

Cambridge AS & A Level · Sociology 9699 · Notes

Globalisation and crime A2

Read online at pastopic.com/cambridge/sociology-9699/notes/globalisation-and-crime

Last checked 6 October 2026

Read first: [Perspectives on globalisation](#)

© 2026 Pastopic. Free for personal study. Please share the link, not the file.

What you need to know

By the end of this topic you should be able to:

1. **Explain why global crimes have emerged and grown.** Know what makes a crime "global" and the main kinds, including the three the syllabus names: **human trafficking**, **corporate crime** and **crimes against the environment** (green crimes). Explain why globalisation has made them possible: networks, money, migration, technology, poverty, war and weak states.
2. **Explain who benefits from global crime**, using **Marxist** and **feminist** perspectives and weighing them against other views (who gains: the rich, criminal bosses, corporations, states, men, or sometimes the poor who take part).
3. **Explain how global crime is policed and prosecuted**, and weigh up how globalisation and **new technology** both **help** (international police agencies, shared databases, tracing money and data) and **hinder** (borders, encryption, cryptocurrency, corruption, powerful corporations) the fight against it.

Every exam question so far has been a 35-mark essay, either on whether governments can stop global crime or on what causes it. The second and third outcomes feed both kinds. The wider theories of globalisation are in *Perspectives on globalisation*; trafficking also links to *Globalisation and migration*.

Understand it

What makes a crime global

Global crime (also called **transnational crime**) is crime whose planning, acts, victims, money or harm cross the borders of two or more countries. It is sometimes called "crime without frontiers". A burglary in one town is local; a gang that grows cannabis in one country, ships it through a second, sells it in a third and banks the profits in a fourth is global.

Three features make global crime different from ordinary crime:

- **It is split across places.** No single police force sees the whole operation. Each country holds one piece of the puzzle.

- **It is often organised like a business**, with suppliers, transport, sales, accountants and lawyers, and it looks for profit in the same way a company does.
- **The victims are often far away or invisible.** A tax evader's victims are the citizens whose schools lose funding; a polluting firm's victims may live on another continent; a trafficked worker is hidden in a locked house.

The main kinds of global crime

Kind	What it is	Examples
Drug trafficking	Growing, making and moving illegal drugs to markets abroad	Coca from Colombia, Peru and Bolivia to North America and Europe; opium from Afghanistan and Myanmar
Human trafficking	Moving or holding people by force, fraud or debt to exploit them (sex work, labour, domestic servitude)	Women trafficked into sex work in Western Europe; men held on fishing boats in South-East Asia
People smuggling	Charging people to cross a border illegally; the migrant agrees, though the journey is often deadly	Boat crossings of the Mediterranean and the English Channel
Arms and wildlife trafficking	Illegal trade in weapons, ivory, rhino horn, rare timber	Weapons supplied to armed groups; ivory sent from Africa to Asian markets
Cybercrime	Crime committed through computers and the internet	Ransomware, identity theft, online fraud, dark-web drug markets
Financial crime	Hiding, moving or stealing money across borders	Money laundering, tax evasion through tax havens, insider trading, fraud against international bodies such as EU grant and subsidy fraud
Corporate crime	Crimes committed by companies for profit, often by transnational corporations (TNCs)	Breaking safety laws in factories; bribing officials; illegal pollution
Green crime	Harm to the environment, legal or illegal	Illegal logging, dumping toxic waste in poor countries, illegal fishing
Sex tourism	Travelling abroad to buy sex, including the abuse of children	Offenders from rich countries visiting poorer ones where laws are weakly enforced
State crime	Crimes by governments or their agents	Torture, genocide, state-backed hacking, interfering in other countries' elections

Trafficking and smuggling are different. Smuggling is a crime against a state's borders, and the relationship ends on arrival; trafficking is a crime against a person, and the exploitation continues after arrival. In practice a smuggled migrant who cannot pay may become a trafficked one.

Scale. Global crime is hard to count, because it is hidden. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has estimated that the money laundered each year is equal to **2–5% of world GDP**. The International Labour Organization estimated that about **27.6 million** people were in **forced labour** in 2021, of whom about **6.3 million** were in forced commercial sexual exploitation, nearly four in five of them women or girls.

Three crimes the syllabus names

Human trafficking. Traffickers recruit through false job offers, debts or kidnapping, move people across borders, then take their documents and keep them working to pay off a "debt" that never shrinks. **Kevin Bales** (*Disposable People*, 1999) called this the **new slavery**: unlike old slavery, nobody owns the person legally, so they are cheap and can be thrown away when no longer profitable. Demand comes from sex industries, building sites, farms, factories and homes in richer places.

Corporate crime. **Sutherland** (1949) first used the term **white-collar crime** for crimes committed by respectable people in the course of their work. When the offender is a company, it is corporate crime. Global examples:

- **Bhopal, India (1984):** gas leaked from a pesticide plant owned by the US company Union Carbide, killing thousands. The firm's chairman was charged in India but never extradited from the USA.
- **Rana Plaza, Bangladesh (2013):** a factory building making clothes for Western brands collapsed after workers were sent back in despite cracks in the walls; more than 1,100 died. **Tombs and Whyte** call deaths like these **safety crimes**: they come from cost-cutting, not accidents.
- **Volkswagen (2015):** the company fitted software to cheat emissions tests in diesel cars sold worldwide; it pleaded guilty in the USA and paid billions of dollars.

Green crime. **Rob White** (*Crimes Against Nature*, 2008) and other **green criminologists** argue that environmental harm should be studied even when it is legal, because powerful countries and firms help write the laws. He describes a **transference of harm**: waste and pollution are moved from rich countries, where rules are strict, to poor ones, where they are not. In **2006** the trading company Trafigura hired a ship whose toxic waste was dumped around **Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire**; tens of thousands of people sought medical treatment, and the company paid the government about 200 million US dollars in a settlement without admitting liability.

Why global crime has grown

Think of any global crime as a chain with four links. Each link has been strengthened by globalisation, which is why the crimes have grown.

1. **Demand** in richer places: drugs, cheap labour, sex, exotic goods, places to hide money.
2. **Supply** from poorer or disrupted places: people desperate enough to grow drug crops, migrate on any terms or take risks for a criminal gang.
3. **Means** of moving goods, people, money and information: transport, the internet, banks, diasporas.
4. **Weak control**: places where laws are weak, police are bribable or governments look away.

The network society: Castells

Container shipping, cheap flights, the internet and instant bank transfers now tie the world together. **Manuel Castells** (*End of Millennium*, 1998) called this a **network society**. The links that let a legal company buy parts in ten countries and sell in fifty work just as well for a criminal one. The result is a **global criminal economy**, which he estimated at over a trillion US dollars a year, in which drug cartels, mafias, triads and smaller gangs trade with each other like firms. He called the ties between this criminal economy and the legal one (banks, property, shipping) a **perverse connection**: criminal profits must be laundered through legal businesses to be spent.

McMafia: Glenny

Misha Glenny (*McMafia*, 2008) traced the growth of global crime to the **1990s**: the collapse of the Soviet Union left weak states, unpaid police and new private wealth, just as trade barriers fell. Criminal groups expanded across borders, organised as networks of partners rather than single gangs. His central point is about **supply and demand**: the products (drugs, women, cheap cigarettes, stolen cars) mostly flow from poor regions to rich ones, and the profits flow back up the chain.

Marxist explanations: capitalism as the cause

Marxists see global crime as a product of **global capitalism**:

- **Capitalism creates the conditions.** A drug or trafficking gang in a rich country needs partners abroad to grow, ship and recruit, and it finds them most easily where legal work pays least. **Wallerstein's world systems theory** explains where that is: the world is divided into a rich **core** and a poor **periphery**, and the core's firms draw raw materials, cheap labour and profit out of the periphery. Communities left poor and unsettled by this become recruiting grounds, because a few months' work for a smuggling network can earn more than years on a farm.
- **Capitalism creates the values.** **Ian Taylor** (*Crime in Context*, 1999) argued that globalisation brought **marketisation**: people everywhere come to see themselves as consumers and judge success by money. When legal routes to that success close (factories move abroad, jobs become insecure), some turn to crime. At the top, the same competition pushes firms to cut corners. **Jock Young** described a "bulimic" society that shows everyone the good life through global media but lets only some have it, which echoes the left realist idea of **relative deprivation**.
- **Capitalism shapes agriculture.** Large commercial farms and cheap imported food can make small farmers' traditional crops unprofitable; coca and opium poppy are among the few crops that still pay.
- **Deregulation helps the rich offend.** Money can now cross the world in seconds. A wealthy person can park income in a tax haven (**tax evasion**); a trader can profit from secret company news on a foreign stock market (**insider trading**); a fraudster can claim **EU** farm or regional grants for projects that never existed; a gang can wash its profits through several countries' banks (**money laundering**). All of this became easier because, from the 1980s, governments deliberately scrapped controls on moving capital, wanting investment to flow freely. No single person sees the loss, so these crimes feel **victimless** and few are reported.

- **The law serves capital.** **Pearce** (*Crimes of the Powerful*, 1976) and **Box** (1983) argued that laws against corporate crime are weak and seldom enforced, because the state depends on business for taxes, jobs and growth.

Other causes

Capitalism is not the only driver. A strong essay weighs it against these:

- **War and conflict.** In Sierra Leone's civil war, rebel commanders paid for guns by selling **conflict diamonds** abroad; the Taliban taxed Afghanistan's opium trade for years. **Warlords** like these need global criminal markets. War also uproots people: Syrians and Afghans fleeing fighting became customers for smugglers, and some ended up in traffickers' hands.
- **Weak and corrupt states.** Where police and judges can be bribed, or where a government has lost control of its territory, criminals can operate safely. Some governments also take part in crime themselves (**state crime**; **Green and Ward**, *State Crime*, 2004), from state-backed hackers to interference in other countries' elections.
- **Migration and diasporas.** Crime runs on trust, and shared family, language and origin supply it. Hong Kong-based **triads** have used Chinese communities overseas (a **diaspora**), and the Calabrian 'Ndrangheta has relatives in Germany, Canada and Australia. A police officer cannot easily join a group whose members are cousins.
- **Tourism.** Cheap flights let offenders travel to countries where they expect enforcement to be weak, and **sex tourism** has grown with them.
- **New technology.** **Cryptocurrency** such as bitcoin moves money without banks; **encrypted messaging** apps hide plans; anonymous markets on the **dark web** sell drugs and stolen data; and fraud, ransomware and identity theft can be run from a laptop anywhere.
- **Culture wars.** Globalisation has provoked a backlash from religious groups who see Western culture and declining faith as a threat. Some armed fundamentalist movements pay for that fight with drug money, which links global crime to belief rather than profit.
- **Climate change.** Drought, floods and failed harvests push people from the land, leaving them open to traffickers and drawing some into illegal logging, fishing or poaching to survive.
- **Prohibition itself.** Drugs are profitable because they are illegal. Some argue that the "war on drugs" creates the market it fights.

Is globalisation bad for poor countries anyway? Marxists assume that capitalism weakens the periphery. Neoliberals and modernisation theorists dispute this: countries such as South Korea, Vietnam and Bangladesh grew richer through world trade, and stronger economies can afford stronger police and courts. If globalisation can also strengthen poor countries, it cannot simply be the cause of their crime.

Who benefits from global crime?

Perspective	Who benefits	Thinkers
Marxist	The capitalist class and rich core countries: corporations that offend with little punishment, banks and havens that handle dirty money, consumers of cheap goods	Wallerstein; Taylor; Pearce; Box; Castells (the perverse connection)
Feminist	Men: buyers of sex, traffickers and the patriarchal order; women and girls bear most of the harm	Bales (evidence); Jeffreys; Agustín (critic)
Green criminology	Rich countries and firms that move pollution and waste to poor ones	White
Network and business views	Criminal bosses at the top of supply chains, far from the risks	Castells; Glenny
Neoliberal and some realist views	Some poor people too: farmers growing drug crops, migrants who get across a border	Glenny (the farmers' share)

The Marxist view. Global crime is the dark side of global capitalism, and its gains flow upwards just as legal profits do. The **ruling class** benefits in three ways. First, **corporate and financial crimes** are committed by the wealthy and are rarely punished: Bhopal's chairman never stood trial. Second, **legal institutions profit** from illegal money: banks, property markets and tax havens in rich countries take in laundered funds (the 2016 **Panama Papers** leak showed politicians, business leaders and criminals all using the same offshore firms). Third, crime that **harms the poor** (drug addiction, trafficking) diverts attention from crimes of the powerful, and police resources are aimed at street dealers and migrants rather than at boardrooms. **Criticism:** many global crimes, such as sex tourism, honour-based violence or terrorism, are not mainly about profit, and the poor take part willingly when crime pays better than work. Marxism can be **reductionist**, reducing every crime to one cause, and **over-deterministic**, leaving no room for choice.

The feminist view. Global crime is **gendered**. Women and girls are the large majority of victims of sex trafficking and many victims of domestic servitude; men are most of the traffickers, pimps and buyers. **Sheila Jeffreys** (*The Industrial Vagina*, 2009) argues that the global sex industry, including sex tourism and trafficking, turns women's bodies into products that are traded internationally for men's use, so **patriarchy** as well as capitalism benefits. **Criticism:** **Laura Agustín** (*Sex at the Margins*, 2007) argues that many migrant women choose sex work as the best of limited options, and that treating all of them as passive victims can justify deporting them. Men are also victims: forced labour on building sites and fishing boats affects many men. Intersectional feminists add that it is poor women from poor countries who suffer most, not women in general.

Other views. Some poor people do gain: a farmer growing opium poppy can earn several times what wheat pays, and smuggled migrants may reach better lives. But their share is small and risky compared with that of the bosses higher up, who rarely touch the goods.

Policing and prosecuting global crime

Why it is hard

Group the problems into four gaps.

1. The border gap.

- **Jurisdiction:** police and courts only have power inside their own country. To arrest someone abroad they need the other country's help and an **extradition** agreement.
- **Different laws:** something illegal in one country (online gambling, certain chemicals, child marriage) may be legal next door.
- **Choosing a base:** a criminal network can keep its leaders and money in the country where policing is weakest or most corrupt, and move them if pressure rises.
- **Penetrating networks:** groups bound by family, ethnicity or language (triads, mafias) are hard for outsiders to join or inform on.

2. The technology gap.

- **Encryption, the dark web and cryptocurrency** hide identities, conversations and payments.
- **Speed and volume:** one ransomware attack can hit hundreds of thousands of computers at once. The **WannaCry** attack of **2017** spread to computers in about 150 countries, including the UK's National Health Service; the USA and UK blamed hackers working for North Korea, a state no foreign court can reach.
- **Police skills and money:** cybercrime units in poorer countries are small and under-funded.

3. The power gap.

- **TNCs:** a poor country that needs a TNC's factory may not dare to prosecute it, since the firm can relocate and take the jobs with it; it can also hire better lawyers than the state.
- **Corruption:** bribes buy silence from police, customs officers, judges and politicians.
- **Weak states:** poor countries' police and courts lack resources, and some governments have lost control of whole regions.
- **The Marxist argument:** the state depends on and is shaped by capitalist interests, so it has little will to punish corporate and financial crime, while its policing falls hardest on the poor.

4. The will gap.

- **Some governments choose not to act:** Russia does not extradite its own citizens, and ransomware gangs based there have rarely been arrested; other states shelter useful criminals or ignore requests for evidence.
- **Secrecy can be a business:** rich countries host the banks and secret company structures that hide criminal money. US states such as Delaware let people set up companies without naming their owners for many years, and the USA has stayed outside the main international system for sharing bank account information.

- **Victims stay silent:** trafficked people fear their traffickers and deportation; the "victims" of tax evasion and fraud often do not know they are victims.
- **Low priority:** governments under pressure to cut street crime may see distant or victimless crimes as less urgent.

What does work

Globalisation and new technology also give governments new tools.

Working together.

- **Interpol** (founded 1923, based in Lyon) links police forces in almost every country: it circulates wanted-person "notices", runs shared databases of fingerprints, DNA, stolen passports and stolen vehicles, and coordinates operations.
- **Europol** (operational since 1999, based in The Hague) helps EU police forces share intelligence; the **European Arrest Warrant** (2004) lets EU countries hand suspects to each other quickly.
- **Joint investigation teams** put officers from different countries on one case. British and Romanian police, for example, have worked together against gangs trafficking people from Eastern Europe into Britain.
- **International law:** the UN **Palermo Convention** (2000) and its protocols commit countries to make trafficking and smuggling crimes; the **International Criminal Court** (since 2002) can try individuals for genocide and war crimes; the **Kimberley Process** (2003) certifies diamonds to keep conflict diamonds out of the market.

Following the money.

- The **Financial Action Task Force** (1989) sets anti-money-laundering rules that banks must follow (checking customers' identity and reporting suspicious payments).
- Most countries now **automatically share** bank account information for tax purposes (the Common Reporting Standard, from 2017), which makes offshore accounts harder to hide.
- Laws such as the UK **Bribery Act** (2010) let a country prosecute its firms for bribes paid abroad: in 2017 Rolls-Royce agreed to pay about 671 million pounds to settle bribery cases in the UK, the USA and Brazil.

Stronger national agencies. The UK set up the **National Crime Agency** in 2013 to target organised crime that crosses borders, with specialist cyber, trafficking and economic crime units; other countries have built similar agencies.

Turning technology against criminals.

- The FBI closed the dark-web market **Silk Road** in **2013**, and other markets since.
- In **2020** French and Dutch police, working with Europol, broke into **EncroChat**, an encrypted phone network used by gangs, leading to thousands of arrests across Europe.
- After the **Colonial Pipeline** ransomware attack in the USA (2021), the FBI traced the bitcoin ransom and recovered about 2.3 million US dollars of it. Cryptocurrency leaves a permanent public record.
- Data analysis, facial recognition and shared databases let police spot patterns across borders.

Crime is still local. Katja Franko Aas (*Globalization and Crime*, 2007; mark schemes spell her "Franco") argues that however global a network is, its crimes happen in particular places: the drugs are sold on a street, the trafficked woman lives in a house, the money is spent on property. **Hobbs and Dunnighan** (1998) call this **glocal** organised crime. Local police and courts can therefore still act.

Civil society helps. Journalists, NGOs and **global social movements** expose crimes governments miss: the Panama Papers came from an international network of journalists; **Greenpeace** and Amnesty International campaigned for years over the Abidjan toxic waste dumping; Global Witness exposed conflict diamonds.

State action can change markets. After the Taliban banned opium poppy in 2022, UNODC estimated that Afghanistan's cultivation fell by about 95% in 2023. But Myanmar then became the world's largest opium producer, which shows the limit: crime often **moves** rather than stops (**displacement**).

Evaluating the evidence

- **Successes are real but partial.** Big operations (EncroChat, Silk Road) are followed by new networks and new markets.
- **Who is caught?** Couriers, street dealers and low-level smugglers fill prisons; bosses, corporations and bankers are rarely prosecuted. This supports the Marxist view that policing is selective.
- **Some policing has costs.** Surveillance and border control can harm civil liberties and migrants, and anti-trafficking raids sometimes lead to the deportation of the very women they claim to rescue (Agustín).
- **The question is partly political.** Rich countries' courts could try their own companies for harm done abroad, as the Bribery Act allows for bribes, yet few such cases are brought; meanwhile courts in poor countries are under-funded. Much of the gap is chosen, not forced: governments could close secrecy havens and pay for poorer countries' police, and mostly don't.

Key facts and formulas

There is no formula list in Sociology. "Learn it" means you must remember it.

Key term	Status
Global (transnational) crime: crime whose planning, acts, victims, money or harm cross the borders of two or more countries	Learn it
Kinds of global crime: drug, human, arms and wildlife trafficking; people smuggling; cybercrime; financial crime; corporate crime; green crime; sex tourism; state crime	Learn it
Trafficking is a crime against a person (exploitation continues after arrival); smuggling is a crime against a state's border (it ends on arrival)	Learn it
Scale: money laundered each year about 2–5% of world GDP (UNODC); about 27.6 million people in forced labour in 2021, about 6.3 million in forced commercial sexual exploitation (ILO)	Learn it
Causes, the four links: demand, supply, means, weak control	Learn it

Key term	Status
Castells (<i>End of Millennium</i> , 1998): network society, global criminal economy, perverse connection; Glenny (<i>McMafia</i> , 2008)	Learn it
Marxist: Wallerstein's core and periphery; Taylor (<i>Crime in Context</i> , 1999) marketisation; Pearce (<i>Crimes of the Powerful</i> , 1976); Box (1983); Young's bulimic society	Learn it
Corporate and green crime: Sutherland (1949) white-collar crime; Tombs and Whyte safety crimes; White (<i>Crimes Against Nature</i> , 2008) transference of harm; Bhopal 1984, Rana Plaza 2013, Abidjan 2006, Volkswagen 2015	Learn it
Other causes: war and warlords, weak and corrupt states, state crime (Green and Ward 2004), diasporas, tourism, technology, culture wars, climate change, prohibition	Learn it
Feminist: Bales (<i>Disposable People</i> , 1999) new slavery; Jeffreys (<i>The Industrial Vagina</i> , 2009); Agustín (<i>Sex at the Margins</i> , 2007) as critic	Learn it
Policing problems, the four gaps: border, technology, power, will	Learn it
Policing tools: Interpol (1923), Europol (1999), European Arrest Warrant (2004), Palermo Convention (2000), ICC (2002), Kimberley Process (2003), FATF (1989), Common Reporting Standard (2017), UK Bribery Act (2010), National Crime Agency (2013)	Learn it
Technology cases: Silk Road (2013), WannaCry (2017), EncroChat (2020), Colonial Pipeline (2021); Panama Papers (2016)	Learn it
Franco Aas (<i>Globalization and Crime</i> , 2007): global crime is still local; Hobbs and Dunnighan (1998): glocal organised crime; displacement (Afghanistan to Myanmar opium)	Learn it
Paper 4: two essays from different sections, each 35 marks: AO1 9, AO2 11, AO3 15, so $9 + 11 + 15 = 35$	Learn it

How to do it

We have tagged 13 questions for this topic (2021–2026), 11 different (two November questions were each set on two papers). All 13 are 35-mark "Evaluate this view" essays from Paper 4, and each fits one type, so the counts add up to 13.

Question type	Questions
Evaluate a claim that governments cannot prevent or police global crime (essay)	7
Evaluate a claim about the causes of global crime (essay)	6

Paper 4 lasts 1 hour 45 minutes for two essays, so allow about 50 minutes for each, including 5 minutes to plan.

The plan for every essay.

1. **Introduction** (3–4 sentences): define global crime, give two or three contrasting examples, and pick out the key words of the quotation ("unable", "powerless", "main", "entirely", "no single cause").
2. **Build the case for the view** with named theories, studies and real cases.
3. **Evaluate** it with the other side, paragraph by paragraph, and say which kinds of global crime the view fits best and worst.
4. **Conclusion**: answer the exact words of the quotation, with a reason.

1. Evaluate a claim that governments cannot prevent or police global crime (essay) (7 questions)

Asked as: governments (or national governments) are unable or powerless to prevent the growth, increase, spread or rise of global crime (6, including one question set on two papers); globalisation has made crime harder to police (1).

1. **Define and contrast.** Say what makes global crime different from local crime (split across countries, business-like, hidden victims), because that difference is the reason it is hard to police. Examiners reward answers that make this link early.
2. **Build the case with the four gaps**, one paragraph each, every one with a real case:
 - **Border gap**: jurisdiction, extradition, criminals choosing the weakest country as a base, ethnic and diaspora networks such as triads that police cannot get into. Use Castells's networks and Glenny's McMafia to show that the criminals are organised like global firms while police are organised by country.
 - **Technology gap**: encryption, the dark web and cryptocurrency; WannaCry as a crime no court could reach; ransomware and identity theft.
 - **Power gap**: TNCs whose investment poor states cannot afford to lose (Bhopal), bribery and corruption, weak states. Bring in the Marxist view (Pearce, Box) that the state serves capital, so corporate and financial crime goes unpunished; financial deregulation made tax evasion and fraud easy and hard to see.
 - **Beyond any government's reach**: the supply side sits abroad. Poverty in the periphery keeps farmers growing coca and poppy and keeps desperate people available to traffickers, and no rich country's police can change that.
 - **Will gap**: governments that refuse to cooperate, rich countries' own secrecy (Delaware), and states that commit crime themselves (state-backed hacking, election interference).
3. **Evaluate with what works**, again with cases:
 - **Cooperation**: Interpol, Europol, the European Arrest Warrant, joint investigation teams (British and Romanian police against trafficking gangs), the Palermo Convention.
 - **The money trail**: FATF rules, automatic sharing of bank information, the Bribery Act and the Rolls-Royce settlement, Volkswagen's guilty plea.
 - **Technology turned around**: Silk Road, EncroChat, the Colonial Pipeline ransom traced.
 - **Stronger national agencies** such as the National Crime Agency.
 - **Crime is local** (Franko Aas; Hobbs and Dunnighan's glocal crime), so local policing still works.

- **Civil society** (journalists' Panama Papers, Greenpeace, Global Witness).

4. **Turn "unable" into "unwilling"**. The strongest evaluation says that many failures are **choices**: governments could close secrecy havens, fund poorer countries' policing and prosecute their own corporations, but often don't. This keeps the Marxist argument but changes the conclusion: not powerless, but selective.
5. **Judge**. For example: governments cannot stop global crime alone, and displacement means successes are partial, but working together they have disrupted major networks; where they fail, it is often from lack of will (especially towards corporate and financial crime) rather than lack of power.

Variants.

- **"Globalisation has made crime harder to police"**: give globalisation both roles. It made crime harder to police (the four gaps) but it also built the tools (Interpol's databases, data sharing, tracing cryptocurrency). Technology is the key battleground.
- **"National governments"**: separate what one state can do alone from what states can do together; supranational bodies such as Europol are the strongest counter-argument.
- **Keep the focus on governments**. Examiners mark down answers that explain why global crime grows without asking whether governments can stop it.

2. Evaluate a claim about the causes of global crime (essay) (6 questions)

Asked as: capitalism, the spread of global capitalism, or capitalist or Western exploitation of developing societies is the main or the entire cause of the growth in global crime (5, including one question set on two papers); there is no single cause of global crime (1).

1. **Define global crime and show it has grown**, with two or three kinds that differ (for example drug trafficking, corporate crime and sex tourism), so that you can later show the claim fits some kinds better than others.
2. **Build the capitalist case through the four links** of the crime chain:
 - **Demand**: consumer societies in the core want drugs, cheap goods, cheap labour and sex; Taylor's marketisation and Young's bulimic society spread the same wants worldwide.
 - **Supply**: Wallerstein's core exploits the periphery, leaving poverty and broken communities where crime pays; agribusiness pushes small farmers into coca and poppy.
 - **Means**: Castells's networks and perverse connection; banks and havens launder the profits.
 - **Weak control**: deregulated finance (tax evasion, insider trading, EU subsidy fraud); TNCs that commit corporate and green crimes in poor countries because punishment is unlikely (Bhopal, Rana Plaza, Abidjan; White's transference of harm).
3. **Evaluate with other causes**, each with a case: war and warlords (Afghanistan's opium, conflict diamonds); weak and corrupt states; state crime; migration and diasporas (triads); tourism and sex tourism; the internet and new technology; culture wars; climate change; prohibition.
4. **Question the Marxist logic**: it is reductionist and over-deterministic; it fits crimes for profit (drugs, trafficking, fraud) far better than crimes that are not mainly about money (sex tourism, terrorism, honour-based crimes); and globalisation has strengthened some poor economies (South Korea, Vietnam,

Bangladesh), which does not fit the idea that it simply weakens them.

5. **Judge.** For example: capitalism, and the gap it creates between core and periphery, explains much of the profit-driven global crime, and it often lies behind the other causes too (wars over resources, migration). But "entirely" or "main" is too strong: war, weak states, technology and non-economic motives also drive global crime, often together.

Variants.

- **"There is no single cause":** here the sides swap. The view is supported by the range of causes (war, migration, tourism, technology, finance, TNCs); it is challenged by the Marxist argument that one cause, global capitalism, lies beneath them all, and by the point that some factors (migration, poverty) appear behind many crimes. Research on global crime is still recent and patchy, which makes any firm verdict hard.
- **"Western exploitation of developing societies":** give the West's role both ways: TNCs, demand for drugs and sex tourists from rich countries support it; local warlords, corrupt local elites and criminals from non-Western countries challenge it.

Worked examples

Each example is a new 35-mark essay. The marks are given the way the levels mark scheme works: by assessment objective and level, not by points. In the exam, write each bullet as a full paragraph.

Example 1

'Global crime mainly benefits the rich and powerful.' Evaluate this view. [35]

Introduction. Global crime crosses borders, from drug trafficking to corporate pollution. Marxists say its rewards flow to the ruling class and the rich core; feminists say men gain at women's cost; others point to the poor people who take part to survive.

For the view (AO1/AO2).

- **The powerful offend and escape:** corporate crime from Bhopal to Rana Plaza is rarely punished (Pearce; Box); Bhopal's chairman never stood trial.
- **Legal wealth absorbs illegal money:** Castells's perverse connection; banks, property markets and secret companies in rich countries take laundered money (the Panama Papers).
- **The top of the chain takes the profit:** in Glenny's *McMafia* the bosses never touch the goods; couriers and street dealers take the risks.
- **Rich countries export harm:** White's transference of harm, such as the Abidjan toxic waste.

Against the view (AO3).

- **Men as a group benefit:** feminists (Jeffreys) argue that sex trafficking and sex tourism serve men of every class, not only the rich.

- **Some poor people gain:** opium and coca farmers earn more than from food crops; smuggled migrants reach jobs abroad.
- **Not all global crime is about wealth:** terrorism and some state crimes aim at power or belief; their "benefit" is political.
- **The powerful are sometimes caught:** Volkswagen's guilty plea and the Rolls-Royce settlement.

Conclusion. The view is strongest for financial and corporate crime, where the powerful gain most and are punished least, and weakest for crimes driven by poverty, belief or gender, where other groups benefit or nobody does.

How it would be marked. Detailed knowledge of Marxist, feminist and green views with named cases (AO1 7–9), every point applied to who gains (AO2 10–11), and a sustained weighing of different winners leading to a reasoned verdict (AO3 12–15).

Example 2

'New technology helps criminals more than it helps the police.' Evaluate this view. [35]

Introduction. New technology here means the internet, encryption, cryptocurrency and digital data. It has made new global crimes possible, but it also gives police new ways to find criminals.

For the view (AO1/AO2).

- **New crimes:** ransomware, identity theft and online fraud can be committed from anywhere; WannaCry reached about 150 countries.
- **Hiding:** the dark web, encrypted apps and cryptocurrency hide identities and payments.
- **Reach and speed:** Castells's network society lets criminal firms work as global networks while police work country by country.
- **Uneven resources:** poorer countries lack cyber units, so criminals base themselves there.

Against the view (AO3).

- **Police can break in:** EncroChat (2020) led to thousands of arrests; Silk Road was closed in 2013.
- **Data leaves traces:** the Colonial Pipeline ransom was traced through bitcoin's public record.
- **Sharing:** Interpol's databases of fingerprints, DNA and stolen passports, and automatic sharing of bank information.
- **Technology also exposes the powerful:** the Panama Papers leak relied on data analysis.
- **But displacement:** each closed market is replaced, which suggests an arms race rather than a win for either side.

Conclusion. Technology gives criminals the first move, but police have caught up in high-profile cases; the balance depends on resources, so it favours police in rich countries and criminals in poorer ones.

How it would be marked. Accurate knowledge of technology-based crime and policing cases (AO1 7–9), applied to the "more than" comparison throughout (AO2 10–11), and a sustained evaluation that weighs both sides and distinguishes between countries (AO3 12–15).

Example 3

'Women are the main victims of global crime.' Evaluate this view. [35]

This is the hardest kind: the question names one group, so every paragraph must ask whether women suffer more than others, while still bringing in theory and contrasting views.

Introduction. Feminists see global crime as gendered, with women and girls as its main victims; others point to the many male victims and to crimes whose victims are whole communities.

For the view (AO1/AO2).

- **Sex trafficking and sex tourism:** nearly four in five people in forced commercial sexual exploitation are women or girls (ILO); Jeffreys's view that the global sex industry trades women's bodies for men's use.
- **Domestic servitude:** Bales's new slavery includes women held as maids in private homes, out of sight of the law.
- **Hidden victims of corporate crime:** most of the Rana Plaza garment workers were women.

Against the view (AO3).

- **Men as victims:** forced labour on building sites and fishing boats, and most people killed in drug wars, are men.
- **Whole populations:** the victims of green crime (Abidjan, Bhopal), tax evasion and fraud are entire communities.
- **Agency:** Agustín argues that many migrant women choose sex work, and that the "victim" label can be used to deport them.
- **Which women?** Poor women from poor countries bear the harm, not women in general (intersectional feminism).

Conclusion. Women are the main victims of some global crimes, especially sex trafficking, and are hidden victims of others, but across all global crime the poor of the periphery, men and women, carry most of the harm.

How it would be marked. Feminist and contrasting studies explained in detail (AO1 7–9), every point applied to women as victims (AO2 10–11), and an evaluation that separates crimes and groups of women and weighs them (AO3 12–15).

Common mistakes

- **Writing about crime in general.** Examiners report answers that discuss the causes of crime with little or no reference to global crime. Every paragraph needs a crime that crosses borders.

- **Describing crimes instead of analysing.** Listing people trafficking, drug smuggling and cybercrime earns little. Use each crime to answer the question: why governments struggle with it, or what caused it.
- **Answering a different question.** In a "governments are unable" question, some candidates explain only why global crime grows and never ask whether governments can stop it. Keep returning to governments.
- **Only one or two kinds of crime.** Weak answers stay with drugs or trafficking. Strong ones include financial and non-financial crimes, such as corporate, green and cybercrime, and show that the view fits some better than others.
- **Ignoring the theory named in the question.** In "capitalism is the main reason" essays, some answers discuss global crime with no link to capitalism. Explain the Marxist case first, then evaluate it.
- **One-sided essays.** Leaving out examples of successful policing, or alternatives to the capitalist explanation, caps the AO3 mark. AO3 is worth 15 of the 35 marks: evaluate throughout.
- **Vague examples.** "Interpol helps" earns less than a named operation, date or case. Learn a few cases well.
- **Confusing trafficking and smuggling.** They are different crimes with different victims.

How to get the marks

- **"Evaluate this view" (35 marks):** one long essay, marked by levels for each assessment objective.
- **AO1 knowledge and understanding (9):** the top level (7–9) needs a wide range of accurate, detailed points using concepts, theory and research. Use terms such as transnational crime, network society, perverse connection, corporate crime, green crime, transference of harm, new slavery, jurisdiction, extradition and displacement, and name sociologists.
- **AO2 interpretation and application (11):** the top level (10–11) needs material that is accurate and **consistently applied to the question**. Keep using its words and apply real cases: Bhopal, Rana Plaza, Abidjan, EncroChat, Silk Road, WannaCry, the Panama Papers.
- **AO3 analysis and evaluation (15):** the top level (12–15) needs evaluation that is **explicit, detailed and sustained**, with contrasting views that show how complex the issue is. A brief outline of the other side stays in the 4–7 band; explicit evaluation that is not kept up reaches 8–11.
- **Evaluate the wording:** "unable" against "unwilling"; "main" against "one of several"; "entirely" is disproved by a single strong exception, so then weigh how far the view still holds.
- **Reach a judgement** that says for which kinds of global crime, and which countries, the view holds best and worst.
- **Answer two questions from different sections** (Globalisation, Media, Religion); the paper is out of $2 \times 35 = 70$.
- **Sociological material** for this topic: Castells, Glenny, Wallerstein, Taylor, Young, Pearce, Box, Sutherland, Tombs and Whyte, White, Green and Ward, Bales, Jeffreys, Agustín, Franko Aas, Hobbs and Dunnighan.

Quick check

1. Explain the difference between human trafficking and people smuggling.

2. What did Castells mean by the "perverse connection"?
3. Give two reasons why corporate crimes by TNCs in developing countries are rarely prosecuted, with an example.
4. UNODC estimates that the money laundered each year equals 2–5% of world GDP. If world GDP is 105 trillion US dollars, what range of money does that give?
5. How does Franko Aas's argument challenge the view that governments are powerless against global crime?

Answers

1. Smuggling is charging people to cross a border illegally; the migrant agrees, it is a crime against the state's border, and it ends on arrival. Trafficking moves or holds people by force, fraud or debt in order to exploit them; it is a crime against the person and continues after arrival.
2. The link between the global criminal economy and the legal one: criminal profits are laundered through banks, property and legitimate firms, so legal business and global crime feed each other.
3. TNCs can threaten to withdraw investment and jobs, and can bribe officials or hire better lawyers; poor states' courts are weak; Marxists add that states serve capital. Example: after the Bhopal gas leak (1984), Union Carbide's chairman was never extradited to stand trial in India.
4. $2\% \times 105 = 2.1$ and $5\% \times 105 = 5.25$, so between 2.1 and 5.25 trillion US dollars a year.
5. She argues that global crime is still local: drugs are sold on particular streets, victims live in particular houses and money is spent on particular property, so local police and courts can still act against it.

Past questions to try

- **9699/41/M/J/24 Q2**: essay on whether globalisation has made crime harder to police.
- **9699/42/M/J/23 Q1**: essay on whether capitalism is the main reason for the growth in global crime.
- **9699/42/F/M/21 Q1**: essay on whether global crime has no single cause.
- **9699/41/M/J/22 Q2**: essay on whether governments are unable to prevent the growth of global crime.