UNDERSTANDING ENTREPRENEURIAL BEHAVIOUR IN ORGANISED CRIMINALS

Dr Robert Smith, *Lecturer, Aberdeen Business School, The Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen AB10 7QE,*

Email**:** rs3535@rgu.ac.uk

Tele: +44 1224 263922

Abstract

Purpose: This research paper focuses upon organised criminals as an enterprising community and as enterprising people. Organized crime is a global phenomenon that concentrates upon the development of both [1] Sustainable personal prosperity; and [2] Criminal culture as they define it. Such criminal businesses and the business of criminality go far beyond simple economic and capitalist criteria and entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial ability play a significant part in creating criminal wealth. Indeed it is part of committed criminality. Whilst acknowledging the crime–entrepreneurship nexus the literature seldom seeks to understand entrepreneurial behaviour practiced in a criminal context. This paper therefore examines entrepreneurial behaviour in criminals looking for useful theoretical perspectives and distilling key practices by seeking to understand entrepreneurial behaviour in organised criminals.

Methodology/Approach: The methodological approach is a qualitative one and relies on cross disciplinary readings of the literatures of crime and entrepreneurship which are developed into a conceptual model for understanding entrepreneurial behaviour in any context. The key behavioural areas which the work concentrates upon are those of modus essendi, modus operandi, and modus vivendi.

Findings: That crime and entrepreneurship are interconnected areas of human endeavour which both transcend the legal and illegal economies.

Research limitations/implications: The research is limited by its tentative and theoretical nature and by the methodology of cross disciplinary reading. Future studies are planned to test the tripartite behavioural model on real cases.

Practical implications: Viewing entrepreneurship (like criminality) as being a learned method of operating has serious practical implications because it concentrates upon behaviours and actions in specific contexts. Linking this understanding to the related elements of modus vivendi and modus essendi creates a useful model for understanding entrepreneurship in any context.

Keywords: Criminal entrepreneurship, Crimino-entrepreneurial, modus essendi, modus operandi, modus vivendi

UNDERSTANDING ENTREPRENEURIAL BEHAVIOUR IN ORGANISED CRIMINALS

This research paper focuses upon organized criminals as an enterprising community and as enterprising people. Indeed appreciation of the crime-entrepreneurship nexus is not a new phenomenon. Organized crime is a global phenomenon that concentrates upon the development of both [1] Sustainable personal prosperity; and [2] Criminal culture. What is important is that as an enterprising community and as entrepreneurial people organized criminals define their own goals and identities. They create criminal and legitimate businesses and the boundaries between them become blurred. Such criminal businesses and the business of criminality go far beyond simple economic and capitalist criteria and entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial ability play a significant part in creating and perpetuating criminal wealth. Clarkson (2006) remarks that if the economy of organized crime was removed from the Costa del Sol and from nearby Gibraltar that the legitimate business economies would struggle to sustain the livelihoods of those communities. Indeed entrepreneurial behaviour is part of the concept of committed criminality. Whilst acknowledging the crime–entrepreneurship nexus the literature seldom seeks to understand entrepreneurial behaviour practiced in a criminal context. This paper therefore examines entrepreneurial behaviour in criminals at a conceptual level looking for useful theoretical perspectives and distilling key practices by seeking to understand the behaviour in context. The subject of Criminal-Entrepreneurship continues to be of interest in relation to Organized Crime in a Global context (Galleotti, 2004; Paoli, 2004). Indeed, a growing number of studies highlight similarities between the two literatures in ascribing entrepreneurial propensity to Criminals. Yet, the notion of the Criminal-

entrepreneur remains under researched. This study in attempting to understand entrepreneurial behaviour in criminals seeks to address the questions

- *What is Criminal Entrepreneurship?*
- *Why is it important?*

This paper is organized as follows. The next section explores the crime–entrepreneurship nexus acting both as a review of the literature and a contextualising process. The following section develops a theoretical framework for understanding entrepreneurial behaviour in criminals based upon the concepts of modus essendi, modus operandi and modus vivendi. The final section concludes with some observations on crimino-entrepreneurial behaviour as well as answering the research questions highlighting the need for further research into this practical application of entrepreneurship theory in an unusual context.

EXPLORING THE CRIME-ENTREPRENEURSHIP NEXUS

This study is influenced by that of Petrus van Duyne (1999) who proposed that Investigative Psychology could help Police better understand acquisitive financially motivated crimes committed by what he refers to as Crime-entrepreneurs. There are a number of theories of Crime and Entrepreneurship with theoretical and conceptual points of convergence - ‘Push’ versus ‘Pull’ Theory; Trait approaches; The psycho-social ‘Born’ versus ‘Made’ arguments; ‘Marginality’ and ‘Ethnicity’ theories’; ‘Anomie’ and ‘Supply’ and ‘Demand’ theories. These require synthesis. Both Crime and Entrepreneurship emanate from learned cognitive human behaviours making them

methods of operating. Although there is a consensus of opinion between the two disciplines that examples of entrepreneurship abound in a criminal context no consensus exists on how to operationalise this knowledge. Organized criminals continue to make crime pay with many serious organized crimes having an entrepreneurial basis. The overarching message of this work that (1) There is a need to develop an understanding of the physical processes, actions and behaviours which constitute entrepreneurship; and (2) that an understanding of the theory and practice of entrepreneurship can assist in the investigation of serious and organized crime. In seeking to articulate the Entrepreneurship - Crime nexus the author is mindful of the advice of Steffensmeir (1986) about operating in the shadows of two worlds.

An overview of the literature on criminal entrepreneurship

It is helpful to discuss the literature of entrepreneurship where it impinges upon Professional Criminality to draw out related themes and points of convergence. Entrepreneurship is notoriously difficult to define which explains why because there is no single definition of what constitutes entrepreneurship it follows that there can be no single definition of Criminal entrepreneurship. Nor who / or what is a criminal entrepreneur. One simplistic definition is derived from its French origins = "*Celui qui entreprend*" which means "*people who do*" [1]. Cunningham & Lischeron (1991) discuss six schools of thought which influence our understanding of entrepreneurship. Of these the Trait and Behavioural Approaches (although widely discredited) offer a useful starting point because traits act as storied behavioural descriptors. Over 60 traits have been linked to entrepreneurial behaviour and entrepreneurship theorists now seek to explain entrepreneurship as a behavioural practice; a process and a principle; as a

personality; an identity; as an ontology of becoming, being and belonging and as a social construction. In understanding the entrepreneurial personality Chell *et al* (1991) sought to decipher biographical elements behind the actions. It is in biographies and stories that we most frequently encounter evidence of entrepreneurial propensity. The 'Entrepreneur' and the 'Organized Criminal' share a variety of common societal themes. Indeed, for Bolton & Thomson (2000), there are strong "*Entrepreneurial Life Themes*" inherent in the discourse of Criminality.

The major contribution to our understanding of criminal entrepreneurship comes from Criminology. Consideration of criminality as entrepreneurship is not a new phenomenon. According to Abandinsky (1983: 36), Sutherland (1937) appreciated the possibility of a self-made thief; and Warshaw (1948) posited the gangster as a parody of the Capitalist ideal. Mack (1964: 52-3) used the terms background operator and background entrepreneur interchangeably. For Haller (1997: 56) the underworld "*gives reign to personalities who take pleasure in deals, hustling and risk-takin*g". Blok (1974) labeled the Italian Mafia as entrepreneurs of violence, as did Volkov (1999) referring to the Russian Mafiya. Heyl (1978) considered entrepreneurship in relation to prostitution; Smith (1978) considered organized crime as entrepreneurial criminality; and Arlacchi (1986) and Hess (1998) wrote of Mafioso- entrepreneurs.

In Britain, Hobbs (1988) (1996) charted the rise of entrepreneurial criminality post 'Enterprise Culture' and the enterprise orientated criminal. Smith (1975), Reuter (1983) and Haller (1990) all expound theories of organized crime highlighting criminal enterprise. Naylor (1995) analysed the morphology of organized crime embodied in an 'Entrepreneurial Model' and suggested we need to look beyond the relationship of

organized crime to the wider economy - classifying relationships of behaviour as being predatory, parasitical, and symbiotic. For Naylor the entrepreneurial model of crime lacks explanatory power because it can be applied to so many individuals. Indeed, a common criticism is that such behaviour is merely a manifestation of committed criminality. However, from a reading of Hobbs (2001: 549) it is apparent that the perpetuation of Criminal Family Firm's rooted in working class values, mythology and collective criminal energy offers a powerful explanation for the commission of much entrepreneurial crime. It is of note that for van Duyne (1993) both organized criminals and legitimate entrepreneurs operate in a similar manner.

In the field of Entrepreneurship, scholars are awakening to the concept of criminal entrepreneurship. Casson (1982: 351-2) argued that it is "*normally only organized crime which qualifies as being entrepreneurial*" because racketeering involves the organization of an illegal market requiring the same set of skills of mediation required for the operation of a legitimate enterprise. Yet entrepreneurial life themes permeate ordinary criminality. Moreover, Baumol (1990: 3/7) accepts that entrepreneurship can be unproductive or even destructive and that entrepreneurs need not follow the constructive and innovative script conventionally attributed to them. This lack of provision of legal opportunities for entrepreneurial activity drives many to engage in illegal entrepreneurship because legal and illegal entrepreneurs often come from the same pool and share similar backgrounds. Williams (2006) argues that entrepreneurs often start out by conducting some or all of their trade on an "*off the books*" basis in hidden enterprise cultures and continue to do so when established.

Nor does the plethora of theories seeking to explain Entrepreneurship in a myriad of contexts help achieve clarity. Indeed, a mapping exercise is overdue. However, the following two theories are helpful in ascribing entrepreneurial status to criminal behaviour. The first is the Schumpetrian notion of the entrepreneur as a creative destructor (Schumpeter, 1934); and the second is the Kirznerian notion of the entrepreneur as an opportunist trader (Kirzner, 1973). The Schumpetrian entrepreneur is a unique and creative individual who develops new products, services and techniques which innovate the way in which people operate in a given environment. Thus in a criminal context, the Schumpetrian entrepreneur develops new modus operandi for committing a particular type of crime, or introduces a new commodity to be exploited criminally. This suggests there is some special quality in the behaviour of the individual. The annals of Crime abound with examples of such individuals. Conversely, the Kirznerian Crime-entrepreneur merely needs to exploit the opportunity to trade to be labeled an entrepreneur. Another helpful definition is that of Anderson (1995) that Entrepreneurship is "*The creation and extraction of value from an environment*" because the value accrued to the individual need not be financial.

The different nomenclatures under which examples of entrepreneurial criminality are classified serve to confuse. We read of Spivs; Businessmen-gangsters; Gangster-entrepreneurs; Mafioso-entrepreneurs; and now Criminal-entrepreneurs. The latter are encountered within the pages of a genre of Criminological Journals, Media articles and Popular Criminology books. The stereotype is of working class lads from criminal backgrounds making-good. Indeed, Chell *et al* (1991) note the popular image of the entrepreneur has much in common with the criminal. However, the term covers too wide

a gamut of behavioural styles, and typologies to be useful. It does not allow for differentiation between the murderous gangster and the otherwise honest entrepreneur labelled criminal for a bad business decision. Both display different capabilities, personas and thus modus operandi.

The term Crime-entrepreneur, posited by van Duyne (1999) provides a workable label linking each typology to the concept of criminality. Van Duyne (1999) adopted a behavioural science approach to the problem of Organized Crime viewing the organized criminal as a Crime-entrepreneur with a propensity for risk taking. Van Duyne appreciated the potential for this approach to make a contribution to police investigations by suggesting they adopt a psycho-sociological Profiling approach to analyse Crime-entrepreneurs in their landscape. Most Crime-enterprises do not operate like real firms, but are characterised by haphazard disorderly decision making. Van Duyne stresses that each enterprise is headed up by a Crime-entrepreneur, or a number of loosely connected non-subservient entrepreneurs who possess individuated leadership styles. The Crime-entrepreneur is the axis around which everything moves.

This interest in criminal entrepreneurship continues unabated for example the works of Zaitch (2002), Engdahl (2008), Sandberg (2008), Staring (2008), Gottschalk (2008), and Ratcliffe (2008) all consider the paradigm. Zaitch (2002) and Staring (2008) consider it from the perspective of trafficking drugs and humans. Interestingly Sandberg (2008) discusses drug dealing in immigrant communities dealing with the subject of street capital without even mentioning the word entrepreneur albeit he discusses theories of ethnicity and marginality which feature heavily in entrepreneurship literature. Engdahl

(2008) considers the role of money in relation to economic and entrepreneurial crime whilst Gottschalk (2008) and Ratcliffe (2008) consider it from the perspective of policing / interdicting crime [2].

Clearly a theoretical frame for understanding entrepreneurial behaviour in criminal contexts would be helpful because although there is no consensus on what constitutes a Crime-entrepreneur, certain criminal types share much in common with entrepreneurs.

DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section presents a tripartite model based upon the concepts of modus essendi, modus operandi and modus vivendi thereby providing a wider focus.

Modus essendi explained

Modus Essendi is a philosophical term relating to modes of being. Modists assign modi significandi (modes of signification) to words in the analysis of human discourse arguing that words carry with them collocated meaning. Modi significandi is influenced by modi intelligendi (modes of understanding) and modi essendi (modes of being). The different modes form an ontological framework, a triadic relationship between word, concept, and thing with meaning based on understanding and on being. Thus every level of experience is permeated by understandability and by essentia which by its very nature is indefinable. This is of significance to understanding entrepreneurial crime because subjects in which a demonstrative mode of knowing is possible (i.e. Entrepreneurship) are seldom taught in a demonstrative way, but descriptively [sed modo narrativo] in stories. The importance of modus essendi lies in its connectedness to issues of identity, epistemology and ontology.

The entrepreneur and criminal in portraying themselves as rebels, mavericks and likeable rogues possess a shared epistemology.

Modus operandi explained

A modus operandi, or method of operating, is an accepted Criminological concept for classifying generic human actions from their visible and consequential manifestations. The presence (or absence) of particular facets allow one to infer facts about behaviour. Modus operandi's are composed of experiential learned behaviour and contain visual and narrative elements. The modus operandi of a businessman with a criminal propensity will obviously differ from that of a professional thief, or a gangster who displays entrepreneurial tendencies. Arguably, all practice entrepreneurship in their own inimitable style. Articulating an entrepreneurial modus operandi is problematic because entrepreneurs emerge from all classes in society. Moreover, an entrepreneurial modus operandi is more visible in certain types of crime which rely on serial acts of trading. Thus fraudsters, counterfeiters, traffickers and smugglers are more likely to be regarded as Crime-entrepreneurs than organized thieves or armed robbers. Entrepreneurial criminals are adaptable and pursue changing market opportunities whereas craftsman type criminals (McIntosh, 1975) may not, albeit they may display entrepreneurial behaviours.

Entrepreneurial behaviours become visible in the planning and organizing of the crime, and in the aftermath when covering their tracks and disposing of the proceeds – manifested as trading, arbitrage and wheeling and dealing. Entrepreneurial behaviour does not fit neatly into categories. Although entrepreneurs are generally organized, entrepreneurship introduces chaos and disorganization making an 'Entrepreneurial modus

operandi' a confusing mixture of the organized and disorganized containing the planned, premeditated and spontaneous. The modus operandi's of entrepreneurial criminals are generic and are of little significance to an investigation until an offender is identified. It is possible to construct a generic profile of entrepreneurial behaviour because entrepreneurial ability is discernable in modus operandi. Thus in observing how an individual operates it is possible to recognize them as an entrepreneur. Entrepreneurial behaviour can be classed as a method of operating and a number of entrepreneurship scholars have considered this possibility, namely Schumpeter (1947), Dees (1998) and Luczkiw (1998). Nonetheless, the essences of exactly what set of behaviours, practices and processes form an Entrepreneurial modus operandi remain buried in the literature.

Refreshingly, Calavita & Pontell (1993) distinguished between organized crime and corporate crime by the motives and modus operandi of the perpetrator as opposed to the traditional method of taking cognizance of occupational position or social status. Also, Schloenhardt (1999) adopted an economic approach to understanding organized crime (human trafficking) by employing economic analysis techniques to better understand the dynamics of transnational criminal organizations. The fraudsters studied by Calavita & Pontell display an entrepreneurial flair; as did the Long Firms studied by Levi (1981); the business orientated drug dealing network studied by Adler (1985); and the Puerto-Rican Crack Entrepreneurs by Bourgios, (1995). Collectively, such studies suggest that entrepreneurial behaviours, and practices permeate criminal actions. However, the inability to define entrepreneurship succinctly; combined with the difficulty of adjudging persons and actions entrepreneurial by virtue of specific characteristics has meant that

little attempt has been made to apply entrepreneurship theory in a practical setting such as crime.

Modus vivendi explained

Blok (1974) described the shared symbiotic relationship (modus vivendi) between the emerging Mafia and the Sicilian Entrepreneurial Class (Gabelloti). Modus vivendi links into networking which is central to understanding entrepreneurship. The network is the physical and mental structure, whereas networking is the activity through which it is operationalized. A modus vivendi describes relational quality enabling one to extract value from the network. It is a method of shared practice relating to how an individual operates in a given community of practice. A modus vivendi possesses a ritualised aspect because relationships within networks are conducted within a framework of differential power bases, patronage and resultant obligations. Thus a professional thief or gangster may have a particular modus vivendi with other criminals and with members of the local business community. Crime-entrepreneurs establish a wide network of contacts both within the criminal and quasi-legitimate business communities. These sophisticated networks of associates and acquaintances shape discernable modus vivendi's. It is through such elevated contacts Crime-entrepreneurs develop a heightened level of social capital. They learn to cultivate and use contacts which will be of use to them in the future. They direct the efforts of criminal and non-criminal associates to achieve their ends, using them as (often unpaid) employees and expendable human capital. They learn to command respect and exude leadership qualities. Via their criminal acts and deeds they generate a body of myth and lore in stories which become underworld legends. These stories are used by them and their associates as a form of currency. To narrate the stories

is to participate vicariously in the criminal adventure. Those who tender them belong to a privileged group but stories have a short shelf life. Legends require updating to remain legitimate currencies. The stories emphasise cleverness, business or criminal acumen, daring feats, spectacular acts of violence, acts of bravery or cunning, lucky strokes and so forth.

The significance of modes to understanding entrepreneurial behaviour

This section presents a modal model of entrepreneurial crime. Figure i, illustrates how this helps us better understand crimino-entrepreneurial behaviour.

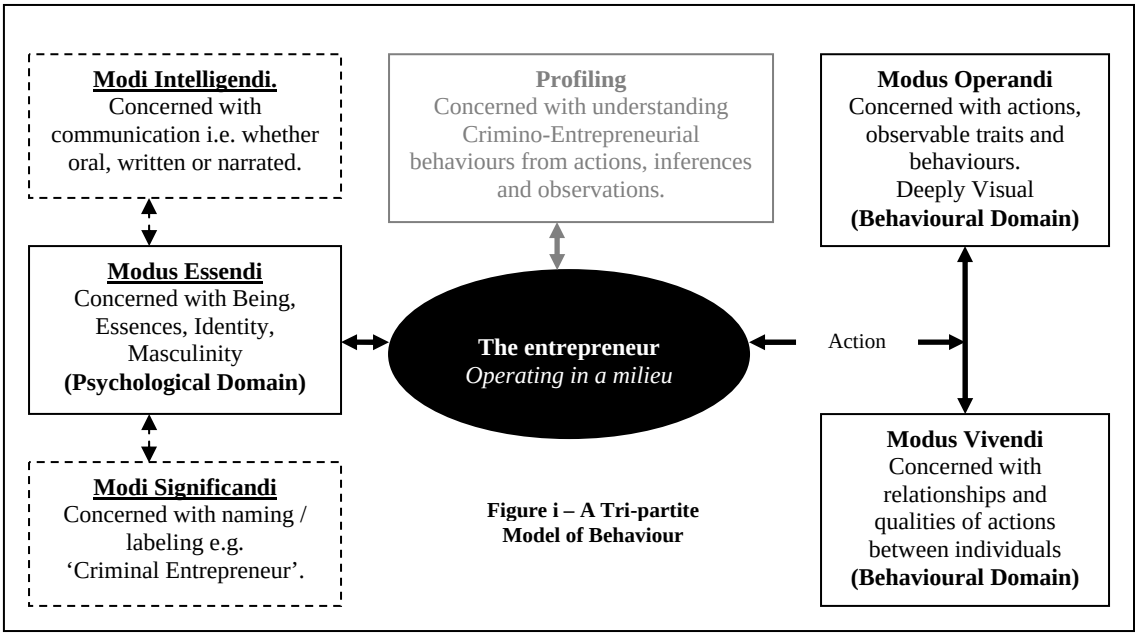
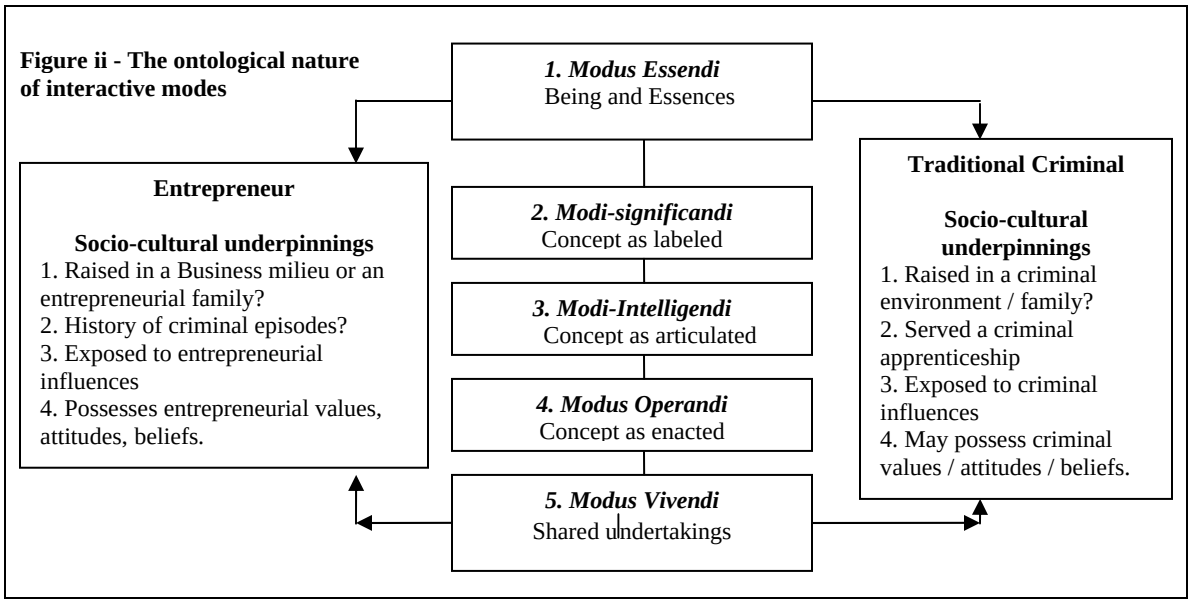


Figure i – A Tri-partite Model of Behaviour

Figure i demonstrates where the concepts of modus essendi, vivendi and operandi fit into the wider modal framework. Modus essendi is deeply psychological and thus cognitive in nature belonging to the psychological domain whereas modus operandi and vivendi belong to the behavioural domain. Obviously all are interconnected necessitating

profiling the individual not the behaviour. In understanding entrepreneurial ability one has to consider personal issues, demographic issues, family circumstances and status symbols. Personal issues such as an individual's philosophical outlook, personality, morality and character are important. Profiling is obviously question based and therefore in seeking to understand entrepreneurial behaviour in organized criminals one has to ask and consider many questions. Does the subject buy into criminal or entrepreneurial ideology, or both? Demographic issues such as race, sex, age, marital status, class, socio-economic standing, occupational ability and importantly criminal nouse and business acumen should be considered. Family circumstances may be relevant. Is the subject from a criminal family? One needs to consider siblings, their occupations and relationship between same? Is there a history of entrepreneurial ability in the family? Does the subject present an entrepreneurial or a criminal persona? How does this manifest itself in outward physical appearance? What does the subject consider himself to be e.g. a Crime-entrepreneur, or businessman? What masculine gendered identities does the subject adopt and how do these help define their being? Are these expressed in their actions and stories and are these consistent with their operational milieu? How do they seek to belong? How do they interact with others? It is only by seeking answers to such questions that we can hope to identify the elusive criminal entrepreneur. Academics are already asking such questions. For example, McCarthy (2001) examined success in relation to criminality arguing that success in any field is influenced by common factors. McCarthy considered criminal forms of human and social capital, demonstrating the salience of personal capital on the income of drug dealers. Various aspects of conventional personal capital such as a heightened desire for wealth, a propensity for risk-taking and competence influence both

legal and illegal prosperity. The tripartite model can be used to compare relationships between individuals as depicted in figure ii.



This figure illustrates that the entrepreneur and the traditional criminal are very different individuals whose beings are differently socially constructed. Their socio-cultural underpinnings dictate that their sets of human and social capitals differ (Bourdieu, 1996). Being is generally fixed by adulthood but experience and learning can alter both knowledge and capabilities as novices master their craft. Nevertheless, when planning crimes they utilise different skills and knowledge sets which will influence behavioral patterns, modus operandi and outcomes. How they communicate their plans will also differ because of modi intelligendi. Entrepreneurial ability is not dependent upon bearing the title. The traditional criminal may by practice and experience be very entrepreneurial. Paradoxically, although they both start off from very different beginnings, are differently labeled, tell different stories - they both display entrepreneurial propensity. Although

their criminal modus operandi differ significantly it is still underpinned by an entrepreneurial propensity.

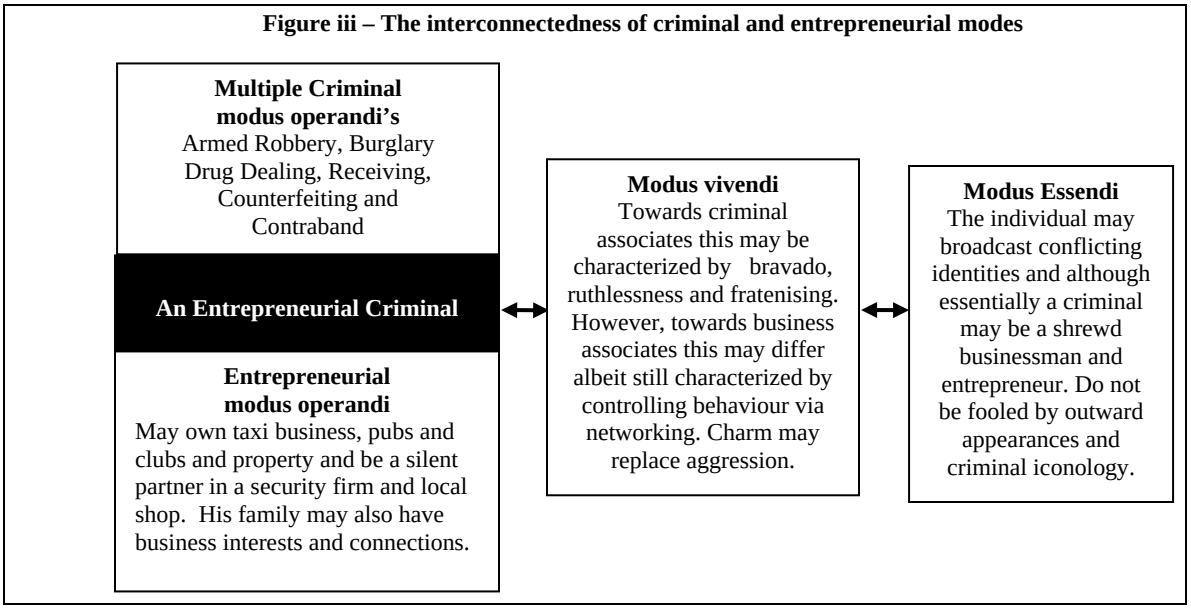
When it comes to understanding modus vivendi one has to consider who initiates a contact and for what purpose as the interaction between equals differs from that of those of unequal social standings. There may be a dominant and a subservient individual. The former need not necessarily be the entrepreneur with supposedly superior social capital. The differential modus vivendi between leaders, team members and subordinate individuals in a gang is palpable. The possession of charisma combined with an ability to orate and command can be used to convey a sense of power and confer leadership ability. Thus entrepreneurial ability will influence how a crime is committed. A criminal modus operandi may be discernable but its entrepreneurial counterpart may remain invisible.

The key to recognizing Crime-entrepreneurs lies in reading the level of planning and organizing they inject into crime. They get an emotional kick out of committing crime successfully. Their crime series, and the lifestyle it funds, are part of a larger mosaic intertwined with their very being (modus essendi). Such behaviours may form part of wider behavioural patterns such as a vendetta, or a hatred of the establishment. They take pride in their achievements and winning. Cracking entrepreneurial crime necessitates understanding their need to achieve (McLelland, 1961); and their search for respect (Bourgois, 1995). This may manifest itself in hubris and over-reach. Their quest for legitimacy need not result in a business persona therefore the Crime-entrepreneur need not drive a Mercedes, wear a suit and present a business front. They may be comfortable with a criminal aura but their entrepreneurial exploits will be discernable in the stories told of them – of their prowess and business acumen. Crime-entrepreneurs trade upon

their reputation as a storied currency. If one understands their stories, one understands their very being therefore taking cognisance of a wider modal model is helpful in reading criminals as entrepreneurs and in deciphering entrepreneurial behaviours.

Figure iii represents an enterprising-criminal with multiple criminal modus operandi and business fronts illustrating the interconnectedness of modes in determining entrepreneurial propensity. Although there is an appreciation that criminals operate legal businesses as fronts no serious studies of how the behavioural aspects of this can be utilised against them have emerged. In the diagram criminal and entrepreneurial modus operandi's merge into parallel methods of operating which result in differential modus vivendi's and ultimately in conflicting modus essendi's and identities. It is of course an ongoing circular process beginning and ending with modus essendi.

Figure iii – The interconnectedness of criminal and entrepreneurial modes



OBSERVATIONS ON CRIMINO-ENTREPRENEURIAL BEHAVIOUR

Although this paper has not answered the question "*What is the criminal Entrepreneur"* it has explained why scholars are unable to conclusively define entrepreneurship per se,

never mind criminal entrepreneurship. In positing the tri-partite modal model it has shown how criminal entrepreneurship can be read from the actions, behaviours and stories of so called Crime-entrepreneurs. This is important because entrepreneurial behaviours form part of everyday behaviours we take for granted. Such persistent and dogged behaviours reinforce committed criminality. Thus entrepreneurial episodes will be evident between the episodic criminal events. Entrepreneurial criminals learn from their mistakes and entrepreneurial insights allow them to spot opportunities and develop new methods of operating giving them an edge against other criminals. However, Crime-entrepreneurs are vulnerable because their (hi)stories contain clues to their enterprising nature. By concentrating upon what the Crime-entrepreneur does and how we can discern this, this dispatch makes a contribution by advancing the debate from a discussion of typologies and theories towards an appreciation of behavioural aspects of entrepreneurial identity and actions. Why is this important? We should care because the potential of a deeper understanding of Entrepreneurship Theory to make a contribution to Crime Science is a real one. Pragmatic application of Entrepreneurship theory to Criminality could help in the fight against crime. Nick Ross, in the forward of the book on becoming a problem solving crime analyst (Clarke & Eck, 2005) remarks that "*Crime scientists look for patterns in crime so they can disrupt it*". Although criminals embrace the entrepreneurial ethos the Police do not. There is therefore a disparity between the capabilities of Organized Criminals and those charged with interdicting them which is also worthy of further study. Entrepreneurial behaviour is one such recurring pattern often overlooked by academics and practitioners alike in their quest to disrupt organized criminal activity.

This paper is important because organized crime is perpetuated by a loose knit enterprising community and takes place at the nexus between enterprise, people and places. These topics are critical to an evolving global economy in which organized crime plays a part in developing legitimate economies. The sustainable prosperity of people, places and communities often depends upon both legitimate (entrepreneurial) and illegitimate economies (black, grey and gangster). Crime as a business enterprise is being increasingly used by peoples and communities as an alternative avenue in both the pursuit of sustainable prosperity and legitimacy. Illegal monies bolster legal economies and vice versa. Developing a better understanding of entrepreneurial behaviour in criminals and the interconnectedness of crime and entrepreneurship would be of obvious benefit to law enforcement officials, policy makers and business communities globally. In this respect this paper has the potential to provide a useful theoretical perspective by highlighting these facts amongst scholars, practitioners and policy makers.

NOTES

[1] http://gcase.org/content/RESOURCES-entrepreneru.html.

[2] This paper is not intended as an exhaustive review of the literature on criminal entrepreneurship.

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