Understanding victimological factors when analysing Organised Crime characteristics: A human trafficking perspective

Mark Langhorn[1]

ABSTRACT

It was identified through this Australian study that organised crime groups operate in a variety of criminal markets and as a result the methods of organised crime groups also vary. Utilising the Sleipnir framework of Organised Crime to analyse the characteristics of organised crime groups, it emerged that the Sleipnir framework did not reflect the link or reliance an organised crime group may have on victims to succeed in their criminal endeavours. Human trafficking is a crime type where victimisation of an individual would be considered an essential element to undertake the crime. This led to the development of a Victimological Framework and further defined the organised crime attribute of 'victimisation'; which was incorporated into the research on the context of organised crime involvement in sex-trafficking crimes in Australia. Understanding and identifying an organised crime groups' ability and need to victimise individuals, groups or businesses is an important element to understanding the context of organised criminal offending.

Key Words: Victimology, Victimisation, Human trafficking, Sleipnir, Organised crime.

INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sex work has been estimated as the second most lucrative transnational crime, equal to illegal arms trading and second only to drug trafficking. Human trafficking is a crime that generates billions of dollars in profits for the traffickers. In 2012, the number of victims forced into sexual exploitation was estimated at 4.5 million world-wide. The International Labour Office also found that estimates on cross-border movement of trafficked persons is closely aligned with forced sexual exploitation; whereas a greater proportion of non-sexual forced labour are exploited in their home area (ILO, 2012). Furthermore, it was found that the average period that a victim spent in forced labour, including sexual exploitation, was approximately 18 months (ILO, 2012, p.17).

According to the 2018 *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons* (UNODC) there was a peak of 24,000 victims of human trafficking detected in 2016. More victims of human trafficking have been reported in 2016 than at any time in the past 13 years. There are several key findings highlighted, specifically, trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation accounts for 83 per cent of trafficking cases involving women and 72 per cent of trafficking cases involving girls. In general, traffickers tend to be adult males and nationals of the country in which they operate, but more women and foreign nationals are involved in trafficking in persons than most other crimes. Women account for 49 per cent of all trafficking victims detected globally; women and girls together account for about 72 per cent (UNODC, 2018,

---

[1] Corresponding author: mark.langhorn@police.vic.gov.au

p.25).   Of relevance to Australia is that the trafficking flow originating in East Asia remains the most prominent transnational flow globally and East Asian victims were detected in large numbers in many countries worldwide.

CAUSAL FACTORS

Unequal economic development in various part of the world including the Southeast Asian region is a hallmark of globalization. While the global economic amalgamation has led to several encompassing benefits such as foreign direct investments, stimulation of domestic and international trade, and advancements in knowledge transfer among countries, globalization also resulted in economic imbalance and monetary crisis among the developing and poor nations, widening the chasm between poor and rich as well as causing social instability at large (Mahalingam, 2019). The result is an increase in the international trade of human beings, particularly women and children who are vulnerable to exploitation (Okereke, 2005; Bales, 2003; Hughes, 2000).

Women and girls are bearing the brunt of the disparity in economic opportunities between developed and under-developed countries created by globalisation and are increasingly pressured to migrate to unfamiliar lands in search of work. In search of work, women are falling prey to being exploited and finding themselves involuntarily working in the sex industry or under conditions of sexual servitude. In the international trade in human beings, demand is critical because traffickers get involved to satisfy the demand of employers of illegal labour and the purchasers of sexual services (Bertone, 1999). Bales (2007) explored the 'push' and 'pull' factors arising from globalisation and contributing to the cause of human trafficking. The evidence from his study identified the 'push' factors which contributed to people wanting to leave a country as poverty, social unrest, government corruption, population pressure and the perception of opportunity (or lack thereof). Conversely, 'pull' factors that drive people to want to go to a country are the availability of employment, economic wellbeing, opportunity, the demographic profile and government corruption.

Although Shelley (2010) agrees that the root causes that allow human trafficking to exist are employment opportunities, poverty, economic imbalances, corruption, decline of border controls, political instability and gender discrimination, she argues that these conditions have existed for a very long time and alone do not explain the phenomenal growth of human trafficking since the mid-1980's. Shelley (2010) asserts that trafficking has increased dramatically with globalisation, the rise of illicit trade and the end of the Cold War leading to the decline of borders. At the same time, transnational crime groups exploit state-based systems and coordinated international efforts to address human trafficking have been absent (Shelley, 2010).

More recently, it has been recognised that armed conflict has led to increased human trafficking. In fact, many of the countries marked by conflict appear among the top ten countries with the highest prevalence of people trafficking. The role that conflict plays in compounding vulnerability is evident with observable governance issues, lack of basic needs, inequality and disenfranchised groups (Global Slavery Index, 2018)

Yea's (2004) analysis of factors said to cause trafficking, such as poverty, social

disruption and employment opportunities are that these are not in fact causes, rather they are vulnerabilities that leave a woman exposed to the possibility of trafficking. In Yea's view, the only cause of trafficking for sexual purposes is the male demand for women's sexual labour and the trafficker's demands for the large profits. Demand is a significant driver that fuels the growth of human trafficking (Shelley, 2010). In the case of prostitution, the destination for most women trafficked into the prostitution industry is countries and cities where there are large sex industry centres and where prostitution is legal or widely tolerated. According to Hughes, Sporcic, Mendelsohn and Chirgwin (1999), tolerance or legalisation of prostitution, pimping and brothels cause an increase in trafficking and smuggling to meet the demand created by a legitimised sex industry. One aspect of this study was to determine if there is a tendency of victims to come from particular countries and whether the legalised or tolerant regulatory environment in Australia contributes to the country becoming a destination country for victims of trafficking. Australia is ranked ninth behind Germany, the United States, Italy, the Netherlands, Japan, Greece, India and Thailand as the largest market for sex trafficked women and girls (Mizus, Moody, Privado, & Douglas, 2003). Dr Anne Gallagher (2009) advised the *Victorian Inquiry into people trafficking for sex work,* that 'the one constant [in the causes of trafficking] is that people are trafficked from less wealthy places to relatively more wealthy countries (Parliament of Victoria, 2010, p. 53).

VICTIMOLOGY

As an extension of consideration of macro-causal factors, an important consideration in cases of human trafficking is the interdependency between victims and offenders. Understanding the interdependency between victims and offenders provides policy makers or law enforcement agencies the opportunities for intervention. It also enables greater understanding of the enablers of human trafficking.

Victimology is a broad area of study encompassing theory, research, policy and practice. Victimological theories try to explain why it is that certain people, and particular groups of individuals, become victimised (Spalek, 2017). Doerner and Lab (2017) describes the emergence of general victimology as a field which separated the study of victimisation from that of criminology. Lutya and Lanier (2012) described that victim offender interaction, repeat victimisation and lifestyle as being key factors characterising the nature of victimisation in sex trafficking. Lutya and Lanier (2012) went on to integrate theories of victimology and criminology to understand human trafficking of women and girls for involuntary prostitution. This integration of theory was applied across the various phases of human trafficking, being recruitment, transportation, exploitation and harbouring and transfer. This current study has also used victimological theories to explore the type and level of victimisation that occurred across twenty-one (n=21) case studies in Australia. This is important to provide a holistic analysis of how organised crime networks identify, recruit, transport and exploit victims.

The study of victims and their relationship to the criminal act is often viewed under four theories: victim precipitation theory, the lifestyle theory, deviant place theory and the routine activity theory. The following are the key concepts in respect of the victimisation factors:

Location (deviant place theory) -

- there was no victim influence in the crime, either actively or passively;

- the individual was victimised due to the location they were in.

Personal circumstance (lifestyle theory) -

- the prime actors (victim and offender) had occasion to intersect in time and space;

- interaction occurs where the victim is perceived by the offender as an appropriate object of victimisation;

- victimisation was non-random;

- victimisation occurred as a result of the patterned routine of the individual's everyday activities (includes vocational activities such as work, school, shopping; as well as leisure activities, such as nightclubs, sport and hobbies).

Routine; although closely aligned to the Lifestyle theory, the three variables are based on the social space in which there is an opportunity for crime (Daigle & Muftic, 2020, p.4). Offenders are seen as active and the victim as passive and is linked to social issues that affect guardianship -

- the presence of at least one likely offender;

- the presence of at least one suitable target;

- the absence of capable guardians (who might prevent the crime).

Victim precipitation -

- the victim created a situation in which they were prone to victimisation (passive);

- the victim contributed to the interaction leading to the crime;

- the victim provoked the offending.

FRAMEWORK & DEFINITION DEVELOPMENT

Although there is literature that exists which discusses the causes of human trafficking, there were no tools that existed that suited a case study approach to exploring the context of victimisation in sex trafficking cases. Furthermore, given the nature of the crime, it was evident that various victimological theories could apply at various stages of the trafficking process.

Using the definition of trafficking in human beings from the Palermo Protocol, the phenomenon can be structured in three phases: recruitment, transport and exploitation (Stanojoska & Petrevski, 2014). For the development of the Victimological Indicators in this study, two further phases of the trafficking phenomenon were identified, being the harbouring and victim disposal phases. In the Australian context, recruitment of victims of trafficking generally takes place in the victim's country of origin. It often involves deceit in order to get the victim's agreement and mostly in cases when victims do not get information about the conditions in which they will be working, such as travelling to work abroad in a restaurant and then finding themselves working in a brothel.

In the Australian context, transport of victims by air is generally most common. However, globally, traffickers are specialist when it comes to moving people and Stanojoska & Petrevski (2014) recognise that in the context of trafficking in human beings, the organisers of transport routes have the most important roles in the crime syndicate.

By definition contained in the Palermo Protocol, exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or the removal of organs. This study has focused on exploitation for the purposes of sexual exploitation and particularly the sex industry in Australia. In conjunction with exploitation phase, in the Australian context there is also the need to harbour a trafficked person. This harbouring phase in the first instance is often against the individual's will; they may be housed in a hotel with other victims of trafficking and transported daily by the organised crime syndicate to the brothel. During the harbouring phase the victim is often threatened, assaulted and manipulated through fear into abiding by the will of the traffickers.

The average period that a victim spent in forced labour, including sexual exploitation, was approximately 18 months (ILO, 2012, p.17). At a point in time the victim is either rescued, escapes or is discarded by the organised crime syndicate. It is important to distinguish this as a separate phase of the process, as it can often be the situation that victims are assaulted and threatened during this time. There have been instances where the traffickers just leave the victims locked up and abandon that component of the operation, leaving the victim vulnerable to death.

For this research, the framework below, Figure 1, was created to ensure a standardised presentation of victimisation factors that could be identified and consistent across each case study. For each case, the type of victimisation factors was identified from the data for each victim and recorded in the data collection matrix (Fig.1). This enabled analysis to take place of when and what type of victimisation occurred.

Victimological Indicators	Victimisation Factors			
	Location	Personal Circumstances	Routine	Victim Precipitation
Recruitment/Deception Phase				
Transport Phase				
Harbouring Phase				
Exploitation Phase				
Victim Disposal Phase				

Figure 1: Victimological Framework

This study also used the Sleipnir Model of Organised Crime to understand the characteristics of each organised crime network relevant to each case study. In 1999 the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) developed an intelligence model that factors in the

characteristics of organised crime. To assess indicators of organised crime activity and to provide an ability to understand the context of organised crime involvement in any given case, the RCMP developed the Long Matrix for Organised Crime (RCMP, 2010) known as Sleipnir. The Long Matrix for Organised Crime uses a set of 12 attributes which breaks down the phenomenon of organised crime into the most important shared, observable qualities. The selected attributes of organised crime in rank order, are:

1.	Corruption (weighting 100)	The corruption of public officials through the practices of illicit influence, exploitation of weakness and blackmail. Also, the ability to place organised criminals or their associates into sensitive positions.
2.	Violence (weighting 70)	The use of violence, and intimidation through explicit or implicit threats of violence, against targets outside the group to further any organisational objective.
3.	Infiltration (weighting 55)	The efforts to gain a foothold within legitimate private organisations and businesses to further criminal activities. This control or influence may be used for: money laundering, establishing pretence of propriety, facilitating, protecting and concealing criminal enterprises, and/or for intelligence gathering.
4.	Money Laundering (weighting 43)	The process of legitimising cash or other assets obtained through illegal activities. Effective money laundering conceals the criminal origins and ownership of the funds, creates a legitimate explanation for the proceeds of crime and creates wealth over time.
5.	Collaboration (weighting 32)	The extent of collaborative links between this and other organised crime groups.
6.	Insulation (weighting 29)	The efforts to protect the main figures in the group from prosecution through the use of: subordinates, fronts, corruption and/or other means.
7.	Monopoly (weighting 29)	Control over one or more specific criminal activities within a geographic area of operations, with no tolerance for competition. This does not prevent partnerships of profitable convenience between or among organisations. Violence, intimidation and/or informing on competitors are common methods used to establish or maintain monopoly.
8.	Scope (weighting 27)	The geographic sphere of operations and influence of the organised crime group.
9.	Intelligence Use (weighting 25)	The intelligence/counter-intelligence and counter-surveillance capabilities of organised criminals. Used to defend themselves against law enforcement and rival groups, and to identify new targets.
10.	Diversification (weighting 24)	The extent to which the illicit activities of the group are diversified.
11.	Discipline (weighting 21)	The practice of coercing obedience to hold the organisation together. This includes the use of violence, intimidation and other sanctions or forms of coercion on group members and associates.
12.	Cohesion (weighting 20)	Strong bonds are fostered at both individual to individual, and individual to organisation levels to create criminal solidarity and common protection. The bonds can be created through such factors as common backgrounds, blood relationships, financial relationships, length of association and geographic origins. They can be instituted through rites of initiation and required criminal acts of loyalty.

(source: RCMP, 2010)

Table 1: Sleipnir Characteristics and Weighthing

Each of these attributes is measurable and weighted which provides a description about the nature of the organised crime group that is being analysed. The purpose of the Sleipnir technique was to rank the attributes of an organised crime group along the basis of the threat they pose to society. The Sleipnir technique has been accepted and used in Australia and in countries such as Belgium; and is seen as a technique that moves from description to explanation of organised crime (Black & Vander Beken, 2001). The Sleipnir model has been described by Zoutendijk (2010) as being much more scientifically solid than many other organised crime assessment methods. It was identified in this study that the current attributes of Sleipnir did not reflect the link or reliance an organised crime group may have on victims to succeed in their criminal endeavours. For example, for success in human trafficking operations the level of victimisation against an individual would be considered an essential element to undertake the crime. In contrast, crimes against statute, such as firearms trafficking, would have a lower level of victimisation as individuals or groups of people are unlikely to be harmed, injured or subject to economic loss to facilitate such a crime. It is asserted that understanding and identifying an organised crime groups ability and need to victimise individuals, groups or businesses is an important element to understanding the context of organised criminal offending. For the purposes of this study a definition of 'victimisation' was developed.

Victimisation (definition)

The infliction of harm, injury, economic loss or substantial impairment of rights on an individual, group or business in order to undertake or further criminal activities.

High   The group actively identifies for targeting individuals, groups or businesses and has a demonstrated ability to victimise them in order to complete or further their criminal activities.

Medium   The victimisation of individuals, groups or businesses is regular but coincidental to the group's criminal activities.

Low   Victimisation of individuals, groups or businesses is infrequent and only a by-product of the group's criminal activities.

Nil   There are no demonstrable activities considered to be victimisation.

It was important to understand the reliance an organised crime syndicate may have on victims to further their criminal endeavours, or whether victims were incidental to their criminal activity. Understanding victimological indicators and the level of victimisation associated with the criminal enterprise provides analysts and law-enforcement agencies greater opportunity to target and disrupt the organised crime group.

FINDINGS

This study analysed twenty-one (*n*=21) case studies of sex trafficking in Australia, where a total of seventy-two (*n*=72) victims were involved, see Figure 2 below. All the victims in the cases were female. The highest number of victims, being thirteen (*n*=13), were linked to one case (Operation Ekala), with all those victims originating from South Korea. In the more recent cases, South Korean victims featured more prominently. Victims originating from Thailand also featured prominently in the older investigations, with twelve Thai victims

featuring in Operation Cornsilk from 2007. Of note, other than in one case, where there was indication of underage prostitutes being involved, all other victims were over eighteen and predominantly aged in their twenties to thirties. All the victims that were identified originated from overseas, interestingly there were no victims from western nations being represented in the cases.

Upon analysis of the victim's mode of entry into Australia, the methods of securing entry into Australia was through the use of tourist visas or student visas. However, what was common across the majority of the cases was that the syndicate arranged for the issue of the visa along with travel documentation for the victims. It was due to this process that the syndicates used as an excuse the allocation of exorbitant debts against the victims.

Operation Name	South Korean	Thai	Malay	Chinese	Hong Kong	Indian	Russian	Total No. of Victims
Operation BURLYWOOD			7					7
BK and AM (Russian)							1	1
Operation BOLE	2							2
Operation BLUESTONE			2		2			4
Operation BISTRE						1		1
Operation BLUSH	2							2
Operation CERULEAN			1					1
Operation CORNSILK		12						12
Operation CRYOLITE		2						2
Operation EKALA	13							13
Operation MAROON	5							5
Operation ALIZARIN	2							2
Operation KITRINO	2							2
Operation MYRTLE								-
Operation SILVERSKY		1						1
Operation MAVRO				4				4
Operation PASTEL		4						4
Operation PRUSSIAN								-
Operation Raspberry				2				2
Operation SEABOARD		5						5
Operation VELETA	2							2
	28	24	10	6	2	1	1	72

Figure 2: Victim numbers and country of origin for each case.

Analysis of Victimisation

As previously described, victimisation is the infliction of harm, injury, economic loss or substantial impairment of rights on an individual, group or business in order for the organised crime group to undertake or further their criminal activities.

High level victimisation involves the group actively identifying for targeting individuals, groups or businesses and has a demonstrated ability to victimise them in order to complete or further their criminal activities. High level victimisation was observable in sixteen ($n=16$) of the case studies. This result is expected given that human trafficking is reliant on the exploitation of people in order to be a successful criminal enterprise. The common methodology is that vulnerable victims are identified and sourced from predominantly Asian countries. They are deceived as to the purpose or conditions of their travel to Australia. When in Australia, the victimisation level increases and the individuals are forced into conditions of sexual exploitation. In general, this is the most common methodology observable across the case studies.

Medium level victimisation occurs when the victimisation of individuals, groups or businesses is regular but coincidental to the group's criminal activities. There were five ($n=5$) criminal syndicates that only displayed a medium level of victimisation. This was predominantly due to the fact that these syndicates operated legitimate brothels and overall were not reliant on victims of trafficking in order to operate the business; however, they would regularly utilise trafficked women for sexual exploitation when the opportunity presented itself.

Low level victimisation occurs when the victimisation of individuals, groups or businesses is infrequent and only a by-product of the group's criminal activities. There were no case studies where low-level victimisation was observable in this study.

Nil - There are no demonstrable activities considered to be victimisation. There were no case studies where the data indicated the absence of victimisation in this study.

Overall victimological indicators

Figure 3, below, contains a frequency count of each time a victimisation indicator appeared in a case study. There are some key phases of the trafficking process in each case in which victimisation occurs, and the type of victimisation that occurs can differ. From analysing the qualitative data, it is evident that these commonalities occur due to the methodology used by organised crime syndicates to facilitate sex trafficking into Australia. For example, during the recruitment/deception phase of the trafficking process, it was common to see personal circumstances ($n=19$), routine ($n=18$) and victim precipitation ($n=17$) all observable. The manner in which most victims were identified and recruited in their country of origin was fairly consistent across most cases. During this phase, there was no indication of deviant place theory in the data.

The victimological factors observable in the transport phase of the trafficking process were minimal. In two ($n=2$) case studies (Operation Prussian and Operation Veleta) there was indication of routine and victim precipitation as a victimisation factor; however, this is based on the fact that the victims were accompanied on the plane by one of the syndicate members and an inference is drawn that they are under escort. In the other cases, the data indicated that

the victims were all willing to travel to Australia of their own volition and were not subject to any level of victimisation during this phase.

Victimological Indicators (Overall comparison)	Victimisation Factors			
	Location	Personal Circumstances	Routine	Victim Precipitation
Recruitment/Deception Phase	0	19	18	17
Transport Phase	0	0	2	2
Harbouring Phase	19	1	17	1
Exploitation Phase	20	2	19	2
Victim Disposal Phase	1	1	1	0

Figure 3: Overall comparison of victimological indicators

There were clear commonalities in both the harbouring and the exploitation phase as they are similar in respect of the methodology of trafficking, as in most cases they tend to occur at the same time as each other. Also evident was the shift in victimisation factors from the recruitment/deception phase, as the victims had since arrived in Australia and were even further isolated. It was observable in Fig.3 above, that location and routine feature prominently and consistently across most cases. Location as a victimisation factor is based on the premise that the victim does not contribute to the crime as they have found themselves in a bad location, which is generally what happens when they find themselves being held in accommodation controlled by the criminal syndicate. Consistent with routine as a victimisation factor, at the same time, there is an absence of capable guardians and a motivated offender. There are only a few instances across the sample where personal circumstances and victim precipitation still featured in the data during the harbouring and exploitation phases.

In all but two of the cases in the sample, the victims were located by authorities and removed from the exploitive conditions; however, in two of the cases there was data indicating the victims had been 'disposed' of by being left behind by the traffickers or escaping and were still being threatened. Therefore, there are limited victimisation indicators during this phase of the trafficking process in the cases forming this sample.

DISCUSSION

Victimology is a very important consideration when analysing people trafficking cases. It is evident that the crime of trafficking in persons is reliant on the criminal syndicate identifying and then recruiting a certain type of victim. It has been observed through this study that the majority of victims are from Asia, with two case studies involving victims of Russian and Indian origin. Origin of country is an important consideration as it was observed that the syndicates in this study particularly targeted victims due to some common features which made all the victims susceptible and vulnerable to being trafficked and exploited. The majority of the victims were from poor socio-economic backgrounds, whether it be from a particular region

of a country, or just a particularly poor family. Often women were working in massage parlours in their own country and were lured to Australia based on the promises of lucrative earnings for doing the same thing, only to find the conditions were not as described; they were then isolated, exploited and dependent on the trafficking syndicate for survival. Similarly, there were incidents observed where the promise of education and jobs were made which would earn the victims far more money than they could in their own countries. A common exploitive condition identified in this study was the use of debt bondage, which occurred during both the harbouring and exploitation phases. For example, in the case of Operation Burlywood, it was identified that a group of ten Malaysian victims were forced into a bonded debt of between $50,000 to $60,000 AUD and the victims were required to have unprotected and unsafe sex until their debts were paid off. The victims in the case of Operation Burlywood all lived in one apartment in Sydney and some reported that they personally and their families had been threatened if they tried to leave.

Violence is a significant characteristic of organised crime and is weighted heavily in the Sleipnir model. The cases analysed in this study indicated that violence against the victims, particularly threats and intimidation were consistently used during the harbouring and exploitation phases to ensure compliance and obedience by the victims. The findings of this study are consistent with numerous government reports and other studies. For example, the Parliament of Victoria (2010) inquiry into people trafficking for sex work found consistently there was a 'breaking-in' stage when women first arrived in Australia, which included removal of passports, being locked in rooms, escorted to and from the brothel to the place of accommodation, general isolation, and not being provided money. Fergus (2005) found that victims were often raped and beaten for the purpose of breaking their resistance and ensuring their compliance, this included rape, physical violence, starvation, and threats of harm to the women's families which were all used to instil fear and punish those who resist or try to escape. Similarly, analysis of a business model of trafficking in human beings identified that violence was a significant methodology employed by the crime syndicates (Aronowitz et al., 2010). In this study, violence was never perpetrated against a victim during the recruitment phase; it was only when the victims arrived in Australia that the violence began within the harbouring and exploitation phases.

The findings of this current study are consistent with some of the related crimes identified in the trafficking process outlined in the study by Aronowitz et al. (2010); in particular, during the 'exploitation' phase. There were numerous examples identified in the case studies of victims being beaten, one being raped by seven men at one time and one being forcibly injected with drugs. The common theme of violence as a tool used by the syndicates has existed for many years. The principal means of control is dislocation of victims from their social networks. Additionally, manipulation through perverted social relationships, close monitoring, intimidation and outright violence is also used to control victims (Kleemans & Smit, 2014) when they reach the destination country in which they are exploited.

Nguyen (2010) detailed that the rate of poverty is so much higher in Asian countries that young girls are often sold into sexual slavery and due to the involvement of organised crime syndicates, victims generally do not seek out local authorities or help for fear of retaliation against themselves and their families. Also, due to the victims' understanding of the legal system and isolation from society, they were reluctant to cooperate with law enforcement

agencies. Healey (2012) described that human trafficking as driven by supply and demand, and a lack of protection, poverty, a lack of access to employment and education, discrimination of minorities and cultural practices are all factors that make children and adults vulnerable to being exploited. He further detailed that due to these factors, these vulnerable groups were more easily manipulated, tricked or forced by traffickers into exploitive situations. This was evident when analysing the victimology in the twenty-one (n=21) case studies in this research. It was clear that the exploitive conditions imposed by the trafficking syndicates work because of the background, origin, social standing, level of education and isolation of the victim. Victim identification and recruitment was a significant element of the context of organised crime activity when it relates to sex trafficking in Australia.

Conclusion

It was identified in designing the methodology for this research that the Sleipnir model lacked reference to victimological indicators. In the paradigm of human trafficking, victims are an essential element for any organised crime group to succeed (Langhorn, 2018, p.21). However, it was identified that there are variations in the methodology of organised criminal enterprises and in some cases individual victims were not a central part of the operating model of the enterprise. For this study, a further attribute was developed and defined to add to the Sleipnir model of organised crime. From the findings in this study, understanding an organised crime groups' reliance and focus on victims adds to the overall understanding of the context of that crime group and provides enhanced intelligence. If a law enforcement or intelligence agency chose to incorporate 'victimisation' as an attribute, they would need to undertake a Delphi survey to realign the requisite attribute weightings and determine the order of priority the 'victimisation' attribute would receive (Langhorn, 2018, p.21).

Literature exists which discusses the causes of human trafficking; however, there were no analytical tools that existed to explore the context of victimisation in sex trafficking cases. It was identified that various victimological theories could apply at various stages of the trafficking process. For this study, a framework was developed to ensure a standardised presentation of victimological indicators across each case. This framework involved the incorporation of four known victimological theories: victim precipitation theory, the lifestyle choice theory, deviant place theory and the routine activity theory. The use of victimological theory and the ability to analyse this across case studies proved a useful tool for this study and further development of such a framework as an analytical tool across other crime types or as a general analytical tool would be of benefit to future research, as well as law enforcement and intelligence agencies. This approach to theory integration was previously undertaken by Lutya and Lanier (2012) who explored victim offender interaction, repeat victimisation and lifestyle as factors that describe the nature of victimisation of human trafficking for involuntary prostitution. The integration of victimological theories by Lutya and Lanier (2012) resulted in recommendations to explain and respond successfully to the challenges faced by victims. The implementation of measures to improve and standardise the collection of data is a key initiative of the Australian Government's National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking and Slavery 2015-19 (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014). Part of this is the approach recommended by Bricknell and Renshaw (2015) to develop a conceptual framework to examine human trafficking, in which characteristics of victims are understood. This can be built into a broader human trafficking monitoring program.

In this study, the use of a victimological framework also identified factors or opportunities in which disruption of the trafficking process can occur in Australia or overseas. For example, in the Australian context, victims of trafficking are transported through airports and are schooled on what to say to immigration officials. By understanding this context improved intelligence gathering and disruption activities may be further developed. It was also evident that during the exploitation phase, location and routine was a victimisation factor. This is predominantly due to the isolation of the victim and the lack of capable guardians to intervene. Understanding that this is the case, improved policy and training can be developed in areas such as regulatory compliance visits of licensed brothels, intelligence collection and investigation of workers backgrounds, which could provide greater opportunity for disruption and intervention of victimisation. A conceptual victimological framework, as used in this study, could provide information and data to inform decision making in this respect.

REFERENCES

Aronowitz, A., Theuermann, G., & Tyurykanova. E. (2010). *Analysing the business model of trafficking in human beings to better prevent the crime.* Vienna: OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings.

Bales, K. (2003). *Understanding the demand behind human trafficking.* Paper presented to the National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC.

Bales, K. (2007). What predicts human trafficking? *International journal of comparative and applied criminal justice, 31*(2), 269-279.

Bertone, A. (1999). Sexual trafficking in women: International political economy and the politics of sex. *Gender Issues, 18*(1), 4-22.

Black, C., & Vander Beken, T. (2001). *Reporting on organised crime: A shift from description to explanation in the Belgian annual report on organised crime.* Maklu.

Bricknell, S., & Renshaw, L. (2015). *Exploring the feasibility of an enhanced monitoring program on human trafficking and slavery.* Australian Institute of Criminology.

Commonwealth of Australia. (2014). *National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking and Slavery 2015-2019.* Commonwealth of Australia.

Daigle, L., & Muftic, L. (2020). *Victimology: A comprehensive Approach.* Sage.

Doerner, W., & Lab, S. (2017). *Victimology*. 8th ed. Taylor & Francis.

Fergus, L. (2005). *Trafficking in women for sexual exploitation, No.5 (June)*. Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault.

Gallagher, A. (2009). Prosecuting and adjudicating trafficking in persons cases in Australia: obstacles and opportunities. Paper presented at the National Judicial College of Australia twilight seminar on human trafficking, State Library of New South Wales, 15 June. Retrieved at: http://works.bepress.com/anne_gallagher/9/

Global Slavery Index. (2018). 2018 Global Findings. Retrieved at: https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/global-findings/

Healey, J. (2012). *Human trafficking and slavery.* Spinney Press.

Hughes, D.M. (2000). The 'Natasha" trade: The transnational shadow market of trafficking in women. *Journal of International Affairs, 53,* 625-651.

Hughes, D., Sporcic, J., Mendelsohn, N., & Chirgwin, V. (1999). *Factbook on global sexual exploitation.* Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. Retrieved at: *https://catwinternational.org/factbook/*

International Labour Office (ILO). (2012). *ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour.* International Labour Organization.

Kleemans, E.R., & Smit, M. (2014). Human smuggling, human trafficking, and exploitation in the sex industry. In L. Paoli. (Ed.), *Oxford handbook on organized crime.* Oxford University Press.

Langhorn, M. (2018). Human Trafficking and Sexual Servitude: Organised Crime's Involvement in Australia. *Salus Journal.* 6(1), 1-25.

Lutya, T.M., & Lanier, M. (2012). *An integrated theoretical framework to describe human trafficking of young women and girls for involuntary prostitution.* INTECH Open Access Publisher.

Mahalingam, R. (2019). Understanding the Market Systems of Human Trafficking: A Case Study of Sabah, Malaysia. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities,* 4(2), 1-7.

Mizus, M., Moody, M., Privado, C., & Douglas, C.A. (2003). Germany, U.S. receive most sex-trafficked women. *Off our backs,* 33(7/8), 4-4.

Nguyen, N. (2010). An anatomy of Asian gangs involved in sex trafficking: An application of routine activities theory. In K. McCabe., & S. Manian. (Ed.), *Sex Trafficking: A Global Perspective.* Lexington Books.

Okereke, G. (2005). The international trade in human beings: A critical look at the causal factors. *Crime & Justice International,* 21(86), 4-17.

Parliament of Victoria (2010). *Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee: Inquiry into people trafficking for sex work,* Government printer for State of Victoria, Australia.

RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police). (2010). *SLEIPNIR Version 2.0, Organized crime groups capability measurement matrix.* RCMP.

Shelley, L. (2010). *Human trafficking: A global perspective.* Cambridge University Press.

Spalek, B. (2017). *Crime Victims: Theory, Policy and Practice.* 2nd Ed. Palgrave Macmillan.

Stanojoska, A., & Petrevski, B. (2014). The Process of Trafficking in Human Beings: Phases of Committing the Crime. *Horizons.* 16, 39-52.

UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime). (2018). *Global report on trafficking in persons.* New York: United Nations.

Yea, S. (2004). Sires of vulnerability, gendered violence and trafficking of women and girls for prostitution. *Development Bulletin,* 66, 78-82.

Zoutendijk, A.J. (2010). Organised crime threat assessments: a critical review. *Crime, Law and Social Change.* 54(1), 63-82.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mark Langhorn, Churchill Fellow, BPol(Inv), MPubPol&Admin, MA(Hons), has been a member of Victoria Police, Australia, for twenty-six years, serving across investigative, strategic and leadership roles. His professional ambition is to ensure a stronger focus on the role organised crime plays in human trafficking in Australia in order to prevent further exploitation of women and children in Australia. He has a particular interest in strengthening migrant communities to ensure women and children are not vulnerable to exploitation in Australia.