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Newsletter

Editorial note

New Year, New Directions

by FALKO A. ERNST and ANNA SERGI, Centre for Criminology, University of Essex

In a pub at Paddington Station in London at the end of October 2012, some senior and new members of the SGOC, in an informal and yet productive atmosphere, have set and agreed upon new directions for the Group starting from 2013, beginning with 9 panels at the ECPR General Conference in September 2013 in Bordeaux and including exciting news on the very popular thematic summer schools. Interesting, innovative and challenging plans will unfold ahead of us this year and this newsletter, with new editors, new ideas and new colours and layout, is part of the plan, in continuation with the brilliant work done by the Group so far.

Building from the previous hard work of the SGOC executive members and editors, this newsletter is part of the restyling of the group's organisation.

The newsletter, from this issue, will aim at challenging mainstream notions about research on OC by reflecting upon partnership between academics and practitioners from public and private sectors. Themes of the newsletter will pro-

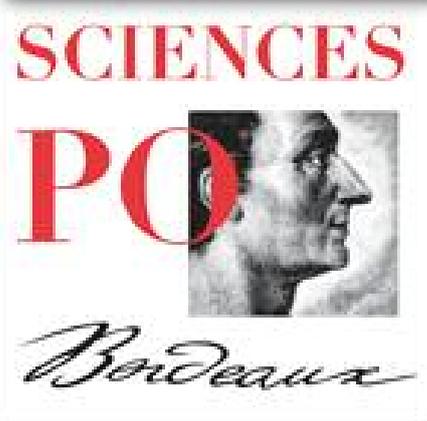
mote maturity, reliability and relevance of research methods for OC research and will engage in communication with different sectors in order to reach more realistic scenarios. Example of communication among sectors are the articles and reflections by William Hughes, Former Director General of the Serious Organised Crime Agency in the UK and by Roger Aldridge, Former Director of Forensics at KPMG in London. Two very different voices for very similar calls. A contribution from Filippo Beatrice, from the Direzione Nazionale Antimafia in Rome, also calls for changes in the way results are read in investigations, while, last, but not least, a contribution from Dr. Fabian Zhilla introduces a theme which is very dear to us. The production of comprehensive knowledge on Organised Crime has traditionally known one key enemy: scarcity of data, borne out of the perception of close-up empirical research on the matter as unfeasible and prohibitively risky.



Due to its paramount importance for understanding OC, this newsletter will feature, over the coming issues, a series of reflections surrounding the (unrealized) potentials and constraints of research on OC. Based on contributors' divergent backgrounds, this series will put the spotlight on contextual methodological adaptations as well as the impact of disciplinary and professional perspectives.

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Transnational Organised News

Can terrorism be prevented by means of situational crime prevention and perhaps even be a relevant tool for tackling Organised Crime? A staggering 81% of German Population would opt, according to a survey, for "Brit-style CCTV", as Der Spiegel puts it

(<http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/bonn-bomb-triggers-calls-for-greater-use-of-cctv-surveillance-in-germany-a-873185.html>).

Significantly less attention is meanwhile being paid to German firearms manufacturer Heckler & Koch's alleged illegal shipping of arms to conflicted, embargoed regions of Mexico. Mexicans themselves are currently more focused on changes promised by President Enrique Peña Nieto, sworn into office on the 1st of December 2012. The latter prominently included the announcement to address the country's security issues by prioritizing the reduction of kidnapping and extortion whilst remaining rather silent with regards to questions of Transnational Organised Crime and the cooperation with the neighbour to the north (<http://mexicoinstitute.wordpress.com/2012/12/18/president-pena-nietos-security-strategy-the-expert-take/>).

Although this raises concerns amongst dedicated drug-warriors, arguments for a change in drug policy recently came from within, as Le Monde puts it, the "United States of Marijuana" (http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2012/12/26/united-states-of-marijuana_1810454_3232.html) in form of legalization measures passed in Colorado and Washington. Prominent (elder) statesmen from across the Americas have been praising the dismantling of the prohibition regime as the way to go for quite a while (http://www.drogasedemocracia.org/Arquivos/declaracao_ingles_site.pdf). Whether or not this would in fact prove to be the desired effective weapon against the regional drug-fueled violence is being doubted, however. Too diversified, the argument goes, are income-generating activities by regional illicit actors, making them sufficiently invulnerable.

The trend for organised criminal groups to diversify their fields of activity has furthermore produced a worrisome

scenario for wildlife protection activists. Illegal poaching and wildlife trafficking has undergone a significant professionalization in southern Africa and is now being carried out with the help of military grade equipment. Not only does the rising demand (mainly from South-East Asia and China for goods such as rhino-horn powder endanger certain species, an estimated overall volume of 12 billion USD (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2012/dec/12/wildlife-trafficking-national-security-wwf>) in illegal wildlife trade furthermore translates into a threat for political stability, as US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, recently reiterated (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/dr-cristian-samper/the-connection-between-sp_b_2220725.html).

Experiencing a strong momentum in a number of European countries, crystal-line methamphetamine – better known as crystal meth or ice – is continuing what looks like an eventual global triumph. Formerly confined mainly to the US and subsequently popularized in Asia, its relatively uncomplicated production and high profit margins make the drug known for its grave health effects appear to be the next big thing to hit European drug markets (<http://www.irishcentral.com/news/Crystal-Meth-drug-set-to-wreak-havoc-in-Ireland-say-experts-there--148165755.html>);

<http://www.france24.com/en/20121119-germany-europe-drug-trafficking-crystal-meth-methamphetamine>).

Not amongst the next big things for regular consumers are Blackberry devices, appearing outdated in comparison to the omnipresent I-phones and similar devices. A certain clientele is, however, likely to remain true to the brand, as Australian police recently complained (<http://www.smh.com.au/technology/security/organised-crime-gets-smart-with-technology-20121230-2c1iy.html>). Relying on wiretaps to make cases against organised criminals (much like scholars who often redigest official records), the coding system used by the company makes it tough to impossible to intercept communication via blackberry. As so often, one man's meat is another man's poison.

The Editors

Available for Download

Report on Organised Crime in the European Union, 06.10.2011

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A7-2011-0333+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>

European Commission - Home Affairs Organised Crime and Human Trafficking, Adopted Legislation, International Conventions, Studies

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/e-library/documents/policies/organized-crime-and-human-trafficking/general/index_en.htm

European Commission - Home Affairs, Confiscation & Asset Recovery

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/organized-crime-and-human-trafficking/confiscation-and-asset-recovery/index_en.htm

Home Office UK - The Contribution of Financial Investigation to Tackling Organised Crime: A Qualitative Study, September 2012

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/crime-research/horr65?view=Binary>

European Commission - Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and the Council on the freezing and confiscation of proceeds of crime in the European Union, March 2012

http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/20120312/1_en_act_part1_v8_1.pdf

UNODC - Manual on International Cooperation for the Purposes of Confiscation of Proceeds of Crime, September 2012

http://www.unodc.org/documents/organized-crime/Publications/Confiscation_Manual_Ebook_E.pdf

Transparency International - Organised Crime, Corruption, And The Vulnerability Of Defence And Security Forces, Report, April 2012

<http://www.ti-defence.org/publications/858-organised-crime,-corruption,-and-the-vulnerability-of-defence-and-security-forces>

Research Institute for European and American Studies - "Illegal Immigration and Organized Crime in Greece", Research Paper No.144, (John M. Nomikos, 2010)

<http://www.rieas.gr/images/rieas144.pdf>



The Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS) invites young scholars to contribute articles for publication into RIEAS Publications Series. For more information, please, contact: Dr. John M. Nomikos, RIEAS Director at rieasinfo@gmail.com

Beyond the statistics ...

by FILIPPO BEATRICE*

Sifting through the limited statistics we're often forced to work with can sometimes lead to some interesting discoveries. For example, that the Public Prosecutor's Office in Naples asked for and obtained roughly twenty-five thousand orders of arrest over four years (2006 – 2010). Add on the some sixteen thousand sanctions issued by judges after arrests in flagrante delicto to the provisional arrests and the number of people imprisoned following finalised convictions, and the final figure is surprising to say the least: more than fifty thousand people arrested in just four years as a result of the coordinated detective work of the Neapolitan Public Prosecutor's office.

All of this makes me pause for thought. First of all, I understand that the repeated requests of high-ranking legal officials in Naples (and in the Re-

gion in general) to improve the resources currently available should not be viewed as complaints, since they are based on the very real and concrete need to strengthen the necessary fight against crime. In fact, our colleagues (who are often forced to work in conditions that are tough, to say the least) should be given due credit for always thinking about the future.

But this is not what I want to reflect on. Such large numbers give the impression of a police state, a mass roundup and ultimately (if this is the case) that there are very few survivors left among the criminals living in a forest-turned-desert. But is this really how things are? In fact, in spite of a range of precautionary measures and confiscations of mafia assets, there is undeniably still a strong and constant Camorra presence in Naples and in Campania.

This means that we are facing a phenomenon that needs to be interpreted correctly before it can be fought successfully.

In other words, and leaving aside more complex issues for now, we cannot deny that the fragmentation of Camorra clans has increased the number of places where important decisions on criminal strategies are taken. This explains why it has become difficult to maintain that removing the leaders of a clan is a way of dislodging others in a sort of domino effect. Furthermore, the organisational structures adopted by these groups are very flexible, so much so that Camorra organisations often employ the criminal services of members of other clans, thereby making the Camorra particularly well-represented in the legal markets and in society.

All in all, it seems that the 'metaphor of liquidity', thought up by one of the greatest living thinkers, Polish philosopher Zygmunt Bauman, can be applied to the Camorra. According to Bauman, modern human relationships are characterised by a certain fluidity, which – for example – makes power independent of a specific locality. Looking at the Camorra from this unique perspective, we can perhaps try to construct new ways of fighting organised crime, lending particular attention to its continual growth rather than its seemingly stable structures.

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Rome

Translation by Pheobe Murray.



In March 2012, the European Parliament plenary session in Strasbourg established a parliamentary commission to investigate the extent of infiltration and the harms caused by organised crime, mainly of Italian origin, to EU countries.

The work of the European Antimafia Commission, called CRIM Commission, began in April 2012 when MP Sonia Alfano has been appointed chair for one year, renewable. Alfano's father, a journalist, was assassinated in 1993 by the Mafia and Sonia Alfano has always

been very active in the fight against organised crime, especially as president of the National Association of Mafia victims in Italy. She has been very proactive in pushing forward the idea of the special committee to the European Parliament, after establishing how Mafias cost the EU more than €500 billion a year, of which €140 billion in Italy.

Alongside Alfano, four vice-chairs have been named: Italian Socialist Rosario Crocetta, Governor of Sicily who had already declared war to Cosa Nostra in

IN THE SPOTLIGHT The European Antimafia Commission

Sicily when Mayor of Gela in 2003; Rui Tavares (Greens-EFA, Portugal), Timothy Kirkhope (ECR, UK) and Soren Bo Sondergaard (EUL-NGL, Denmark).

A policy of zero tolerance will inform and inspire the work of the Commission, according to Alfano, especially by targeting those white-collar criminals who infiltrate public institutions and constitute a tremendous help to Mafia criminals. Some best practices from Italian Antimafia successes will be proposed, like for example the

reallocation of confiscated Mafia assets to social uses, as is done in Italy. The Commission has started its work from Italy with public hearings of experts in October 2012. Alfano seems very committed to the cause and the CRIM will aim to present a plan to the EU Parliament as a single Antimafia document, able to coordinate activities across the Member States and to provide a unique response to the threat, which needs not to be underestimated.

The Editors

Methodology Series

Researching Organised Crime in Southeast Europe

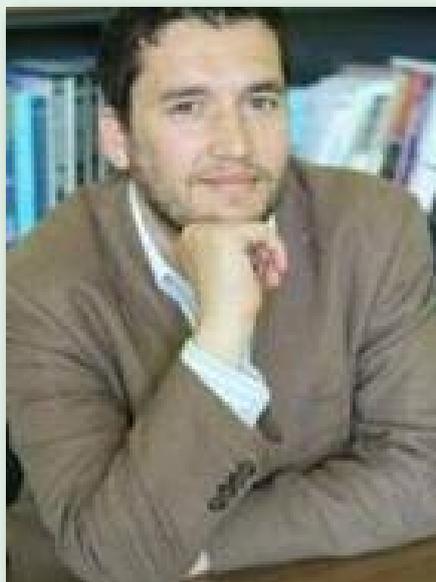
by FABIAN ZHILLA*

In the present issue, Dr. Fabian Zhilla commences the series with a reflection - aimed mostly but not only at (perspective) PhD students - on challenges he faced whilst conducting field work in Albania from 2008 to 2012

Researching Organised Crime in post-communist societies is a challenge. Methodological literature being limited in general, this is even more so for case studies conducted in Southeast Europe. Also, classical criminological research methods echo themes such as the study of prisons, gender, and restorative justice and are not necessarily relevant for the study of Organised Crime. Furthermore, the structure and terminology of methodologies is overloaded with technical terms, definitions, and intricate field-work strategies which may even prove counterproductive for probing Organised Crime in Southeast Europe.

Both quantitative and qualitative research into Organised Crime is generally very expensive and time consuming. A researcher does not have the luxury of conducting several 'experiments' before deciding which research strategy works best. Complying with the deadline is also a challenge. Both field work and post-field work need to be carefully prepared, the latter may take twice as long as the time spent collecting the data. The organisation, assessment, analysis and validation of data are an on-going process which again can be difficult to keep on schedule. If data are in a different language from that of the thesis, then the process of data analysis becomes even more difficult and time consuming. There being little space to 'experiment', the researcher has to be creative, efficient and he needs to optimise his data collection instruments.

Ethical barriers are another obstacle that can be unpredictable in terms of timing a research plan. Studies of Organised Crime are considered 'high risk' by almost all prestigious universities. The nature of these projects requires the researcher to be very well organised and to consider very carefully every potential hazard. Studies of Organised Crime deal with sensitive data and human participants. All reasonable steps to ensure that his safety and that of his respondents are not com-



Fabian Zhilla (source: <http://www.academia.edu>)

promised need therefore to be taken. The researcher also has to be informed of the legal consequences of any breach of data protection laws. He should consider relevant criminal laws that oblige the researcher to report any information that he uncovers during his field work. Many PhD students often neglect ethical constraints. They are then surprised how difficult and how much time it may take to comply with this issue. The thorny rule is that you cannot collect data without getting ethical approval first, and that any data assembled before can be dismissed. Ethical clearance for a high risk study can take from two to six months. And this is only the beginning.

The next challenge is how to mitigate the difficulties generated by ethical requirements while embarked on the field work. Indicators of the progress of the rule of law in Southeast Europe are not very promising and it does not take too long to realise how complex the relationship is between society and legal institutions. In such a context, it is very hard to follow ethical rules practically and encourage people to talk. For instance, it is difficult to ask judges, prosecutors or state police to sign a consent form beforehand for a project that explores the role of corrupt judges and prosecutors in the fight against Organised Crime. It is also risky to interview a criminal and ask him to sign his consent for questions that may deal with the struc-

ture of both his criminal activity or typology of his criminal organisation. All these participants may immediately think that you are an investigative journalist. The criminal may also suspect that you are part of a cover-up investigation wanting to collect evidence that can be used to prosecute him. In both scenarios, the researcher may risk harming the data. He may also be risking his professional career, even his life.

Another concern to be considered is how to access participants, and this phase of the project can also be unpredictable. My strategy of studying Organised Crime was based on interviewing judges, prosecutors, investigative journalists and NGOs, and a review of secondary data.

I avoided formal interviews with criminals because my research objective was not Organised Crime *per se*. My project probed the interplay of Organised Crime with judicial corruption. If you plan to interview prisoners, the clearance procedure from the authorities can take a long time. However, I did conduct some spontaneous and informal conversations with former drug dealers, without mentioning that I was a researcher. I kept notes but could not include them as quotes in my thesis because of the ethical barriers. Yet, I used these notes to sharpen my interview questions with prosecutors and judges. These notes also helped me to form a better idea of the typology of criminal networks. I also cross-checked former criminals' opinions with the data collected from other participants. Sometimes, criminals want to 'show off' and their statements can be filled with unnecessary embellishment, often about their 'lavish lifestyle'. So, first, you need to draw a line between reliable data and anecdotal data. A second problem I faced during those informal conversations was that most of these criminals' activities were conducted outside Albania, while I was more interested in probing patterns and typology of Organised Crime groups active *inside* the country. Their interplay with judges or prosecutors was minimal. At least one of them was running a successful business and his relationship with courts was like that of a normal businessman. Third, the structure and organising patterns of criminal groups might have changed from the time when the interviewed former drug dealers were active; thus my data could risk being outdated. →

Another unpredicted research challenge was access to different categories of participants. Based on some pilot interviews in Albania, I initially thought judges would be the hardest to approach. They lacked official contacts such as telephone numbers or email addresses. Their schedules were very busy and most of their court sessions were held in their offices. The only way to meet them was either in coffee shops or in their offices. So taking all these factors into account, I allocated more time to judges in my research plan.

And it proved right. However, the most difficult participants to access were prosecutors which took me more time than expected as an informal 'clearance' by chief prosecutors was needed. In addition, in practical terms, it was difficult to find prosecutors in their offices as they were either in court sessions or dealing with state police in interrogating criminals or witnesses. It was also hard to rely on a scheduled meeting with them because a sudden criminal case would require them to go and investigate the crime scene. Sometimes, my interviews were interrupted due to urgent phone calls. This of course affected the flow of the interview and the schedule. I faced the same problem when interviewing judges in their offices. It's hard to realise how much time these obstacles can take. And if not properly thought through in advance they can seriously limit the number of participants,



Albania (source: <http://data.un.org>)

weaken the interview (by not asking all planned questions), and as a result the reliability of the data (cross-checking).

Another factor to reckon with is that not all interviewees will be willing to cooperate. In my case study, I would usually spot within ten minutes when a judge or prosecutor felt uncomfortable talking to me as they showed signs such as: short answers of 'yes' or 'no', repeated checking of their watch and frequent mentioning of the law ('the law says this, the legal procedure is that'). In contrast, interviews with advocates/solicitors, NGOs and es-

pecially with investigative journalists were more relaxed and friendly and some of them were also willing to suggest further sources. Timing with 'criminals' is, however, not a problem. They too want to speak and tell their stories. But with them the main issue is to keep the discourse calm and smooth.

To conclude, there is no blueprint methodology that a researcher of Organised Crime in Southeast Europe can strictly rely on. It is advisable that at least two research trips be made before embarking on the field work, to establish a layout of the research challenges, and to

conduct pilot interviews. He should also be prepared for 'unpleasant' surprises and be flexible with the timing. Although not discussed in this article because of its short format, the researcher should also be familiar with the customary norms of his research site.

Southeast Europe is known for its variety of customs and cultures which are condensed in a small territory. And finally, a researcher should be creative and have a plan B in advance on how to overcome research challenges.

** Completed his PhD at King's College London.*

Publication Monitor 2012

Intersections of Crime and Terror

Edited by James J.F. Forest
Published November 29th 2012 by Routledge

Corruption and Organized Crime in Europe Illegal partnerships

By Philip Gounev, Vincenzo Ruggiero
Published 20th May 2012 by Routledge

Illegal Markets and the Economics of Organized Crime

Edited by Martin Bouchard, Chris Wilkins
Published 7th May 2012 by Routledge

An Introduction to Transnational Criminal Law

by Neil Boister
Published September 2012 Oxford University Press

Situational Prevention of Organised Crimes

Edited by Ronald Clarke, Karen Bullock, Nick Tilley
Published March 2012 by Routledge

Fighting Corruption in Eastern Europe. A Multilevel Perspective

Edited by Diana Schmidt-Pfister, Holger Moroff
Published 31st May 2012 by Routledge

Criminal Insurgencies in Mexico and the Americas

The Gangs and Cartels Wage War
Edited by Robert Bunker
Published 3rd September 2012 by Routledge

Deconstructing the Mafia: An Historical and Theoretical Study of Organized Crime

by Joseph L. Albin and Jeffrey Scott McIlwain
Published by McFarland & Co. in 2012

Transnational Crime and Human Rights. Responses to Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Subregion

By Susan Kneebone, Julie Debeljak
Published by Routledge, September 2012

Traditional Organized Crime in the Modern World

Edited by Dina Siegel, Henk van de Bunt
Published by Springer, 2012

Special Issue: Organized Crime and Situational Crime Prevention

Trends in Organised Crime Volume 15, Issue 2-3 – September 2012
Springer

Lush Life: Constructing Organized Crime in the UK

by Dick Hobbs
Published by Oxford University Press, January 2013

A new partnership against crime does not mean police privatisation

by WILLIAM HUGHES*

The police service in the UK is facing significant funding reductions that are likely to last until the next election at least. Demands for service from the police have not reduced, based upon the growing breadth of police involvement in society that has developed over the last 30 years. In many cases, other agencies have stepped back from their duty leaving the police to pick up the responsibility.

Many forces initially sought to deal with this funding shortfall by adopting "salamislicing" throughout their budgets, but quickly began to realise that cannot be applied year on year without a significant impact upon services provided, especially by the smaller units, or in particular segments of the police portfolio. Some realised that there was little merit in a system of 43 forces in England and Wales all duplicating support services that could be provided regionally or nationally at far less cost. However, government so far has rejected the idea of rationalising this local system, except in Scotland, which now has one police force replacing the 8 previous ones.

Many in government appear to want to see more "outsourcing" by the police of many of their tasks, and in some circles, this became a rush towards "privatisation" of the police. Inevitably this has led to polarisation between those who favour the type of approach to the public sector that the present government has advocated, and those who fear that the change will degrade the public service ethos of the police. Of course, others see this as a reduction in numbers of members of police and related staff associations.

In this article, I want to talk primarily about the impact upon the way in which serious organised crime is dealt with in the UK and to how we consider alternatives which may reduce the burden upon the police service, upon the courts and prisons, but especially upon the citizens of the UK. Public opinion on how serious organised crime should be combatted will invariably refer to it as a "police issue". That is also the case for government Ministers and officials, and tidily "pigeonholes" the problem. Now all that is needed is for the police to do more and

become more effective at doing it, and the problem will be solved.

Unfortunately, the police are actually doing as much as they can now, or at least in so far as the current orthodoxy allows. Intelligence identifies those who can become targets for surveillance and intelligence-led operations; teams are tasked and assemble evidence. Arrests are made and cases presented in court leading to convictions and sentencing. Some asset recovery and proceeds of crime work then takes place, before all move on to the next operation.

But whilst the police teams concentrate upon the small proportion of criminal enterprises that are a) in the UK, b) are committing crime in any of the government selected target crime sectors, and c) that resources exist that can deal with the operation against them, there is an army of serious organised criminals going about their business with impunity.

Latterly attempts have been made to develop strategies aimed at high volume approaches, seeking to disrupt, destabilise

and dismantle organised crime enterprises without necessarily involving prosecution. This reduces considerably the amount of work that is needed, but it involves police in an area that is beset by difficulties and constitutional minefields.

For centuries, the position in the UK is that all should have the right to hear the case against them properly presented in an impartial court, subject to challenge and with the right to present their own defence. The new approaches rely upon other means to tackle criminal enterprise, including the civil courts and novel approaches that are still in their infancy and may well be challenged in due course.

The fundamental problem is that there has to be a new partnership between civil society, academia, government and the police in order to deal with serious organised crime.

This will enable the UK to be more successful in dealing with serious organised crime, and will also require less resources and inflict less damage upon society, resulting in reduced ancillary costs to victims, the courts and commerce.

When we started SOCA, we called together academics from all over the UK to get an idea of the type of activity they saw as being effective and to generate new areas for research and development. We wanted SOCA to lead the way against crime, seeking to "design it out" and to enable commerce and individuals to prevent themselves becoming victims, and indeed, to go further and become active opponents of crime and criminals. →





Bill Hughes

(source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>)

→ That attempt faded for want of resources, time and effort, and a distinct lack of official support. However, the initial meetings that were held produced several good ideas that were incorporated within SOCA to significant effect. This included a formalised system for alerting when criminals sought to exploit vulnerabilities, and to demonstrate the methods of operation so that better systems could be built to withstand them.

Formalised policing structures cannot sell their services, or provide focussed activity for revenue, in the way that private security organisations can. For many in business, the cost of the private security company is a small percentage of the amount it saves by investigating and concentrating on fraud and theft for example. Insurance companies and financial businesses regularly use such facilities, which makes a sound business case for them, at no cost to the taxpayer and no impact upon police resources. Police Fraud Squads hardly exist now outside of London and this is an area that the police have withdrawn from already.

There are some in business and society who feel that as they pay tax and rates, the full services of the police should be available to them without cost. This is

a point that has to be addressed, and government to date has been particularly poor at so doing. Their message of funding reductions for the police, but still expecting the police to do everything for everyone is an exercise in dissembling. It could be argued that central government now has two “fall guys” when services fail to satisfy, with a Chief Constable and now a Police and Crime Commissioner.

However, it remains the case that the private sector can alleviate much of the demand upon the police and reduce the impact of crime upon society, without encroaching upon the police role in maintaining public order and protecting citizens from robbery and assault. The private sector will have to expect greater public accountability and better regulation of what has been a very mixed ability class until now in private security organisations, and the infiltration of organised crime has to be recognised and dealt with.

So improving the situation recognises that the police service is there to provide public protection and support in recognised areas of need, that the private sector can provide cost effective approaches to take serious organised crime out of the equation or reduce its impact considerably, and there has to be a greater concen-

tration on research and methodology to develop crime-cutting techniques for the future. I am not talking about developing better radios for the public services or the better use of technology. There has been precious little fundamental theorising since the days of Jeremy Bentham, but that is not to say that the capability is not there in the UK. On the contrary, I have been fortunate to see excellent examples of how academic research can benefit society in more radical ways. This requires concentrated effort and commitment to whole new approaches across public and private sectors. It will not be achieved by simply privatising the police or by allowing the private sector to “cherry-pick” profitable opportunities.

There is a proper way that we can address the resolution of the budget deficit and provide better service to the citizens of the UK, but it requires dedication and commitment over the long-term from all sectors of society. I hold out no great hope that will occur, but if it did, what a difference could be made.

** Former Director General Serious Organised Crime Agency, UK
International Director Buelight Global Solutions Ltd.*

The European Union's fight against cybercrime

by HELENA CARRAPICO*

The importance of cyber security, in its different facets, has grown exponentially, accompanying the digital revolution in industry and households. From personal computers to smartphones and cloud computing, the range of devices interconnecting individuals and allowing them to transfer data has become considerably diverse. Simultaneously, the number of online users has increased beyond expectations, revealing a dramatic change in the way we conduct business, develop our professional activities, and interact with others. According to a RAND study, one third of EU citizens was already using online banking in 2010, and, in 2011, 73% of European households had access to the Internet (European Commission, 2012a). Such technological and social revolution, however, carries the seeds of potential risks.

Given Europe's advanced degree of dependence in the area of online communications and transactions, policy-makers, and citizens in general, have come to perceive the digital world as in need of protection from possible abuse. The latter may take various forms, including crimes against individuals (harassment, hate speech, and unauthorized access and usage of personal data), crimes against property (computer vandalism and data interception), and crimes against States (attacks against Estonia's critical information infrastructure). From this perspective, the concept of cybercrime designates a set of specific crimes related to the use of computers and networks. It can also be employed to refer to the facilitation of traditional illegal activities through information and technology means (such as the exchange of child pornography images, or money laundering). According to the Council of Europe, cybercrime can be defined as a "criminal activity including offences against computer data and systems, computer-related offences, content offences and copyright offences" (2001).

The concept, however, remains considerably elastic, with substantial differences across national legislations, which renders its quantification almost impossible (European Parliament, 2012; Valeri et Al., 2006). On the one hand, industry evaluates the total yearly bill for cybercrime at \$388 billion, with one and a half million victims per day (Symantec, 2012, estimate based on 24 countries). Certain authors even go as far as referring to figures such as \$400 billion per year in the US alone (Kshetri,



Helena Carrapico

2010). On the other hand, official bodies find incidences to be considerably more limited (European Commission, 2012a). Such disparity in numbers is essentially due to two factors: firstly, industry figures are calculated on the basis, not only of the reported losses with cybercrime, but also on the basis of the estimated lost time and resources used to prevent and fight cybercrime (Symantec, 2012). Such methodology has resulted in impressive looking figures. Secondly, cybercrime reporting, on the part of the population, is still far from being systematic, as many individuals lack the necessary preparation either to understand that they are being victims of cybercrime, or to know where to report it.

Independently, from the accuracy of cybercrime figures, however, one important trend has become widely apparent: cyber security, and cybercrime more specifically, are now understood as a high priority field. Such trend has become visible, not only at policy-making level with a large panoply of instruments being proposed, but also at the level of the general population, with media attention and citizens' awareness increasing steadily. In the case of the media, major news sources now have dedicated sections for cybercrime, as can be seen from the example of the Guardian newspaper (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/cybercrime>).

Where the population is concerned, Eurobarometer surveys clearly indicate that individuals are extremely concerned with cybercrime, as 74% of the inquired population believes that the risk of becoming a victim continues to rise, and 89% claim to avoid sharing personal data online (Euro-

pean Commission, 2012b). It is also interesting to notice that this perception of cybercrime as a very serious concern is not directly related to levels of victimization, as only 12% of the population has admitted to having experienced online fraud, and 8% identity theft (European Commission, 2012b).

Regarding policy-making in this area, European governments and bodies' concerns can be traced back already to the mid-1990s.

Although the first development in the area of computer crime in Europe was the 1976 Council of Europe Conference on Criminological aspects of Economic Crime, with the proposal of creating different categories of computer crime, serious attention would only start to be devoted to this area with attempts to complete the single market (Schjolberg, 2008). The rationale behind such move was that if Member States adopted diverging regulatory approaches to the digital world, criminals might take advantage of legal loopholes, such as the differences in legal definitions and sentences. Largely basing itself on the work developed by the Council of Europe and the OECD, the European Community started to highlight the need to address computer security in order to remove obstacles to the pursuit of an e-common market, in its 1993 White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment (Porcedda, 2011). Until the end of the 1990s, such efforts were mainly focused on self-regulation, focusing in particular on the protection of intellectual property and personal data.

It was only in 1998 that the Commission took the decision to become more active in this field and to undertake a comprehensive study on cybercrime (Sieber, 1998). The results of the latter were rapidly translated into an attempt to develop a common approach to this issue, including the harmonization of national definitions, the approximation of legislations, and the development of joint instruments (Mendez, 2005).

Among the latter, we find the Council Framework Decision 2005/222/JHA on Attacks against Information Systems, the Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council No 460/2004 establishing the European Network and Information Security Agency, and the Communication from the Commission Towards a general Policy on the Fight against Cyber Crime (COM(2007)267 final).



→ This common approach has resulted essentially in the shifting of the cybercrime fight coordination to the EU level, the enhancement of police and judicial cooperation among Member States, the developing of stronger links between public bodies and industry, and increased cooperation with extra-EU countries and bodies.

The European Union's most recent step in the fight against cybercrime has been the creation of a European Cybercrime Center (EC3), which will have a first pilot phase during 2013 and is expected to become fully operational in 2014. With its basis in Europol, the EC3 hopes to ensure a coordinated response to cybercrime, to serve as the European cybercrime information focal point, to gather European experts on this topic, to provide support to Member States in their cybercrime investigations, and to become the collective voice of cybercrime investigators across law enforcement (European Commission, 2012c). Such tasks, however, will not be particularly easy to carry out given the institutional complexity of the European field of cyber security, and the perceived lack of visibility of Europol across the national law enforcement spectrum. These developments will thus be very interesting to observe over the coming years, not only for those concerned with the development of efficient responses to cybercrime, but also for those interested in how policy-making in this area comes about. Furthermore, it will be particularly fascinating to observe whether Europol, as a EU secu-

riety agency, will be institutionally reinforced by the official creation of the Center, and whether this will have consequences on its future mandate and capacity to influence policy-making in this area.

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Curiosities

PILLS OF OPTIMISM: AN ANTI'NDRINA REMEDY IS BOXED!

Pills of Optimism in Calabria, South of Italy, for Christmas. It is a gift ideated by Salvatore Magarò, President of the Commission against the 'Ndrangheta, the powerful local mafia, within the Regional Council. The box resembles a very common aspirin box, it contains chocolates and a very accurate leaflet - prescribing posology, indications, active principle and so on. It is called Anti'ndrina, as 'ndrina is the name of mafia clans in Calabria. The gift is part of a marketing campaign promoting legality and countering evolution and diffusion of all mafia forces and could be distributed in schools and among citizens just as a reminder that Mafia is a virus of society and as such, it needs powerful medicines, not only the ones in marketing campaigns.



Is there a role for the private sector and academia in tackling organised crime?

by ROGER ALDRIDGE*

HISTORICALLY law enforcement have focused on the tried and tested methods of infiltration, surveillance and technical tracking to get to a point at which the bad guys have their hands “dirty” and an arrest is effected. This sounds simple and yet it may take months if not years and the results can be mixed. Taking out the lower level criminals may be the best achieved, and even where “controlling minds” are convicted, a prison sentence may not prevent the criminal organisations from continuing, whilst time is served, or in the worst cases whilst the criminal continues to effectively operate from within prison.

The Proceeds of Crime Act in 2002 was meant to create a new approach in England and Wales. Criminal organisations operate as businesses with complex structures and arrangements for importation of illicit goods, distribution and sales (usually in cash) and the laundering of the proceeds. By striking at the operating funds and assets the “lifeblood” can be removed and organisations dismantled whilst opportunities for criminal convictions are considered in parallel.

Evidence suggests that after early successes performance has plateaued and with reductions in law enforcement budgets, also recoveries are in decline. Resourcing is not the only issue, these matters can be complex, involve civil legal procedures and require the use of professional expertise, usually both legal and in forensic accounting, which law enforcement lacks, but which lies largely in the private sector. Whilst the recent G4S fiasco has dented confidence in private sector companies, in these issues there can be no arguing that the good guys need the best and most capable professionals on their side. The biggest problem then is that they lack the experience and maturity to know how to engage with those professionals.

At the same time the lack of underlying research to evidence the effectiveness of such an approach means there is gap between the political aspirations of governments to talk tough on tackling the worst types of organised crime, and the understanding of exactly what you need to achieve this. Yet the prize is there for all to see. The Home Office estimates that the wealth of organised crime is measured in billions, whereas the value of as-

sets seized is measured in tens of millions at best.

While wondering why can't this be achieved, I believe the principal reasons are around the failure in senior law enforcement and government officials to see the bigger picture, aligned with cultural differences in the way the public, private sector and academia operate.

The private sector is viewed as being expensive, overpaid and lacking in appreciation of the pressures of the public sector. Academia is regarded as distant, too theoretical or irrelevant. Decision-makers in one area rarely have experience of the other which breeds distrust. Operating methods are significantly different. In the private sector you start with no budget, go out and win some work from a client; delivering work is (relatively speaking) the easy bit. In the public sector you are given a budget and then argue over what you can deliver with it. The private sector runs incredibly light on operating costs; there is real time monitoring of time spent on work and a total focus on client satisfaction. The client gets what the client wants, if satisfied the client buys more of it. In the public sector you are bombarded with demands, driven by constant changes of po-



Roger Aldridge (source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk>)

litical priorities (and in some cases methods), such that a mindset sets in that “you get paid anyway”, driving away the urgency of work. If the user of your service complains there are lots more waiting to take the same place. Public sector management spends most of their time rationing service provision, as there simply isn't enough to go around.

Finally, academics biggest challenge is often relevance and therefore data access, once a problem, as starting point for analysis, is identified. Furthermore, the challenge is to present the research as being both operationally relevant and client driven. Too much academic output is seen as being “conference” material of interest only to fellow academics but of little value in the real world.

It doesn't have to be this way. Some years ago I reviewed motorway policing in the midlands. Within the area I was examining there was a new motorway service station being constructed. History suggests that in any motorway service area the “community” using it suffers high levels of crime and little is detected. I engaged an academic who analysed exactly what happened on motorway service areas, his findings were realistic and readable as a novel. Prostitution, drug dealing, violence, organized vehicle thefts, all occurring in a transient community with little ownership of the problems. His solutions were pragmatic, evidence-based and self-evident. Most of all, they had the potential for the commercial operators to create a safe and crime-free environment which means more business.

We should be operating in this “tri-partite” arrangement far more frequently. It can work within a tight business model. My example of seizing the profits of organised crime is the easiest one for me to focus on. Organised criminals make money, significantly increasing resources to catch them means engaging the private sector. The recovery can pay for the cost, the risks can be shared and the methodology can be underwritten by sound academic testing. It just requires the vision and leadership to create it, recognition by all parties of one another's differences, and transparent proactive management of the work. What's not to like?

*Former Director KPMG Forensic London

SPECIAL ISSUE

**SUBMISSION
DEADLINE:
NOVEMBER,
15TH 2013**

Guest Edi-
tors: Helena
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Daniela Ir-
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Bill Tupman
(University
of Exeter).



Global Crime

Call for papers

Transnational Organized Crime and Terrorism: Different Peas, Same Pod?

In recent years, the United Nations and European institutions have recurrently underlined their growing concern towards the threat posed by potential and existing collusions between organised criminals and terrorist groups. The European Parliament and Europol, in particular, have recently alerted to the degree of dangerousness that both organised crime and terrorism currently represent in the world, highlighting that the cooperation or merger between these two phenomena is of urgent contemporary interest. Academic literature in this area, however, remains scarce and characterized not only by a degree of skepticism, but also by a lack of interdisciplinarity. Bearing in mind this gap in the literature, the guest editors of the Special Issue wish to contribute to this field of expertise by gathering a number of interdisciplinary case-studies that will engage with the concept of crime-terror nexus. The guest editors therefore welcome articles aiming at: enriching the empirical knowledge on the nature of the crime-terror nexus and its evolution throughout the world; exploring the impact of the nexus within different economic, political and societal contexts; and expanding on its theoretical conceptualization.

The deadline for the submission of the articles is November, 15th 2013. Authors are encouraged to contact the guest editors with early expressions of interest. Please contact Helena Carrapico through the following e-mail address

helena.carrapico@eui.eu

Conferences and Workshops

THE EUROPEAN SERIOUS & ORGANISED CRIME CONFERENCE 2013

EUROPOL & BRITISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
BELGIUM
28 February 2013
Renaissance Brussels Hotel

INVESTIGATIVE COLLABORATION AND BEST PRACTICES

FRAUD AND ORGANIZED CRIME TRAINING CONFERENCE

March 4-7, 2013
Banff, Alberta, Canada

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRANSNA- TIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME & TERRORISM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIAN OR- GANIZED CRIME & TERRORISM 35TH INTERNATIONAL ASIAN ORGANIZED CRIME CONFERENCE

Hilton Logan Airport Hotel
Boston, Massachusetts 02128
April 07 - 12, 2013

ASIAN CRIMINOLOGICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

April 14 - 16, 2013
Mumbai, India

THE 14TH CROSS-BORDER CRIME COLLO- QUIUM - ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY *SHADY BUSINESS AND GOVERNANCE IN EU- ROPE*

CROSS-BORDER SLEAZE AND CRISIS
12-14 May 2013
Cambridge

BRITISH SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2013

University of Wolverhampton 2-4 July 2013 with the
postgraduate conference 1-2 July 2013.

CRIME & JUSTICE SUMMER RESEARCH INSTI- TUTE: BROADENING PERSPECTIVES & PARTIC- IPATION

July 8 - 26, 2013
The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZELAND SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY CONFERENCE (ANZSOC)

October 1 - 3, 2013
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY

November 20 - 23, 2013
Atlanta, GA

EUROPEAN SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY (ESC) 13th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

September 4 - 7, 2013
Budapest, Hungary

CONTRIBUTIONS!

For the newsletter we are looking for short original articles (1000-2000 words) on different organised crime-related themes. These contributions can stem from your on-going research or from summaries of published material, which you might wish to circulate among the organised crime research community.

You may also contribute to the content of the newsletter by sending us any announcement of conferences/ workshops/ literature references you feel could be of interest to this field.

You are also invited to propose things that could improve the quality of the newsletter.

Please send your suggestions and articles to:

asergi@essex.ac.uk
faerns@essex.ac.uk

SUGGESTIONS!

The Next Issue of the ECPR Standing Group on Organised Crime Newsletter will be available in May 2013.

The deadline for articles and contributions is 14 April 2013.

A Message from the SG Convenors

Over the last couple of years, the study of organised crime has become more and more relevant and for this reason the SG has decided to reorganise and refocus its activities and profile. The current executive committee's mandate terminated at the end of 2012 and a new generation of academics interested in maintaining the activities/work of the standing group, have come to the fore, bringing new blood to the group. This was mostly an achievement of the three Summer Schools organised in 2009, 2010, 2011. As a result, the standing group is re-elaborating its organisational structure by putting new members on the executive committee as well as representatives outside of Europe.

The main drive of the standing group in 2013 will be to revitalize its activities: in particular, to be more present on the web (through its new website*, its blog, and its newsletter with new editors) and at conferences. This first newsletter of 2013 is an initial step in this direction. We will explain in more detail in the next newsletter the different projects we are hoping to develop so that you can join us. Best wishes for 2013, hoping that it will be a good year for all.

*Felia Allum (University of Bath, UK)
Francesca Longo (University of Catania, Italy)
ECPR SGOC convenors*

CALL FOR PAPERS

7th ECPR General Conference

Sciences Po, Bordeaux - 5th - 7th September 2013

We are extremely happy to inform you that a Standing Group section entitled '**Transnational Organised Crime in a Globalised World**' has been accepted for the ECPR General conference, which will take place in Bordeaux from the 5th to the 7th of September 2013. It will be composed of 9 panels on the following topics:

1. Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism: Different Peas, Same Pod?
2. Transnational Organised Crime, Corruption and State Infiltration
3. Transnational Organised Crime and 'Gangster Politics': Exploring Synergies between the Licit and Illicit Worlds
4. Organised Crime in Cyberspace: Governing, Controlling and Exploring Cyber Crime Activities
5. Critical Perceptions of Transnational Organised Crime and Human Trafficking
6. It's All About the Money: Exploring the Inter-Relation Between Transnational Organised Crime and the Economic Crisis
7. The Internal/External Continuum in Transnational Organised Crime
8. Putting OC in Place: How Situational Crime Prevention can Inform Enhanced Policy Design
9. Transnational Organised Crime and Criminal Mobility

We would be delighted to receive any expressions of interest for any of the panels. In order to submit your abstracts, please refer to the ECPR website or directly [here](#). The deadline for Paper proposals is 1 February 2013.

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Daniela Irrera (Section co-chair/ dirrera@unict.it)

The SGOC is a standing group of the European Consortium for Political Research

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Visit the SGOC Website at: <http://standinggroups.ecprnet.eu/crime/index.htm>

A new website is going to be available soon!

Visit the SGOC blog at: <http://sgoc.blogspot.co.uk>

Join Our Facebook Group Page..and we are also on LinkedIn and Twitter!