



Bundeskriminalamt



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### **The Diversification of Mafia Activities: Italian Organised Crime in Scotland and the Netherlands**

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## Abstract

How do Mafias operate across territories? Based on an in-depth study of a Neapolitan Camorra group, the paper addresses issues related to the expansion of Mafia-like organisations outside their territory of origin. It is based on a unique data set of contacts manually extracted from the transcripts of phone conversations wiretapped by the police. The paper shows that the Camorra group under scrutiny was indeed involved in the production and supply of illegal protection, but only in its territory of origin. Its expansion abroad followed the lines of a *functional diversification*: branches were created in Scotland and the Netherlands to carry out specific activities, but no large-scale international alliances were forged.

Moreover, the clan is still highly dependent on the territory of origin. Its core business has never been relocated or expanded outside that territory, and almost all of its members have been recruited in that same area.

In addition, the paper assesses the strategies underpinning the group's operations on each territory, and it reconstructs the specific push and pull factors underlying the movement of the group from Campania (Italy) to Scotland and the Netherlands.

Those findings speak to a more general issue of transnational organised crime and the movement of criminal groups. When assessing the mobility of these groups, it is crucial to investigate whether the common fund and the 'headquarters' (including the boss) have been shifted from the old to the new locale. Finally, the paper argues against the concept of 'transnational organized crime' and proposes a new taxonomy that better accounts for the ways in which Mafia groups choose to operate outside their territories of origin ('transplantation' vs. 'diversification').