics can lead to an alteration of electoral results and of the activities carried out by elected candidates, thus distorting the allocation of public investment to the areas of interest of mafia organisations and curbing efforts to counter them⁸².

⁷⁹ V. Daniele, *Incentivi economici e disincentivi di contesto: Gli investimenti esteri nel Mezzogiorno*, in 'Rivista di Economia e Statistica del Territorio', 2007.

⁸⁰ F. Ofria - D. Farinella, *The Impact of Criminality on the Productivity of the Southern Italian Economy: A Review of the Empirical Studies*, in 'Mediterranean Journal of Human Rights', september 2011, 15, pp. 215-38; M. Centorrino - F. Ofria, *Criminalità organizzata e produttività del lavoro nel Mezzogiorno: un'applicazione del modello "Kaldor-Verdoorn"*, in 'Rivista economica del Mezzogiorno', XXII, 2008, 1, pp. 163-88; L. Balletta - A. M. Lavezzi, *The Economics of Extortion: Theory and Evidence on the Sicilian Mafia*, Discussion Papers of the Economy and Management department of the University of Pisa, 2019, 242.

⁸¹ P. Pinotti, *The economic costs of organised crime: Evidence from Southern Italy*, in 'The Economic Journal', CXXV, 2015, 586, pp. F203-F232.

⁸² See for example: A. Alesina, S. Piccolo, P. Pinotti, *Organized crime, violence, and politics*, in 'The Review of Economic Studies', LXXXVI, 2019, 2, pp. 457-99; E. Dal Bò, P. Dal Bò, R. Di Tella, *Plata o Plomo? Bribe and punishment in a theory of political influence*, in 'American Political Science Review', 2006, pp. 41-53; G. Daniele - B. Geys, *Organised crime, institutions and political quality: Empirical evidence from Italian municipalities*, in 'The Economic Journal', CXXV, 2015, 586, pp. F233-F255; G. Daniele - G. Dipoppa, *Mafia, elections and violence against politicians*, in 'Journal of Public Economics', 2017, 154, pp. 10-33; G. De Feo - G. D. De Luca, *Mafia in the Ballot Box*, in 'American Economic Journal: Economic Policy', IX, agosto 2017, 3, pp. 134-6

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*Business Administration and accounting studies, Management and Organisation Studies**

The landscape of research on organised crime within the area 13/B (Business administration and management), comprises 83 products (43 unique entries) by 30 authors, and shows a greater incidence, in terms of academic disciplines, of the Business administration and accounting discipline (13/B1 – SECS-P/07) with 15 authors, followed by Organisation studies (13/B3 – SECS-P/10) with 9 authors and Management (13/B2 – SECS-P/08) with 6 authors. The 43 unique products, over the timeframe under observation, are mainly concentrated in the 2012-2018 period, showing how attention to the topic has grown over the last 8-10 years.

The discrepancy between 43 unique products and 83 ‘overall’ ones is explained by the high percentage of publications with 2 or more authors (80%). This is perfectly consistent with the 13/B area’s tendency to perceive ‘shared’ writing as a way to achieve growth and as a source of mutual enrichment and exchange of ideas, considering it fundamental to achieve the scientific objectives in line with the disciplines involved (particularly publishing articles in prestigious international journals).

Grouping the 43 products by academic discipline, an almost equal distribution between SECS-P/07 (18) and SECS-P/10 (15) can be observed, while 10 products pertain to the SECS-P/08 sector.

These data lead to a first reflection about the relevance of organised crime as a subject within the different disciplines. As far as the area of Business administration and accounting studies (SECS-P/07) is concerned, the large number of authors working in the discipline (about 800) must be noted: in light of this figure, the 15 authors who have dealt with the subject of crime represent less than 2% of the total number of authors.

This is even more pronounced in the case of the Management discipline (SECS-P/08), where the 6 contributing authors represent less than 1% of the total (about 670). Within Organisation studies, on the other hand, the 9 authors represent 5% of the total (about 190), thus showing a certain interest in the topic by the SECS-P/10 community. These data could partly be explained by a natural proximity and strong cultural affinity between the disciplines of Organisation

* This paper has been written by Paolo Canonico, Stefano Consiglio, Ernesto De Nito, Gianluigi Mangia and Andrea Tomo.

studies and Sociology, which have led to meeting and exchanging ideas on the various topics discussed in the field of sociology itself, thus including organised crime. Another explanation may be related to the fact that crime can naturally be seen from an organisational perspective (macro and/or micro), whereas, in conventional terms, it is more thematically distanced from other sectors.

As for the time distribution of products categorised by academic discipline, SECS-P/10 shows a substantial balance in the time frame in question, while SECS-P/07 sees an important increase after 2014. This trend is even more marked for SECS-P/08, where 9 out of 10 publications are from the period 2014-2017, while the only other item is from 1997. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the reliable data on which this analysis can be based are those from 2000 to 2017, which is the main focus of the research database, since not all published works were ‘uploaded’ in the years before that period.

In the last 10 years, legislative activity on the management of assets seized from the mafia has clearly generated a degree of interest in the business administration and management sectors as well, particularly with reference to business valuation and management of seized and confiscated companies. Notably, a key role may be attributed to the birth of the ANBSC, the “*National agency for the management and allocation of assets seized and confiscated from organised crime*”, under Decree no. 4 of 4 February 2010, as well as to the creation of a Registry of court-appointed administrators, and to the legislative changes introduced between 2011 and 2017, especially the ‘Antimafia code’ (Legislative Decree no. 159 of 2011). In fact, the title III of said code contains, in addition to provisions for preventive measures, provisions for the administration, management and allocation of seized and confiscated assets.

Of the 43 unique products, most were published by authors employed by the University of Naples Federico II (16), Palermo (8), Enna Kore and Salerno (4), Milan Bicocca (3). Eight other universities published a single product each. More generally, production in Southern Italy is higher than in Central and Northern Italy (about 77% of the total), in line with the national trend, which sees the South in a leading position. Historically, this retraces the areas where criminal organisations are more deeply rooted, but perhaps even more markedly the areas where they play a bigger role in the social and economic context. The weight of mafias can be probably perceived more acutely in some Southern regions, regardless of their actual presence. It is no coincidence that the universities publishing more products are located in contexts where criminal organisations exert considerable and recognisable pressure and violence, first and foremost through

III. University research in the field of organised crime

judicial inquiries and court reports, and through the control of territory, and in areas where so-called mafia wars have been particularly bloody.

About 68% of products were published in English. This is also consistent with the trend in the Business administration and management area (13/B), which in recent years has deemed it increasingly necessary to engage openly in exchanges of ideas within an international context, thus leading to scientific products like articles, chapters and volumes being published in English. At the same time, it is interesting to note the receptivity of the international community (including the world of business accounting, management and organization studies) towards organised crime, which is more and more considered a key factor in analysing economic, managerial and social dynamics. Evidence of this, it is the fact that the theme of organised crime is often present – and receiving ever greater attention – in some of the world’s most important conferences in the field of management and organisational studies (above all, Aom – Academy of Management, and Egos – European Group for Organizational Studies). It is in fact worth noting that the journals belonging to this field contain contributions which are linked to the theme of organised crime, or which exploit this field of inquiry to investigate specific managerial or organisational phenomena. In general, one can note the presence of several articles (mainly by non-Italian authors) dealing with mafia and especially corruption, in journals focusing on ethics and its relation to economy and business, like the ‘Journal of Business Ethics’.

Figure 19 shows English language production by academic discipline as a percentage of total publications and for the main publication types (articles in journals and essays in books).

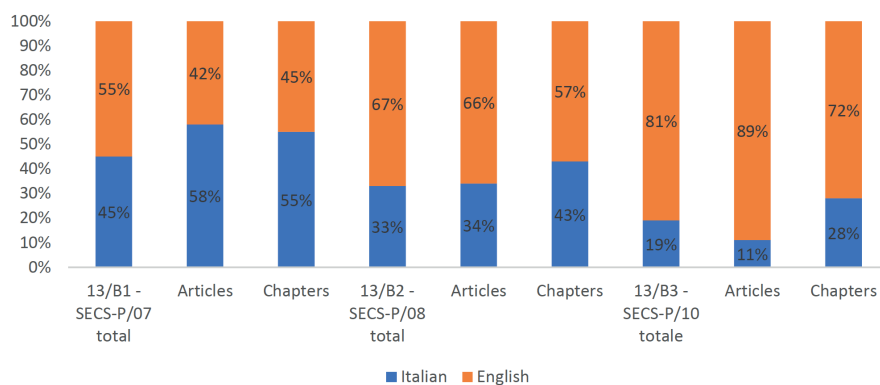


Figure 19. English language production by academic discipline, showing values by total, articles and essays in books (chapters).

Breaking down the data by academic discipline, English language production exceeds 80% in the SECS-P/10 discipline (81%), which is the one with the highest internationalising orientation, while 67% of production in SECS-P/08 and 55% in SECS-P/07 is in English. In terms of publication type, the scientific production mainly takes the form of essays in books (19) and articles in journals (10), with few edited books (3) and monographs (3).

Considering the academic disciplines of the essays published in books, there are 7 products for SECS-P/10 and 7 products for SECS-P/07, evenly distributed in the period observed, while the 5 products for SECS-P/08 are mainly concentrated in the 2014- 2017 period, as is the case for the production in this area in general. The percentage of English language products for essays in books is quite similar to the percentage for the overall production. In fact, it amounts to 45% for SECS-P/07, while other disciplines show much higher percentages: 57% for SECS-P/08 and as much as 72% for SECS-P/10. This may at least partially be explained by the fact that in some disciplines (especially those closely linked to legislative aspects) the contribution that can be given to the debate is strongly country-specific.

The majority of articles in journals (6) was produced within the SECS-P/07 discipline, with a temporal distribution heavily skewed towards a recent period (2014-2017). The 3 articles pertaining to SECS-P/10 were published before 2012, and the only article in SECS-P/08 was published in 2017. This may illustrate how, from 2014 onwards, there has been a growing attention to the subject in disciplines which were previously less interested, especially through journal articles.

Even for this latter type of work, SECS-P/07 is the discipline whose production is predominantly in Italian (58%), while in SECS-P/08 and SECS-P/10 English language articles account for 66 and 89%, respectively.

Before providing a brief overview of the contributions that could present the most interesting subjects analysed by the scientific community, it is important to acknowledge that, despite an increase in the number of products in recent years, the scientific community (both national and international) has dedicated little space to the study of mafias and related phenomena.

An analysis of the contributions available in the database shows that most of the works focused on aspects related to the management of seized assets, addressing issues related to accounting, management and organisation. In particular, as mentioned earlier, since the creation of the National agency for the management and allocation of assets seized and confiscated from organised crime, one can argue that a fully-fledged research field has been born, applying the principles

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of business administration to an in-depth investigation of administration and management of seized and confiscated assets. One of the aims of this field is to systematise the main variables that can influence the governance and management of seized companies. These contributions attempt to provide a theoretical reflection on the concept of enterprise from a business administration perspective, and to offer valuable operational guidance on the choices to be made in companies subject to seizure and confiscation.

A further large group of papers dealt with the management of criminal enterprises, that is, problems related to the specific sectors in which these enterprises are infiltrated and to the complex relationships between entrepreneurs and clans, which may vary from markedly 'criminal' situations to more 'legitimate/legal' ones. In this regard, the authors have focused on the ways in which criminal enterprises (i.e., regular enterprises directly or indirectly controlled by criminal organisations) find resources and grow. Awareness of the fact that mafia-type criminal organisations control businesses, influence public tenders, and affect policies aimed at economic and social development, even going so far as to alter democratic processes, has prompted the scientific community to rethink the traditional mechanisms used to influence and control the territory, such as the use of violence, intimidation, and threats, but also the ability to deploy substantial economic and financial resources. The connection between legal economy and organised crime is increasingly complex and pervasive, not only in view of the so-called infiltration phenomenon (which has also been discussed in managerial studies), but also, and above all, in relation to governance and management choices and the use of managerial tools. From this point of view, corruption – both in the public and private domains – represents a perfect joining element and a meeting point between the world of legality and that of mafia, leading to a contamination process that can no longer be overlooked. This is also confirmed by the fact that some of the works have touched on aspects associated with measures to combat and prevent corruption. This field has its own independent approach when it comes to organised crime, since scholars have long focused on corruption as a systemic and synergic phenomenon, involving not only individual but also collective action. Said autonomy also implies that, while a great deal of attention is paid to the private sector, the issue of corruption in the public context is largely neglected (at least within the management disciplines). The great financial scandals, especially those which occurred from the 2000s onwards, have undoubtedly given a strong impulse to the study of the phenomenon and this explains the focus of research on the private sector, at least partially.

Considering how significant the topic is, quite few are the contributions focusing on the individual dimension of leadership, which is one of the most analysed themes in theories of organisational behaviour. However, it would be very beneficial to try to contribute to the understanding of the behaviour of mafia members by analysing their ability to 'lead' and manage a criminal group. From this point of view, the contribution of the management perspective could be very relevant and deserves further development.

Another issue that needs to be explored in greater depth is how to combat the presence of criminal organisations (with the exception of seizures and confiscations of companies). Some work has been done on the behaviour of entrepreneurs and their possible reactions to attempted contact by the mafia, but it would certainly be useful to understand the phenomenon more thoroughly, both in terms of operational issues (which strategies, methods and tools characterise this relationship) and theoretical reflections (which theories can help us understanding the phenomenon and, conversely, what contribution can be made to theories thanks to the empirical study of the relationship between entrepreneurs and organised crime).

From the data that have been gathered, it is possible to highlight how the topic of organised crime is still insufficiently explored within the scientific community of the 13/B area. In fact, while it is now clear that mafia has a highly significant impact on economic and social data, and that it has a decisive influence on market dynamics and the behaviour of individual companies, it seems that the Italian management literature has ample room for improvement. Important steps to make the community aware of the issue could be taken by encouraging the creation of discussion spaces able to stimulate profitable debate.

*5. Statistics, Mathematics and physics, Engineering (particularly Informatics)**

This paper focuses on the following academic disciplines:

- FIS/07 – Applied physics (cultural heritage, environment, biology and medicine)
- INF/01 – Informatics
- ING-INF/04 – Systems and control engineering
- ING-INF/05 – Information processing systems

* This paper has been written by Giovanni Giuffrida.

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- MAT/08 – Numerical analysis
- SECS-S/01 – Statistics
- SECS-S/03 – Economic statistics
- SECS-S/05 – Social statistics

The aim was to identify the most significant research themes addressed by the 38 scientific articles within the aforementioned academic disciplines.

Macro categorisation

Mainly, we can identify two macro-categories based on the way articles approach the theme: an ‘algorithmic’ approach versus a ‘compilatory’ approach.

Considering the disciplines we examined, we were not surprised to find several instances of new algorithms being developed and/or existing algorithms being applied to data of various kinds. These articles place great emphasis on the technical aspect, while maintaining a significant focus on the analysis of the data produced. In any case, the main focus of the study often remains the technical aspect of the algorithms presented.

A smaller portion of articles is instead centred on data collection and analysis, using fairly standard statistical approaches. Such articles focused more on the results of the statistical analysis performed. This type of approach can be considered more of a ‘compilatory’ type, in the sense that the authors are more concerned with the significance of the statistics produced. This type of article, as already mentioned, represents a small percentage of the set we considered.

Main themes

Within the selected articles, we tried to identify the main themes addressed by the various authors. This is certainly a useful exercise to properly ‘map’ the interests of research authors on the subject of mafias in the disciplines analysed.

Social network analysis

A significant percentage of articles deals, in various ways, with social networks. Authors structured the presented data into a social network whose topology is then analysed. The networks presented are measured by standard indicators such as degree centrality, betweenness centrality, closeness, etc. Some authors have also analysed the resilience of criminal networks, i.e., the ability of such networks to adapt to external difficulties and/or pressures. Other studies have focused on the different features of a ‘normal’ social network compared to a ‘criminal’ one.

Understanding the phenomena which characterise a criminal network can surely be valuable to facilitate its identification.

In such cases, the main difficulty is to construct a network of actors and roles and to model it appropriately. The logic used to construct the network is obviously strongly correlated with the quality of the metrics subsequently used to measure the relevant phenomena. Various data sources were pre-processed in order to extract the entities and their correlations, which then formed the social network to be analysed. Some authors extracted entities and correlations from free text while others used mobile phone tracking.

Text mining

A fair number of articles showed an interest in text mining (TM), a research discipline focused on automatic extraction of higher-level semantic concepts from basic (unstructured or semi-structured) text. Text mining is a specialisation within the wider area of data mining (DM). While DM deals with the extraction of information from structured data, TM starts from free text in search of underlying concepts within the text itself. This technique has become very popular in recent years and it is widely used in various fields of study such as marketing, journalism, reputation studies, economics, social studies, etc. Today, TM techniques have become very sophisticated and the machines' ability to 'understand' the input text has certainly achieved very high levels.

Indeed, the presence of this subject in the scientific literature indicates the keen interest of researchers in text processing. Certainly, textual data abounds in the study of mafia phenomena. Unfortunately, the level of digitisation of Mafia-related documents available in Italian courts is in general quite low. Authors, in fact, often analyse historical data, even particularly old ones, to understand mafia. The scarce availability of old documents in digital format is without doubt a limitation for the spread of research in this field.

Mobile networks

Some authors have shown certain interest in the analysis of data generated by use of mobile phone usage. These data are certainly of great interest to researchers, but they are not easy to obtain due to privacy issues in general. However, one can easily argue that if these data were available, even in anonymised and/or encrypted form, the amount of new research that could be carried out would certainly be significant.

In general, mobile device logs are analysed in order to trace networks of individuals of interest, from which illicit behaviour can be detected and/or par-

ticularly interesting network nodes can be identified. The flow of information between the various members of a network provides the basis for studying numerous phenomena highly relevant to crime study and crime prevention.

Social statistics and presence of women

Several articles show an interest in social aspects in general and, in some cases, a specific interest in studying the presence of women within the mafia ecosystem. Typically, these articles exhibit a compilatory nature, collecting data which are then analysed using standard statistical tools. The interest for the social dimension is not unexpected in mafia literature, even within more technologically oriented disciplines such as those discussed here. In some cases, research started from the collection of relevant online newspaper articles. Other authors analysed data collected from questionnaires administered to detainees with the aim of understanding distinctive behavioural phenomena. Other authors used the profiles of a few hundred members of the American mafia to derive its crime network, in order to study the structure of such networks of relations.

In general, studies belonging to this category are based on small databases of varied nature. However, the focus remains on the study of the social phenomenon connected to the mafia.

Data analysis and visualisation

Another area of interest among the examined publications is advanced data visualisation. Considering the complexity of the data under analysis, an appropriate visualisation of input data can certainly provide valuable information. Data visualisation techniques have received strong interest in recent years. This was especially fuelled by the increasing availability of Big Data in the digital domain, and by increased machine power that offers extremely sophisticated real-time graphical analysis.

Various studies show that criminal social networks can be large and complex, and therefore analysing them through standard measures may be inefficient. Appropriate visualisation techniques can instead reveal areas of the network which deserve further study, leading to less complex domains to focus on. These techniques have generally proved to be very effective in various fields and some authors support their application.

6. *History***Quantitative incidence, breakdown by academic disciplines and initial methodological orientations*

Studies within the History area, including the academic disciplines M-STO/01, M-STO/02, M-STO/05, M-STO/04 and M-STO/07 (respectively, Medieval history, Modern history, History of science, Contemporary history and History of Christianity), represent about 10% of the data set (in total, 228 out of 2587 records) and rank, in absolute numbers, as the fifth sector by number of contributions. Although mafia is specifically a contemporary phenomenon, the registry also includes contributions by historians of the modern history, and, to a marginal extent, by historians of the Middle Ages (one review) and science historians (only one contribution, albeit dedicated not to organised crime but to a dispute between scientific schools in the city of Naples). Authors working in the field of modern history and belonging to different universities (Messina, Bari, Teramo) have published 31 works on the subject (Table 8).

Table 8. Distribution of products by discipline.

| <i>Author: discipline</i> | <i>Unique products by author</i> | <i>Unique products</i> |
|---|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| M-STO/04 – Contemporary history | 198 | 192 |
| M- STO/02 – Modern history | 31 | 30 |
| M- STO/07 – History of Christianity and of churches | 6 | 5 |
| M- STO/01 – Medieval history | 1 | 1 |
| M- STO/05 – History of science and technology | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 237 | 228 |

Historians of modern history, especially those who work or worked in Sicilian universities, have been interested in the history of mafias since the eighties. This decade, as we shall see, marks the beginning of a renewed interest in studies on this subject; it must be noted that, even if the authors in question are scholars of the modern era, when writing about mafia they focus on the nineteenth and

* This paper has been written by Carolina Castellano and Gabriella Gribaudo.

twentieth century: there are important studies on mafia and rural Sicily in the nineteenth century, mafia and the peasant movement after World War II, mafia and fascism, mafia and terrorism (with the contribution of a historian of modern history who carried out important work on the Aldo Moro murder). Still in the sphere of modern history, in more recent years there have been contributions, mainly reviews, focusing on the representations of mafia and camorra in 19th-century literary imagery and on its effects on the culture and criminological policies of liberal-age Italy. These latter works, therefore, address the origins of mafia, in terms of political history, as a contamination between the ruling classes' tendency towards conflict and the criminal milieu in the phase when the Italian state was in its nascent stage. As will be seen hereafter, this is a question that both scholars of the modern and contemporary age approached from a different perspective in the earlier period of research, a perspective that was more concerned with social than political dynamics.

Overall, the origin of mafia and its presence in Italian history are dealt with in 18 contributions out of 228 (data obtained searching the titles for * origin*), exclusively addressing Sicilian mafia and Campanian camorra, and focusing on their form.

The History of Christianity discipline is also represented, although through a limited number of contributions (6), concentrated in recent years (especially 2017), and spread geographically among the universities of Catania, Bologna, Rome, Venice. These studies are concerned both with the institutional aspect of the relations between Church and mafias, and with the cultural and symbolic dimension of mafia power, therefore with attention to the role religious devotion plays in the influence of mafia on social contexts. Aspects related to religious language and culture are also occasionally dealt with in contributions by scholars of the contemporary age: for example, in two contributions on the relationship between Sicilian Church and mafias, by scholars of the University of Pisa; in two University of Cassino contributions, dated 2016 and 2017, on the relationship between the Catholic religion and the 'ndrangheta; in two contributions from authors working at the University of Tor Vergata on religious devotion as a resource exploited by mafias and, on the contrary, of the anti-mafia movement as a sort of 'civil religion'.

As mentioned above, Medieval history and History of science are present with only two works, both about the history of Naples. These two contributions do not strictly fall within the sphere of research on the camorra, but merely mention it in the title. This is nevertheless significant as they evoke the hypothesis of a very long dating political and representative role of the Camorra in the city of Naples.

The group of historians of the contemporary age is the most numerous, numbering 43 authors (mostly male, as we will see). This represents about 12% of the total number of authors working in this discipline, a not-insignificant share.

The recognition of mafias as an object of study came relatively late for the field of historiography, and this is reflected quite well in the temporal distribution of the contributions recorded in the research registry. The oldest contributions were published from the early 1980s onwards, in a period of radical renewal of historical studies on Southern Italy, with new analytical methods and new sources. At the time, historiographical schools were being formed in the universities of Campania and Sicily, but also in the University of Pisa; these schools are still active and thriving. In those years, studies on the history of mafias acquired a strong interdisciplinary character: some works engaged in a confrontation with English-speaking historical anthropology studies on the development of mafias in connection with the process of nation building; studies focusing on the contemporary age, from the nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century, but with a retrospective look to the modern age; there were also early studies on an important aspect of this subject, the aspect of representations. This era of historiography was attentive to social phenomena, practising a strict criticism of the traditional and stereotyped representations of Southern Italy and the mafias, and was alert to a cultural approach that considered mafias and camorra as being dependent on Southern anthropology. The question of the centuries-old origins of these phenomena was approached with attention to historically situated contexts, rather than adopting the mythologised view of those origins of a criminal phenomenon considered as a holistic, timeless entity, propagated by a narrative typical of sectarian imagination. A new approach to the history of mafias started in those years, able to deconstruct, through critical analysis of the sources, the popular narrative concerning the sixteenth-century origins of the mafias as a nefarious effect of Spanish domination. These contributions examined with scientific awareness the languages and cultural resources of mafia organisations; being open to an interdisciplinary approach, they allowed to exploit the analytical methods of anthropology in order to analyse social interactions and to examine the use of cultural codes: studies focusing on the concept of 'honour', on disciplining and on symbols of violence were found together with a systematic criticism of 'Sicilianism' and of the associated interpretation of mafia as a typical phenomenon of that region's culture. University of Catania scholars also published early analyses of the connections between mafia and fiction.

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The way mafias grow and take root was analysed in regard to the development of intermediation spaces with the state's nascent institutions: the use of mafia and camorra to impose order, the practice and monopoly of violence in lieu of the state. In this phase the groups of scholars that stand out are the Sicilian one from the universities of Palermo and Catania, and the Neapolitan one from the University of Naples Federico II. A network of scholars coalesced around the theme of the 'Mezzogiorno' (Southern Italy) more in general, with the collaboration of Palermo, Catania, Naples and Pisa universities. A crucial role in collecting the works of these scholars was played by the journal *Meridiana. Rivista di storia e scienze sociali* founded in 1987 within the Southern Institute of History and Social Sciences and currently published by Viella, a publishing house based in Rome. This line of historiography looks at state building processes and centre-periphery relationships, paying great attention to the contributions coming from other disciplines, especially cultural and economic anthropology. It is in this context that the first historiographic studies on camorra appear.

Temporal evolution

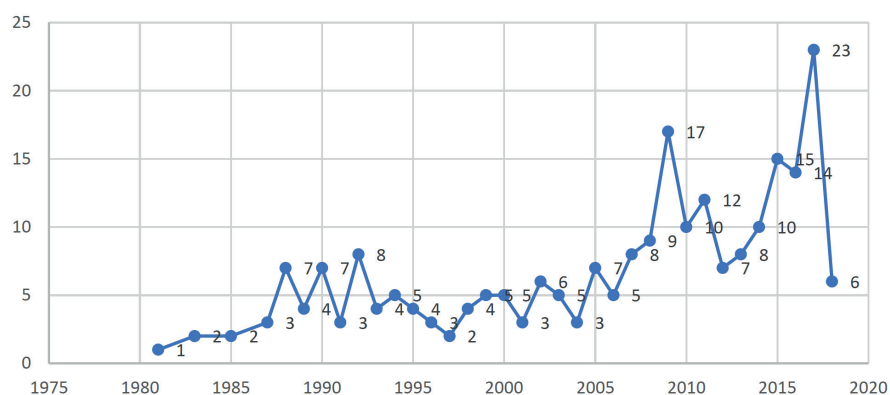


Figure 20. Temporal evolution of products (2000-2018).

Ever since the eighties, there has been a slow yet constant increase in the attention of historians towards mafia phenomena. 45 of the studies included in the Registry were published in the 1990s (see figure 20). This is the decade when a series of books on the history of Italian regions was published by Einaudi. They contain important contributions on the subject, including work regarding Sicily

by Paolo Pezzino (from the University of Pisa) and Salvatore Lupo (University of Palermo), and regarding Campania by Marcella Marmo (Federico II University of Naples). These contributions are an expression of the historiographical renaissance mentioned above, connecting different aspects of mafia phenomena, from the sectarian discipline of violence to the methods of territorial control in different contexts, and discussing the political and mercantile aspects of mafia activity. Even in this decade, a considerable amount of attention is devoted to the early years of the Kingdom of Italy, and to the connection between the political conflict of the elites and the politics of disorder in Sicily, particularly in the city of Palermo⁸³. In 1993 Salvatore Lupo's history of the mafia from the origins to the contemporary age was published⁸⁴; at the end of the decade Francesco Barbagallo's work on the contemporary camorra was also published. In that decade, the revelations of informants which had been prominent figures in the Camorra federation 'Nuova famiglia' were sources of great impact on the re-examination of the dynamics of the evolution of criminality in Campania. At the end of the decade, Francesco Barbagallo's work on the contemporary camorra was published⁸⁵. In that decade, the revelations of informants who had been prominent figures in the 'Nuova Famiglia' constituted highly impactful sources about the evolutionary dynamics of criminality in Campania. The effectiveness of the judicial action against the mafias gave great impetus to historical research, also soliciting new questions on a crucial issue, the relationship between rule of law and anti-mafia repression. Within this area of research, studies on Fascist anti-mafia action emerged, mostly produced by Sicilian universities, in the early 2000s. At that time there were also important studies, such as the monograph published in 1993 by modernist Giovanni Raffaele, and the work of English historian Christopher Duggan, which focused on Prefect Mori's mission to assess the effectiveness of repression in the context of Sicilian Fascism, marked by strong divisions and conflicts. In the early 2000s, research started from a different perspective, discussing the assumption that only a repressive, authoritarian regime could have the ability to face the Mafia groups on a military and judicial level. These new studies, published in monographic issues of the *Meridiana* journal, and partially

⁸³ P. Pezzino, *La congiura dei pugnatori. Un caso politico-giudiziario alle origini della mafia*, Marsilio, Venice 1992.

⁸⁴ S. Lupo, *Storia della mafia. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Donzelli, Rome 1993.

⁸⁵ F. Barbagallo, *Il potere della camorra. 1793-1998*, Einaudi, Turin 1999.

in monographs by individual researchers, rethought the previous hypothesis that Mori's mission was instrumental to the internal purge of Sicilian fascism. This reassessment happened in the light of the multifaceted and changing nature of the two actors at play (fascism and the gangs); they re-evaluated the relevance of social conflict after World War I for the transformation of mafia's power over the landed estates, and examined the role played by external actors, primarily lawyers. Similar studies, not included in the registry, are noteworthy: one on Calabria⁸⁶ and one on Campania⁸⁷.

The 2000s were also years of research on the mafia's intercontinental connections and global reach: in addition to a monograph⁸⁸ on the relations between American and Sicilian mafia, the first reflections on the international outlook of the camorra in Campania and on the peculiar intertwining between strong local roots and international dimension were published⁸⁹. The interest in the camorra organisations in Campania grew strongly in the first decade of the 2000s: 53 of the 69 titles that contain the words *camorra/camorre* – singular and plural – were published after the year 2000. This growth is only partly due to the impact of Roberto Saviano's 2006 book *Gomorra* on public and scholarly debate (in fact, reviews of the book, or a discussion on the representations of the camorra, appear among the contributions in the registry even 10 years after the book's release). To a large extent, the new attention given to the Camorra is also due to the emergency caused by a bloody war between groups that broke out in the early 2000s (the "Scampia feud" of 2004) and to the efficiency of the judiciary in integrating investigations into the violent and the entrepreneurial aspects of the criminal groups. In this phase as well, studies on the camorra come from Federico II scholars. On the basis of the previous findings on the trading and entrepreneurial vocation manifested by the camorra groups since their 19th century origins, these studies widened the field of observation on territorial variants to the entrepreneurial and modern approach of small-town, suburban camorra, questioning

⁸⁶ F. Truzzolillo, *La struttura unitaria e verticistica della 'ndrangheta delle origini*, in *Meridiana*, 2013, n. 77.

⁸⁷ C. Castellano, *Una questione di provincia. Criminalità e camorra tra età giolittiana e fascismo*, Editoriale Scientifica, Naples 2020.

⁸⁸ S. Lupo, *Quando la mafia trovò l'America. Storia di una connessione intercontinentale*, Einaudi, Turin 2008.

⁸⁹ G. Gribaudo (edited by), *Traffici criminali. Camorra, mafie e reti internazionali dell'illegalità*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin 2009.

the linear, evolutionary interpretation of the plebeian Camorra that emerged in Naples, the largest and poorest city in 19th century Italy. The research methodology is still multi-disciplinary, open to contamination by other social sciences, first and foremost anthropology and sociology: these studies are attentive to the reconstruction of genealogies and family networks, to the use of cultural codes, but also to the detailed description of the market environments in which these groups operate. The result is complex scenarios, in which the world of Camorra interacts closely with its environment, made of traders, professionals and institutional figures; the analysis looks at the dynamics of violence, the continuous alternation between entrepreneurial rationality and a widespread, apparently irrational, use of violence against people on the part of an extremely conflictual criminality. In these years, for both the history of the mafia and the history of the Camorra, issues relating to judicial and criminological categorisation were also addressed, especially the evolution of legislation concerning criminal associations, in criminal law and policing. In this field, social history studies have established a dialogue with crime science and history of law, as can be seen from the work on Fascist era trials, on the Cuocolo trial held in Naples and Viterbo at the beginning of the 20th century, but also on emergency legislation, from the age of widespread brigandage in Italy to Republican legislation, and on the application of police measures for mafia suppression.

Another theme explored and expanded in the research of the first twenty years of the 21st century concerns the gender perspective; in this field, as well, the dialogue with other social sciences is prolific: sociology and criminal sciences have in fact contributed to deeply challenge the idea of the marginality of women in mafia organisations in all regional variants; there was a re-evaluation of the crucial role played by women in mafia families in the reproduction of cultural and behavioural codes. In the last twenty years, the research registry shows a renewed attention of historiography towards the gender perspective, in particular by female scholars of Camorra phenomena. Between 2010 and 2011, said scholars devoted chapters published in books to the female element of mafias and edited a monographic issue of the journal *Meridiana*⁹⁰.

The focus on devotional aspects is another aspect to be noted in terms of developments in mafia research. The contributions on this topic are concentrated in 2017, a year that coincided with a peak of productivity for historical research

⁹⁰ G. Gribaudo - M. Marmo, *Donne di mafia*, in *Meridiana*, 2010, 67.

on mafias (23 contributions in a single year). Between 2017 and 2018, four scholars from the Tor Vergata University of Rome (among whom a historian of the contemporary age, Lucia Ceci; a historian of Christianity, Tommaso Caliò; two historians of cinema and theatre), edited two volumes on ‘devout imagination’ in mafia and anti-mafia, containing contributions on different aspects, from the instrumentalisation of religions to language.

Ever since the early research by Sicilian scholars in the 80s and 90s, there has been a constant growth in the level of attention given to the interaction of mafia with the cultural heritage represented by social contexts, and to the study of media representation and narration of mafias. The latest contributions on this subject come from the University of Salerno, with works by Marcello Ravveduto. These writings focus on the interaction between Camorra power and the neomelodic music industry, on the use of social media, and on the circular relation between media narration, identity processes internal to the criminal world, social recognition processes, and categorisation of the phenomenon by institutions tasked with fighting it.

In the field, there is also great interest in repression, the history of police systems and of anti-mafia criminal law. This subject, explored mainly by scholars of the University of Palermo, holds great importance in terms of analysis, since it a perspective focusing on criminal phenomena with one focusing on the internal history of the systems, on the long-term continuity of anti-mafia preventive and criminal legislation, and on the links with the initial emergency character of the Italian penal system. In particular, important contributions have been made by the history of police field: consider the research of Vittorio Coco, University of Palermo, who reconstructed the organisational methods of Fascist-era special police forces⁹¹, identifying the links between anti-mafia repression and political repression – embodied also by the career paths of leading officials – until the birth of the Italian Republic. It should be noted that these contributions are not always included when searching for keywords related to mafia. Nevertheless, they provide valuable knowledge on the history of mafias and of the dynamics between powers with regard to territorial control practices. Interdisciplinary approach and attention to the long-term emergency aspects of criminal legislation on mafias are also behind the contributions on mafias and terrorism; this is another case where the journal *Meridiana* has represented an important meeting

⁹¹ V. Coco, *Polizie speciali. Dal fascismo alla Repubblica*, Laterza, Bari-Rome 2017.

point between different disciplines – historical, sociological, juridical – in recent years (see number 97 of 2020, dedicated to mafias and terrorism, edited by historian Antonino Blando and criminal law scholar Paola Maggio, both from the University of Palermo). These are recent contributions, and are not included in the time span covered here, but they are the product of active research efforts⁹². These analyses investigate the two great emergencies which arose in Republican Italy, discussing aspects of emergency legislation that are still highly relevant, in particular the use of whistle-blowers and *pentiti* (informants). On these particular aspects, historiography is providing valuable contributions towards an investigation looking at the long term. These research trends broaden the scope from the history of Southern Italy to the history of the whole country.

Distribution of products by region and university

In general, contributions are predominantly from Southern Italy (52%), but specific data on the number of contributions by university help obtain an accurate picture of the geographical distribution of research on mafias. It is no surprise that the regions most affected by the presence of mafias throughout history are those with the highest number of contributions to historical research on mafias. The distribution of publications per region is as follows: 65 Campania, 65 Sicily, 51 Tuscany. And the distribution by university is as follows: Federico II of Naples, Pisa, Palermo, Catania, Messina. The data confirms what stated earlier: research is concentrated in the universities of Southern Italy, with the exception of Pisa, which benefits from the presence of one of the forerunners in the study of Sicilian mafias, Paolo Pezzino, and of a social history school which is active to this day.

Compared to other disciplines, there is a high number of monographs: this is typical of the historical disciplines, which have a preference for in-depth studies within monographs, and where traditionally there are volumes or essays by a single author, with only sporadic contributions by several authors.

The low percentage of female authors (27.3%) compared to the overall average is not surprising: this figure corresponds to the current situation of the history disciplines, where academics are predominantly male.

The number of historical studies in the twenty-year period testifies a keen interest in the history of the mafias, even excluding scientific literature that can-

⁹² Also of note, works by A. Blando - G. Licciardi, *I nemici della Repubblica. Mafia e terrorismo 1969-1993*, Villaggio Maori, Catania 2019.

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not be included in the research registry, because produced by researchers who do not hold academic roles, for a variety of reasons (because they work in foreign universities or other research and educational institutions, or because they are still waiting for a position). One must also bear in mind that this particular field of study is very popular in an area at the crossroads between journalism, political activity and institutional activity, and that the authors of some prominent studies are not part of academia: suffice it to think of Enzo Cicone for the history of the 'ndrangheta, Isaia Sales for that of the camorra, Umberto Santino for that of the mafia. These scholars are authors of landmark contributions in the field of the history of the mafias⁹³. Isaia Sales and Enzo Cicone also have teaching assignments in Italian universities.

Type of contribution and works in other languages

Most of the historiographical contributions are contained in journal articles (107), while there is a much smaller number of books. With the exception of one item, the category “doctoral theses” is absent. This does not mean that the history of the mafias is not present as an object of research in history PhDs programs; however, considering the nature of the registry, which is reserved to personnel already working in the academic system, the data seem to indicate that only in few cases the paths of researchers present in the registry started from this subject, and that even in these cases the doctoral thesis is not necessarily recorded in the registry as such. The situation is different for doctoral programmes that have not led to an academic career (yet), but which have provided research products both in the form of doctoral theses and scientific articles. There are cases of this kind at least in the doctoral schools of Pisa, Naples, Florence, with research on twentieth-century literature in Campania, Sicily and Calabria.

The degree of internationalisation is low, as evidenced by the limited presence of contributions in languages other than Italian: only 11% of the articles were published in English.

To conclude these remarks, some notable absences from the overall picture should be mentioned. First of all, the sporadic presence of studies on the history of 'ndrangheta is quite striking. Here we have cited 2 contributions from the

⁹³ Their numerous publications include I. Sales, *La camorra, le camorre*, Editori Riuniti, Rome 1993; E. Cicone, *'Ndrangheta*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2011; U. Santino, *Storia del movimento antimafia. Dalla lotta di classe all'impegno civile*, Editori Riuniti, Rome 2000.

University of Cassino and another, which appeared in the journal *Meridiana* in 2013, the result of a doctoral thesis defended at the University of Pisa in 2014, but not listed in the registry because the author does not work in academia yet. Another subject still awaiting further study is the history of prison institutions, which is known to play a crucial role in the formation of criminal networks and in individual careers; however, prison appears only once in the collected titles, a fact that seems to indicate a deficiency in the body of studies here analysed.

7. *Political science**

Political science and mafias: a premise

There are several overlapping areas between political science and research on mafias and criminal organisations, having different analytical scopes. The overarching goal of political science is to develop knowledge about the multiple aspects of political reality; that is why within the confines of the discipline different epistemic needs can engender attention towards mafia and criminal groups.

First, research can focus on the relationship between mafia and politics, on the one hand considering resources and strategies that criminal parties undertake, with varying degrees of success, in their attempts to influence the outcome of public policies and decision-making processes, selection of politicians and government members, outcome of elections, political identification processes and party affiliation. On the other hand, conversely, political science contributes to our understanding of the modalities applied by political and institutional actors to formulate and implement policies aimed at preventing and countering organised crime, affecting its operational capabilities. Thus, causal interdependencies and interactions come into play between the actions of mafia organisations and the ‘three faces’ of institutional politics, i.e., policy, politics and polity. It is significant that the founding father of Italian political science himself, Gaetano Mosca, was the author of the work published in 1900 titled *Che cos’è la mafia* (‘What is the mafia?’). In this book, building on the first ‘notable homicide’ attributable to Cosa Nostra, namely the murder of Emanuele Notarbartolo, Mosca highlighted the link between criminal organisations – described as «unhonoura-

* This paper has been written by Alberto Vannucci.

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ble associations» – and the «yellow-gloved mafia» of ruling classes, ante-litteram devoting attention to what would later be termed ‘grey area’ or ‘grey zone’⁹⁴.

From another point of view, the analytical interest of political science can be directed towards mafia-type associations as ‘political subjects’ per se, that is, as organisational entities capable of exercising forms of dominance and authority within a territory and a community, of instilling loyalty and promoting (as well as exploiting) subcultural models in the population, therefore generating ‘an authoritative allocation of value’ accepted as binding by a large portion of society’s components. This is precisely the distinctive feature of the political process according to Easton’s famous definition⁹⁵. Both in its opposition to the state and in its search for areas of possible symbiosis and collusion with public powers, the mafia is in fact an expression of a personalistic power strategically aiming at affirming and consolidating itself also by manipulating – more or less consciously and intentionally – linguistic, symbolic and communicative codes. Moreover, in this respect it is similar to modern states, whose darker sides and potentially criminal dimensions has been analytically emphasised by political science. The intrinsically ‘political’ nature of mafia was indeed grasped by historian Charles Tilly, and addressed in an essay in which the process of creation and institutionalisation of nation states is likened to the evolution of forms of organised crime. The former and the latter are indistinguishable from an analytical point of view, unless one resorts to slippery notions like ‘legitimacy’, or to their respective ‘scales of activity’⁹⁶.

Thus, the immediate political value of the analysis of mafia organisations can be understood: in the relations they weave at each level of the political and social system, as well as among its members, what ultimately comes into play is a governance structure of social, economic and political relations, through which access to particularistic forms of security and protection of individual demands and expectations is arbitrarily granted or denied. The same analytical approach is applied by a strand of literature which identifies as a distinctive element of mafia activities the peculiar nature of the protection services provided, which safeguard ‘fragile’ property rights that are at stake in interpersonal relationships and economic trans-

⁹⁴ G. Mosca, *Che cos’è la mafia*, in ‘Giornale degli economisti’, XX, 1900, pp. 236-62.

⁹⁵ D. Easton, *The political system: an inquiry into the state of political science*, Knopf, New York 1953.

⁹⁶ C. Tilly, *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime*, in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (ed.), *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, pp. 169-91.

actions, especially in ‘troublesome’ arenas – as illegal markets typically are⁹⁷. This perspective is consistent with a widespread representation of mafia in public discourse and in the media, as well as in specialist literature, where mafia is sometimes labelled as an ‘anti-state’, or a ‘state within the state’, capable of contending with the state for the «monopoly of physical coercion» and enforcement activities in the regulation of social life and dispute settlement, thus interfering with and overlapping the state’s essential political functions in a Weberian sense⁹⁸.

Research on mafias in Italian political science: numerical evolution

The chapter hereafter concerns political science intended as a wider academic area which includes related disciplines like Political philosophy, History of political thought, History of political institutions, History of international relations. This area counts 100 publications, which means it ranks sixth in Italy by number of research products addressing mafia, at a considerable distance from the disciplinary areas that are ranked higher. In fact, its contributions are a third of those belonging to the history field, which ranks fifth, and merely a tenth of contributions from the sociology area, the one with the most contributions by far. Considering only the specific academic discipline SPS/04, Political science, the products are 87.

Table 9. Distribution of products by academic discipline

| Author: discipline | |
|--|-----|
| SPS/04 Political science | 87 |
| SPS /02 History of political thought | 6 |
| SPS /03 History of political institutions | 4 |
| SPS /06 History of international relations | 2 |
| SPS /01 Political philosophy | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

⁹⁷ Among others, see C. Lane, *Venice and History*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1966; D. Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia* cit.; Y. Barzel, *A Theory of the State*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002.

⁹⁸ “A compulsory political organization with continuous operations will be called a ‘state’ if and insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds a claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order”. M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Mohr, Tübingen 1922.

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Chronologically, the interest of political scientists towards mafias and criminal organisations rose relatively late, although it is currently growing. The database obtained from the research registry covers only the 2000-2018 period; nonetheless, two contributions which appeared in the 80s are worth mentioning. The subject seems to enter the discipline's field of attention with continuity in 1994, meaningfully, during the period when Italian mafias were challenging democratic institutions. The trend is fluctuating, as could be expected given the limited numbers involved, with a peak of 16 publications in 2010. However, a clear upward trend appears detectable, confirming some encouraging signs of scientific interest in a long-neglected topic: between 2000 and 2009 the annual average was 3.4 publications, while between 2010 and 2018 it was 5.5 (see figure 21).

Temporal distribution – political science (2000-2018)

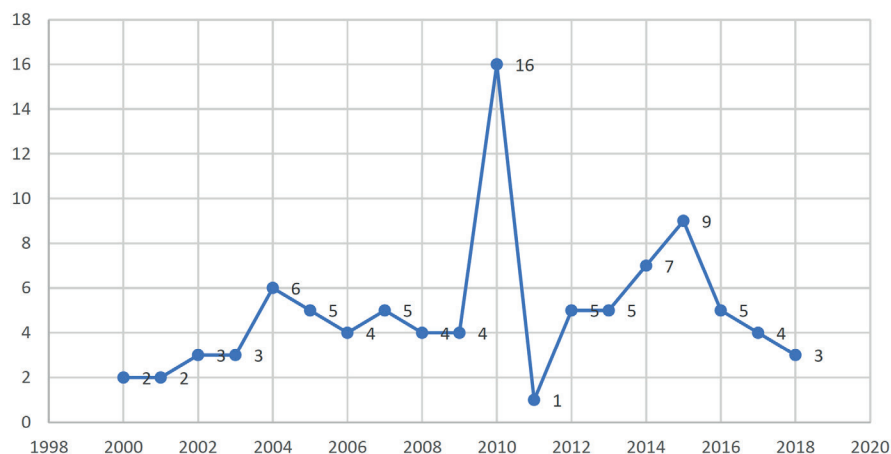


Figure 21. Temporal distribution of publications.

Almost half of the works published by political scientists (47.9%) were written by scholars working in Southern Italy universities, a trend that can also be observed in other areas, albeit to a lesser extent here. In fact, only sociology has a lower value than political science.

The Sicilian universities produced no less than 42 contributions (29 from Catania, 9 from Palermo, 4 from Messina), followed by Tuscan universities with 21 (11 from Pisa, 9 from the 'Scuola S. Anna' in Pisa, 1 from Florence), then the Piedmont universities with 12 (all from Turin).

Among the 17 scholars who have addressed the subjects at hand, 5 work in universities in Sicily, 4 in Tuscany, 2 in Piedmont and Veneto. A research interest usually arises from a dissonance, an anomaly, 'something that does not fit' concerning a socially relevant and theoretically significant fact or phenomenon; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the scholars working in universities situated in territories that are in closer contact with traditional areas of mafia presence and activity have developed more frequent 'inquisitiveness', expressed in terms of research questions. On the other hand, the 'mafia issue' has certainly become a subject of national importance, also in relation to its murky intersections and effects on the functioning of the political system, at least since the dramatic events that led to the approval of the Rognoni-La Torre law in 1982, later with the Palermo Maxi Trial, and then with the dramatic period of massacres and mafia terrorist activity in the early 1990s. After all, the consolidated capacity for mafia to migrate, infiltrate and colonise areas and territories in central and northern Italy, which had been underway for decades before being confirmed by wide-ranging judicial enquiries such as *Crimine-Infinito*, *Minotauro* and *Aemilia*, have led to a country-wide awareness of the importance of an in-depth understanding of the interconnections between mafia-like criminal organisations and the political sphere at every level, especially in local administrations.

Comparing the different types of research products, political science has the highest proportion of contributions consisting of essays in books: 47% of the total. Articles in journals, which account for 34% of the total, are in line with the general average, while the proportion of monographs is lower, at only 5%.

Considering this figure as an indicator of the breadth and depth of the corresponding research effort, the implication is that analytical contributions in this field are relatively fragmented. Political science does not show any significant divergence from the national average of the other areas when it comes to the distribution of publications by author qualification. Nonetheless, the absence of younger contributors is noteworthy: in fact, there are no products written by research assistants or PhD students. The gender distribution of scientific production in the 1999-2018 period shows that political science is the most gender balanced area: 56% for males, 44% for females.

Moreover, political science is second only to economics in the degree of internationalisation of the scientific production analysed here: more than half of the publications, 53.5% to be exact, are in fact published in English or other languages. This is almost double the general average of 27%. Italian political scientists also tend to have a broader outlook in dealing with and examining

topics that often relate to the realities of domestic criminal organisations and illegal markets, thus opening up to an international scientific debate. In this field, only 26.2% of publications have more than one author, compared to 73.7% by a single author. This figure falls below the average, which – leaving aside the methodological and ‘organisational’ specificities typical of each discipline – could support the thesis that within the confines of political science the various research strands on mafias and criminal organisations are still relatively isolated.

Research on mafias in Italian political science: the main strands of analysis

Although moving within a “highest common denominator” defined by the boundaries of the single disciplinary field, the contributions of political scientists who have faced the methodological and epistemological challenge of studying an elusive and multidimensional ‘object’ such as mafias and organised crime are characterised by a marked heterogeneity of the corresponding research trajectories. Alongside the extremely simplified macro-distinction between ‘mafias and politics’ and ‘mafia as politics’ referred to in the introduction, there are several interpretative frameworks – from rational choice to neo-institutionalism, from culturalist approaches to systemic theory, etc. – that have been applied in the analysis of mafias and organised crime. This in line with the nature of the discipline, which consists of multiple paradigms. The most significant methodological divide is between the economic and the sociological, or rather ‘culturalist’, approaches. The first perspective emphasises the centrality of social actors – thus including mafia members in this specific case – construed as agents endowed with a coherent set of preferences and capable of rationally pursuing, through a maximising calculation, strategies and objectives (mainly concerning income and power) identifiable by the scholar. The second line of studies, on the other hand, traces the explanation of mafia activity, and its social and cultural representations, to a range of causative factors that mainly include macro variables such as social norms, cultural models, socialisation processes, interpretation codes, and mechanisms of symbolic production.

As regards the object of research interest, the scientific products of political scientists can be attributed to at least five main strands. A first, very small series of works focuses on rereading and critically reinterpreting some of the ‘classics’ on the subject.

A large body of work focuses on the interactions between criminal and mafia groups and the political system, as well as on the distortions that result from these interactions. This line of research reveals a variety of approaches: network

analysis, social capital theory, rational choice, neo-institutionalism, etc. It also focuses on several contexts, ranging from case studies to comparative analysis, with greater or lesser tendency towards generalisations. In terms of geographical area, the authors mainly focus on the traditional Southern Italy mafia strongholds, but there are also detailed studies on the Northern Italy areas subject to mafia migration, and on criminal groups in other countries and continents, such as the Balkans, Africa and Latin America. Some of the contributions also focus in depth on the link between the activities of mafia organisations and other potential pathologies of the political system, such as violence and terrorism, clientelism, irregular financing of politics and corruption.

Another subset of works, adjacent to the previous one, more directly links studies on organised crime and mafias to the issue of regional and global security, with a particular focus on the consequences in terms of violent threats to the stability of political institutions and the survival of the rule of law – especially in weaker states, up to extreme cases of ‘failed states’ – looking especially at the scale of operations of transnational criminal organisations.

The intrinsically political dimension of the mafia phenomenon is the central theme in another group of works, in which the similarities and divergences between criminal organisations, the functions of state political institutions, and the logic and strategies of actors operating in the market are examined in comparative terms. This is perhaps the highest point on the ‘scale of abstraction’ that can be reached by the conceptualisation of criminal organisations, thus broadening the scope of said conceptualisation and increasing its ability to ‘travel’, through time as well, in search of explanatory models and analytical generalisations⁹⁹. Among other things, analytical insights come into play concerning the nature of ‘mafia sovereignty’ and its sources of legitimacy, criminal strategies for the control of markets – especially illegal ones – and of social relations, and the organisational structures and dynamics of mafia gangs.

A further set of studies and publications, limited in number yet valuable, deal with the topic of fighting mafias and organised crime from a policy perspective, reviewing regulations, policy tools, institutions, and actors involved, both at Italian and international level, especially within the European framework. However, attention is paid almost exclusively to the institutional efforts in the

⁹⁹ G. Sartori, *La politica comparata: premesse e problemi*, in «Rivista italiana di scienza politica», I, 1971, pp. 7-66.

fight against mafia and organised crime: political science has hitherto neglected the analysis of social movements and bottom-up collective mobilisation against the arbitrary and inherently authoritarian exercise of mafia power.

Research on mafias in Italian political science: some closing remarks

In its breadth and plurality of approaches, the research produced by the Italian political science field reflects the intrinsic complexity of the social (and political) phenomenon called ‘mafia’ and organised crime, both at the conceptual level and at the empirical level. However, the variety of interpretative paradigms available within the political science ‘toolbox’ is not a limitation, but rather a factor of potential enrichment of the research decryption keys that can be used when trying to decipher an object of study having peculiar manifestations. In fact, mafia is by its very nature difficult to translate into observable indicators, oscillating alternatively between almost complete impenetrability, opaque and contradictory signals, forced (but still partial and influenced) insights. Further intersections and hybrids between different research methodologies and perspectives are not only a foreseeable, but also a desirable outcome of future research developments aimed at capturing the many facets of mafia. This can also happen through new interdisciplinary intersections. The research trajectories followed so far by Italian political science when faced with the epistemological challenge represented by mafias and criminal organisations share a dominant perspective of ‘positive analysis’, i.e., analysis aimed at describing, understanding and explaining – with varying degrees of generalisability – causal connections between empirical evidence and their temporal evolution.

In this last respect, a review of the academic contributions of Italian political science to studies on mafias shows that there is still an unsatisfied demand for knowledge, to which the field can provide an important, if not crucial, contribution. In fact, it seems desirable to make greater efforts in order to study analytically the measures and policy tools of political and regulatory intervention that could potentially be more effective in draining the breeding ground in which the mafia thrives, and in opposing its activities and territorial roots. This is especially important in a phase in which financial capitals, interests and criminal activities are projected towards new conquerable lands, interfacing with political and institutional actors who are often unable to timely grasp the alarm signals and activate the necessary countermeasures. A clearer ‘normative’ and prescriptive definition of a political science research agenda could focus both on the analysis of organisational fragility points in criminal associations, and on the

critical evaluation of the effects of existing measures, from the dissolution of municipal councils due to criminal infiltration to criminal charges for the 'exchange of votes' between politicians and mafia, to name but a few examples. Thus, by providing a contribution to the public debate and support to policymakers, political science can simultaneously become a driver of reform and an instrument to spread awareness about the potential of institutional counteraction and civic mobilisation against mafias and organised crime.

8. *Medicine. Forensic medicine**

Main research themes investigated in this field's publications

Forensic medicine and Forensic psychopathology contributed 72 scientific products (42 unique ones) on the topic of mafia crimes and organised crime in Italy. Analysing only their titles, it emerges that the main theme is the description of ritual killings typical of mafia crimes, by means of what scientific literature terms 'case reports'.

These represent about a fifth of the total of the research products and are based on the description of murders that are typical of mafia, if not unique to it. This is the case, for example, of the *Lupara bianca*, a term typically used to describe murders attributable to Cosa Nostra in which the corpse is hidden by covering it with a concrete casting. Or again, the description of specific killing rituals, such as the *incaprettamento*, a method by which victims are tied with hands and feet behind their back, like a young goat, destined to those who violate omerta, or the destruction of corpses by means of burnt lime, a typical 'ndrangheta ritual. Another widely recurring theme of study, especially in psychiatric and forensic psychopathology, is the interpretation of mafia murder symbolism, the search for the meaning of the rites of institution, and the consequences in terms of mental health for victims and families affiliated with organised crime. Some scholars have also focused on the analysis of the methods with which investigations were carried out when dealing with mafia murders. Sicilian scholars have undertaken a significant analysis of the Capaci massacre and the murder of judge Falcone. Another subject, more of a sociological and jurisprudential nature rather than purely medical, was addressed in about 15-20% of the publications. On the one

* This paper has been written by Francesco Intronà.

hand, this involves a reflection on organised crime, analysed in its many different aspects (from organisational issues to consequences in terms of security, economy and national integrity); on the other hand, it provides a critical reading of the legislation on the protection of terrorism and organised crime victims, analysing cases from the period 1970-2000.

Main themes worthy of future research

A quick analysis of the research registry concerning the medico-legal field reveals a varied, heterogeneous and plentiful body of scientific work. Nonetheless, some topics should certainly be examined in greater depth. For example, it would be useful and of collective interest to carry out a purely epidemiological assessment based on the analysis of harmfulness, of medico-legal interest, from which one could identify mafia-type murders in the most targeted manner possible. In this regard, it would be useful to promote the publication of all the cases pertaining to the medico-legal sphere that can be linked to mafia activity, in order to allow a wider and more extensive dissemination of information on a situation that may now seem obsolete.

Type of medico-legal scientific publications on mafia

A purely objective analysis of the data regarding the subdivision of scholarly works in the organised crime thematic area contributed by the field of Forensic medicine and Forensic psychopathology, over the 28 years covered by this scientific survey, shows a homogeneous distribution of works between two different types of scientific publications.

Specifically, 50% of the total number of publications (36 out of 72) fall into the category of 'proceedings'. This figure directly shows that the themes related to the fight against mafia are of great interest in the major medico-legal academic/scientific conferences; it is an evergreen topic that needs continuous updating, focus and re-evaluation in order to maintain a high level of attention to a reality that has not yet been fully understood. The remaining 50% of medico-legal scientific publications on organised crime is in the form of scientific articles published in journals (32 out of 72). These are mostly innovative case series, unique in their kind but guaranteeing a broad enrichment of the scientific community's knowledge of a specific area (in this case, the criminal methodology of organised crime).

In the course of these almost 30 years of analysis, scholars have been able to publish essays within scientific volumes that dealt with the present and especially

past impact of mafia on medico-legal investigations, through a broader analysis including also sociological, jurisprudential and psychological aspects. There is a lack of monographs containing summaries of medico-legal pathology and injuries. This type of study is truly needed, since it would provide a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon, allow the study of its evolution, and allow us to trace the type of injury back to the type of mafia organisation.

Temporal and geographical distribution of publications

The temporal distribution of forensic medicine scientific publications on mafia shows a discontinuity over time. If, in fact, the whole 1990s were characterised by a low incidence and tendency to publish scholarly work on this subject, from the early 2000s until the present day almost (particularly in the years 2009, 2011 and 2015) the scientific output in this regard has reached extremely high peaks. This is undoubtedly a consequence of the increased tendency to talk about mafia and the murders of organised crime, which came about thanks to the introduction of specific criminal legislation on mafia. This has enabled all of Italy, and even other countries, to confront a subject long regarded as taboo, even from a purely medical and scientific point of view. An increase in the number of scientific publications was to be expected, in direct proportion to the advancements over time, and their geographical distribution is equally unsurprising. The analysis of 72 total publications throughout Italy shows that more than half (50 works) come from two regions where organised crime is a well-known and prominent social issue: Sicily (12 authors in total) and Apulia (8 authors in total). Although these data do not provide any new information, merely confirming what is now widespread knowledge, they are very promising. In fact, they show that Sicilian and Apulian universities focus on research, considering research and culture in general as a means of raising awareness of a situation which is concrete and which requires exhaustive analysis, but which can also be countered thanks to scientific evidence. This effort is also supported, with great civic sense and social unity, by all Italian universities, where there is a constant and fairly uniform focus on the scientific relationship between forensic medicine and organised crime.

Distribution of products by university and author

In light of the above, it seems evident that the universities with the highest number of publications on forensic medicine and mafia in the last thirty years are those of Southern Italy. 20 publications were produced at the University of Bari, followed by the University of Palermo and Messina (with 13 and 9 scientific pub-

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lications, respectively). The University of Foggia the University of Rome La Sapienza contributed respectively 6 and 4 publications. The University of Pisa follows with 3 publications, consisting of case series and immunohistochemistry studies. 2 publications originate from the University of Bologna, Catania and Milan (in its three locations). Only one publication each on forensic medicine and mafia for the Universities of Camerino, Catanzaro, Chieti-Pescara, Genoa, Roma Tor Vegata, Sannio and Trieste. Unexpectedly absent were Campania and Calabria, whose large number of cases was not reflected in scientific output. As for a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the authors of the 72 publications on organised crime in forensic medicine, besides a geographical distribution that more or less coherently reflects the location of the single universities (the authors, in fact, come mainly from Apulia and Sicily), it is interesting to note the distribution of all the publications among full, associate and assistant professors. Demonstrating the high consideration accorded to this subject in the classrooms and in the university research world, almost all the publications list as first authors full or associate professors, excellent minds of Italian universities who offer their knowledge and culture to analyse a subject of such high national and international importance.

Distribution by number of authors and by gender

The field's multidisciplinary and cooperative approach to the subject is confirmed when analysing its scientific publications from another point of view. The data at our disposal show that more than 80% of scientific works are the result of a collaboration of different professionals in the field, and are sometimes even carried out in multiple research centres. This allows the production of quality scientific work, which contributes new and valuable information to the entire scientific community. Unsurprisingly, however, women account for only 30% of the authors writing about forensic medicine and mafia.

Language of the publications

We will end with an analysis of the language used by the scientific products discussed above. As is now common in the medical field, more than half of the publications were written and distributed in English. This is remarkable, as it reveals the process of globalisation that our universities are undergoing, which guarantees the dissemination of specific Italian realities to the entire world scientific community. Since these topics are specifically Italian and very often intertwined with jurisprudential realities linked to our codes of law, however, it is not surprising that 40% of the papers are written in Italian and published in Italian journals.

9. *Languages, Literatures and Photography, Theatre and Television**

Places and themes (L-FIL-ET/02, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14)

The panorama of literary and artistic studies on the subject of mafias is rich and articulated with specific centres of interest.

Important contributions written only in Italian pertain to these disciplines: Greek language and literature, Romance philology and linguistics, Italian literature, Contemporary Italian literature, Italian Linguistics, Philology of Italian Literature, and Literary criticism and comparative literature (L-FIL-LET/02, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). These publications are mainly within the scope of the Languages and literatures field. In fact, more than two thirds of the total publications collected fall within said area. Several universities devote attention to the topic (Cassino, Catania, Messina, Sassari, Cagliari, Calabria, Florence, Milan IULM, Padua, Palermo, Roma Tre, Salento, Salerno, Turin, Urbino), whose study involves full and associate professors, while the number of researchers is lower. In this context, the output of two major/leading southern universities is noteworthy. These are the University of Naples Federico II and the University of Palermo, both of which have produced and published a large number of works. This passionate activity is the main reason for the high percentage of collected publications originating in Southern Italy, 79% (compared to 14% for Central Italy and 7% for Northern Italy). This preponderance is evident even when considering regions instead of specific universities: Campania and Sicily are responsible for more than half of the total number of publications (Lazio and Sardinia also play a noteworthy role), in line with the regional origin of the authors of the respective studies (Campania, Sicily, Sardinia, Lazio). In most cases in-depth research on specific aspects of the relationship between literature, language and mafias is presented to the scientific community as articles in journals or essays in books; however, there is also a good number of monographs and curated texts of a more general nature.

One does not need to be a seasoned analyst to understand and highlight the link between the leading role played by the universities mentioned (Naples and Palermo and, more generally, Campania and Sicily) and the high incidence of organised crime in these areas. A second aspect, however, emerges as a corollary to this obvious fact. In some specific sectors such as the study of literature and

* This paper has been written by Vincenzo Caputo and Pasquale Sabbatino.

language universities exhibit a marked sensitivity towards the social fabric in which they are rooted, dedicating space and time to research into problems related to mafias.

Looking in greater detail at the themes addressed, it appears that research and studies often focus on the major authors and works of our literary tradition. In particular, we refer to essays dedicated to twentieth century writers, such as Giuseppe Marotta (1902-1963), Luigi Compagnone (1915-1998), Leonardo Sciascia (1921-1989), Andrea Camilleri (1925-2019), Giancarlo De Cataldo (1956), Roberto Saviano (1979), and nineteenth century ones like Francesco De Sanctis (1817-1883), Pasquale Villari (1827-1917), Vittorio Imbriani (1840-1886), Giovanni Verga (1840-1922), Salvatore Di Giacomo (1860-1934), Roberto Bracco (1861-1943). In these cases, the scholarly contributions are mainly aimed at analysing the ways in which the criminal mechanism has been captured in writing (see the volume on this specific subject titled 'Representations of Camorra. Language, literature, theatre, cinema, history' – *Le rappresentazioni della camorra. Lingua, letteratura, teatro, cinema, storia*). In short, from a literary point of view talking about organised crime implies specifically analysing the risks taken by narration when it places negative characters at the centre of a story (risk of mythologising, risk of moralism, risk of oversimplification, etc.). This is the case not only of studies focusing on short stories and novels, but also of those devoted to plays, which by their own nature bring about identification processes between character and audience, even more so than other genres or formats.

This trend is also evident in studies specifically of a linguistic nature, which focus particularly on the jargon used by criminals. Aspects like the lexicon of criminal organisations, the specific origin of some words (such as the term 'camorra'), the language spoken by the members and reproduced in writing, are at the centre of reflections that enable a critical examination of mafia history, of the way mafias are formed and change over time, and of their codes and symbols.

One last aspect is worth noting. Some of the works collected and addressed here are freely available online. An example among many is the project 'Culture of Legality and Digital Library on Camorra' (*Cultura della legalità e biblioteca digitale sulla camorra*; www.bibliocamor-ra.altervista.org). The project aims to create a digital library containing texts and studies that further the culture of legality and civil awareness. It consists of a regularly expanded website, sponsored by the Federico II University of Naples. It allows users to consult the 'Literature and Theatre' section, with essays dedicated to specific writers, the 'Music Dictionary and Film Dictionary' sections, a history of the Camorra ('Between

history and news'), the 'Bookshelf' section, with reviews of books on criminality, the graphic novel genre and – finally – the image gallery. The 'Library' section stands out from the rest. Here we find more than 70 plays from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, freely available in pdf format. These works are accompanied by thorough fact sheets concerning the genesis of the text and its author. The sheets have been elaborated with scientific rigour by expert teachers and younger researchers. The digitised plays, both in Italian and in dialect, focus on the theme of organised crime and legality, either as the main point of focus or as a peripheral one.

Places and themes (L-ART/04, 05, 06, 07)

A different panorama emerges by analysing data concerning the following disciplines: Museology, art and restoration criticism; Performing arts; Cinema, photography and television; Musicology and history of music (respectively, L-ART/04, 05, 06, 07).

First, different universities are involved. Interest in the subject, in fact, is mainly situated in the University of Macerata, the University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli and the University Cattolica of Milan. The contributions coming from these institutions account for more than half of the research collected in the registry (following in the ranking are the Universities of Bologna, Florence and Rome Sapienza). The authors are mainly associate professors and researchers, with lower involvement of full professors. Clearly, the level of activities in these universities is reflected in regional distribution data, where Marche, Campania and Lombardy predominate, with more than half of the total works. Looking at the regional origin of the authors, though, a noteworthy aspect emerges: aside from Campania and Lombardy, a significant number of authors comes from Sicily. This may be due to a fundamental trait of Italian academics, namely their tendency to relocate. Moreover, research is no longer exclusively in Italian, but also in foreign languages – mostly English, as expected. In addition, a higher percentage of publications has two or more authors. Here too, research is mainly presented to the scientific community in the form of articles in journals or essays in books (to a lesser extent, monographs and curated texts).

There is no need to dwell unduly on some of the peculiarities highlighted here, which mostly pertain to the tradition of the disciplines concerned (presence of contributions in English, publications with several authors, etc.). Instead, another aspect should be pointed out: almost all publications on mafias are included in the discipline Cinema, photography and television (L-ART/06). Films,

series and, more generally, images concerning camorra, mafia, 'ndrangheta and organised crime have always sparked off public debate. In this case, too, universities show a marked sensitivity to strategic cultural issues, dedicating space and time to research into issues related to mafias. The studies dedicated to the relationship between mafias and the media confer scientific rigour to issues that are often debated – not always appropriately – in the national and international media. In fact, looking at the specifics of the topics dealt with, it becomes clear that the research and studies often focus on certain specific thematic nodes. First of all, the focus is on the image of the camorra member and the model of crime in Italian and international television fiction. Numerous essays also focus on the representation of the mafia in Italian cinema. In short, fiction and film are at the centre of the critical debate (and one could naturally think of successful productions – serialised or not – such as *Romanzo criminale* and *Gomorra*). It is no coincidence that an equally substantial number of essays focus on the 'mafia' or 'gangster movie' category. In addition, there are interviews with leading figures from the judiciary, specifically people involved in the fight against crime; such interviews undoubtedly provide a better understanding of criminality and its deep-rooted symbols. It is clear that the debate on cinema, television and images plays a fundamental role. These studies, based on solid theoretical and methodological foundations, provide indispensable analytical tools, enabling a critical evaluation of television and film products.

Among the contributions not strictly belonging to the Cinema, photography and television field, there are studies that seek to grasp the uses, forms and mentality of the criminal system (L-ART/04, 05, 07). There are also studies on the relationship between theatre and mafias from the unification of Italy (1861) to the 1990s, or on the link between art – especially painting – and organised crime.

Conclusions

In conclusion, let us highlight some common features of these works based on the analyses carried out.

Although different in their approach and fields of study, these works show the richness and variety of artistic production devoted to mafias. Writers, poets, journalists, authors of songs, plays and film scripts explore and portray from life the Italian cities and the criminal infiltrations that spread through them. The focus is often on the intertwining of organised crime and politics (local, central and international), the widening of the legal 'grey area', where mafias

disappear from sight and disguise themselves in the clothes of ordinary financial operations. Through the study of what could be described as a veritable 'library' of words and images, the multiple, old and new, representations of crime are documented, leading to the depiction of abysses that imagination is often unable to reach.

The debate over the last few decades concerning the ever-changing narration of evil in art holds the merit, at least in its forms, of highlighting the risks inherent in every account of organised crime. A few examples will suffice, like analyses of Raffaele Cutolo, subject of a fictionalised biography by journalist Giuseppe Marrazzo (1984) and then of its movie adaptation directed by Giuseppe Tornatore (1986); and studies on mafia kingpins at the centre of the non-fiction novel *Gomorrah* by Roberto Saviano (2006) and its play transposition (2007), movie adaptation (2008), and television series (beginning in 2014). These works highlight issues related to methods, aims and strategies to transpose the criminal world in the artistic sphere. Academic research has the fundamental task of unveiling the gears behind the narrative machine, the way identification processes work, and the century-old history of disreputable business relations.

One indisputable fact emerges: literature, theatre and cinema indubitably provide important opportunities for dialogue and conversation, in particular with younger generations. Therefore, they represent strategic areas of study to foster education and a culture of legality. It is no coincidence that in recent years some universities have promoted initiatives involving renowned writers and young authors (see, for example, *Storie di ragazzi tra legalità e camorra. Narrative, testimonianze e teatro* 'Stories of young people between legality and camorra. Narrative, testimonies and theatre', Guida, Naples 2013 and *La zona grigia. Scrittori per la legalità* – 'The Grey Area. Writers for Legality', Guida, Naples 2014, containing papers by Marcello D'Orta, Peppe Barra, Paolo Di Paolo, Maurizio de Giovanni, Stefano Piedimonte, Manlio Santanelli, Peppe Lanzetta, to name a few).

This is further evidence of the awareness of the central role that writing, cinema and television play in the laborious construction of a culture of legality.

10. *Architecture and Engineering**

A neglected issue

Despite its significant implications in terms of technical skills, professions and education, research about mafias has never been a mainstream subject in Architecture and Engineering academic disciplines. Although the database does not accurately capture yet the entirety of the Italian scholars' scientific production, it is evident that attention to mafias for disciplines related to Architecture¹⁰⁰ has always been extremely marginal. This happens despite the thematic proximity to relevant areas such as construction, or problems concerning the use and abuse of urban and territorial heritage. The Engineering¹⁰¹ scientific output captured in the registry is even more limited, and primarily focused on criminal network detection systems and video surveillance, even when considering only the computer engineering disciplines currently recognised in the database.

Architects and engineers who have dealt with these themes have often opted to devote attention to what has been termed the 'security paradigm', that is, to crime at a neighbourhood level, rather than to organised crime, like mafias. For a long time, the prevailing approaches and orientations have been those inherited from the Chicago school or from the work of Jane Jacobs, within a functionalist trend known as 'urban design against crime'¹⁰².

Some scholars have pointed out that the prevalence of interest concerning security issues can be explained by the fact that common criminality is an easier problem to address than organised crime, also in the eyes of politicians, who have sometimes steered applied research towards contracting or expert design consultancy. At the same time, the lack of public research attention to complex and challenging issues such as mafias by Italian architects and engineers

* This paper has been written by Daniela De Leo.

¹⁰⁰ The nine disciplines to which the authors of the works collected belong are: ICAR/08 (1), ICAR/10 (2), ICAR/12 (1), ICAR/13 (1), ICAR/14 (6), ICAR/18(4), ICAR/19 (1), ICAR/20 (14), ICAR/21 (14).

¹⁰¹ The disciplines of the Engineering scholars who have written the works collected are ING-INF/04 and 05; this means that all the ICAR disciplines have been grouped into the Architecture area, including those that pertain to Engineering, such as ICAR/20.

¹⁰² C.R. Jeffrey, *Crime prevention through environmental design*, Sage, Thousand Oaks (CA) 1977; J. Q. Wilson - G. L. Kelling, *Broken Windows*, in 'Atlantic Monthly', n. 249, 1982, 3, pp. 29-38. About this subject, see: S. Body Gendrot, *The social control of cities? A comparative perspective*, Blackwell Publisher, Malden (MA) 2000.

can also be attributed to a common fear of straying from the scope of their disciplines. Such poor predisposition towards interdisciplinarity is a historic trait of some applied research, especially in conjunction with specific professional practices. This can be traced back to the ‘cudgel’ which in some public competitions for university personnel recruitment falls upon those who carry out independent or niche research which is not strictly tethered to established professorships and research strands, jeopardising career possibilities that are frequently already limited.

Within this framework, our database has confirmed that Italian public research and, therefore, related scientific publications, conspicuously underestimate and neglect the topic of mafias. Said neglect persists in spite of significant empirical and non-empirical evidence of the role played by mafias in the processes of construction, use and transformation of buildings, cities and territories, a role which is not geographically limited to Southern Italy regions. For a long time, criminal organisations have been literally bypassed by university research, de facto preventing appropriate and essential critical evaluations on the implications and roles of knowledge and public commitment of educational institutions in understanding and fighting mafia in Italy. Thus, besides failing to adequately contribute to the discussion of the complex issues involved, a tangible possibility has also been denied; that is, the possibility of empowering and guiding the training of future technicians and experts in professions that are indeed of paramount importance for the reproduction of control systems by mafias.

Moments of prolific discontinuity

Despite all of the above, the temporal distribution of publications in the database clearly shows two moments of prolific discontinuity, in two different time periods (figure 22): the first and shorter one goes from 1994 to 1996, and is not fully accounted for in the database, since the latter covers the 2000-2018 period; the second, longer and more prolific, has started in 2008 and continues to this day for the disciplines in question.

III. University research in the field of organised crime

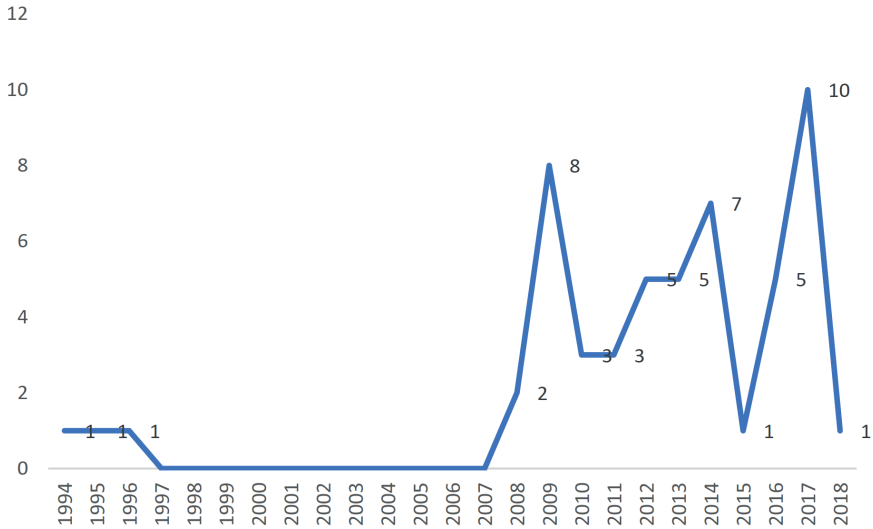


Figure 22. A chart showing the temporal distribution of publications and their type, linking the scientific output to various processes, some of which internal to Italian universities.

The latter phase of higher scientific output appears to be linked to a combination of different phenomena, such as:

- a sharp decrease in the amount of external professional work undertaken by many university teachers;
- a general increase in the request for scientific output by personnel permanently employed by Italian universities, following the introduction of new evaluation systems;
- the move towards sector publications of civic engagement forms that had previously been cultivated within political parties and associations which subsequently dispersed or disappeared;
- the higher value placed on the so-called University Third mission and public engagement work, nowadays object of positive attention, also being part of the national evaluation criteria.

In short, there are promising signals of change in the way Italian public research identifies and accepts its responsibilities connected to providing answers to the so-called ‘wicked problems’¹⁰³. This different, positive stance

¹⁰³ H. W. J. Rittel - M. M. Webber, *Dilemmas in a general theory of planning*, in ‘Policy Sci’, IV, 1973, pp. 155-69.

adopted by research falls in the wake of the fragmentation of so-called intermediate bodies and appears to have fostered the resolve to ‘understand more in order to do better’, especially in younger scholars (although these are not wholly included in the database). This happened partly through the observation of evidence and data that previously had not been sufficiently examined. This approach came as a merely partial compensation for legitimate concerns that many scholars had about the age-old issue that sees interdisciplinarity as an additional weak point for the careers of those who allow themselves the luxury of stepping out of their comfort zones, and even more out of the ‘line of research of one’s employer’. An issue which is even more critical in a context where job insecurity is increasingly common, due to the abolition in Italian universities of the role of permanently employed researcher, replaced by positions with fewer safeguards¹⁰⁴.

From this point of view, analysing the way Italian universities addressed the subject of mafia allows us to reiterate the need for a careful consideration of the link between autonomy and commitment¹⁰⁵, with the belief that we must foster research which is free, and truly ‘useful and useable’ in solving our society’s complex issues. On the one hand, this can happen by serving as an ethical reminder, given that resistance to habituation and distraction in relation to the mafias are particularly relevant for public universities and, above all, for their educational offer and training programs. On the other hand, it is precisely because some phenomena have been repeatedly underestimated, with the consequent inefficiency of public action supported by technical expertise, that the condition of irrelevance as scholars, experts and teachers has exacerbated. This condition of irrelevance needs to be overcome in order to restore the proper role, and especially the social usefulness, of expert knowledge, precisely in contexts that are the object of contention with criminal organisations and powers.

Reputation, scientific contributions and attractiveness of knowledge

The database provides an overview of a number of scientific contributions (53 in total) that have addressed the mafias in the different academic disciplines un-

¹⁰⁴ It is no coincidence that the database data on the position of the authors of scientific works on mafia show a higher prevalence of full professors (11) and associate professors (11) compared to assistant professors (6) and PhD candidates (3).

¹⁰⁵ P. Bourdieu, *La misère du monde*, Edition du Seuil, Paris 1991.

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der consideration, while also showing the universities and the regions where they originated (see figure 23).

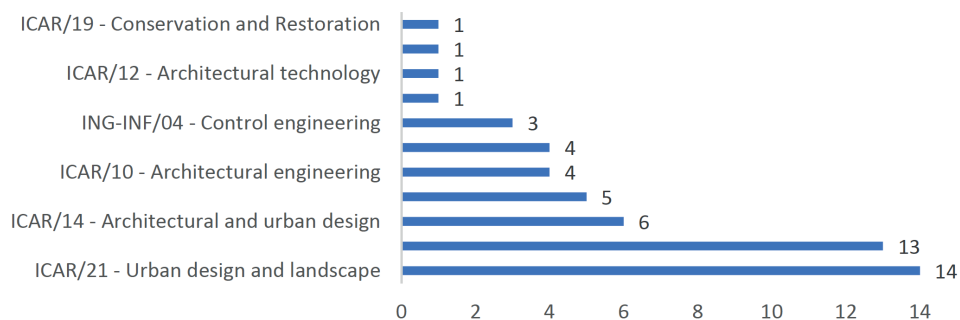


Figure 23. The data show which disciplines and universities had the highest scientific output on mafia, with an understandable prominence of Sicilian scholars.

Despite the peculiar traits of each discipline, some contributions clearly appear to be inspired by the unprecedented availability of information, data and reports (as is the case for reports by Legambiente and the National Agency for Confiscated Assets), by specific planning competitions regarding real estate assets freed from mafias, or by cooperation with public organisations and institutions. The recent, more prolific scientific production has certainly come in the wake of the widespread resurgence of attention to criminality and mafias, in ways that were thought to be outdated. Indeed, many years after the judicial investigation known as ‘Mani pulite’, and the period of mafia massacres and of major mafia trials, evidence emerged concerning the so-called ‘grey collars’, while associations of builders and industrialists adopted their own stances, interspersed with the clamour for investigations into anti-mafia professionals, or with the lengthy aftermath of the ‘Mafia Capitale’ investigation and the role played therein by the *terre di mezzo* (‘lands in-between’), the organised revolts against migrants to make hospitality more lucrative, the failure to ensure the safety of the territory so as to speculate on disruptions and disasters, and the number of municipalities being placed under the administration of external commissioners, even in Northern Italy.

The media frenzy has focused on national events with repercussions on knowledge and professions dealing with physical space, infrastructure, urban and territorial government, albeit at times this has led to a variety of generalisa-

tions and trivialisations. A concealing effect already pointed out by Wildavsky¹⁰⁶, which holds true for mafia as well, came into play: if mafia is everything (and everywhere), then it is nothing (and nowhere). Thus, public debate was dragged back into undifferentiated, slippery molasses, from which nothing is learned, let alone taught. Through their clamour and intermittent incendiary focus on specific issues, printed journalism, and even in some respects the world of politics and the judiciary, portray Italy as the kingdom of criminality each time a project, decision and intervention has to be implemented or an urban policy has to be brought to fruition. And while perpetuating this portrayal may understandably and for several reasons be convenient for the aforementioned parties, it is not suitable at all for public universities. Indeed, for our schools and for the students we train, there are not many advantages to be found in extemporaneous and occasional analyses and, especially, in the lack of awareness of responsibilities¹⁰⁷ and intervention strategies to put forward when faced with situations that directly call into question the actions of the professionals and citizens we educate, in the face of well-structured and ever-present criminal powers. Quite the contrary: the sloppiness and indifference described can be regarded as significant contributing factors for the restriction of attention and speaking chances granted to technicians and experts. In turn, this has led to a further decline of the public acknowledgment and scientific value of the knowledge we bear and teach (as well as its appeal).

This is another reason why some research has focused on the possibility of identifying, starting from practice, more useful knowledge, skills and useful technical tools to train professionals in such contexts. This must happen in order not to start from scratch every time, as if criminal powers did not exist and did not frequently appear each time Italian cities and territories are the object of in-

¹⁰⁶ A. Wildavsky, *If planning is everything, maybe it's nothing*, in 'Policy Science', 1973, 4, pp. 127-53. We refer here to Aaron Wildavsky's well-known and much misused reflection on planning, which is quite pertinent in the present case. In fact, an attempt is made to place the scientific debate in the middle between the hyperbolic and fictionalised readings that place the mafias everywhere, and more restrained positions that hold the situation not so dire. In any case, with regard to hyperbolic and romanticised representations, it should be borne in mind that 'editorial interests are not extraneous, having built around mafias an aura of legendary, superhuman invincibility that benefits the reputation of mafia members more than the general interest', Various authors, *Il circuito delle mafie*, in 'LiMes', X, 2013, p. 151.

¹⁰⁷ Here, and in the rest of the text, the term *responsibility* is conflated, in meaning, with *accountability*.

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terventions or projects. The perspective adopted also implied, in some instances, an understanding of responsibilities and directions for architectural or urban design in territories controlled by criminal organisations, thus in places that are in some way the object of contention. The focus was placed on insights and directions obtained analysing the sites, and above all, observing the practices that are potentially useful for the interpretation and handling of issues that today seem to emerge, with different traits, even beyond the traditional regions¹⁰⁸ of mafia infiltration, such as the southern Italian ones.

Particularly, in the field of Architecture and Engineering, urban planning with its academic disciplines (ICAR/20 and ICAR/21) has systematically shown more interest in mafias, albeit only relatively recently. In the past, there had been some signs of interest especially concerning informal urban development in Southern Italy. Subsequently, a great deal of inattention and self-absolution led to a large vacuum, following which research that was longer-term, and intentionally more systematic, emerged. This research tentatively claimed that:

- the mafias are an issue connected to technical expertise since many intervention plans, projects and programs are behind the dissolution of municipal councils due to mafia infiltration;
- the presence of mafias in cities and territories has significant visible effects, with obvious repercussions on the effectiveness of transformations and the implementation of projects;
- the strong existing links between urban planning and criminal organisations require the identification of useful, deliberate methods to counteract their effects.

Scholarly research bet on the existence of a field of knowledge that would be useful to understand and redirect the framework of ‘peculiar implications’, and specific ‘technical responsibilities’, with particular attention to the analysis and planning of urban instruments and policies as well as the planning of local development¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ “The existence of grey zones, as stated by Ruggiero, that forces recourse to interpretations other than those offered by official and conventional criminological knowledge”. See Ruggiero, *Perché i potenti delinquono*, Feltrinelli, Milan 2015, p. 15

¹⁰⁹ Allow me to refer to my previous works, in particular to D. De Leo, *Mafie & Urbanistica*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2016 as well as D. De Leo - V. Fini (ed.), *Attualità dello sviluppo*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2012 for discussion on local development “in conditions of disorder”, and to D.

Conclusion

Even after analysing the data offered by the database, we are profoundly convinced that despite the paucity of publications available, mafias are in no way a marginal subject for architects, urban planners and engineers (not limited to IT), when it comes to research, and especially to teaching. In fact, while it is clear that irreducible differences exist in the individual orientations of each technician or professional, it is imperative to try to define and systematise (and then transmit, as far as possible) a more suitable apparatus of knowledge and technical skills, which would help in the attempt 'to do one's job well', even in difficult territories such as those characterised by 'high mafia density'.

Therefore, it is still necessary to study and experiment with the forms and ways in which the urban and territorial dominance of criminal organisations is spatialised and can be countered, by presenting architects and engineers (and therefore research and education in the respective field) with largely overlooked specialised issues such as the 'direct and indirect control of urban space and territory', the 'interference with social and physical change and transformation processes' conveyed through planning, and much more. Contrary to popular belief, problems arise that do not simply concern the judiciary or the police, but also the choices regarding the use (or rather, abuse or non-use) of urban space and territory and their natural and human resources. The latter are jeopardised by the control of licit and illicit activities, by the use of violence or coercion, by the suppression of citizens' rights, by the corruption of decision-making and implementation processes. In fact, from the allocation of functions and resources, in large parts of Italy (especially but not exclusively in the South), complex and variously-organised criminal systems increasingly represent a relevant stakeholder in transformation processes, or, on the contrary, a strong driver of unwillingness to change, thus leading to inertia¹¹⁰ with regard to possibilities for improving the living conditions of the population and fostering their mobilisation.

De Leo, *Italy's peripheries and policies: an overview*, in D. Ciaffi (ed.), *Neighbourhood Housing Debate*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2005, pp. 60-83 for an overview of urban policies concerning suburbs developed in the course of the European research NeHoM -Neighbourhood for Housing Model, conducted with Giovanni Laino.

¹¹⁰ Here, inertia is seen not only and not so much in terms of inability to communicate between political society and civil society (see P. Lascoumes, P. Le Galès (ed.), *Gouverner par les instruments*, Sciences Po, Les Presses, Paris, 2004) but as a by-product of the actions of subjects who are aware of the benefits of inertia.

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Thus, neglect of uncomfortable topics, weakening of the active role of applied university research and expert knowledge, even merely in the watchdog role, these all culpably fuel lack of confidence in an education which not only fails to provide insights on the real problems, but also has to deal with forms of infiltration and control by the powers-that-be.

Given the fact that most contributions are currently extemporaneous and apparently occasional in nature, as academics we should mainly be concerned with fighting the abandonment of cultural ‘strongholds’ dealing with pressing and relevant issues, by trying to foster a convergence of the various disciplinary competences towards the public issues that constitute a problem. This can happen through critical redefinition of the efficiency paradigm, which has undergone a gradual shift towards a ‘management approach’, and has replaced the political one; and by supporting a competent, non-bureaucratic government of the ‘public thing’. We cannot disregard the fact that we are faced with a more general and profound transformation of the forms of government (of cities and territories), and of public institutions, in a neo-liberal context that determines optimal conditions for the affirmation of global economic entities (including mafia ones). These entities are revitalised and favoured by the art of *governing as little as possible*¹¹¹, by the diffusion of depoliticization and the rationale behind the *minimal state*¹¹². This paves the way for a return to prominence of criminal organisations, in every sector historically involved in actions that are typical of governmentality, thus including the government of territory.

In this context, the current situation does not appear promising, unless all of us obstinately contribute to this type of effort, which appeals to responsibility and commitment even in the midst of constantly emerging crises, and despite the widespread move towards job insecurity and indefiniteness of technical expertise. It is in fact clear that in the vacuum left by the lack of reflections and proposals, one risks leaving further scope to the spread of practices characterised by ‘comfortable adaptation’¹¹³. Such practices render the themes under debate increasingly narrowed, leaving vacuums that can easily be occupied by efficient actors. It is also in order to reduce this empty domain, consisting of inadequate

¹¹¹ M. Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, in ‘Critical Inquiry’, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Summer, 1982)

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ C. Crouch, *Il potere dei giganti. Perché la crisi non ha sconfitto il neoliberalismo*, Laterza, Rome-Bari, 2012, p. XII [*The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, Polity Press, 2011]

expertise and skills, that the intention is to provide a further stimulus to reflections, practices and training paths, by opening a new season of awareness and responsibility which, starting from research, will impact the development of the necessary technical skills.

11. *Geography**

Less than 1% of the total research products on mafia can be ascribed to geographic disciplines. If indeed ‘geography is what geographers do’, as geographers themselves often repeat with veiled sarcasm, the data are compelling: mafia is not a subject of interest from the point of view of geography. And it is not inconceivable that some PhD students or young researchers may have diverted their research interests elsewhere after being told ‘this is not geography’, as has happened in the past. But things have changed somewhat, and the current situation is, thankfully, different.

On the one hand, in fact, geography is turning increasing attention to studies on mafia, as indicated by the data collected in this census, and as shown by the XXXII National Geographical Congress (Rome, 7-10 June 2017), which presented a work session meaningfully dedicated to: ‘Culture, legality, territory: the contribution of geography and socio-historical disciplines to studies on organised crime’¹¹⁴. On the other hand, as emerged from the aforementioned session, for over a decade methods, concepts and techniques typical of geographic disciplines have been an integral and inescapable part of academic studies on organised crime and mafias, as well as of operational and institutional analyses related to investigations and trials.

One example is the concept of ‘territory’: territorial control is the defining feature of mafia according to a widespread and well-established interdisciplinary paradigm, shared and interpreted by political and judicial institutions as well. Another example is represented by the methods and techniques of crime-mapping and georeferencing crime statistics, which have made allowed us to draw up ever more precise and detailed cartographic analyses. Not to mention that any researcher working in the field, perhaps in community studies, is not only forced

* This paper has been written by Giuseppe Muti.

¹¹⁴ Session proceedings available online here: www.ageiweb.it

to deal directly with the geographical space experienced daily, but is also an explorer and narrator of the world and its variations, and therefore, etymologically, a geographer.

The results of the survey on geography are analysed, organised functionally by content and contextualised in a diachronic perspective with respect to recent developments in mapping studies and geography itself. The low numbers actually allow us to refine the analysis, bringing out interesting perspectives, which could perhaps be shared with other disciplinary fields. The geographic research products on mafia included in this registry are just over twenty (25), rising to about 30 with the inclusion of the most recent contributions, which will be mentioned later, and of those that elude the careful scrutiny of this registry for temporal or lexical reasons: a short monograph devoted to the relationship between crime and globalisation, a couple of articles on the relationship between crime and the environment, and a few doctoral theses devoted to confiscated assets and environmental crimes. On the whole, two facts emerge clearly: the first concerns the academic position of the authors and the second the fragmentary nature of the contents.

One-sixth of the geographic research products on mafia was written by staff permanently employed in a university at the time of writing; three contributions were made by professors, two full professors and one associate professor. Doctoral students and external personnel (research fellows, post-docs, etc.) play a key role in geographic research on mafia crime and illegal activities. So much so that the results of this registry could be interpreted as a map of PhDs in Geography (Turin, Padua, Rome, Sannio, Messina), as well as of the sensitivity of PhD boards towards the issue of mafia. Some of these young authors are able to enter the academic world on a permanent basis and converge into more conventional research fields, bringing with them the sensitivity and critical spirit they have developed towards the issues of legality.

Almost half of the contributions collected can be attributed to two authors and to the universities where they were employed at the time, the Statale in Milan and the Sapienza in Rome. Nearly half of the contributions originated in Rome universities, especially the Sapienza in its various scientific sections. This prevalence is also linked to the substantial and varied offer of PhDs in geography in Roman universities. Universities located in Naples, especially L'Orientale, are those with the highest number of permanent professors who deal or have dealt with mafia crimes, and who have participated in structured national research networks.

Consistently with this fragmented context, the themes addressed by geographic research on mafia cannot be described as pertaining to recognised and recognisable study lines. On the contrary, they denote a certain occasional nature, due not only to the absence of a common and shared project, but also to the weakness, if not lack, of a geographical theoretical framework that can serve as a reference tool within the discipline and as a chance for discussion with the other disciplines involved in studies on mafia.

In a continuum of scientifically contiguous subjects, the environment (dealing with topics such as illegal constructions, energy, waste, ecomafia) has drawn the most attention. Several contributions have been produced in collaboration with environmentalist NGOs (especially, but not exclusively, Legambiente) with which some universities enjoy an intensive and productive collaboration and exchange of data, tools, even personnel. A second area of special interest is related to transnational criminal networks and their specific activities; a theme straddling a fuzzy disciplinary field, linked to political science and internationalism, which until the 1990s was associated with international relations, whereas today it is increasingly represented as a domain of 'geopolitics'. Confiscated assets and the media representations of mafia are also among the most recent research subjects.

The geographic research products on mafia can be grouped into three main historical periods. The first, which could be described as a 'precursor' period, began in the second half of the 1990s. It featured an integrated series of internationalist articles on Russian mafias during the difficult post-Soviet transition. It was also in those years that a number of non-governmental research centres such as the Observatoire Géopolitique des Drogues (Ogd, Paris) and the Observatoire Géopolitique de la Criminalité Internationale (Ogci, Liège) began to operate and cooperate in Europe. In addition to generating original research, these centres managed to establish international research networks involving academia, institutions and associations¹¹⁵.

The second period, which could be defined as 'exploratory' spans the first decade of the 2000s and runs until 2013, with both doctoral theses and publications. During this period, several contributions regarding the environment and

¹¹⁵ These initiatives have seen the active participation of the following Italian entities: the Document Centre Impastato from Palermo, which was a stable partner of Paris' ODG, the Abele Group from Turin and the Milan Observatory on Organised Crime in Northern Italy (Omicron).

environmental crime were published, while a departmental research project at the University of Bari studied and assessed the criminal presence on the territory. In the same period, an interdisciplinary research group from universities located in Naples published a number of original articles offering a preliminary proposal for a geographic analysis of mafias, questioning certain key concepts such as boundaries, scales and territorial relations.

The third period covers recent years, starting in 2016, and seems to be marked by an increasing attention to mafia, in terms of intensity and continuity of research. This is confirmed by the increase in the number of essays in volumes and articles in peer-reviewed journals published. In 2017, the aforementioned session of the XXXII National Geographical Congress was held. Various specialists in spatial studies (urban planners, spatial sociologists, internationalists, cartographers) participated in even greater numbers than the geographers themselves.

Geography as an academic field in Italy opens up to the interdisciplinary study of mafia, and the most recent research products seem to focus mainly on three themes. First, the precarious but crucial system of assets confiscation, which interests geography both from a statistical-cartographic point of view and from the perspective of practical and symbolic territorial relations. Second, the representations of mafia and mafia relations, starting with the most widespread and visible ones, i.e., those provided by cinema and television, reinterpreted through the lens of critical geography. Third, social memory, which, as explained almost a century ago by its first and most prominent analyst, Maurice Halbwachs, is an eminently spatial fact, insofar as its transmission is guaranteed by the very process of social construction of space.

In the last two decades, the social sciences in general and the field of mafia studies in particular have undergone a 'spatial shift', through which increasing importance has been attached to the spatial dimension of social relations and to the social production of space; this trend has made it possible to look at the territory with new eyes (and new tools), and has constituted a formidable instrument for dialogue between disciplines. In the same period, geography gradually opened up to a 'cultural shift' that centred attention on individuals and the social relations that shape the territory; the geography of things was finally joined by the 'geography of values' that had been advocated by Lucio Gambi since the 1970s.

The gateway between the disciplines is open and the point of contact consists of their lowest common denominator: the territory. Not the geographical map, which is merely a reduced, approximate and symbolic representation of

experienced space, but the territory, with the non-Euclidean elusiveness of the relationships that create it, in everyday life and over the long periods of history. The common objective must be to overcome the more visible and measurable aspects, which are distributive in nature and restrict interpretation to the topographical dimension, and to seek an understanding of real and therefore multidimensional phenomena, such as territoriality, the process of territorialisation and the construction of the meaning of places, in order to push research towards a new topological dimension.

12. *Demology, Ethnology and Anthropology**

An analysis of the Iris database used for this research (see ch. I above) shows that in the last two decades researchers working in Italian universities in the M-DEA discipline have published about fifteen scholarly works on the subject of mafia. This represents 0.4% of the scientific output of the academic disciplines analysed, and just 11 of the 508 total authors obtained by a keyword search¹¹⁶. The data concerning 'related' disciplines are quite different: a few hundred works from the field of History (6.5%), and almost a thousand from disciplines pertaining to Sociology (32.8%). Of course, this discrepancy must be considered in light of the different size of the aforementioned fields: the M-DEA discipline has a significantly lower number of teachers, researchers, PhD and PhD students, despite the considerable number of students enrolled in anthropology degree courses. Nonetheless, this alone does not suffice to explain the discrepancy. Even taking into account the limited number of scholars involved, Italian anthropology writings on mafias are clearly few.

A search by keyword clearly shows a situation that is well known to those who conduct anthropological research on these subjects. The same can be ascertained through a quick review of the issues published between 2000 and 2020 by the main Italian anthropology journals. Furthermore, although the Iris database primarily includes works by researchers that are permanently employed

* This paper has been written by Antonio Vesco.

¹¹⁶ Although the database exploration stops in early 2019, this paper also takes into account works published in the second half of 2019 and in 2020. This choice is based on the observation of a recent (relative) growth in anthropological contributions on the mafias, thus the need to consider any transformations currently underway in this field of study.

in academia, there is little point in also including those who hold no tenured position within university, and yet work on these subjects on behalf of university departments¹¹⁷.

These data become even more relevant in light of anthropological research on mafias produced outside of Italian universities. Indeed, scholars working for foreign universities contribute and have contributed significantly to the debate. In several cases these scholars have maintained meaningful relations with the Italian university departments that inspired and supported them in their research. Moreover, many of these works were published in Italian. To name but a few, there are recent contributions on Sicilian antimafia by Jane and Peter Schneider; David Moss's reflections on *pentiti* (mafia informants); Naor Ben-yehoyada and Theodoros Rakopoulos's studies on *Cosa Nostra* and antimafia; Deborah Puccio-Dehn's research, also conducted in the Sicilian context; and Jason Pine's ethnography of the Neapolitan *neomelodic* music scene and its contact zones with the Camorra.

Given the peculiarities of the field, this chapter will focus on some underlying trends that have rendered mafia a less relevant subject for Italian anthropologists. Without discussing in detail, the theoretical and methodological problems at the basis of this missed encounter, I will try to identify some gaps and some possible research perspectives in a field that has long been detached from such an important subject.

After a brief examination of some macro trends, I will go into the merits of the contents detected by our survey, concentrating on the existing lines of research, on the missing ones or on those that were abandoned over time.

A necessarily rough estimate

Given the numbers at hand, no real numerical analysis can be provided on the trend and composition of Italian anthropological studies on mafias. Any reflection on the variables identified for this research seems implausible when applied to such a small sample. However, some general features can be identified.

Firstly, there is an obvious gap between universities in the South and universities in the North. This is a fact that concerns all the disciplines covered by

¹¹⁷ It is not possible to compile a registry of researchers not employed in universities, other than retrospectively and exclusively on that sub-population that then starts working on a permanent basis in universities. Despite this, several surveys on local samples have highlighted the significant contribution to the scientific production of Italian universities provided by this component characterised by job insecurity.

the research (see ch. I above). However, in this field it is more evident: Italian universities where anthropologists are engaged in the study of mafia are almost exclusively in Southern Italy.

More precisely, there is a concentration of contributions in the regions where Italian mafias are historically settled. The main publications are in fact distributed rather evenly between Sicily, Calabria and Campania. This aspect appears to be against the trend compared to what happens in other disciplines; suffice it to think of the volume of sociological publications produced in northern Italian universities (especially Turin and Milan), where, for several years, research has been accompanied by a solid teaching and training offer.

There is also a correspondence between the territories analysed and the university where the authors of the publications are employed. This can be seen thanks to the paucity of existing contributions, permitting us to delve more deeply into the specific contents addressed by the individual publications.

Moreover, publications by only one author are prevalent. This is a characteristic of anthropological works, due to obvious methodological reasons.

Lastly, the publications are often secondary in nature, and not representative of their authors' main research interests. In other words, it is not possible to identify an author who is primarily dedicated to this object of research.

No analysis can be provided on the temporal distribution of the contributions. They appear to be rather constant over time, but their number is too low for a trend to be discernible, other than the 'continuous low' of anthropological production.

Some of these macro trends are partly disproven if we set aside the Iris data for a moment, and take into account only the works by foreign researchers and researchers who are not permanently employed in any university. By doing this we detect a greater occurrence of publications from northern Italian regions and a greater mobility of anthropological knowledge on mafias, i.e., weaker correspondence between areas being researched and universities of origin of the research. The latter is certainly linked to the greater job mobility of researchers without a permanent position, and to their tendency to choose areas that are even far from their own base. Furthermore, the publications of researchers belonging to foreign universities are more heterogeneous in terms of the territories they cover. However, these data also reveal something about the research interests of individual departments or individual anthropologists working in universities, who tend to focus on (phenomena related to) criminal groups located in the same area as their university. This tendency also seems to emerge in historical research, but is far less apparent in the field of sociology.

III. University research in the field of organised crime

Progressive estrangement from the subject

The reasons for the current divide between anthropology and the other social sciences in their interest in mafia are several. This short paper does not aim at providing an in-depth exploration of the contingencies that have engendered that divide, and of the academic balance between the different disciplines. However, we can mention the main theoretical and methodological issues behind such a divide, if only because these issues are sometimes discussed among anthropologists themselves. In fact, the problem has, at times, been explicitly posed and addressed by anthropologists, in line with the discipline's tradition and vocation of self-reflection. Confirming the data at our disposal, more often than in publications, this discussion has taken place in informal settings during conferences and seminars, on the sidelines of discussions devoted to other topics which intersect with the theme of mafias, or in private conversations between colleagues.

This estrangement from the subject appears all the more difficult to explain if one takes into account the fact that in the last two decades Italian anthropology has devoted much attention to phenomena that are also affected by organised crime. There are several established research strands within anthropology that 'eschew' a confrontation with our subject: the paper's conclusion will briefly discuss the possible convergences between those strands and the reflection on mafias.

Generally, the main motivation used to explain this process of estrangement is the fact that the primary method of anthropological research, ethnography, does not easily adapt to the subject. Evidently, direct analysis of secretive phenomena such as criminal ones is not possible, or at least, not through participant observation of activities related to mafia and corruption. Nonetheless, we know that several anthropologists have captured practices and narratives connected to the world of Italian criminal organisations starting from the observation of small local communities¹¹⁸. There are also works by anthropologists and ethnographers who encountered, more or less directly, mafia practices and contexts. Thus, the explanation that links the estrangement to unsuitability of the method is incomplete at best. While it is true that the criminal actions of mafia groups cannot be examined, it is also true that these activities take place in directly observable contexts and social situations. This can be perceived in some recent publications

¹¹⁸ Of course, we refer to works such as those carried out by Charlotte Gower Chapman, Jane e Peter Schneider, Anton Blok, Jeremy Boissevain and others.

that capture important aspects of the mafia phenomenon starting precisely from an analysis of private conversations and rumours that circulate in the local contexts and in antimafia environments, or from discourses and meta-discourses on the world of mafia¹¹⁹.

Outside the purely anthropological domain, we have examples, even recent ones, of research carried out using methods that are entirely comparable to ethnographic methods, from the reconstruction of biographies and life histories¹²⁰ to the use of oral sources¹²¹. More generally, even sources of a very different nature, such as judicial sources, can be interrogated while bearing in mind cognitive objectives and methodological approaches compatible with the anthropological gaze.

As evidence of the compatibility between method and object, until the early 1980s anthropological knowledge was at the centre of the academic debate on organised crime and patronage in southern Italy. In the wake of the numerous studies conducted by foreign colleagues in the decades following the Second World War, anthropological studies on mafia practices represented an authoritative voice. However, it was not only the research of the so-called Mediterraneanist anthropologists that pushed the field towards the study of the mafia issue. A sizeable contribution was also provided by Italian scholars from southern Italian universities, although in many cases, as Berardino Palumbo recalls, their reflections were the result 'more of a critical and political familiarity with southern contexts than of field research developed gradually and over time'¹²².

In recent decades, the landscape has changed radically. The progressive abandonment of this field of investigation began around the 1980s and has reached

¹¹⁹ For example, the sociological works by T. Rakopoulos, *The social life of mafia confession. Between talk and silence in Sicily*, in 'Current Anthropology', LIX, 2018, 2; Id., *Who we speak with: gossip as metatalk in a mafia and antimafia universe*, in 'Voci. Annuale di scienze umane', 2019; and the book by J. Pine, *The Art of Making Do in Naples*, University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

¹²⁰ For example, see sociological work by A. Dino, *Mutazioni. Etnografia del mondo di Cosa nostra*, La Zisa, Palermo 2002; Id., *A colloquio con Gaspare Spatuzza. Un racconto di vita, una storia di stragi*, il Mulino, Bologna 2016

¹²¹ Suffice it to think of the numerous works by Gabriella Gribaudi.

¹²² B. Palumbo, *Il viennese e il professore. Prospettive di ricerca antropologica su mafie e neoliberalismo*, in A. Balzola, R. Adelmaro Barbaro (ed.), *Società disonorata. Identikit delle mafie italiane*, Bruno Mondadori, Milan 2013, p. 117. Palumbo refers to different contributions in a book by various authors, *Le ragioni della mafia. Studi e ricerche di «Quaderni calabresi»*, Jaca Book, Milan 1983; and also to reflections by Luigi Lombardi Satriani on Calabria, Amalia Signorelli on Campania and Antonino Buttitta on Sicily.

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the present day. During this long phase, the work of anthropologists became less and less relevant in the landscape of organised crime studies and anthropologists ceased to be interlocutors (let alone authoritative ones) of other disciplines.

There is generally little dialogue between the different social sciences. In the case of social research on mafia in recent decades, however, it has become possible and fruitful. In their writings, sociologists discuss the findings of historians, political scientists and jurists, and vice versa; similarly, scholars from different disciplinary traditions have long interacted in academic debates, seminars, conferences and even in the teaching of postgraduate specialisation courses and summer schools on this topic. The data at our disposal, on the other hand, suggest that anthropology, in addition to generating very few contributions and moments of intellectual exchange internally, remains largely outside of the interdisciplinary dialogue described above. This is evident from the bibliographies accompanying the few publications available, most of which are extraneous to the historical and sociological debate and almost completely indifferent to the work carried out in the legal sphere to define mafia crimes¹²³. This indifference is more than reciprocated by the other disciplines, whose debate mostly ignores anthropology, or calls it into question by referring to a concept of culture completely outdated by anthropologists: 'too often [...], even in important works, the authors imagine the existence of 'anthropological' (i.e., substantial, invariable) levels of reality, expecting anthropological research to refer to them'¹²⁴.

The indifference towards the theme earned Italian anthropology harsh criticism from Diego Gambetta, who had been asked to comment on a monographic issue dedicated to the relations between '*Anthropology, mafia and social sciences*' by the journal 'Ossimori' of the University of Siena. This criticism, nevertheless, appears singular, for two reasons. First, it was aimed precisely at the few anthropologists who had decided to remedy the discipline's indifference to the subject by editing a special issue after many years of silence; second, it came between the lines of a comment on the main article of the issue¹²⁵, in which the sociologist

¹²³ The discussion surrounding the judicial sphere – the debate on legality and the theme of mafia as a legal-political matter – could be considered a problematic factor, if interpreted in view of the anthropology of law.

¹²⁴ Palumbo, *Il viennese e il professore* cit., p. 149

¹²⁵ L. Li Causi - M. Cassano, *Antropologia, mafia e scienze sociali. Riflessioni dall'esterno*, in 'Ossimori', II, 1993, 3, pp. 10-9.

completely discredited anthropological knowledge with arguments tinged with positivism.

The main accusation levelled at anthropological knowledge and shared by most scholars in the field – to the extent that it has become common sense – is in fact that it has led to a culturalist drift in mafia studies¹²⁶. Anti-culturalist theses have reminded us for decades that, if we want to talk about cultural codes, we must bear in mind that mafia members only exploit them, that is, manipulate them in order to acquire social consensus.

However, as has been noted, ‘cultural codes, before being manipulated, must exist’¹²⁷. It is indicative of the discipline’s lack of interest in the subject that no other anthropologist, until recent years¹²⁸, has intervened ‘in defence’ of a complex use of the concept of culture. Instead, a defence came from some sociological works, with arguments designed to show the limits of interpreting the mafia phenomenon based on theories of rational choice¹²⁹. In the face of a general lack of interest on the part of anthropologists, historian Gabriella Gribaudo also participated in this debate many years ago. With reference to her fortunate anthropological studies dedicated to the criminal phenomena prevalent in Sicily and southern Italy – accused by many of having contributed to the identification of mafia with the contexts where it occurred – she recalled that those fieldworks started, on the contrary, ‘from the optimistic idea that individuals are allowed high margins of manipulation, that cultural codes are highly adaptable to circumstances and that this very adaptability explains their continuous re-functionalisation’¹³⁰.

Over the last few decades, therefore, the discipline has inexorably become detached from the subject, showing little participation in the vast field of mafia studies. As an aside to these brief notes, it is possible to advance a hypothesis that partially explains this disposition on the part of anthropologists. The hypothesis

¹²⁶ Talking about the anthropological studies of the 60s and 70s, Umberto Santino described an actual ‘culturalist inebriation’. See U. Santino, *Dalla mafia alle mafie. Scienze sociali e crimine organizzato*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2006.

¹²⁷ Li Causi - Cassano, *Antropologia, mafia e scienze sociali* cit., p. 13.

¹²⁸ The aforementioned intervention by Palumbo, *Il viennese e il professore*, constitutes an exception.

¹²⁹ Cfr. M. Santoro - R. Sassatelli, *La mafia come repertorio. Frammenti di analisi culturale*, in ‘Polis’, 3, 2000, pp. 407-27; M. Santoro, *La voce del padrino. Mafia, cultura, politica*, Ombre Corte, Verona 2007.

¹³⁰ G. Gribaudo, *Mafia, culture e gruppi sociali*, in ‘Meridiana’, 1990, 7-8, p. 350.

that emerged in public and private conversations, with varying degrees of explicitness, is the following: for many anthropologists, the gradual framing of an autonomous field of studies on mafias constitutes a problem in itself, since it contributed to the considerable institutionalisation of the gaze cast by social sciences on the problem of mafias. This ethical-political explanation has to do with the positioning of scholars aiming for a critical look at society and its institutions, which translates into a general difficulty in engaging in the debate initiated by the heterogeneous antimafia front. In fact, within this front, we find scholars who have mostly displayed a willingness to dialogue with the institutions combating mafia, and whose gaze was formed in the courts. However, this is once again a partial motivation, which does not explain why the discipline has not dedicated space to a reflection adopting a deconstructionist and critical approach to these very dynamics.

Prevailing and neglected themes

Despite the problems discussed so far, the data at our disposal allow us to identify some recurring research themes and areas in the anthropological reflection on mafias. In this section there will be a review of the themes found in the Iris database contributions, taking into account the main works that appeared during 2020, those by foreign colleagues, and those by scholars that are not permanently employed in universities. These research trajectories have not always been recognised as such, nor has a scholarly dialogue been established to reinforce them. Moreover, as already mentioned, these are in many cases minor publications, sometimes of little relevance to the professional career of their authors.

A first sphere suggested by our data is the anthropology of writing and the relationship between anthropology, literature and the discursive dimension with reference to the narratives of the mafia world. This is perhaps the main way in which anthropologists have been able to circumvent the obstacles related to the method of investigation and still closely examine the mafia world, making use of the theoretical and methodological tools provided by the discipline. Two recent contributions about Calabria can be traced back to this sector, drawing some *topoi* from public discourse, literature and the writings of Calabrian intellectuals; these *topoi* are useful to reflect on the gaze of local societies on the 'ndrangheta problem. Within the same research strand, we also find a contribution regarding Sicily, which looks at the discourse on mafia by examining the work of the island's storytellers. Still in Sicily, a contribution dedicated to the communicative style of Bernardo Provenzano can be traced back to the same line of research.

The connection between sacred rituals and organised crime mostly concerns works devoted to Sicily. This topic was the subject of two recent articles about the link between ‘speak’ and ‘silence’ among mafia informants; it was already present in three contributions written in the early 2000s and dedicated to both the world of Cosa Nostra and the antimafia movement. The subject has been addressed systematically and thoroughly only recently, in a publication focusing on the meanings attributed to the homages that statue-bearers pay to Sicilian mafia bosses during Catholic processions¹³¹.

The remaining works in the database confirm the data mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, regarding the substantial correspondence between the university where a scholar works and the territory/phenomenon object of that scholar’s investigation. The only works concerning camorra, in fact, are by scholars belonging to the University of Naples Federico II. These works include an anthropological reinterpretation of the history of camorra and a recent article focusing on the explicit and implicit self-representations of the Neapolitan clans. To these works, two contributions can be added, dedicated to the camorra of the Neapolitan suburbs, and published just before the year 2000.

Reflections on the situation in Apulia are equally rare. One contribution with an ethnographic slant highlights the problematic connection between the concepts of mafia and *caporalato* (illegal, exploitative recruitment of workers), a connection frequently mentioned by public debate and journalism. The remaining works on Apulia can be traced back to the University of Foggia: two contributions dwell on the themes of violence, revenge and consensus among organised crime groups in the Gargano; another, translated into several languages, reconstructs the case of the Albanian mafia. Finally, in line with a well-established tradition within the discipline, some prominence was given to the topic of violence, addressed in a short essay on the ‘ndrangheta.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning some missed opportunities for encounters between the discipline and the mafias. The lack of anthropological interest in the subject is confirmed, for example, by the case of migration research. It is striking that the large amount of research on migration processes and on the re-

¹³¹ Palumbo, *Piegare i santi: inchini rituali e pratiche mafiose*, Marietti, Bologna 2020. Palumbo had already addressed Sicilian mafia, with a reading of death and the health system in Sicily through the category of ‘necropolitics’; see Id., *La nuda vita nei campi di sterminio di Cosa nostra*, in ‘Segno’, 307-8, 2009, pp. 35-66.

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ception of refugees and asylum seekers has not resulted in systematic reflections on the role of Italian criminal organisations in the management of migration flows and, in particular, of reception facilities. This link draws the interest of students, independent researchers and young scholars – Italian and not; in spite of that, Italian academic anthropology appears to be mostly unprepared, and struggles to provide them with sufficient support. The field fails not only to provide concrete assistance to research, but also to guarantee a dialogue and an effective development of the inputs coming from those who are beginning to take an interest in the role of mafia organisations in migration processes or in the illegal labour practices affecting migrants.

Equally anomalous is the fact that Italian anthropologists have not devoted sufficient attention to the antimafia world and its contradictions: the institutions, the judicial bodies, the cooperatives that manage confiscated assets, and in general all the movements and organisations that comprise this significant and contradictory universe. Italian anthropological studies on social movements are limited to observations of militant circles that are politically very distant from the antimafia ones. It might not be a coincidence that antimafia studies have been mainly carried out by foreign researchers, who have focused on the Palermo antimafia movement¹³², on the cooperatives in charge of managing the assets confiscated to organised crime¹³³ and on the reading provided by the judiciary and the antimafia movement of the links between the Sicilian mafia and Freemasonry and, more generally, between mafia and the ruling classes¹³⁴. Nevertheless, antimafia characteristics pose anthropology relevant questions on issues completely unexplored to date: from the contradictions that affect the antimafia action of politicians and other members of the ruling classes to the actual instrumental use of the fight against mafia; from the relevance assumed by the concept of ‘legality’ to the tendency, even within the antimafia front, to incorporate forms of criminalisation of the so-called ‘dangerous classes’ put in place by the systems in charge of fighting mafia. These are all first-order concerns for

¹³² J. Schneider - P. Schneider, *Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo*, University of California Press, 2003.

¹³³ T. Rakopoulos, *From clans to co-ops: confiscated mafia land in Sicily*, Berghahn, N.Y.-Oxford 2017.

¹³⁴ See N. Ben-Yehoyada, *Di altre fratellanze* and A. Vesco, «Un certo consenso sociale?» *L'area grigia, la borghesia mafiosa e l'antropologia*, both published in 'Voci. Annuale di scienze umane', 2019.

a discipline that increasingly perceives and claims the urgency of its public and political role.

Similarly, it is peculiar that no true avenue for reflection on the presence of criminal organisations opened up in studies on the controversial development processes in southern Italy, and on the impact of neo-liberal policies and large-scale works, or again, on environmental disasters or the de-industrialisation of vast areas of southern Italy. These are in fact fields that are covered by anthropological research and in which the presence of mafia organisations should certainly be taken into consideration.

Anthropology and the object of research in question converge on a theoretical-methodological level, i.e., with regard to the construction of the gaze and knowledge about mafias. A large part of social research has been concerned with questioning and deconstructing the numerous stereotypes that concern the mafia and its historical areas of settlement; anthropology, on the other hand, has the possibility of starting a reflection on the relationship between stereotypes and everyday practices, that is, on the constant interplay of cross-references between the representations of mafias conveyed by mass media and the everyday life of people who are part of the mafias (or of those who, for various reasons, deal with them)¹³⁵.

Lastly, anthropologists are solicited by the renewed interest in territories and local contexts shown by most social research on mafias¹³⁶. It is known that the activities of mafia groups occur in ethnographically observable social situations, especially when the research focus is not on the mafia clans themselves, but on studying a composite power system, comprising, aside from mafia groups, economic, political and institutional actors of an area. Some works by anthropologists, although focused on different social issues and themes, 'also' observe the activities of criminal organisations¹³⁷. This research points the way for a study of

¹³⁵ A first contribution on this theme was provided by P. Vereni, *Identità catodiche. Rappresentazioni mediatiche di appartenenze collettive*, Meltemi, Rome 2008. Reflections on the construction of the object also occurred in history studies, with significant contributions about the processes of criminalisation of dangerous classes. Specifically, see F. Benigno, *La mala setta. Alle origini di mafia e camorra (1859-1878)*, Einaudi, Turin 2015.

¹³⁶ On this subject, see the work by Rocco Sciarrone, spanning decades. It is a paradox that major Italian anthropological studies about institutions and forms of statal power have ignored the role of actors belonging to mafia almost completely.

¹³⁷ Among others, see: I. Pardo, *Managing existence in Naples: morality, action, and structure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996; D. Zinn, *La raccomandazione. Clientelismo*

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mafia as a phenomenon closely connected to local social contexts, with the goal of capturing the effects of their encounter with the social fabric of a territory and the economic and political institutions that regulate its resources. By examining the daily work and social interactions of public officials, entrepreneurs, politicians and professionals, it is possible to shed light on the web of relations that favour the constant reproduction of mafia phenomena. The lack of specific reflection on these aspects by Italian anthropology is consistent with the general trend of international anthropology. With some exceptions, the hegemonic cultures of western countries have occupied a marginal place in the research interests of anthropologists¹³⁸. In such a context, the direct study of mafia power could not represent a priority for many of them.

vecchio e nuovo, Donzelli, Roma 2001; B. Palumbo, *Politiche dell'inquietudine: passioni, feste e poteri in Sicilia*, Le lettere, Florence 2009; M. Minicuci, *Politica e politiche. Etnografia di un Paese di riforma: Scansano Jonico*, Cisu, Rome 2012; Pine, *The Art of Making Do in Naples* cit.; A. Vesco, *The cultural foundations of political support in Eastern Sicily: mafia clans, political power, and the Lombardo case*, in 'Modern Italy', 2017, 1; E. Alliegro, *Terraferma. Un'altra Basilicata tra stereotipi, identità e (sotto)sviluppo*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2019.

¹³⁸ See general reflections on this subject by C. Shore, *Introduction: towards an anthropology of elites*, in C. Shore, S. Nugent (ed.), *Elites cultures. Anthropological perspectives*, Routledge, London 2002; and by J. de Pina-Cabral, *Introduction*, in J. de Pina-Cabral, A. Pedroso de Lima (ed.), *Elites. Choice, leadership and succession*, Routledge, London 2000

IV. Results

1. *The role of academic research on mafias amid the academic community, institutions and society**

The planning phase of the work contained in this book was informed by the awareness that the Italian academic fabric includes elements that could, at least potentially, form a community of scholars strongly committed to the issue of mafias and, more generally, legality. We are talking about a diverse set of researchers who, in their scientific activity, interface with other subjects, who in turn are bearers of manifold professional experiences: at least at an embryonic level, one could speak of a true ‘epistemic community’, which associates the sharing of a common set of value beliefs and normative principles with the desire to apply the knowledge produced for reforming purposes. Some of the scholars have had the opportunity to collaborate scientifically and engage in public debates. On the contrary, most have exercised their commitment within the confines of their own discipline, with little or no opportunity to meet and exchange views with scholars from other disciplines. In fact, while in some of these fields – for example sociology, legal studies and history – a common sentiment for such topics has long been established, as shown by the significant number of co-authored scientific publications, this is not the case in most other fields. This is probably one of the reasons why the project to investigate the role of Italian university on the subject of mafias was greeted by all those involved with genuine enthusiasm.

The choice of authors was made in consideration of the scientific involvement and efforts in their macro-areas or in the individual scientific disciplines that we identified; in some cases, this choice was prompted by relationships that had

* This paper has been written by Stefano D’Alfonso, Gaetano Manfredi, Rocco Sciarrone and Alberto Vannucci.

already been consolidated over time through collaborations of various kinds; in others, however, especially for those disciplines that are less familiar and close to us, we identified the scholars that were most involved in research on the basis of the scientific publications we had accessed through the Iris database. We were therefore forced to be selective, as we could only involve a relatively small number of scholars. This is perhaps our greatest regret.

The researchers from the many disciplines which dealt with the study of mafias and criminal organisations often do not know each other. This reinforces the awareness of the need to work on communication and exchange processes. In other words, the need emerges to exploit the partly unexpressed potential of interdisciplinary approaches and opportunities to exchange ideas. These approaches do not replace but rather complement scientific readings by single disciplines, which are evidently necessary insofar as they elevate sector knowledge and respond to specific needs for scientific knowledge and the acquisition of specialised skills.

This point deserves further reflection. The mafia phenomenon is multidimensional in nature and can only be studied and taught by considering the suitability or even, depending on the research objectives, the need for hybridisation between different analytical methods and approaches. Just as mafias are 'fluid', the Italian university should also promote dynamic forms of project and research collaboration between scholars in the various fields concerned, wherever they operate. It is indeed significant that research interest in mafia phenomena has been 'transplanted' into the academic reality of many other countries. Moreover, as argued in the introduction, faced with mafia's systematic and 'organised' manner of operation, efforts aimed at prevention and counteraction must also be guided by systematic methods, favouring forms of organised cooperation. Acting within this context, the academic world should aim to strengthen the already existing channels of communication and interchange with institutional antimafia actors (e.g., the judiciary, executive and representative bodies, including legislating bodies) and social antimafia actors, since it can provide support to their action in various ways through its research findings. Such support can take the form of contributing to the effectiveness of interventions and, more generally, to the development of a shared sensitivity and awareness.

Antimafia policies, instruments and actions are interconnected, sometimes integrating each other effectively, sometimes not, partly due to an inadequate understanding of their role. In some cases, this is due to a lack of knowledge, in others to distrust among the actors. Within this loose connective tissue, the

IV. Results

‘service’ that can be offered by a body such as university, made up of individual researchers – who act in accordance with the specific rules of scientific, teaching and third-stream activities – may contribute to a greater extent to fostering the circulation of ideas and to enlivening the potential of these relationships. This is corroborated by the consideration that mafia, while not being value-neutral, must be approached and studied applying the rigorous criteria of the scientific method.

In order to better understand what is happening, as confirmed by our research database, the university ‘deploys’ the expertise of scholars from a wide range of disciplines, who have devoted their interest and thorough research not only to the many topics worthy of special attention, but also to the actions of antimafia actors and to their mutual interrelations. This is the case of more than a thousand scholars who have directly investigated mafia themes. These scholars belong to approximately one hundred academic disciplines and produced almost three thousand publications, particularly in the last twenty years (our time frame of reference).

Therefore, the reflection can fruitfully be placed within the broader discussion on the role of university¹. There are areas in Italy, particularly in the south, where despite the difficulties they are confronted with, universities represent for the younger generations one of the greatest opportunities for training and growth, not only professionally but also as citizens. University structures and the communities that operate within them take on, sometimes unintentionally, the role of ‘garrison of legality in the territory’, in contrast to criminal phenomena that have long been rooted there.

For these reasons, any effort that goes beyond the traditional repressive approach must be considered and valued. It appears necessary to bring the topic of mafias into the highest realm of scientific culture and university education, with lucidity and greater vigour. In particular, a more dynamic and organised academic effort is needed (see above, chp. I). This task cannot be entrusted merely to the often-praiseworthy efforts of individual scholars and of some groups, like the various research laboratories distributed throughout the territory and identified

¹ This reflection was recently developed by Gaetano Manfredi in the aforementioned work by D’Alfonso, De Chiara, Manfredi, *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l’area grigia* cit., pp. 125-8; 130-7, in which attention was devoted to the theme *Etica e legalità vs. mafie: il ruolo dell’Università* (“Ethics and legality vs mafias: the role of the University”).

in our survey (see above, chp. II). While there should be appreciation for the level of commitment and consequent results achieved, particularly in the promotion of important pathways of education to legality and knowledge of mafias, corruption, and other structured forms of crime.

In this regard, it is to be hoped that the universities active in research on mafias and, more generally, on the many types of organised crime will promote forms of institutional cooperation, in particular through the creation of a network of encounters, communication and exchange of experiences and initiatives, that can serve as an agile infrastructure to elaborate projects, including supranational ones – and research initiatives.

As regards teaching, the university, as an institution of high culture with a special place in the Italian constitutional framework, is called upon to reconsider its commitment, making it both more efficient and more accessible. This can certainly be achieved through traditional teaching approaches (e.g., lectures, seminars, doctorates), but also through new ones, such as Moocs with a soft-skills focus, i.e., aimed at transmitting transversal skills, also targeting students from different degree courses².

From this point of view, it would be appropriate to initiate a structured debate on certain concepts, explored in philosophical and legal studies among others, focusing on the very idea of ‘legality’ (or rather, ‘participatory legality’), in its formal and substantive meaning. This concept is constantly evoked in the most diverse cultural, political, social and institutional venues. The university must ponder the need to enhance its functions and skills in the processes of social organisation, in a perspective of interchange between knowledge, skills and awareness. The role attributed to university by the Italian Constitution is central to any policy aimed at guaranteeing formal equality, and to any process of removing the obstacles that prevent substantive equality, enshrined among the fundamental principles of the Italian Republic by Article 3 of the same Constitution. Individual rights and participation in the democratic life of the country suffer from all kinds of restrictions on freedoms and, referring back to the subject of this paper, are inexorably threatened, curtailed and jeopardised by mafia-type associations, which, as stipulated in Article 416 bis (3) of the Italian Criminal Code, «A mafia-type organisation is an organisation whose members

² An example is the *Federica Web Learning* platform, created by the Federico II University. This is equally true for third-stream activities (see above, chp. II).

use the power of intimidation deriving from the bonds of membership, the state of subjugation and conspiracy of silence that it engenders to commit offences, to acquire direct or indirect control of economic activities, licences, authorisations, public procurement contracts and services or to obtain unjust profits or advantages for themselves or others, or to prevent or obstruct the free exercise of vote, or to procure votes for themselves or others at elections».

The mafia phenomenon is not only limited to the criminal profile and the repressive action that can result from it, perceived on a daily basis through news about the significant results of investigative and judicial activities bolstered by the important, albeit cyclical, support of the legislative bodies. The phenomenon is evidently also social. It is rooted, nurtured and developed in the territories and communities, in the most diverse economic sectors, in intermediate bodies and even in institutions. This no longer true solely in the areas where mafias are traditionally established, but in a large part of Italy.

As mentioned, university researchers can contribute to updating knowledge about and vision of the phenomenon, so as to improve efficiency and awareness when planning and implementing policies, interventions and actions. Likewise, the university, as autonomous body and place of training for the new generations, must also cast its gaze inward. The research presented in this book is the first real attempt to monitor and verify the commitment of the Italian university system in producing knowledge that is useful in the fight against organised crime, standing alongside and collaborating with the institutions and the anti-mafia protagonists of civil society. Such commitment, to which we hope to have contributed with this work, will benefit from the proposals and constructive criticism that will follow.

Universities must fulfil the role of territorial guardianship, building an ethic and a culture of legality which is capable of spreading, through research, within the territory, society and institutions. We have described systematic antimafia, and it is within this 'system' that universities are called upon to intervene, aware of the privilege and at the same time of the great responsibility that every scholar and teacher bears towards students, in the long years that they will devote to education in university classrooms. It is worth reiterating that the university as a whole is called upon to contribute not only to the professional but also to the ethical training of the future ruling classes of the country and, more generally, of its citizens.

As stated above, for university researchers who decide to focus their teaching, research and third-stream activities on the topic of mafias, it would be desirable

to promote a stable and organised network of relations and exchanges, a space for cooperation that can include individual scholars and research groups. The aim should be to organise the various academic activities related to mafia and anti-mafia around a collective project, whose features would include the sharing of results and planning, and whose orientation would be towards interdisciplinary dialogue and debate.

Annex I

Memorandum of Understanding

Between

the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones

And

the Conference of Italian University Rectors (Cruì)

The Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones (hereinafter ‘Committee’), headquartered in Rome, via del Seminario 76, represented by its President, MP Rosy Bindi;

And

The Conference of Italian University Rectors (hereinafter ‘Cruì’), headquartered in Rome, piazza Rondanini 48, 00186 (...) represented by its President, Professor Gaetano Manfredi;

Also collectively referred to hereinafter as ‘parties’.

Whereas

the Commission, pursuant to Law No. 87 of 19 July 2013, ‘Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign organisations’, may avail itself of any cooperation it deems necessary with persons inside and outside the State administration (Article 7), within the scope of its institutional tasks;

the Cruì is the association of Italian State and non-State universities and one of its statutory purposes is the representation and enhancement of the university

autonomous system through activities of ‘coordination, direction, protection and promotion of Italian universities’ (Article 2 of the Crui Statute);

Whereas the Commission and the Crui:

- decided to identify the conditions for a cooperation between politics and institutions and the academic world, at meetings on the fight against mafia crime held at the University of Calabria in Cosenza on 26 October 2015, and at the University of Milan on 18 April 2016;
- share the belief that the fight against mafia powers is a crucial issue for the civil and economic development of the whole country;
- pursue the common objective of achieving levels of knowledge that are increasingly adequate to address the complexity and capacity for transformation and adaptation of mafia organisations;
- intend to define common strategic lines to cooperate on the development of scientific research and university teaching on mafia phenomena and organised crime, and to develop concrete actions, including through shared financial commitment;

In view of the above, the parties hereby agree as follows

Art. 1. Preamble

The preamble forms an integral and essential part of this agreement.

Art. 2. Subject

1. This agreement governs the relations between the Commission and the Crui.
2. The parties intend to share strategic objectives and to develop projects in four areas of intervention, typifying the contribution that universities can make in the fight against mafia culture and powers, namely:
 - a) research;
 - b) teaching;
 - c) specialised training;
 - d) dissemination and promotion of a culture of legality.
3. The parties, through the Steering Committee provided for in Article 4, discuss and define:
 - a) the planning of activities;

- b) the organisation and support arrangements of the activities concerning the four intervention areas, also by means of nationwide calls by the Crui, in order to foster:
- the interdisciplinary approach;
 - the inter-university research networks;
 - the implications of research in terms of policy and support to legislative activity.

[...]

Acknowledgments

This research, and the *Mafie e Corruzione* ('Mafias and Corruption') series in which it is published, are conceived as part of the season of cooperation initiated by the Italian university, represented by the Conference of Italian University Rectors (Cruì), with the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Mafia-related and other criminal organisations, including foreign ones.

In 2016, MP Rosy Bindi, the President of said Committee (established in 2013), and Gaetano Manfredi, then President of the Cruì, signed a Memorandum of Understanding that for the first time made it possible to articulate and formalise a shared collaboration project.

The considerable momentum resulting from the meetings and the collaborations initiated in this institutional context have provided significant elements of innovation and at the same time increased awareness of the role of university. For these reasons, a special thanks goes to President Rosy Bindi.

With regard to the specific contents of this work, we must recall how the decision was made to create, for the first time, a research and teaching review, and the two databases on the basis of which the scholars involved in the research were able to describe the context of university commitment on the subject, and to consider its future perspectives. The decision arose from a discussion with parliamentary councillor Francesco Comparone, at that time secretary of the Parliamentary Antimafia Commission. From the outset, the discussion focused on how to identify new ways of systematising access to university scientific output, also in order to support institutional activities.

The construction of the registry would not have been possible without the ingenuity and commitment of Ms Elena Breno of Cruì and Professor Attilio Scaglione, both of whom deserve sincere and heartfelt thanks, and the decisive contribution of Ms Emanuela Stefani, director of Cruì.

The work was accomplished through a protracted effort, with the support of the Parliamentary Antimafia Commission and the University of Naples Federico

II; the cooperation project not only made it possible to publish this volume in 2021 but also, in 2020, *Una questione di provincia. Criminalità e camorra tra età giolittiana e fascismo* by Carolina Castellano; in 2019, *Organizzazioni criminali. Strategie e modelli di business nell'economia legale*, by Stefano Consiglio, Paolo Canonico, Ernesto De Nito and Gianluigi Mangia, with interventions by professors Stefano D'Alfonso and Roberto Vona, and by the public prosecutor of Naples Giovanni Melillo; in 2018, *Mafie e libere professioni. Come riconoscere e contrastare l'area grigia*, by Stefano D'Alfonso, Aldo De Chiara and Gaetano Manfredi.

Attention to the project was also recently renewed and shared by the Parliamentary Antimafia Commission established in 2018, particularly through its president, Senator Nicola Morra, and its secretary, Councillor Daniele Piccione, who deserve our gratitude, and by the Ministry of Universities and Research, in the person of Minister Gaetano Manfredi himself.

Lastly, a well-deserved recognition for all those who participated in this publishing project, and in the challenging effort of synthesising the teaching and scientific commitment in a reasoned and critical manner: Antonio Acconcia, Giuseppe Amarelli, Elena Breno, Mara Chiara Calò, Paolo Canonico, Vincenzo Caputo, Carolina Castellano, Stefano Consiglio, Stefano D'Alfonso, Daniela De Leo, Ernesto De Nito, Federico Esposito, Serena Forlati, Orsetta Giolo, Giovanni Giuffrida, Gabriella Gribaudo, Francesco Introna, Gaetano Manfredi, Gianluigi Mangia, Giuseppe Muti, Maura Ranieri, Pasquale Sabbatino, Attilio Scaglione, Rocco Sciarrone, Giovanni Starace, Andrea Tomo, Alberto Vannucci, Antonio Vesco, Anna Maria Zaccaria.

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The commitment of Italian universities to education in the field of legality and to research on the subject of mafias is the main focus of this investigation edited by Stefano D'Alfonso and Gaetano Manfredi. For the first time, data is shown about the overall framework of teaching and research activities dedicated to this topic, with twenty-nine scholars from different academic disciplines and several universities who come together to reflect on the current situation and on the commitment of universities in the fight against mafias, highlighting both strengths and weaknesses of the system. The reflections illustrated here bring to light the dynamic nature of the local and cultural context where universities operate as well as the type of interaction that these institutions maintain with the national and local context. At the same time, it seems clear that great expectations are held at various levels in terms of what universities could do, especially with regards to the demand for knowledge about the best ways to fight mafias. This research reveals that Italian universities possess a considerable capital of knowledge which represents a 'hidden treasure' to be valued and used with the aim of promoting widespread awareness of their role in the anti-mafia field.

This book is the result of cooperation between many university professors and researchers, the Parliamentary anti-mafia Committee, the Conference of Italian University Rectors (CRUI) and former minister of University and Research Gaetano Manfredi, under the supervision and coordination of the interdisciplinary research laboratory on mafias and corruption (Lirmac) of the Department of Social Sciences of the University of Naples Federico II. This network of professionals and institutions enabled the construction of a significant database where teaching and research activities carried out by scholars from different universities can be identified, across about one hundred academic disciplines spanning from Sociology to Law, from History to Economics.

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ISBN 978-88-6887-145-1
DOI 10.6093/978-88-6887-145-1

