# A GLOBAL CRIME:
## WHY TRANSNATIONAL SEX TRAFFICKING NETWORKS ARE SUCCEEDING IN THE 21st CENTURY[1]

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Abstract

*This article explores the relationship between increasing environmental complexity born of globalization processes and transnational criminal activity. In particular, the phenomenon of transnational sex trafficking is spotlighted for review. Initially, this review sketches the parameters of the problem and the main actors involved. Next, an analysis of how transnational criminals function examines why changes in organizational form have unleashed operational capabilities that public sector entities in law enforcement are finding difficult to overcome. The study closes suggesting productive paths forward to combat this growing scourge.*

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*Introduction*

Transnational criminal activity continues to perplex law enforcement in the 21st century. From human trafficking to terrorism and cyber-crime, these illegal exploits make headlines across the world every week. At the heart of governmental efforts to engage these transgressions is the need to negotiate the gap between the rigid organizational forms emblematic of law enforcement agencies, and the more fluid arrangements commonly assumed by criminal elements (see Daft, 2007, p. 152 for detailed description of such "mechanistic" and "organic" organizations). The evolution of organizations toward flexibility as a means to leverage effectiveness and efficiency has come into sharp focus as a topic for examining transnational criminal activity in an age of globalization (see Naim, 2005, and Policing Across Borders Project, 2008, for examples specific to human trafficking issues, and beyond). A wide range of criminal justice problems associated with this growing environmental complexity have even led to the emergence of a field of "global criminology" in academic circles (Larsen and Smandych, 2007).

As a concept, and as a practical matter, globalization's stretch can be discussed from perspectives of culture, economics, human rights, history, politics, health, technology, communications, crime and much more (Held, 2000). Concurrent advances in information access, financial circulation flows and global human capital management have yielded tools for cross-border activity that can benefit both law abiding and criminal members of society. While the historical trajectory of globalization as a set of processes is often debated it is clear that it is different today than it has been in the past, exhibiting greater impact, magnitude and speed than ever before (Held and McGrew, 2000).

There is no doubt that pressures placed on governments from globalization have been central to many scenarios involving the success of transnational crime (Hughes, 2001; Sanghera, 2005: pp. 6-7; and, Truong, 2003: pp. 55-57, offer some examples involving sex trafficking). A consistent theme in these situations has been the integration of smaller, flexible networks of illicit professionals into the operations of transnational criminal organizations. Networked operations have enabled the circumvention of the established laws, organizational structures and intelligence operations of countries. Governments and their attendant policing organizations are often left struggling against their bureaucracies to catch up with these changes (see Policing Across Borders Project, 2008).

*What is Transnational Human Trafficking?*

In the last decade significant progress had been made in the effort to clearly define and articulate the nature of transnational crime. A crime can be deemed transnational in nature if it meets the following criteria of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, of 2000:

> "(a) It is committed in more than one State; (b) It is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State; (c) It is committed in one State but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or (d) It is

committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State". (United
Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000: Article 3(2)).

This definition lays the groundwork for better understanding these types of criminals and their methods. However, as noted earlier, transnational trafficking goods are many and varied. Drugs, weapons, precious materials, plundered antiquities, exotic animals, human beings and beyond all have been trafficked for criminal gain (see Naim, 2005, and Reichel, 2005 for a solid mapping of this terrain).

So what exactly is human trafficking then? Human trafficking, also often referred to as trafficking in persons, comes in several forms. Sex trafficking for the purpose of forced prostitution and other types of sexual exploitation is only one type of human trafficking. The pedaling of human organs is another that has received high profile coverage in the last few years (see Dyer, 2002; Kovac, 2003; Kumar, 2003; and Watson, 2003, for background information on this concern). The transmission of human beings to other locations for the purpose of forced labor such as begging on the streets, serving in sweatshops, or working in mines, agricultural projects and domestic settings, are also all well known and well documented variations of this activity (Bales, 2005 details these areas quite thoroughly).

There is also a critical difference to understand between transnational human trafficking and transnational human smuggling. Simply stated, the former is engaged in without the complicity of the person being moved, while the latter is. Smuggling is done to satisfy a customer, and ends with their arrival at their predetermined destination. Smuggling does not conclude with their sale as a commodity. Trafficking, on the other hand, involves the ongoing victimization of the party through a variety of mechanisms, all of which are usually supported by a debt bondage system where the victim is trapped in a financial web of liability (see Europol, 2004, p.1; Phoenix and Oerton, 2005: p. 95; and Truong, 2003: pp. 62-63). While the smuggling/trafficking continuum is often blurred, and sometimes crossed, as a person moves from being smuggled by choice to being victimized and trafficked against their will, the fundamental distinction between the two concepts remains clear.

All told, the different strands of the transnational human trafficking problem have led international governmental organizations, governments and nongovernmental entities across civil society to engage in a lengthy debate about exactly what the problems and crimes consist of. Not surprisingly, this torturous descriptive process has found itself tied into the long evolution of defining slavery from the earliest international conventions of the 20th century forward (see Bales and Robbins, 2001; and, Bales, 2005: p. 51 for a chronicle and discussion of international conventions relating to slavery. Also see Outshoorn, 2004: p. 8-12, for discussion of the more specific trafficking conventions).

Where transnational human trafficking issues are concerned within the broader global slavery discussion, working definitions of the topic were finally beginning to be fashioned in the United States and European Union in the 1990s (Mameli, 2002). But global agreement on any one standard had yet to be secured. With the drafting of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime of 2000 came a commonly accepted definition nested within the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. The Protocol was adopted by General Assembly resolution A/RES/55/25 on November 15, 2000 and entered into force

December 25, 2003 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005).  The broad definition contained in this supplementary document to the Convention describes both the processes of human trafficking and its end results. It also contains the parameters by which sex trafficking, specifically, can begin to be defined.  The document reads:

> "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime - Protocol to Prevent Suppress an Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 2000: Article 3, paragraph (a)).

The Protocol further notes that consent is of no consequence in a case where coercion of any type identified in the document is found.  Therefore, one cannot consent to be trafficked.

*What is Transnational Sex Trafficking?*

Transnational sex trafficking for the purpose of forced prostitution, as well as other forms of sexual exploitation, are criminal acts generally researched as perpetrated against women and children.  However, crimes of this nature being carried out against men are also an aspect of the overall problem.  This version of the crime is only now beginning to be seriously examined.

Sex trafficking is not a new phenomenon within the human trafficking lexicon. Modern sex trafficking as a transnational criminal concern roots back to at least the 19th century.  During this period, trafficking in European and American women was the focus of much inquiry regarding what was termed at the time as "white slavery" (Deflem, 2005: p.281-283).  This is not to suggest that transnational sex trafficking only occurred in these regions, or that it only involved these types of victims.  Rather, it is appropriate to conceptualize this early discussion as simply being a major point of departure for perceiving this criminal enterprise as having achieved wide geographical spread in the eyes of Western governments (Kempadoo, 2005: pp. x-xi, offers interesting insight into the social construction of these arguments).

The enduring existence, persistence and growth of transnational sex trafficking at the end of the 20th century speak to its importance and relevance as an area of ongoing academic and practical policy study.  What is different today from past epochs of such types of slavery is its facilitation through increased communications between clients and criminals, improved methods of financing such activities, and organizational adjustments that enable smoother pursuit of transnational sex trafficking.

*Transnational Sex Trafficking Techniques*

Many stories of transnational sex trafficking in newspaper articles, books or magazines include a factual accounting of a victim's experience at the hands of traffickers. Testimonies are also often found in country specific reports (see the website of Childtrafficking.com, 2007 for many of the most recent), and are sometimes captured in more comprehensive efforts at regional or international levels of research and problem analysis (Brown, 2000; UNODC, 2006). Compendiums of country level case studies structured by some type of similarity (such as political system, in the case of Outshoorn, 2004), or through a mixing and matching of global issues examined through various domestic experiences (Thorbek and Pattanaik, 2002; and Beeks and Amir, 2006), also contain statements of the crimes committed. These descriptions are meant to shock and awaken the public, which they are indeed successful in achieving. In addition, they make clear that our understanding of transnational sex trafficking is tied closely to what we have learned from other forms of human trafficking. Studying human trafficking writ large displays that there are broad commonalities regarding process and technique involved in these crimes. These commonalities are shared across geographic location.

As a result of a meta-analysis of documents conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) four phases of human trafficking were identified (UNODC, 2006: p. 57). The phases include recruitment, transportation, exploitation and profit laundering.

Recruitment of victims for trafficking often relies on their vulnerability, but the conditions that lead to vulnerability may differ. Alone or combined, war, civil strife, environmental devastation, economic deprivation and declining standard of living can create situations where victims will be ripe for the taking (Sanghera, 2005, p. 7). Similarly the approaches to recruitment are based on the contingencies of the moment, perhaps determined by the type of vulnerability encountered as well as contextual cultural stimuli. Often deception is the key technique applied, lying about better work to the victim and a better future abroad. Other times it might be coercion due to a known personal weakness, or the threat of force against relatives. Still other times it might be outright kidnapping and abduction from the very onset (UNODC, 2006).

Where the trafficking phase of transportation is concerned, there are often blurred definitional lines crossed when smuggling turns into trafficking. As noted above, many individuals have been deceived from the start about leaving their country. So they are unaware that they are in fact about to be victimized en route to their new location. Regardless of the original purpose, however, once past recruitment and into transport they may be harassed, threatened, beaten, abused, raped and beyond by the traffickers at any point along the journey. A victim's passports and papers can be confiscated, and the documents are held until some future point when the prey has paid off their "debt" for transport to their new land (Truong, 2003: pp. 62-63). Debt is the term often used to refer to the cost of trafficking.

Transportation routes vary by ease of access. Safe houses are used to move the trafficked persons along the route. Victims may be trafficked alone, in small groups, or even large packs. Traffickers hand off victims through a network of criminal contacts within their country of origin, or perhaps through intermediate countries, until they are finally delivered into the country of destination (UNODC, 2006: pp. 60-63, for examples

of the transportation phase at work). At this point, the trafficking victim is helpless to stop the transfer process.

Successful delivery leading to sexual exploitation in the destination country is the endgame for the traffickers. The exploitation of the victim can cover a multitude of sex related activities (see Hughes, 2002, for discussion of how new technologies aid in increasing the various types of victimization used). In many cases, in order to ready the individual for their new role they are subject to rape and violence. In some parts of Asia the truly unsavory term, "seasoning," is used to describe the process (Brown, 2000: p. 98). As the person's will is broken they can then be subjected to ongoing levels of degradation and exploitation. Ultimately, paying their debt off can take many years under such circumstances. Physically, emotionally and psychologically, the victim of the trafficking process is likely forever changed by it.

The final phase of the trafficking process noted in the UNODC report is profit laundering. Often referred to as "money laundering," the general idea is to take profit from illicit means and make it appear as though it has been generated in a legal manner - concealing the point of origin and ownership (Jack, 1993: p. ix; Bennett, 2004: p.1; Graham, Bell and Elliot, 2003: p. 4). Profit, of course, does not have to come in the form of money. And, therefore, money is not the only thing that can be laundered (Hopton, 2006: p. 1, see next paragraph for some examples of other goods that can be laundered besides money). The underlying principles remain the same, however. The concept is an old one, no matter what terms are applied to it (Gilmore, 1993: p. 1).

The laundering of profits is generally agreed to take place in a three-step process. Placement of the income into legal confines (banks, stocks, etc) is the first step. Layering the transactions so as to confuse anybody seeking to trace actions back to a point of origin takes place next. Finally, integrating and then repatriating the profits by recycling them into legitimate business enterprises and making them appear "clean" completes the process (Graham, Bell and Elliot, 2003: p. 5).

Reuter and Truman offer a list of mechanisms used in the laundering of proceeds. Detailing the methods is unnecessary here, but they are plentiful and include: cash smuggling; using casinos and other gambling ventures, horse racing and lotteries to change over proceeds; purchasing and cashing in on insurance policies; real estate transactions; the purchase of precious goods; credit card over payments leading to reimbursements; using currency exchange bureaus to change money; wire and electronic fund transfers; funneling proceeds through legitimate business ownership; using informal value transfer systems; making security purchases with illegal funds that are cleansed upon resale; and more (Reuter and Truman, 2004: p. 27-32).

Profit laundering at the end of the 20th century took on increasingly global flow patterns, complementing the movement seen among transnationally trafficked persons. These ancient crimes have been enhanced by the opportunities modern society offers (Reuter and Truman, 2004: p. 156-7). Improved information access about governmental operations and structures, more rapid financial distribution processes, and moving proceeds across borders electronically and physically through the use of networks of criminal professionals, has enabled profit laundering to enter a new phase of sophistication.

Deepening the analysis offered by UNODC, Kevin Bales identifies eight stages of trafficking. Bales stages include: 1) Context of vulnerability; 2) Recruitment; 3)

Removal; 4) Transportation; 5) Establishment of control; 6) Arrival; 7) Exploitation; and, 8) Resolution (Bales, 2005 pp. 141-148). For Bales the act of human trafficking moves from recruitment of a victim to transportation, and then entry into a new country with a victim. At this point there is the exploitation of the victim and the disposition of the criminal proceeds. If all goes well, there is a light at the end of the tunnel where the victim is released alive (Bales, 2005 p. 134). More important to this discussion than the expansion of the phases are the specific crimes that Bales associates with each of the four fundamental parts of the process. Identifying the list of criminal acts illustrates how complex human trafficking actually is. The crimes that can be committed in each phase are as follows:

- Recruitment: Document forgery, fraudulent promises, kidnapping;
- Transportation: Document forgery, immigration law abuse, corruption of officials, damage to property and withholding of documents;
- Exploitation: Unlawful coercion, threat, extortion, false imprisonment, kidnapping, procurement, theft of documents, sexual assault, aggravated assault, rape, murder, forced abortion, torture;
- Disposition of Proceeds: Money laundering, tax evasion, corruption of officials (Bales, 2005. p. 134).

Clearly, given the array of activities that might be perpetrated against the individual and the state, extended illicit actor participation is required.

*Can You Really Know How Big Something is in the Dark?*

While researchers have come to learn more about the techniques and methods of transnational sex trafficking, explaining its scope and strategizing about response has proven vexing - as it has in the entire human trafficking issue area. While it is understood that these transgressions are indeed widespread, analysts and academicians have thus far been unsuccessful in sketching a statistical map of the landscape that adequately addresses the width and depth of the problem. Unfortunately, it is just this type of missing information that is needed to target operational strategies of law enforcement as productively as possible (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 1-2).

The fact that so much of the activity is shrouded in underground behavior has hindered the ability of efforts to measure transnational sex trafficking both locally and globally. The measurement issues and problems boil down to ones of reliability and validity (Hill, 2005, pp. 47-64 and Bales 2005, pp. 87-111), clear evidence (Naim, 2005, p. 11), and politics (Kempadoo, 2005: p. vii). As such we are best advised to remain skeptical of any estimate of transnational sex trafficking, and human trafficking in general, at the current time.

*An Environmental Scan of Actors in the Transnational Sex Trafficking Issue Area*

Transnational sex trafficking encompasses a wide range of actors across the globe. These individuals and groups impact on both the intellectual discourse and

practice of the enterprise in differing degrees. The broad sweep of actors can be categorized into the following primary categories:

1) International Governmental Organizations
2) International Nongovernmental Organizations in Global Civil Society
3) Regional Transgovernmental Organizations
4) National Governments, Local Governments and Domestic Civil Society
5) Transnational and Local Level Criminals in Uncivil Society
6) Victims and the Public

Ultimately, it is from this matrix of players that a coordinated and cooperative response to the problem of transnational sex trafficking must be cobbled. The organizations discussed are critical players in the effort to establish a network that can inform and support law enforcement in their attempts to challenge the modern global slave trade.

International Governmental Organizations (IGO): The United Nations and its specialized agencies have provided significant policy guidance to states on matters of transnational human trafficking for forced labor and sexual exploitation. The UN's key players in this regard include, but are not limited to: the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Recently, UN General Assembly resolution A/RES/64/293 set out the "United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons" (United Nation General Assembly, 2010). In addition, the International Criminal Police Organization, Interpol, has been deeply involved with specific elements of the problem – namely stopping child pornography over the Internet. These organizations occupy a lynchpin role in the attempt to establish global networks of information, best practice, and response that can disrupt the crime of transnational sex trafficking. Not only do they distill and synthesize significant amounts of data on the topic, they also disseminate their findings and attempt to organize collective action among relevant players when possible (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2007).

International Nongovernmental Organizations (INGO): Apart from the international organizations that governments both fund and empower in the international political arena, there are other players who impact on the transnational sex trafficking debate at this level. Of great significance are the international nongovernmental organizations whose help in raising awareness and shaping perspectives has been invaluable to the steering of theoretical and policy discussions. As issue experts within the global community these parties play a vital role in both the discourse that eventually creates international legal instruments, as well as the public pressure that clamors for their enforcement. Some even extend their efforts into areas of direct action to free those who are victims of sex trafficking (Hudson, 2001: p. 333). These organizations have been described as "private in character and not part of the governmental apparatus" (Salamon, Sokolowski, Wojciech & List , 2003: p.1). Further, they are seen as "beyond profit

oriented and seek to enhance the public good," while at the same time being both "self-governing, and voluntary" (Salamon, Sokolowski, Wojciech & List, 2003: pp. 7-8).

International nongovernmental organizations offer a powerful voice for problem identification and problem solving at the international level of political response. Their views are often courted and respected by governments and governmental organizations that have turned to them for informed and credible advice. Organizations operating in global civil society are not monolithic by any means, but they do interact with regularity when common causes are involved. They have increased their ability to become transnational in their influence as a result of the same technological advances that have aided parties in the criminal world (Stone, 2002: p. 1).

The great strength of global civil society is in its ability to share and transfer knowledge (Coe and Bunnell, 2003). By linking like-minded organizations together, information can be shared and perspectives hardened (Struyk, 2002). If these groups reach the levels of becoming epistemic communities, the influence they can wield in public policy arenas is substantial (see Haas, 1992 for the definitive discussion on the matter of epistemic communities). Globalization has given energy to this movement in many of the same ways it has provided vigor to transnational criminals.

Key international nongovernmental players in the transnational sex trafficking issue area have included The Global Alliance Against Trafficking of Women (GAATW) and The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW). Both played critical roles in shaping the discourse and policy direction of the international community on this topic. With GAATW arguing for sex workers to be considered as laborers and CATW contending that all prostitution needs to be illegal, states crafted a framework for addressing transnational sex trafficking for purposes of exploitation (which both decry – under varying definitions). In addition, End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT) International have proven to be a galvanizing force in the global battle against transnational child sex trafficking. The impact of these organizations on international and national policy debates displays how important nongovernmental expertise has become on transnational issues.

Regional Transgovernmental Organizations: Continuing to map the terrain, regional governmental organizations have also provided a significant level of analytical and strategic input into responding to transnational sex trafficking problems that individual states have grappled with. These organizations seek to aid in coordinating multi-country efforts to fight these crimes. While there are many types of regional efforts aimed at combating sex trafficking in the form of bi-lateral country agreements, and multi-country ones such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the examples I wish to highlight focus on transnational policing efforts. This is because such forces are crucial to police redressing the problem on the ground, and central to the goal of networking key elements of states and civil society together to meet this challenge.

The most advanced of these regional operations is the European Union's police office - Europol. Europol has become a prominent figure on the European Union's crime fighting landscape since the 1990s.

> "Europol seeks to support the law enforcement agencies of all its member states
> primarily by gathering and analyzing information and intelligence specifically

about people who are members or possible members of criminal organizations internationally (Haberfeld and McDonald, 2005: p. 296)

In its short history, Europol has become well respected among the EU's member nations. As part of the organization's mandate, Europol is charged with addressing "trafficking in persons" crimes. To date, it has been involved with establishing a wide variety of bi-lateral and international linkages with governments as well as organizations in civil society to help develop information and response in this area.

But Europol is not the only example of a transnational police brain trust. There are also efforts to develop cooperative police work taking place in other regions. This is evidenced by the work of ASEANAPOL in South East Asia, as well as the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) seated in Bucharest, to name two. ASEANAPOL provides a loose coordination mechanism for South East Asian Chiefs of Police. It is not an agency, nor does it have the organization or structure of Interpol or Europol (McFarlane, 2004: p. 8). Among its most recent accomplishments is the creation of e-Ads (the e-ASEAN database) that is now linked to the ICPO-Interpol database.

Beyond regional efforts at transnational policing, there are also sub-regional organizations coming into existence. One interesting example has been the SECI Regional Center for Combating Trans-border Crime. The overall purpose is to challenge organized crime's influence in the region and to unite Member Countries in a cooperative effort to rest the economy from their grip. Presenters at the Policing Across Borders Project workshop (2008: p. 4) on human trafficking and human smuggling, working within SECI, noted a particular desire to see an increase of joint investigative teams from different countries used for the purpose of combating these crimes.

Combined, the work of Europol, ASEANAPOL and SECI are a signpost to the future. Coordinated and networked law enforcement information and investigative services that attempt to stay ahead of criminal operations, rather than chasing after them, are the wave of the future.

National Governments, Local Governments, and Domestic Civil Society: State governments and the local governments that sit beneath them are, of course, critical players in addressing transnational sex trafficking concerns. They are central to the disruption of the supply and demand exchange. From the immigration laws they construct that impact on the victims, to the policing entities that they may establish to coordinate response to human trafficking problems, to the criminal penalties they supply for the practicing of these activities, national and local government efforts to combat transnational crimes create a jigsaw puzzle of policies, laws, rules, and regulations that can either enable or discourage criminal activity. Setting up an interlocking network of mutually agreed to legislation, codification and enforcement across nation-states has proven elusive. Even with a common definition of human trafficking finally settled on internationally, national governments remain at odds at how best to pursue the common goal of eliminating transnational human trafficking in all its forms (see Outshoorn, 2004b: pp. 273-275 for an example of varied response patterns in 11 western democratic countries specific to prostitution and sex trafficking measures. The Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 1-2, also made note of this problem).

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) also exist in domestic civil society, of course, and make significant contributions to our understanding of transnational human trafficking within nation-states. Whether it is helping and treating victims, or offering expert advice to policy makers, these organizations remain in the thick of national and local level responses to sex trafficking matters. They are often as close to the problem as can be achieved without actually working in the fields of prostitution or sex for sale occupations.

Transnational and Local Criminals in Uncivil Society: Certainly no discussion of transnational sex trafficking players could possibly be complete without the perpetrators of the crimes being included. In this context, the term criminal has far reaching connotations. Transnational sex trafficking does not take place with the involvement of only one, or even a few, criminals. In fact there are many criminals involved. Beyond this fact, there can be a variety of different crimes committed. Multiple crimes take place at the site of origin where the person is obtained, in transit as the individual is moved, and at the point of destination (Bales, 2005; and UNODC, 2006). All told, the criminals participating can come from a wide segment of what I am calling here "uncivil society," or the criminal sector of society. These actors can include low-level criminals who recruit, create counterfeit documents, and/or falsely imprison and transfer the person to their unintended destination as part of a loose network of actors achieving discrete purposes in the chain of events. Their efforts are often supported by a spray of guides, couriers, drivers, guards and so on who help to make the process flow (Denisova, 2001: p. 34). In addition, opportunistic criminals in the process can include corrupt border guards, government officials and police who turn a blind eye to these activities for compensation. However, tied to these actors can be coordinating elements of larger criminal enterprises as well, such as mafias, yakuza, syndicates, and the like. Although the connections between all of these groups and individuals are not well defined at this time, their operational patterns are becoming clearer as empirical research explores them more deeply (United Nations Center for International Crime Prevention, 2000a and 2000b; see also the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, 2006).

There is also a key distinction that must be made between transnational criminal and transnational political players in this discussion of uncivil society, if it is to be accurate. Uncivil society's transnational criminal elements operate differently than its political ones, but the two can mix in a less than viscous manner (Berdal and Serrano, 2000b: pp. 201-202). It is important to remember their differences. The criminal goal is aimed at personal gain and profit, rather than the goal of the politically oriented member who seeks benefit of a wider community from acts such as terrorism carried out by groups like Al-Qaeda (Kaldor, 2003a: p. 192). As such there is a fundamental variation in the motives of the players in uncivil society. Although techniques and methods of interacting within the illicit world may be quite similar in core areas such as needing to remain clandestine through applications ensuring secrecy (Bell, 2000), they are not pursuing the same things.

In addition, there are many players in both camps, from common hoods, to sophisticated masterminds, to corrupt officials in the government. The skills and abilities may have some overlap, it is true, but that is a far cry from each player becoming interchangeable across the board of crime and politics. Cooperation is often likely

restricted to groups of individuals familiar with each other far more than it may seem, but contractors with specific skills may find themselves employed by both categories of illicit transnational actor at different times in their careers. This is an area of research that needs additional attention.

Victims and the Public:  Victims of transnational sex trafficking fit a variety of profiles depending on the market and region (UNODC, 2006: p. 76).  Men, women and children are all recorded as being victims in varying degrees, but males remain understudied in official accounts.  Often this is attributed to the fact that local legislation does not include them in trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes (UNODC, 2006: p. 78).  Therefore, they are not captured well in such statistics or reviews.

A person's appearance, age, skin color, and physical traits are all factored into the selection of those unfortunate enough to find themselves trafficked across borders for sexual exploitation (UNODC, 2006: p. 60, offers a case study of Brazil that supports this contention).  Locations are chosen for the ease with which victims can be obtained (Hughes and Denisova, 2001: pp. 44).  Ease might be calculated based on the vulnerability of the victim due to poverty, poor education standards, and other hardships.  Or it might have to do with disruption of the state, and the weakness of its law enforcement and legal infrastructure.  More often than not, it is a combination of these variables.  Traffickers take the above into account and then go where the work is easier, rather than harder, and where the "push" for victims to leave is greatest.  Othman sees "push factors" at work across Southeast Asia as including: poverty, lack of education, demand elsewhere, easy money, insecure political environment, history of sexual abuse, uneven development, population pressure and the offer of high prices for virgin girls (Othman, 2006: pp. 52-53).  Further, she identifies "pull factors" like globalization's impact on increasing the practice of trafficking, promise of higher wages abroad, expanded job opportunities elsewhere, potential for increased quality of life, and geographical assets (Othman, 2006: pp. 53-54).

In this category it is also important to explore the relationship that exists between victims of transnational sex trafficking and the public.  It is an intimate relationship in as much as victims were originally part of the general public in some location at some time.  As such, there is a gateway to creating understanding to the plight of the trafficked among the current populace.  As it is argued that the populations in the "pull" countries, or destination sites for sex trafficking victims, are conditioned by mass media to seek out this commodity (Taylor and Jamieson, 1999: p. 270-273, for one such example), it seems clear that there is a connection that can be made to these same groups through public awareness campaigns.  Such efforts can refocus the message that is being delivered to the public (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008; pp. 6-8).  The most recent attempt of note is the year-long CNN campaign on human trafficking in general: CNN Freedom Project: Ending Modern Day Slavery (CNN, 2011).

Increasing public awareness is vital for several reasons.  First, and foremost, if trafficking facts are made clear to the public through targeted, thoughtful information and awareness campaigns there is a chance that positive community response can be cultivated and channeled into support for law enforcement on the street.  The United Kingdom's experience with "Operation Pentameter" offers one example of success in working with men who visit prostitutes (Operation Pentameter, 2006a).  Second, with a

detailed enough portrayal of sex trafficking crimes the public may be able to recognize that they – or people they know – are potential targets of these offences (Operation Pentameter, 2006b). Third, the methods and tactics of sex traffickers will be better understood.

Knowing the process and techniques of the trade, as well as how it treats its victims, may alert the public as to when questionable activities are being practiced. Such awareness could raise the level of public interest in not only supporting victims and pursuing prevention, but punishing traffickers as well. Finally, recognition can lead to the growth of a significant organized response within civil society. Support for victims among advocates in civil society has the potential to motivate forward thinking government efforts as well. However, as has been noted among law enforcement professionals, differing goals among these players can keep a smooth working relationship from developing (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: p. 5).

Essential to the discussion of victims are the concomitant services that need to be provided once they have been successfully excavated from their plight. From health, to emotional and psychological well being, to considerations involved with prosecution and repatriation to their homelands, each of these areas requires careful management so as not to worsen the condition of the person's legal, physical and mental integrity. Fortunately, there are growing numbers of organizations that are becoming skilled in these tasks across the globe. An example of coordinated government/civil society action from the international level is provided by the UNODC who recently created the "Voluntary Trust Fund For Victims of Human Trafficking (UNODC, 2010). In regard to domestic nongovernmental organizations concerned with the support of trafficking victims (sexual exploitation, or otherwise) there is no single group to point to as indicative of the work in the field. And there is a variety of overlap with work done by domestic violence organizations, refugee organizations, human rights advocates, etc. (Caliber Associates, 2003: p. 7). In fact the work of these domestic NGOs covers a wide array of tasks, from identifying victims, to providing services, to lobbying, networking, sharing information and building public awareness (Perkins, 2005). The organization "Change," an anti-trafficking NGO in the United Kingdom, noted that domestic NGOs "comprise a heterogeneous mixture of background issues and primary focus." (Luckoo and Tzvetkova, 2002: p. iv).

*An Uncivil Society in our Midst*

The term "organized crime" has been used to describe a seemingly open ended number of criminal behaviors and structures over the years. Interestingly, there has been a heated debate among criminologists as to what the words actually refer to. Is it just a catch phrase used to provide support for a trendy policy agenda when it is useful to apply? Does it only relate to a specific type of criminal group, such as the Italian Mafia, due to the perception that they once had high levels of structure and organization? Is it a term that should be applied to a variety of criminal activities, or just some specific ones? These are some of the questions that theorists have wrestled with. The resulting impression among many observers has been that there is an inability to succinctly and successfully define this powerful phrase (Lampe, 2003: p. 9), and that when people have tried the resulting definitions have often been "unclear and misleading" (Duyne, 2003: p.

23). This belief has led to frustration on the part of individuals seeking to clarify characteristics of this topic. Blame for the confusion is spread liberally. Beare argues that academics, the media, politicians and law enforcement choose to define the words "organized crime" in the way that best suits each of them – and usually for political reasons. Noting further as the term increasingly comes to mean "everything," it actually means "nothing." (Beare, 2003: pp. 158-159).

Enter the attempt to define transnational organized crime against this historical patchwork backdrop. As the United Nations struggled to come up with a Convention that would address this very topic, it needed to come to grips with the ongoing descriptive dilemma. The result was the following definition of an organized criminal group:

> "a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time
> and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious
> crimes or offences established in accordance with the Convention, in order
> to obtain, directly, or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit."
> (United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime).

Combined with the definition of what makes a crime transnational (provided earlier in this paper), the drafters provided a wide spatial and temporal context within which organized crime can be examined. They also provided a size boundary that the group could not dip below, without limiting the definition by including a particular type of organizational structure that would serve to facilitate criminal operations. Finally they were careful to leave open ended the degree of criminality involved, so that "one or more" identified offenses would be enough to fit the definitional schematic of an organized criminal group. In short, the wide berth provided in the definition is yet another example of the difficulties involved with precisely capturing processes connected to defining what organized crime in fact is. The problem is worsened by a world epoch of deepening globalization where we now seek to define transnational organized crime (Viano, Magallanes and Bridel, 2003: pp. 4).

So how are we to make sense of those who operate in this global criminal milieu? What characteristics best describe the organizations of the transnational criminal sector, and speak to their seeming successes? In the paragraphs that follow I will argue that we can use organization theory to sketch a preliminary image of these groups that offers insight into the nature of their dispositions and modus operandi, as well as providing an explanation as to why they appear one step ahead of their adversaries in the licit world Interestingly, Helfstein (2009) offers a complimentary approach to the one provided here by applying organization theory to the study of terrorist groups. However, it is important to remember the fundamental differences between politically and profit oriented criminals noted earlier in this paper when searching to learn from commonalities between their operations.

*Discussion: Organization Theory and Transnational Criminals*

Over the last ten years there has been a significant amount of empirical work done by international governmental organizations attempting to flesh out structures and operational activities of transnational organized criminal organizations (see United

Nations Center for International Crime Prevention 2000a and 200b; as well as UNODC 2006).  These studies have made a great deal of headway in unpacking the constitutive elements of these entities, while at the same time seeking to illuminate their governing dynamics. Work in this field has been deepened by a growing number of organizational theorists who have been examining transnational crime through the lens of network analysis (see McIllwain, 1999; Klerks, 2001; Lampe, 2003; Nozina, 2003; Raab and Milward, 2003; and Naim, 2005, to name but a few).  Some see the network approach in a vacuum while others see it as attached to a view of transnational organized crime that builds off of our understanding of how globalizing private corporations operate (see Bousard, 1990: p. 110-111; Williams, 2001: p. 73; and, Williams 2002).  Others still see it in conflict with the corporate comparison (Naim, 2005: p. 32).  At a level of higher abstraction, Helfstein (2009) sees market and non-market forces operating at the same time within the field of terrorism with equal importance. Depending on the circumstances the terrorists find themselves in they move to organizational forms that represent a polarization of processes between heavily bureaucratic and more flexible extremes.

All in all, an emerging body of literature focusing on transnational criminal organizations is beginning to shape our overall understanding of their form and practice. Throughout the literature there seems to be a growing acceptance of the fact that the criminals are capable of succeeding against law enforcement by exploiting weaknesses in legal structures, state-to-state coordination, and lack of credible information (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 1-3, supported these reasons for such successes).  What I would like to explore at this juncture in the discourse is an organization theory analysis that attempts to further examine a particular part of the conundrum.  The part of the discussion I wish to focus on involves the much talked about shift from traditionally bureaucratic organizational structures to networked ones, and why this seems to be giving criminals an edge over policing institutions that seek to curtail their activities.

Richard Daft (1998: pp. 22-23) has provided a working schematic for parsing out core areas of study regarding traditional ("modern," to Daft) and emerging ("postmodern," to Daft) organizational forms. Daft focuses his attention on what he calls contextual influences and the "direct" organizational outcomes that result.  While Daft does not seek to study illicit or public organizations in his text, his approach to analyzing private and non-profit institutions can be applied in these additional contexts as long as their unique characteristics are taken note of (see Rainey, 1997: pp. 53-76, for discussion of the public sector in this regard). Central to understanding why transnational criminal and policing organizations currently operate has as much to do with the differences between what makes organizations private or public, as it does with them being criminal or law enforcement in nature. The restrictions placed on public organizations from human resource management rules, to redundant structures, to wide ranging legal controls on operations, budget needs, and more dictate that they will be slower and more deliberate in their actions than more free flowing criminal entities.  This fact must be recognized as indelibly coloring the remaining elements of this discussion.

In this article I will only be considering Daft's contextual influences on organizational development, rather than his direct ones that reflect their organizational outcomes.  This is because I am primarily interested in uncovering external shaping forces on both transnational criminal and law enforcement entities in order to ascertain the extent to which environmental complexity drives their current operational activities.

The first of Daft's contextual variables to review is the environment outside of an organization (see Daft, 2009: pp. 136-159, for a full exploration of this topic). In an open system, the environment needs to be viewed as able to impact on the organization. In addition, it needs to be seen as able to evolve. Given all the shifts discussed earlier in regard to globalization, there is little reason to assume that the world is operating in a stable manner at the present time. Under such circumstances, organizations that are more fluid and innovative stand a good chance of accessing opportunities and utilizing them to their benefit (Daft, 1998: pp. 22-23, sees changes ranging from ecological to social and cultural as shaping the way postmodern organizations must respond to a turbulent environment). As noted throughout this paper, transnational criminal organizations have positioned themselves to take advantage of shifts in the environment more readily than their counterparts in the licit world. Policing organizations, certainly those at the nation-state level and below at any rate, are left struggling against their bureaucracies to catch up with these changes as they develop (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: p. 1).

The second contextual variable Daft offers for consideration is capital. The most valued form of organizational capital has moved from being tangible to intangible in Daft's construction (Daft, 1998: p. 23; and Daft, 2007: pp. 301-306). Or, to put it more accurately, the most valued form of capital is intangible first – information. This form of capital can then be transformed into a more tangible substance later, if correctly harnessed. With modern organizations the value of information was historically given short shrift. Today, information ensures survival. Transnational criminals access information about changes in the environment to manipulate individual country weaknesses and spot international gaps in law, security and policing. This information establishes shifting pathways of exploitation that can be deftly operated by capable criminals. Advantages of the Internet, and the on-the-ground knowledge gathered from having criminal conspirators carrying out many processes of these operations in many countries, has enabled this capability to grow. The recognized need for information sharing by law enforcement entities to combat these developments speaks for itself as to the importance of this type of capital in fighting transnational crime (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 7-8). Both the experiences of transnational criminals and law enforcement organizations are explored further in the categories that follow.

The next contextual variable that matters to this analysis is "technology." Technology in manufacturing and service organizations is considered as existing between "routine" and "non-routine" poles (Daft, 1998: pp 134-135; and Daft, 2007: 265-266). Burton and Obel offer a concise explanation of technology, for the purpose of this discussion (2004: p. 317). They note that routine technologies are the type used to resolve known problems, operating in consistent environments, with well-known practices. Non-routine technologies are needed in order to successfully address more complex problems occurring in less stable settings. From the perspective of the transnational criminal, the network utilized to move human beings from place to place is the non-routine technology that is being mastered. The method used to accomplish this is based on a mix of skill sets from a variety of individuals contracted to carry out specific actions. As discussed earlier, the advantage seems to rest with actualizing the information possessed by turning it into actionable knowledge. Turning information into tactical benefit is what is enabling transnational sex traffickers to weave their way through a maze of legal, structural and political hurdles successfully. The combination of on the

ground knowledge and hi-tech prowess bolsters transnational criminal networks as they strive to achieve their ends.  However, the contours of these relationships are impossible to fully sculpt without in depth research on how these groups operate.

Law enforcement has begun to counter criminal actions of this nature with movement toward developing actionable non-routine technologies of their own.   In particular, they recognize the need to further strengthen information gathering and sharing via transnational policing networks (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008). However, this approach is hampered in the context of transnational crime due to the problems with reliable and valid measurement discussed earlier.  It has no doubt been hoped that the use of innovative computer applications and surveillance tools designed to develop statistically driven, evidence-based strategies for crime fighting would fill this gap.  Performance management systems like COMPSTAT offer hope of future successes in this area.  But such systems are only as good as the data that goes into them, and the people that interpret the information (see Bratton and Malinowsky, 2008 for a discussion of COMPSTAT in America; and Silverman and Eterno, 2006, for its shortcomings in democratic settings).   With the data being so weak where transnational crime is concerned, successful creation of a non-routine technology based on well crafted statistical analysis has not come to pass yet.   However, that does not mean that information being turned into actionable knowledge must be forsaken by law enforcement.  Instead, the information used to combat this problem must come from a variety of other sources among the players in the transnational sex trafficking environment, and it must be coordinated by a different means, for a workable non-routine technology to develop that will provide substantial return.  I will address possibilities for achieving this at the conclusion of the paper.

The fourth contextual variable Daft pursues is "size."   In Daft's rendering, modern organizations pursued the creation of larger establishments. Post-modern organizations are opting for moderate and small organizations to work more easily within rapidly transforming environments (see Daft, 1998: pp. 22-23; and Daft, 2007: pp/ 320-326). Transnational criminal operations have, by necessity, moved in this more flexible direction when possible (Helfstein, 2009, provides an interesting analysis of the reasons that differing sizes of organizations are being pursued by terrorists).  Recognizing the need to move through multiple states and jurisdictions to traffic people and goods, it appears they have evolved towards complementing established large and hierarchical organizational structures at destination points inside demand countries with smaller and flatter networks of criminals who will work in the recruitment and transportation phases of the project outside of these locations.

The law enforcement response to such operations is more and more becoming one of trying to match them network for network (Policing Across Borders Project: p. 1 & 7). A recent discussion among policing professionals from across Europe highlighted the desire to expand "Joint Investigative Teams" in the fight against transnational human trafficking and human smuggling.   Teams of professionals spanning countries have proven successful in stopping these crimes in the recent past (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 4).

The degree to which the associations between small criminal networks and larger established criminal syndicates are formalized is currently under researched.  However, when the United Nations Center for International Crime Prevention released its study

findings of 40 organized criminal groups in 2000, it became clear that a variety of sizes and structures were being used by organized crime. However, it was not fully explained how and if some types of structures were linked together in carrying out transnational (or even local) crimes. In the case of transnational human trafficking, several groups with network structures were identified as taking part in this crime. But there was no explanation as to whom they were interacting with on the delivery end of the equation. Were the victims placed in the hands of more settled and larger crime groups? If so, how are the smaller sized criminal structures linked together with larger ones – are these ongoing contracts, one off efforts, etc? At any rate, the point is that transnational criminal organizations have recognized the need to be structurally fluid (at least in certain aspects of their activities) if they are going to be able to reach their desired ends. Law enforcement needs to embrace the same ethic as their adversaries, if they want to stop them.

Another critical contextual influence affecting modern and postmodern organizations relates to their goals. At one time, growth and efficiency were the most sought after outcomes according to Daft. But now, learning and effectiveness have become the primary goals (Daft, 1998: pp. 22-23). For transnational criminal organizations learning is necessary to staying one step ahead of the law, and effectiveness is essential to achieving the outcome of completing the crime. Driven by necessity, the transnational criminal places more value on the goals of the post-modern organization than those of the modern one. Growth is not only the enemy of success in a turbulent environment it ensures extinction for illicit operations. As noted throughout this section, it is cumbersome size and structural rigidity that have consistently dogged policing efforts in fighting modern transnational crime. Effectiveness has become the buzzword they now live by since these results have been recognized. However, effectiveness will be driven through ongoing learning.

The final contextual variable noted by Daft is culture. In the modern organizational construction the employee is taken for granted. This is not the case where Daft's postmodern priorities are concerned (Daft, 1998: pp. 22-23; and Daft, 2007: pp. 367-374). In the latter, empowering the employee and allowing them to adapt becomes the path to achievement.

In the current discussion, it becomes hard to argue that transnational criminal organizations are truly empowering their employees in a positive manner. Criminal organizations are well known for running their operations based on fear and intimidation of the workforce. Still, Paoli notes of individual groups within larger criminal operations, and individuals within these groups, that both are often expected and allowed to engage in independent economic ventures. This is true as long as some amount of the profit is returned to the parent unit, and that the lower order players remain ready and able to support the larger criminal organization (Paoli, 2001: 92-93). From a policing perspective, paramilitary organizations are well known for being strict on employees. However, it is argued that the increasing use of performance management systems like COMPSTAT in New York City and Los Angeles opened up paths for empowerment based on successful job performance in law enforcement organizations (Bratton and Malinowsky, 2008).

Yet, if it is difficult to substantiate the empowerment angle of the argument for criminals when described in organization theory terms, it is less difficult to grasp what is

happening when the concept of adaptation is added to the dialogue. Whereas public sector entities and their employees are slower to adapt to change due to bureaucratic encumbrance and red tape, transnational criminal organizations do not labor under the same constraints. In fact, adaptation is likely desired and encouraged to ensure success – despite the fact that what is being wielded at the end of the day is a stick, more than a carrot of reward. But adaptation for survival should not be confused with positive empowerment of foot soldiers, per se. In transnational criminal organizations the culture of positive empowerment of an employee has not yet materialized, nor is it ever likely to. In policing organizations, while there may be fitful progress, progress can still be seen.

*Conclusion*

Given the preceding analysis it is now more possible to see why transnational sex traffickers have enjoyed success in the latter half of the 20th century, and now into the 21st as well. Modern police organizations are struggling against their public nature (structurally, legally, politically and operationally) to challenge postmodern transnational criminals. Law enforcement consistently finds itself firmly rooted in the ground, while being asked to catch speeding prey who zip by. It is not an enviable task. As suggested above, it appears that transnational sex traffickers have been able to take advantage of changes in the environment, form of capital, technology, size, and organizational goals more rapidly than law enforcement entities. The ability to remain fluid, flexible and adaptable in these areas has allowed transnational criminal groups to practice a type of jiu-jitsu on world powers through the application of networked organizational forms that is impressive, to say the least.

Law enforcement cannot change its position in all of these areas, nor should it waste its time trying since some of the inhibitors will remain largely immovable due to public sector and democratic restraints. However, they do have important weapons at their disposal that must continue to be refined. The most important of these is the sharing of quality information and the need to turn it into actionable knowledge. Securing information through using technology innovatively, and then sharing the resulting knowledge with peers and colleagues rapidly, is a recognized necessity for leveling the playing field (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: p.7). To aid in this process, sharing the investigative activities for transnational crime across national jurisdictions will deepen collaboration and coordination among law enforcement agencies while critical information about specific incidents is unearthed (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: p. 4). In addition, it is imperative to note that efforts to strengthen the relationship between law enforcement and civil society will also provide critical information on a host of relevant issues that can be built into the sharing process (Policing Across Borders Project, 2008: pp. 5-6). Finally, an area not discussed in my article thus far, but of significant importance to surface, is expanding the use of law enforcement's undercover operatives into transnational sex trafficking groups. Helfstein (2009: p. 773) discusses the impact that "spies" can have on terrorist operations. This provides a useful jumping off point for such a discussion, but further research is needed in regard to undercover operations with transnational, profit based, criminal groups to explore this idea more fully.

Undercover agents may be the best way to clarify what information discovered from all of the sources mentioned above merits the most attention. Allowing for creation of useful knowledge and prioritization of action through the application of quality, on the ground, human intelligence can give the necessary edge to ensure successful counter-trafficking efforts. Due to the questionable quality of statistical data surrounding transnational crime, validating and focusing the information that is being shared in such a manner could very well turn out to be the most important task of all for law enforcement to undertake. I would go so far as to argue here that the reverse of this argument is why transnational sex traffickers are experiencing success. They have their own undercover operatives within governments and IGOs, providing them with specialized human intelligence. This is why they are able to exploit the weaknesses of the global community so effectively. Law enforcement will need to play the same game if they are to counter the current they find themselves swimming against. Statistical manipulation of crime data has limitations in this venue. So, maximizing human intelligence becomes the necessary alternative to explore. In short: cops need to go "old school" on these people, or continue to be taken to school by them.

The key to success for law enforcement offered in this paper indeed lies in enhancing the non-routine technology of collaborative, networked police work - not only across borders, but also across political levels, key players and sector of response. But it must be remembered that the non-routine technology is at its best when well crafted. As a result, the main weapon in winning this struggle will first and foremost remain the rapid and reliable gathering of valid information, so that it might be turned into actionable knowledge and wielded as a strategic weapon at global, regional, national and local levels in a coordinated fashion.

Currently, through the prism of examining transnational sex trafficking, we can see a faint blueprint of what could be the future of efforts to address transnational crime writ large.

- Enhanced collaboration between the United Nations and Interpol to collect, grow, and disseminate knowledge;
- Enhanced collaboration between Interpol and regional policing entities such as Europol, SECI and ASEANAPOL to coordinate, corroborate and disseminate information;
- A desire to increase the collaboration between states, law enforcement and civil society to broaden the collective understanding of transnational crime as much as possible;
- Efforts at the level of states to develop quick response that relies on evidence based guidance to improve their work.
- A movement toward the use of Joint Investigative Teams in police work, and increasing reliance on undercover agents to establish ground level, human intelligence on operations that will enhance abilities to develop tactical advantage.

Each of the activities mentioned above is aimed at constructing a network of information and response that can trump the weaknesses of public organizations operating in an increasingly complex environment. But the building of transnational law enforcement networks must be pursued with the same zeal that criminals pursue

networking in uncivil society, or the vision will ultimately fail to yield the hoped for results.

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