



UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA

**THE DIMENSIONS OF NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORKS OF
DRUG TRAFFICKING IN INDONESIA**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for achieving the
degree of Sarjana Sosial in Criminology.**

APSARI TATHYAPRADIPTA

0806347233

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY

UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA

JANUARY 2012



UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA

**THE DIMENSIONS OF NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORKS OF
DRUG TRAFFICKING IN INDONESIA**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

APSARI TATHYAPRADIPTA

0806347233

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY

UNIVERSITAS INDONESIA

JANUARY 2012

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This thesis is made by my self,
and all sources that have been quoted or used
have been stated correctly by me.

Nmae : **Apsari Tathyapradipta**

NPM : **0806347233**

Date : **13 Januari 2012**

Signature : 

RATIFICATION PAGE

This thesis is filed by :
Name : Apsari Tathyapradipta
NPM : 0806347233
Study program : Criminology
Thesis Title : THE DIMENSIONS OF NIGERIAN CRIMINAL
NETWORK OF DRUG TRAFFICKING IN
INDONESIA

Has accomplished to defend the thesis in front of the board of examiners and has accepted the requirement into gaining a Bachelor degree in the Study Program of Criminology, Faculty of Social Science and Politics, Univerity of indonesia.

BOARD OF EXAMINERS

Thesis Advisor : Prof. Adrianus Meliala, Ph.D. (.....)
Expert Examiner : Prof. Hikmahanto Juwana, LL.M, Ph.D. (.....)
Chairman : Ni Made Martini, M.Si. (.....)
Secretary : M. Irvan Olih, M.Si. (.....)

Issued in : Universitas Indonesia – Depok

Date : 13 Januari 2012

PREFACE

With the growing trend of criminal acts in the business of drugs, it is essential to gain knowledge on how the crime evolves in society in order to sustain a harmful social condition from further growing. Although it is almost impossible to maintain that, the step towards a better condition is to explore the current situation and trend of crime on drugs that are growing.

Indonesia being an archipelago, the country has now been established not only a country of transit for drug trafficking, but also a country of destination and source. This phenomenon has urged more foreign and transnational criminals to venture into Indonesia. With the promise of large profit as their goal in drug trafficking, more criminals do not hesitate to take risk or take on new destination and grow their business of network in their act of drug trafficking.

Nigerians being one of the notorious and well known networks of criminals are commonly known to be found in Indonesia. This well known fact has trigger the attention of the researcher as to why this specific type of criminal network are commonly found in Indonesia and are well known as notorious in the drug trafficking business.

The research of this thesis pulls from that trigger and goes on to answer the curiosity of the researcher. The analysis of this research gives a thorough discussion of the main issue using certain dimensions and documented data. Hopefully, this research has reached to fulfill the interest of the issue and also with all the limits found during the process can successfully serve the knowledge and influence the readers of this thesis.

Depok, 13 January 2012

Apsari Tathyapradipta

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank Allah SWT. for always guiding me in God's ways and for always being on my side. I am truly blessed and thankful for the paths God has set for me and for the signs God has showed me. The writings of this thesis is made in order to reach a bachelor degree of Criminology from the University of Indonesia. This thesis has been a learning path and a growing journey for me. It has not been easy to make this thesis, the process includes many difficulties, painful experiences, and mental breaking states. Because of all the obstacles that I had to go through, I would to say thank you to the people who have helped and made it possible for me to finish this thesis:

1. The infinite thank you and gratefulness to my parents, who have always stayed on my side, guided me through the process, and have given me their full support and attention. I am truly honoured to be your daughter and proud to be able to give you this achievement.
2. To Professor Adrianus Meliala as my academic adviser and also my thesis adviser who has helped me through each process of the thesis, given me the knowledge to be able to create and finish this research, and has given me the access of information I needed, you have my full gratitude. Without your help and guidance, I wouldn't be able to accomplish this.
3. To the whole Department of Criminology FISIP UI who has given the knowledge, ability, guidance, and help from the start to this very ending. A special thank you to Mas Arif, who has relentlessly helped me with the administration of this grueling process.
4. To Anya, Rifky, Titi, Ajhe, Battani, Echi, Chandra, and Radit, I owe you all guys one. Thank you for accompanying and helping me on my thesis, whether its accompanying me on the road to Cipinang, BNN, Hotel Borobudur or Polda and patiently waiting for me to finish my business, staying up with me and reminding me not to sleep and also letting me to isolate in an apartment, helping me with my long interview, being a partner to face each deadline and of course having my back on one of my

responsibility when I am not able to handle it due to the long process of collecting data.

5. An endless thank you to Bang Romy for helping and guiding me on the last two weeks of my thesis. Thank you very much for the knowledge, guidance, and help through to the last end of my thesis. This thesis or me wouldn't be able to touch the 23rd of December without your presence.
6. The biggest thank you to every person involved in collecting my data. To Abdoulie Bojang, Pak Akbar, Pak Asep, Pak Ramlan, Pak Anton, Pak Tri, Pak Subarto, Bapak Brigjen Arman Depari and Ka Lee.
7. Last but not least, my undying thank you to every single one of my friends who has supported me on my hard, fun, sad, and definitely grueling paths of my thesis. Especially to The Jembs, IKK friends, and Geng Lamandau, I am grateful to have you guys always on my side through the ups and downs of the last few months.

May Allah SWT. reply all your help with many greatness and to the people who I am not able to mention one by one, my apologies and deepest thank you to you all. My last remark would be, this thesis would not be able to reach completion without me learning about me, who at first thought I had to mention one name by the end of this journey. A note to my future self, 'you have proven "*suck it and see*".' Congratulations!

Campus UI – Depok, 23 December 2011

Author,

(Apsari Tathyapradipta)

**CONSENT STATEMENT FORM OF BACHELOR THESIS
PUBLICATION FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSE**

As an academic civitas of Universitas Indonesia, I undersigned below :

Name : Apsari Tathyapradipta

NPM : 0806347233

Study Program: Sarjana

Department : Kriminologi

Faculty : Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Type of work : Skripsi

for the development of science, I agree to grant *Universitas Indonesia* a **Non-exclusive Royalty-Free Right** for my scientific work with the title :

**THE DIMENSIONS OF NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORKS OF DRUG
TRAFFICKING IN INDONESIA**

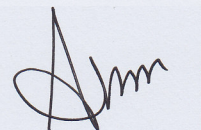
Along with the related feature (if needed). By this **Non-exclusive Royalty-Free Right** *Universitas Indonesia* is entitled to store, to format, to administer the database, to maintain, and to publish my undergraduate thesis as long as my name is cited as the author/creator and the owner of copyright.

Thus the statement above I have made factually.

Created in _____ : Kampus UI – Depok

On the date : 13 Januari 2012

Stated by



(Apsari Tathyapradipta)

Abstrak

Nama : Apsari Tathyapradipta
Program Studi : Kriminologi - FISIP
Judul : *The Dimensions of Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking in Indonesia*

(Depok, 2011, xiv + 120 halaman; Daftar Pustaka : 34 buku, 13 jurnal, 3 artikel, 4 lampiran)

Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk menunjukkan bagaimana suatu jaringan kriminal, terutamanya jaringan kriminal oleh warga Negara Nigeria, dapat beroperasi di Indonesia dengan memperdagangkan narkoba secara transnasional. Dalam hal tersebut yang menjadi fokus penelitian adalah bagaimana jaringan kriminal Nigeria dapat menjadi salah satu bentuk jaringan kriminal dalam drug *trafficking* yang sangat dikenal dan berada dalam hampir seluruh negara yang terdapat bisnis narkoba. Dengan fokus tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi dokumen dalam mengumpulkan data mengenai jaringan – jaringan kriminal dalam perdangan narkoba, termasuk data mengenai jaringan kriminal narkoba oleh Nigeria, yang kemudian akan dibandingkan dengan berbagai jaringan kriminal non Nigeria sehingga dapat terlihat perbedaannya. Pengumpulan dan analisis data menggunakan pedoman diagram, yang terbagikan menjadi empat kotak, dimana masing – masing kotak tersebut adalah data yang terkumpulkan. Data tersebut mencakup dimensi – dimensi dalam jaringan kriminal, dimana dimensi tersebut menjadi pedoman utama dalam melihat dan membedah sebuah jaringan kriminal narkoba itu sendiri. Dari hasil pengumpulan data dokumen dan literature, dilakukan uji validitas dengan mewawancarai dua ahli pada bidang kejahatan narkoba dan seorang narapidana Nigeria. Hasil yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan karakteristik – karakteristik yang unik dan berbeda pada jaringan kriminal Nigeria di Indonesia sehingga dapat dikatakan sebagai sebuah jaringan yang cukup spesial.

Kata kunci:

perdagangan narkoba, jaringan kriminal, jaringan kriminal narkoba Niger

Abstract

Name : Apsari Tathyapradipta
Study Program : Criminology - FISIP
Title : The Dimensions of Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking in Indonesia

(Depok, 2011, xiv + 120 pages; bibliography: 34 books, 13 journals, 3 articles, 4 appendix)

This research has a focus of showing how a criminal network, especially a Nigerian criminal network, can operate in Indonesia by trafficking drugs. With that, the main focus of the research is to show how a Nigerian criminal network is seen to be one of the most notorious criminal network known in the world and is spread widely everywhere with countries that has an occurring phenomenon in the crime of trafficking drugs. Due to the focus constructed, this research uses a method of document studies in collecting the data of criminal networks in trafficking drugs, which especially includes the Nigerian criminal network, in which it will be compared with other criminal networks that are non Nigerian so that the difference may be seen clearly. In collecting and analyzing the data, a diagram is used as an orientation, in which it is divided by four boxes that consists of the data collected. These data consists of the three main dimensions used in the research to identify and examine a criminal network in drug trafficking. By compiling data from documents and literature, a validation step is taken by interviewing two professional practitioners on the fields of drugs and a Nigerian inmate. The result found in this research shows the characteristics and distinctive features owned by Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia, in which we can say that the network is special.

Keywords:

Drug trafficking, criminal network, Nigerian criminal network in drug trafficking

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STAMENT OF ORIGINALITY.....	i
RATIFICATION PAGE.....	ii
PREFACE.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
PAGE STATEMENT OF CONSENT PUBLICATION OF THESIS FOR ACADEMIC PURP CONSENT STATEMENT FORM OF BACHELOR THESIS PUBLICATION FOR ACADEMIC	
PURPOSE.....	vi
ABSTRAk.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF FIGURES.....	xii
TABLE OF APPENDIX.....	xiii
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
I. 1. Preface.....	1
I. 2. Issue.....	10
I.3. Research Question.....	11
I. 4. Purpose.....	12
I. 5. Significance.....	12
II. LITERATURE STUDIES.....	13
II. 1. Theoretical Framework.....	13
1. Crime.....	13
2. Criminal Network.....	17
3. Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking.....	20
4. Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking by Nigerian.....	22
II. 2. Literature.....	24
II. 3. Dimensions.....	36
1. Structure.....	36
2. Key Players.....	37
3. Relationship.....	38
II. 4. Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking.....	38
III. METHOD.....	41
IV. NON NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING NARCOTICS.....	45
IV. 1. Colombian Network.....	45
1. Structure.....	45
2. Key Players.....	46
3. Relationship.....	48
IV. 2. Mexican Network.....	49
1. Structure.....	49
2. Key Players.....	50
3. Relationship.....	52

IV. 3. Tajikistan Network.....	54
1. Structure.....	54
2. Key Players.....	54
3. Relationship.....	55
IV. 4. Asian Network.....	55
1. Structure.....	55
2. Key Players.....	56
3. Relationship.....	57
IV. 5. Afghanistan Network.....	58
1. Structure.....	58
2. Key Players.....	59
3. Relationship.....	59
IV. 6. Summary Table of Non Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking.....	60
V. NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING NARCOTICS.....	61
V. 1. Structures.....	61
V. 2. Key Players.....	64
V. 3. Relationship.....	65
V.4. Summary Table of Nigerian Criminal Network of Trafficking Narcotics....	69
VI. NON NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES.....	70
VI. 1. Mexican Network.....	70
1. Structure.....	70
2. Key Players.....	70
3. Relationship.....	71
VI. 2. Asian Network.....	71
1. Structure.....	71
2. Key Players.....	72
3. Relationship.....	73
VI. 3 Summary Table Non Nigerian Criminal Network in Trafficking Psychotropic Substances.....	75
VII. NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES.....	76
VII. 1. Structures.....	76
VII. 2. Key Players.....	77
VII. 3. Relationship.....	77
VII. 4. Summary Table of Nigerian Criminal Network of Trafficking Psychotropic Substances.....	79
VIII. DATA ANALYSIS.....	80
VIII. 1. Criminal Network.....	80
1. Structure.....	82
2. Key Players.....	88
3. Relationship.....	92

VIII. 2. Criminal Network in Trafficking Narcotics.....	94
1. Structure.....	94
2. Key Players.....	98
3. Relationship.....	100
VIII. 3. Criminal Network in Trafficking Psychotropic Substances.....	103
1. Structure.....	103
2. Key Players.....	105
3. Relationship.....	106
VIII. 4. Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking in Indonesia.....	108
1. Structure.....	108
2. Key Players.....	112
3. Relationship.....	114
IX. CONCLUSION.....	117
IX. 1. Nigerian Criminal Network Of Drug Trafficking In Indonesia.....	119
IX. 2. Reccomendation.....	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	121

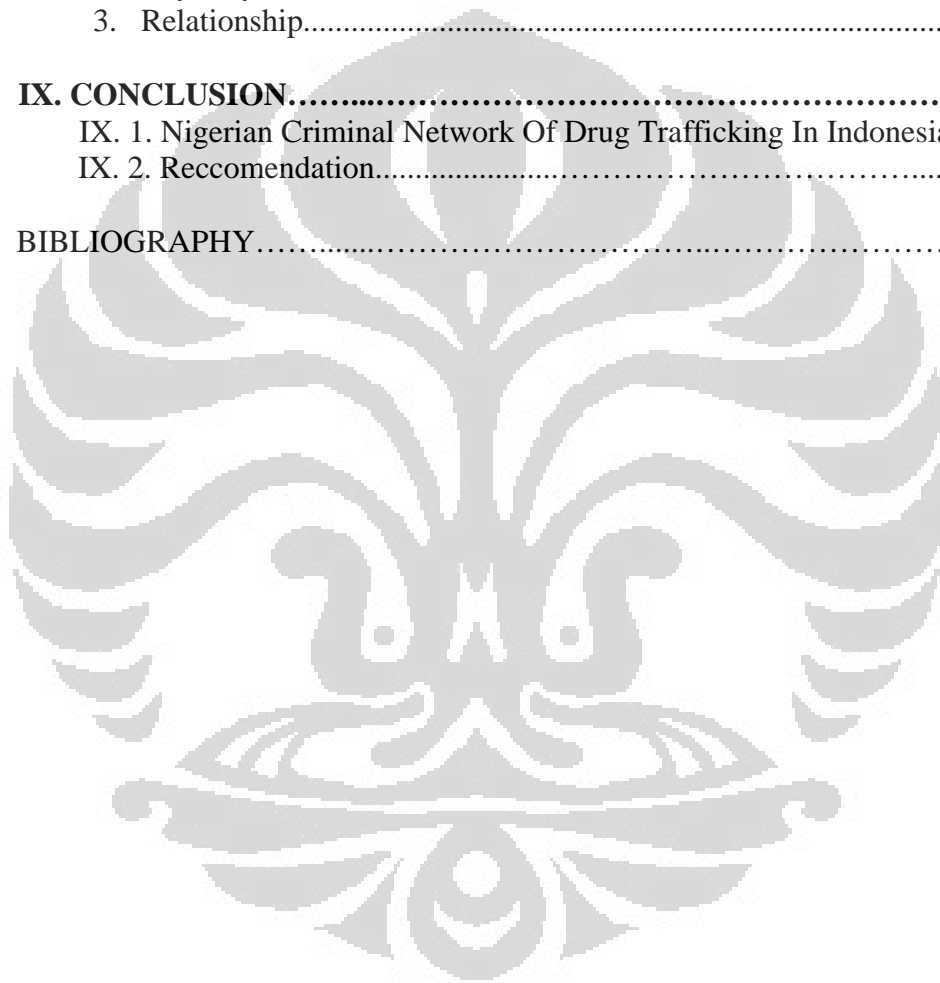


Table of Figures

Figure Title	Page:
Figure 1. Configuration of criminal network dimesions	22
Figure 2. Data Dimensions Table	42
Figure 3. Summary Table Non Nigerian Criminal Network in Narcotics	60
Figure 4. Summary Table Nigerian Criminal Network in Narcotics	69
Figure 5. Summary Table Non Nigerian Criminal Network in Psychotropic Substances	75
Figure 6. Summary Table Nigerian Criminal Network in Psychotropic Substances	79
Figure 7. Summary Table of Data in Dimensions	81
Figure 8. Summary Table of Data Analysis in Networks	116

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1 :

Field Notes Session 1

APPENDIX 2:

Field Notes Session 2

APPENDIX 3:

Field Notes Session 3

APPENDIX 4 :

Transcript interview with Subarto S.H. M.M, Ajun Komisaris, Perwira Analisa Evaluasi Bag Bin Opsnal , Direktorat Narkoba Polda Metro Jaya

APPENDIX 5 :

Transcript interview with Brigjen Arman Depari, Direktorat Tindakan Pidana Narkotika Polri

APPENDIX 6:

Surat Perintah Penahanan M. Abdoulie Bojang

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Background

The trend in crime has now grown so vast, that it has made crime borderless and limitless. This trend is also known as transnational crime. Transnational crime comes in various forms, which include human trafficking and or smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal logging, environmental crimes, maritime crimes, cyber crimes, and international terrorism. In this research, we will only focus on one form of transnational crime that will be researched thoroughly and that is the act of trafficking illicit drugs. Drug trafficking has become a popular trend and a very profitable act among the international criminals. J. McColm from UNODC stated that it can be assumed that drug trafficking is a profit driven business that functions in accordance with conventional economic rationale. This crime is seen to be an easy and effective way to gain profits internationally, because of the borderless system the world is now facing.

Drug trafficking has become a trend with a rising number each year. This popular act has become a global issue, making threats and moral panic locally. Because of its archipelago form, demographics and geographical position, Indonesia has a strategic place in the trafficking and smuggling of international illegal drugs. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the last few years Indonesia has experienced a huge problem with international drug trafficking. Nowadays, Indonesia is not only used as a transit country, but has also become a real potential market for drug traffickers.

In trafficking illicit drugs, firstly we must realize the types and characteristic of the drugs that are being trafficked. There are two types of misused drugs. Narcotics and psychotropic substances are what categorize drugs that are trafficked worldwide. Indonesians recognizes a term that is popularly used to explain what drugs and the dangers from it are, the term known is *Narkoba*.

Narkoba is an abbreviation from *narkotika* and *obat – obat terlarang*, which translates into narcotics and restricted medicines or drugs. To understand why these medicines or drugs are illicit or restricted to the public is to firstly apprehend the concept of misused drugs and the harms it brings. Drugs are not generally all illicit and restricted to be used, but when it is used in an amount that is not suggested or gained without the authorization of a professional doctor it is then known to be illicit (Hawari, 2006). It is because the drugs that are consumed are made up of dangerous substances that needs to be controlled when consuming it in order to cure a disease or for a medical reason. When drugs are taken or used in a way that is not controllable or without the control of a professional, it is then able to be called as misuse of drugs and the drugs that are consumed are of course then called illicit.

In the Indonesian law, drugs that are restricted to be misused are heroin, morphine, cocaine, and marijuana. While psychotropic substances consist of:

- a. Psychodesleptic: lisergik dietil-amida/LSD, meskalina, psilosibina and other substances that have the same effects
- b. Stimulant: amphetamine and other substances that are made from and has the same effects of it (ecstasy and methamphetamine)
- c. Sedative and hypnotics: nitrazepam, barbiturate, and other substances that are made from and has the same effects of it
- d. Anxiolytic and other substances that are made from and has the same effects of it (Hawari, 2006)

In definition psychotropic substances are drugs that may bring effects mentally to the body (Hamzah & Surachman, 1994). Hamzah and Surachman made a different but similar categorization in defining and grouping drugs that are heavily misused.

- a. Narcotics: heavy and moderate opiums, morphine, heroin, hidromorfon, and metadon. The effect induces euphoria, heavy drowsiness, eye contraction, nausea, and difficulty in breathing
- b. Depressants: kloral hidrat, sleeping pills (luminal), sedative pills (valium), and metakualon. The effect induces stuttering, disorientation, and the feeling of being drunk but without alcohol.

- c. Stimulants: cocaine, amphetamine, pemmetrazin, and metilpenidat. The effect induces excessive cautions, excessive excitement, euphoria, accelerated pulse and increased blood pressure, insomnia, and loss of appetite.
- d. Hallucinogen: LSD, meskalin and piyot, various heavy ampethamine and pensiklidin. Effects may cause illusions and hallucinations, as well as the worsening perception of distance and time.
- e. Cannabis: ganja keting hashis, hashis oil, and tetrahidrokanabinol. And other products that are made from the marijuana plant. Effects may cause euphoria, relaxed feeling controlled, increased appetite, disorientation and behavior. (Hamzah & Surachman,1994)

Drug trafficking is not only a transnational crime, but also is considered and proven to be an act of an organized crime. To traffic illicit drugs, it is almost impossible to do it single handedly, that is why a group of a people is needed to succeed this crime. One of the factors consisted in an organize crime is the division of labour given to each member and how each job description plays an important role in executing this crime. This relationship among the members of an organized crime is considered to be so profitable, that it was considered to be the fastest growing business. This relationship can be seen through a small scope in society, like the relationship of dealers in the streets. Findings indicated that dealers tend to be users of the drugs they sell, likely to deal for friendship or free drugs. Friendship networks were the primary link in creating awareness about drugs, their effects, abuse, and treatment. This finding is also managed to show that 80 per cent of all drug users are at some time in the drug marketing network. The finding shows how criminals uses their relationship, which in this case a friendship network, to gain the most out of their profit by not only gaining financial profit but also receiving free drugs. Goode (1969) claims that the main motivation for dealers to sell drugs is obtaining free drugs in their sell, thus making their work much more profitable than just receiving financial profits.

Raine and Cilluffo (1994) stated that the dimensions of global organized crime present a greater international security challenge than anything Western democracies had to cope with during the Cold War. Worldwide alliances are being

forged in every criminal field from money laundering and currency counterfeiting to trafficking in drugs and nuclear materials. Global organized crime is the world's fastest growing business, with profits estimated at \$1 trillion. With that statement we may see how a transnational crime has emerged as profitable business due to the rise of globalization. This is the reason why criminals have taken the lead on crime internationally, because of all the benefits they can achieve.

In a research made by Pietschmann for UNODC, he stated that criminal groups appear strongly to be involved in the cocaine trade, followed by trade in opiates. Even so, he then concluded that drug trafficking activities of such groups were also centered on cocaine, heroin, cannabis, methamphetamine, and amphetamine. The statement was based on the fact on how drug trafficking is still the key business activity for more than half of the organized criminal groups investigated by UNODC. Anthony and Fries claimed that most United States counter drug efforts have focused on cocaine, but cocaine is only one of several narcotics of mass distribution.

An organized crime consists of a network of criminals working together to reach their goal. In this research we will thoroughly go through what is known as a criminal network and how it works in an organized crime group. The role of a criminal network in the act of trafficking illicit drug is somewhat essential and necessary, because in it lays the different roles of each member in succeeding this act. A criminal network holds a common goal together and shares the same value, which is why the members of the network can sufficiently work together with ease and gain their equal share of profits.

Before describing the concept and structure of a criminal network, firstly we need to obtain the concept of an organized crime thoroughly. In order to speak about organized crime, according to the European Union, at least 6 out of a set of 11 characteristics need to be present, 4 of which must be those numbered 1, 3, 5 and 11 out of the following list (Elvins, 2003):

1. *Collaboration of more than two people;*
2. *Each with their own appointed tasks;*
3. *For a prolonged or indefinite period of time;*

4. Using some form of discipline or control;
5. *Suspected of the commission of serious criminal offences;*
6. Operating at an international level;
7. Using violence or other means suitable for intimidation;
8. Using commercial or businesslike structures;
9. Engaged in money laundering;
10. Exerting influence on politics, the media, public administration, judicial authorities or the economy;
11. *Determined by the pursuit of profit and/or power.*

The characteristics shown above, in particular number 1, 3, 5, and 11, shows how an organized crime is formed. Characteristic number one shows how an organized crime may consist of a criminal network because it needs the collaboration of two or more people. While characteristic number 11 confirms on why an organized crime is so popular, due to the promise of highly accessible profits it brings and that the people in it shares the same goals and pursuits.

As shared before, an organized crime or to be specific a criminal network is formed on a foundation of a relationship. This relationship among the people in the network relates to the structure of the organization formed. An organization is considered to have an entrepreneurial structure when the following elements cumulate: (1) allocation of roles, (2) hierarchy and (3) concrete structure. Allocation of roles within an organization occurs when a group of members is exclusively tasked with planning and preparation activities, a second one is tasked with the implementation and execution of the plan, while a third one is responsible for securing the proceeds. Hierarchy occurs when a predetermined superior–inferior relationship exists among members of the organization.

United Nations defines a criminal network by the activities of key individuals who engage in illicit activity together in often shifting alliances. They do not necessarily regard themselves as an organized criminal entity. Individuals are active in the network through the skills and capital that they may bring. One of United Nations (2002) different management structures. The given example being the Verhagen Group in the Netherlands. The Verhagen Group, an example of an organized criminal network, was involved mainly in trafficking hashish into the

main cities of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht and the Hague. Key characteristics of this loosely organized group were the extensive use of transborder smuggling operations and the occasional use of violence and corruption (United Nations, 2002). Apart from drug smuggling, the group engaged in a diversity of other illegal activities.

Waring (1993) and McAndrew (1999) tell us why the network is a suitable alternative to traditional terms used to denote criminal collectives, particularly the group. First, in co-offending settings, many offenders may be part of the same criminal operation, but they never actually meet. The network framework grasps this scenario; the group does not. Second, the network framework provides what is probably the most suitable working tool for assembling the resource pooling that is typical of entrepreneurial crimes that require a greater level of skill, sophistication, and complex collaboration. Third, networks represent collectives that are more adaptable than groups. The network's adaptive features are in its flexibility, which is conducive to the hostile and uncertain environment generally associated to crime.

Although drug trafficking is a transnational crime that is acted worldwide, but the scope of this research will only be focused on the act of drug trafficking done in Indonesia. There are many criminal organizations and networks that imports illicit drugs to Indonesia. With the situation like that, many foreign networks are illegally networking and working in trafficking drugs in Indonesia, which also rises local networks to also participate in the drug market that is made. Nigerian networks are famously known throughout the world as a home to the illegal activity of producing and trafficking illicit drugs. To identify the criminal network of a Nigerian, firstly we must understand the background of the criminal network and the act of drug trafficking in its country. Other than that, we must also understand the state and situation of drug trafficking and the criminal networks involved in pursuing that activity in Indonesia.

A research done by the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in 1988 concludes that Asia and Africa are relatively similar and are jointly working together in the producing and trafficking of drugs. The similarity lies in their socioeconomic features. Both of these continental regions, although having

very different traditions and cultures, especially with regard to history drug use, cover a climatic and biological belt very suitable for growing opium poppy, cannabis, khat, and others, used for consumption by local populations and representing objects of illegal export and smuggling into richer areas of the world (Cotic, 1988). In Japan, Indonesia, and the Philippines, there is a greater misuse of psychotropic substances, especially amphetamines, although a certain increase in cannabis abuse is also being noticed in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Drug consumption in Africa has not been linked with religious ritual or practice. However, the situation has changed considerably owing to the industrialization and the urbanization of African countries, bringing also the penetration of psycho-active substances into the field of drug abuse. Although cannabis is the most common present day drug (as can be illustrated by the fact that in 1984 one third of all amounts of cannabis plants seized in the world have been seized in Africa, mostly in Nigeria), more recently, a larger presence of cocaine and heroin has been noticed, especially in Nigeria, Kenya, Liberia, and Mauritius. While the misuse of sedative, hypnotic, and other psychotropic substances is not yet a phenomenon of large magnitude in Africa, during the past five years there is growing concern at the traffic into Africa of psychotropic substances, mainly originating outside the region. In terms of perceived seriousness of the problem, as it concerns different types of illicit behavior, the range is significantly broad. Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Japan, Kenya, and Nigeria consider illicit cultivation or production as their most serious problem, followed by illicit trafficking in Saudi Arabia, India, Kenya, and Nigeria. (Cotic, 1988)

West Africa has become a hub for cocaine trafficking from South America to Europe, to a report issued by UNODC. In cocaine trafficking in West Africa: the threat to stability and development, it is reported that some 33 tons of cocaine, a drug not produced in Africa has been seized since 2005. UNODC estimated that in 2007 alone around 40 tons of cocaine consumed in Europe now transits through the region.

After North America, Africa leads the world in seizures of cannabis herb, responsible for 26 percent of seizures and an estimated 28 per cent of global productions. Most is consumed by Africa's population, but a substantial amount is

exported, primarily from Western and Southern Africa. The important role of West Africa in global cannabis trafficking is remarkable because, unlike the rest of the continent, cannabis appears to have been introduced to West Africa only recently and does not play a role in traditional herbal medicine or rituals in the area.

While West African organized criminal groups are a significant factor in the drug trade worldwide, the only drug produced in any quantity is cannabis. Nigeria, by far the largest country in the region, is also one of the global leaders in cannabis seizures, ranking fifth in the world in 2003. Cannabis is known to be trafficked from Nigeria to the rest of West Africa for example, in both Benin and Cameroon about half the local supply is said to be brought in by Nigerians, presumably from domestic production. Cannabis is also known to be sent from Nigeria to Europe, often by sea, compacted and hidden among other products. The authorities in Poland have identified Nigeria as the origin of a significant amount of cannabis resin trafficked through Poland to the Netherlands and Germany. This is possibly a reference to trafficking by Nigerians of cannabis resin from Afghanistan, Morocco, or even Senegal. As reported in the response to the UNODC annual reports questionnaire in 2003, the authorities note the recruiting of Polish nationals by Nigeria Organized criminal groups. According to responses to the UNODC annual reports questionnaire in 2004, Nigerians nationals have been arrested for cannabis trafficking in countries all over the world.

Nigeria is a major trafficking hub and the base for criminal organizations responsible for a significant amount of heroin used in the United States. It has become a major transshipment centre for golden crescent, heroin, and cocaine, primarily from Brazil (Abadinsky, 2000). From the many forms of organized crime that are ranged, Nigerians are organized along familial and tribal lines, high level traffickers seldom deal with outsiders (NNIC, 1998). Nigerian couriers based in Lagos travel to Pakistan to obtain heroin or to Brazil to obtain cocaine, then continue on commercial flights to their final destinations; or they return to Nigeria to repackage the drugs into smaller amounts for smuggling throughout the world.

Nigerian involvement international in international drug trafficking is remarkable – the country is not continuous to major drug producer or consumer

states (Williams, 1995). In the capital of Lagos, multimillionaire drug barons rule vast organizations, at the bottom of which are the drug couriers, who take most of the actual risks (Treasters, 1992).

Not only are the Nigerians criminals notorious in other countries, but they are also very active in the field of criminality in Indonesia. There are a few news articles that shares this phenomenon given here as an example. The first is in a news article made by Media Indonesia¹ on February of this year that has shared on how BNN came to distinguish and arrest a criminal network of drug traffickers that included two Nigerians as the head of the criminal operation. A second news article shares an almost similar context, but with a different coverage. The second article from Jurnas² also shares how BNN has successfully arrested and revealed yet another Nigerian criminal network on drugs working here in Indonesia. Both article suggest and shows that the Nigerian criminal network stated, both have a common pattern on trafficking the same drug which is *shabu*. A third article from Tempo³ confirms on how Nigerian criminal networks on drugs are definitely hiding and working in plain sight here in Indonesia. This article shows how the police department has revealed and captured the network that's operating yet again with the trafficking of *shabu*.

Other than Nigerian criminal networks that operate in the drug business, many other foreign and local criminal networks are also operating, recruiting, and building a vast a criminal network. Because the trafficking of drugs are considered a business venture for them, not only are the Nigerian criminal network that grows, but also other non Nigerian criminal network who are also equally notorious. In this research we will also look upon and examine those other non Nigerian criminal network in the assumption that an examination will show the description needed to prove how unique a Nigerian criminal network of drug

¹ Media Indonesia news article retrieved from <http://www.mediaindonesia.com/read/2011/02/02/202039/76/20/-BNN-Ringkus-Pengedar-Jaringan-Nigeria>

² Jurnas news article retrieved from http://www.jurnas.com/news/24218/Jaringan_Nigeria_Bergeliat_Lagi/1/Nasional/Hukum

³ Tempo news article retrieved from <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/kriminal/2010/08/05/brk.20100805-269023.id.html>

trafficking in Indonesia really is. With that, non Nigerian criminal network that will be examined are strictly other networks that are not defined as Nigerians that are most documented in study and research documents, and also in various literature. Due to research obstacles, not all non Nigerian criminal networks will be examined and used in this research.

With the background to what the researched will be on, we now have the perspective or look on how the situation of drug trafficking and criminal networks is in the scope of Indonesia and Nigerian criminal network are.

I.2. Issue

As it has been stated before in the preface, the impact of globalization and transnationalization in crime has made Indonesia a wide spaced archipelago and a borderless country to commit drug trafficking easily. Because of it is a growing phenomenon, uncertain measures are taken to stop or slow this illicit act. But with that, the vast growing trend of drug trafficking, smuggling, and use continues to rise. Criminal networking has become a new and easy way to execute this illegal act. Criminals have taken the advantage of globalization and making more profit by networking without any borders around the world. Many dimensions are used to identify, learn, and understand the scope of criminal network of drug trafficking done in Indonesia.

Drug trafficking is a transnational crime that is acted worldwide, but the scope of this research will only be focused on the act of drug trafficking done in Indonesia. There are many criminal organizations and networks that imports illicit drugs to Indonesia. With the situation like that, many foreign networks are illegally networking and working in trafficking drugs in Indonesia, which also rises local networks to also participate in the drug market that is made. Nigerian networks are famously known throughout the world as a home to the illegal activity of producing and trafficking illicit drugs. Not only are the Nigerians criminals notorious in other countries, but they are also very active in the field of criminality in Indonesia. Nigerian involvement international in international drug trafficking is remarkable – the country is not continuous to major drug producer or

consumer states. With that formulation, an assumption and view to what and how a Nigerian criminal network translate into a notorious well known criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia will be the main view of from the issue.

The issue on this research will be on the many dimensions used to identify a criminal network and specifically point out the uniqueness of a Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia. A comparative analysis on the various vectors used in this researched will show how a Nigerian criminal network work internationally and specifically in Indonesia and how it is compared to other criminal networks non Nigerian. The main issue is to look at and identify how a criminal network, especially Nigerian criminal networks, on trafficking drugs operates through the dimension and vectors used to describe and define it.

I.3. Research Question

A research question will be formulated in order to pursue this research and seek the explanation on the issue stated. The research question will be:

What makes the Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking more special and different than other criminal networks and how does this form of network operate in Indonesia?

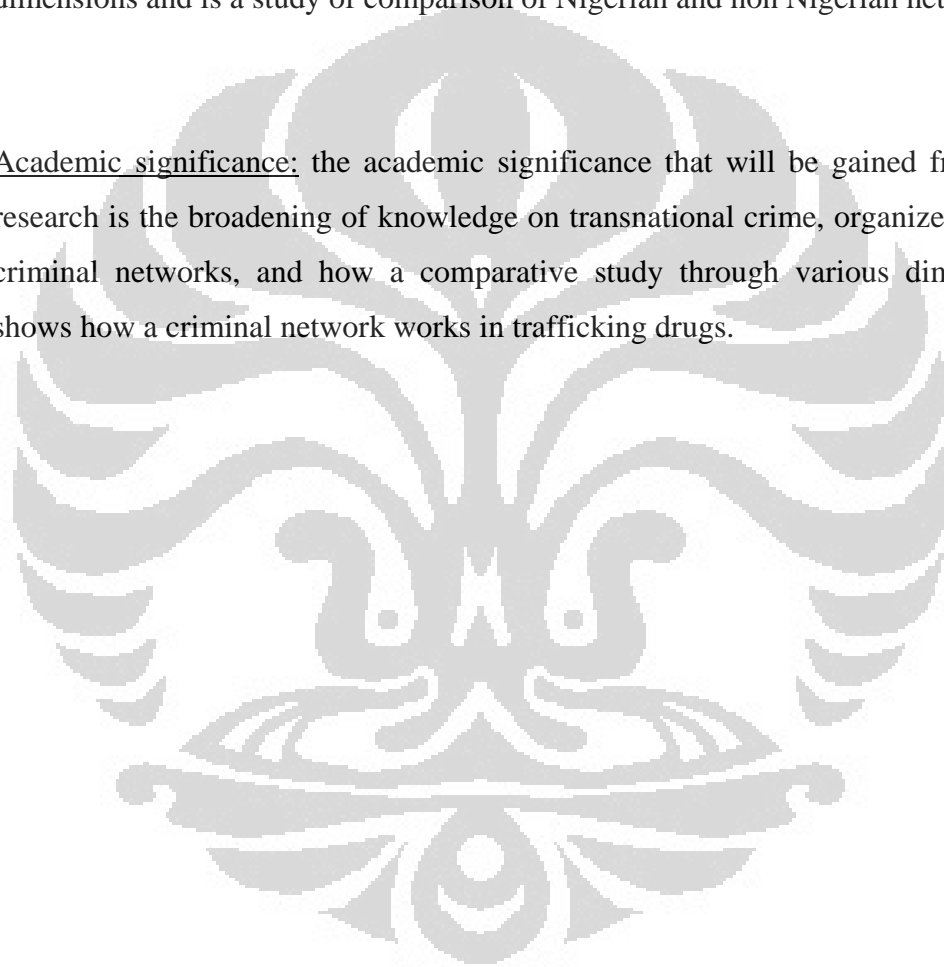
I.4. Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to look at how a criminal network, especially a Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia, operates in the act of drug trafficking seen through the various dimensions constructed. This will be able to define the scope of a criminal network itself and sought out to show the distinctive features owned by the notorious Nigerian criminal networks of drug trafficking in Indonesia. This final paper is also made in order to gain an undergraduate degree in the fields of Criminology and also a requirement to graduate from the University of Indonesia.

I. 5. Significance

Practical significance: the practical significance that will be gained from this research will be on the tools needed to uncover on how criminal networking plays an important role in the act of drug trafficking which is seen through various dimensions and is a study of comparison of Nigerian and non Nigerian networks.

Academic significance: the academic significance that will be gained from this research is the broadening of knowledge on transnational crime, organized crime, criminal networks, and how a comparative study through various dimensions shows how a criminal network works in trafficking drugs.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE STUDIES

II.1. Theoretical Framework

The framework that is constructed and used in this research will firstly see the wide scope of the research and continuing to a more focus study on the research. The idea of the framework is to ease the process and knowledge needed to understand and pursue this research. An explanation and study on crime, continuing to focus on criminal network and criminal network in drug trafficking, and finally having the explanation on study on the main focus that is Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking. A framework with the basis of a general study that continues to explore the concept of the research and ends with the main focus used of the research, will sought out to carry the main purpose of a literature study needed in the research.

1. Crime

Crime carries many definitions, typology, characteristics, and concepts. In this research, as it has been established in the preface, the crime that will distinguished and elaborate will be on how the act of drug trafficking works. Drug trafficking as a crime covers the concept of crime itself, transnational crime, and a criminal group or organization as the players committing crime.

David Brown stated that organized crime are crimes that are organized and committed by determined individuals working alone, or with particular criminal associates, where an investment is made in research and planning or where victims are 'prepared' by grooming; organized crime

where there is the notion of networks or infrastructure; connectivity between individuals in illicit markets or supply chains; an investment in control through corruption, violence or infiltration; substantial profits and elements of continuity.

A major step forward was taken in 2000 when the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Article 2) defined organized crime broadly “as 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 offenses in accordance with this Convention in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or material benefit” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2000). International representatives at the 2000 meeting, however, could not arrive at a consensus on a definition or a list of criminal acts, but decided to adopt a broad definition of organized criminal groups and not limit its attention to hierarchically structured “mafia-type organizations.” Reflecting the changing nature of global organized crime activity, officials began to focus more attention on loosely organized criminal groups who committed serious crimes that were transnational in nature (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Sept. 2002).

The term organized crime is more often used to describe the activities of criminal syndicates such as the notorious mafia or the Chinese triads. Their activities include supplying prohibited goods and services such as drugs or gambling along with a variety of protection rackets, intimidation, and extortion. Their position is maintained by neutralizing law enforcement through corruption. A key characteristic to organized crime is that it deals with the ‘provision’ provision of goods and services which are officially defined as illegal thus filling in gaps left by legal agencies (Ruggiero, 1996). It can, therefore, be seen as an industry – distinguished from legitimate industry by the illegal nature of its activities. (Croal, 1998)

Given the definition of an organized crime, the act itself as a crime needs to be defined also. It has become commonplace to contend that in the twentieth century, transnational organized crime experienced a “phenomenal increase in scope, power and effectiveness” (Galeotti, 2001). With relating to

the players, organized crime has been able to expand its operational activities and geographical scope by embracing economic globalization very much in the same way the licit business sector has. The increasing speed and significant drop in costs of communication and transportation, combined with a drastic reduction of barriers to trade and financial flows, allows legitimate businesses – but also organized crime groups – to shift to production networks that are organized globally rather than nationally (Evans, 1997).

With the evolution of a borderless world and economic globalization, transnational crime has emerged as a new trend in the criminal world. Economic globalization has not only contributed to the transnationalization of the production and distribution networks of illicit products and services, but also to the interlinking of formerly separate black markets for recreational drugs, counterfeit credit cards, fake designer watches, stolen diamonds, and terrorism – leading to the emergence of what Friman and Andreas called the “illicit global economy” (1999). According to Naylor, this illicit economy is supported by its own systems of information, sources of supply, distribution networks, and even its own modes of financing (1995). In the late 1990s, the “gross criminal product” generated from these activities (Friman & Andreas, 1999) amounted to an estimated US\$1 trillion annually according to a former adviser to the British secret services (Green, 1997).

From the concept given on how transnational crime rose from globalization, we can see how this crime is a profitable source of business for criminals everywhere. Christine Jonarth in the book *War, And Global Trafficking: Designing International Cooperation* (2009) claims that the transnationalization of criminal activities is closely linked to the notion of trafficking, which refers to the international movement of goods and services that is deemed illicit for any of three different reasons. She explains this concept of trafficking. First, most obviously, trafficking covers goods that are by themselves illicit, such as narcotics. Second, flows of licit goods may still be illicit if such goods have been obtained or processed in illicit ways (e.g. conflict diamonds, money laundering). Finally, illicit flows also include the

movement of licit goods obtained in licit ways but intended for illicit purposes (e.g. terrorist financing, precursors for narcotics). Trafficking typically involves the states of origin for goods and services, one or more states serving as transshipment centers, and states where the illicit good or service is consumed.

As a crime itself, drugs and crime has never been easy to separate and are both closely linked. As an example narcotics are associated with problems that fall clearly within the crime category, such as crimes committed under the influence of drugs. Jojarth (2009) confirms this by stating that drugs and crime are intimately intertwined. Virtually all jurisdictions around the globe criminalize the consumption, production, and distribution of mind-altering substances like heroin, cocaine, marijuana, and methamphetamines.

Concerns on this linkage matter have been countered globally. Before the establishment of UNODC, a convention to face this matter was created due to the growing trend. The Vienna Convention is a manifestation of the growing concern about the rapid increase in drug abuse and about the wider crime and security implications of the drug business. Its preamble refers to “the links between illicit traffic and other related organized criminal activities which undermine the legitimate economies and threaten the stability, security, and sovereignty of States” as the main justification for this effort to renew and strengthen the international fight against drugs. The drafters of the Vienna Convention recognized that the overwhelming bulk of narcotic drugs was produced by organized criminal groups and did not stem from a diversion of narcotic drugs from legal sources to illicit channels – the main concern addressed by the 1961 and the 1971 Conventions (Bayer & Ghodse, 1999). The drug industry also seeks to avoid detection by choosing trafficking routes through countries with weak law enforcement capacities and by responding to heightened anti-drug police efforts with a re-routing of cargo.

As it is shown in the preface, not only are the categorized drugs able to differentiate illicit drugs, but also determined their way of being

trafficked. An example is how heroin and ecstasy applies a different theory, because when it comes for both drugs to be trafficked it is controlled by the led of demand. Other than that trafficking and traffickers differ according to the drugs being smuggled, the source of production and the local distribution (Dziedzic, 1989).

2. Criminal Network

The concept of a criminal network varies and differentiates widely based on its scope, forms, and contents. It may vary from simple co-offending decisions to seize an available and attractive criminal opportunity to sophisticated designs to monopolize a given market or geographical territory. These variations may be based on incentives offered by a one-time partnership to execute criminal ventures or framed within a bureaucratic-like infrastructure that demands and enforces exclusivity on the action and productivity of members. Morselli (2009) stated that within the range of criminal organizational systems, interactions between co participants can be based on family or friendship tie, background affinities, resource sharing, individual expertise, group loyalty, or governance by a dominant figure.

Just like living in society, a formation social network is cluttered everywhere in society and everyday lives. We live with social needs and proves that we, as human, is not able to live single handedly alone. Similar with the statement from Morselli, a social network may be based on interactions between family or friendship, background affinities, resource sharing, individual expertise, group loyalty, or governance by a dominant figure. So what makes a criminal network different?

Criminal networks are not simply social networks operating in criminal contexts. The covert settings that surround them call for specific interactions and relational features within and beyond the network (Morselli, 2009). Using that statement, Erickson (1981) made a study of risk and the need for security shapes the structure of some secret societies. Erickson then stated, when secrecy is a “necessary condition” and risk is fundamental factor, trust, personal vouching, and social tie strength all increase in importance. Baker and

Faulker added that placed risk and concealment are the most important features in criminal networks. They argued that the structures that such criminal networks maintained were driven primarily by concerns for concealing the illegal activity rather than for rendering it more efficient. Although secrecy is an important essence, they also pointed out on how a criminal network structure often protects some participants when their illegal activities are no longer secret and participants become the target investigation by external forces (Baker & Faulker, 1993).

Even though there are overlapping judgments between a social network and a criminal network. But it was formulated by studies that all social networks face some level of controls, but a criminal network faces more intensive and systematic control from external and internal forces. From the outside, a criminal network is structured and adjusts to formal and informal social control agents, like the police, public services, and the community. From the inside, a criminal network is structured and adjusts to checks between participants that confront each other in conflicts that cannot be resolved by legitimate social control agents.

Another set of researchers have attempted to merge hierarchy and decentralization by introducing a transitional phenomenon—criminal settings that were traditionally hierarchical became more decentralized once loyalty and formal order were displaced by individual expertise and entrepreneurial spirit (Arlacchi, 1983). A dozen on ways have researchers tried to explain the phenomenon of criminal networks or groups. Waring (1993) and McAndrew (1999) points out why the network is a suitable alternative to traditional terms used to denote criminal collectives, particularly the group. First, in co-offending settings, many offenders may be part of the same criminal operation, but they never actually meet. The network frame grasps this scenario; the group does not. Second, the network framework provides what is probably the most suitable working tool for assembling the resource pooling that is typical; of entrepreneurial crimes that require a greater level of skill, sophistication, and complex collaboration. Third, networks represent collectives that are more adaptable than groups. The network's adaptive features are in its flexibility,

which is conducive to the hostile and uncertain environment generally associated to crime (Morselli, 2009).

A network concept may be applied in different ways. Von Lampe gave two interpretations. One interpretation places the network configuration in the middle of an organizational continuum, with the isolated individual at the far left and the formal criminal organization at the far right. From this perspective, the network is a form of organization that is independent of other organizational forms (Best & Luckenbill, 1982). The second interpretation would have the network transcending all forms of organizations. Within this representation, formal organizational systems may emerge from the network (Morselli, 2009). Furthermore, Ebel, Davidsen, and Bornholdt (2003) argued that criminal networks are complex settings that do not merge from predetermined designs but within self organized processes that emerge from the interactions of participants. Later, Kleemans (2007) also presented a similar “social snowball effect” in which people come into contact with participants in an ongoing criminal operation. These new arrivals become participants themselves and, in later ventures, serve as entry vectors for subsequent people who are attracted to those criminal operations.

The complex structure and interpretations of the network concept is generally the idea, that if combined, creates a context of flexible order. Morselli (2009) stated that the idea of flexible order begins with the assumption that there is common ground to be found in the interaction between individual and collective interests. A second claim emphasizes the bottom-up organizational force of individual interactions and that a central governing authority is not a necessary condition for reaching social order. To sum up the idea, the network is a self organizing structure that is essentially driven by the emergent behavior of its part. These parts may include a variety of actors, subgroups, clusters, and even hierarchies that are absorbed in the overriding network structure. So what Morselli (2009) is trying to tell is that not so much the individual offenders lack the skills or competency to plan and structure their actions; instead, it is more that the organizational systems which in which may find themselves when executing their crimes and collaborating with other

offenders do not require such extensive planning and long term organization. The participation that is required is a capacity to react quickly and networks are the organizational systems in which such reactions are most suitably played out.

In short, UNODC has given a definition to the term criminal networks, which is activities of key individuals; prominence in the network is determined by contacts and/or skills; personal loyalties and ties are more important than social and/or ethnic identities; network connections survive coalescing around a series of criminal projects; low profile; seldom known by any name; and the network reforms after the exit of key individuals.

Criminal networks are defined by the activities of key individuals who engage in illicit activity in often shifting alliances. Such individuals often do not regard themselves as being members of a group. Networks are formed around a key series of individuals through which most connection network run. It is likely that networks are more common than represented in the sample. They are considered to be a growing phenomenon. Even when key individuals are arrested, the networks tends to reform it selves quickly around new individuals and activities. Carribean and West African criminal groups involved in cocaine and heroin trafficking often fit the profile of such criminal networks, which from the outside may appear unstructured and not highly sophisticated, though in fact their operations are highly effective and enduring as such networks.

3. Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking

Before defining the concept of crime network in drugs, we must firstly link it with the crime that is being perpetrated, which is of course drug trafficking. Phillip Bean (2008) stated that trafficking is defined widely. It includes the distribution of illicit drugs by large-scale operations, which can and often do cross national boundaries, as well as the small-scale syndicates which distribute drugs at a local level. Each distribution system has its own

methods and practices that pose distinct problems requiring different strategies.

The geographical areas of production are worth listing, for they show where trafficking occurs and the different types of organizations used to distribute a variety of drugs. Given the size of the drug market it would not be an exaggeration to say the drug trade is the largest and most successful form of criminal activity ever developed and European research confirms this (Ruggiero & South 1995).

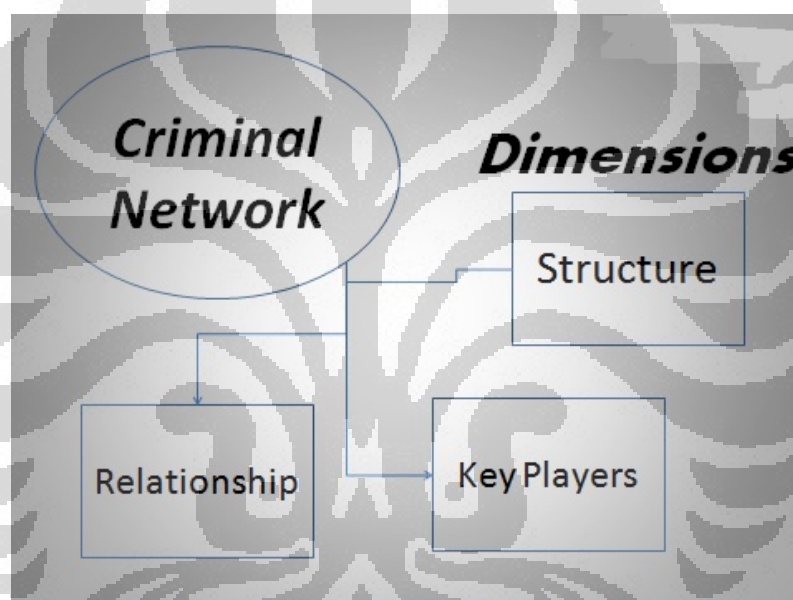
As an example to this complex concept, Colombian trafficking operates largely in cartels which are best characterized as a federation of multiple independent groups that, when necessary, forge multiple alliances. They are not centrally organized, although some cartel members are more powerful than others and offer leadership when required. The cartels function much like legitimate businesses, with sections concerned with distribution, sales, financing, product promotion, security, and so on. They tend to compartmentalize their organizations into production, transportation, distribution and money laundering (Bean, 2008).

Another different example is how South East Asian heroin traffickers seem to be slightly less sophisticated in their business methods, preferring to remain more individualist, but no less reluctant to resort to extreme levels of personal violence when required (Lo & Bean, 1991).

Norman M. Garland in the book *Criminal Law: For the Criminal Justice Professional* (2003) stated that the structure and size of a crime organization allows a family to carry out crimes that require many people to play many different roles. He gave example that in a drug operation, some members may be responsible for actually bringing the drugs into the country and others are responsible for the distribution of sales. Organizations may work with other people who are already involved with the sale of narcotics as a way to gain control of the market and distribute drugs throughout the country. Suppliers and dealers of drugs may not be members of the family, but may work for the family and help carry out goals.

With the explanations above, many conclusions has led to define or create a look for a crime network in drugs. These conclusions consist of how the network is formed. Groups that operate in the large-scale heroin market tend to be close-knit, cohesive, and ethnically homogeneous. The characteristics of the *network structure* as a whole, the characteristics of the *position* that a person occupies in the network structure, and *relationships between* networks is how to define and see the crime network that operates in the drug business.

Figure 1: Configuration of criminal network dimensions



(Source: designed by the researcher)

4. Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking by Nigerian

Nigerian gangs have been reported in 80 different countries (Liddick, 2004), including Indonesia. Congressional Hearings on Intelligence and Security reported they launder money in Asia, purchase cocaine in South America, and direct prostitution and gambling rings in Spain and Italy. As the so-called African Connection, Nigeria emerged as a leading transshipment point for Southeast heroin going to the United States and Europe in the 1990s. In the late 1990s, the New Jersey State Commission of Investigation announced Nigerian complicity in the international heroin trade.

In the opening years of the 21st century, the DEA regarded Nigeria as Africa's most important transshipment point (Naim 2005). Demonstrating the global magnitude of Nigeria's involvement, the country's heroin processing labs were handling opium brought in from Afghanistan and Myanmar (which also transited through Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Thailand, or China).

With the growing number of Nigerian criminal acts in drug trafficking, people has now grown a custom to the phenomenon that Nigerians are commonly associated with acts of trafficking drugs. This phenomenon links itself to the situation mainly found in Indonesia. Where many Nigerians have long stayed and grown in Indonesia and has therefore been seen as and also tagged as criminals. Due to this common situation in Indonesia, the labeling theory comes to play a part.

Marsh made a statement based on the basis of the labeling theory by Becker, that the focus of labeling theory lays on the relationship, or interaction, between the criminal and those groups or individuals who define him or her as such. Essentially, the argument is that the criminal or deviant is an individual who has been labelled by society (Marsh, 2006). From Becker's thought and theory of labeling, Marsh (2006) was able to conclude this labelling is a process by which individuals and/or groups classify and categorize certain types of behaviour and certain individuals.

Continuing on the review of Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking and linking it to the current situation in Indonesia, by using Becker's theory and Marsh's overview of the theory, it is a common perception that most black coloured foreign citizen in Indonesia are labeled as Nigerians which are also labeled as criminals. So in terms of this research, the Nigerian network type holds a misinterpretation, that the form of this network consists of only Nigerians originating from the country Nigeria itself. Perceptions shows otherwise by Indonesian commonly labeling any black coloured foreigners as Nigerians, when in fact they may not actually be Nigerians. Later on in the research, the analysis of this misinterpretation and common perception will be discussed and linked with data findings.

II.2. Literature Review

One of the scientific journals used in this research is titled *Criminal groups and transnational illegal markets: A more detailed examination on the basis of Social Network Theory*. This research was done by Gerben Bruinsma and Wim Bernasco, in which the research is based on the knowledge that criminal groups nowadays are more likely to be recognized as criminal networks. Although the assumption has emerged to society, little use has been made of concepts and theories of social network. With that background, the research tries to explain the difference between social organization and criminal groups using the concept of social network. Using the concept of social network and comparing the difference between the two common social terms, they try to define the term criminal network. Bruinsma and Bernasco gives an example to what a criminal group is like, groups that operate in the large-scale heroin market tend to be close-knit, cohesive and ethnically homogenous. They say that the difference between the example given and social organization lies in the legal and financial risks associated with the crimes in question, and thereby to the required level of trust between collaborating criminals.

Weerman (2001) stated that nowadays there is a great emphasis on how crime is not only acted alone but also many crimes are planned and acted by several offenders working together. Criminology alone has come to know the terms of organized crime, gangs, corporate crime, and group crime. The research found that the common term of organized crime shows that the traditional image of organised crime is an activity that is dominated by centrally controlled organisations, with a clear hierarchy and strict division of tasks which is apparently out-dated. Organised crime appears to be better portrayed as a collection of offenders and criminal groups that enter into collaboration with each other in varying combinations (Reuter, 1986; Fijnaut et al., 1998; Kleemans et al., 1998; Klerks, 2000). With that basis, Bruinsma and Bernasco stated that the concept “criminal network” has become popular as a designation for the structure of the groups of people who are involved in organised crime.

Bruinsma and Bernasco continues the research with the findings to what the characteristics of social networks are. They stated that social networks consists of two elements, which are actors relation between actors. Findings on the research shows that there are nineteen different characteristics of social relationships that are distinguished. Examples of these are the frequency of contacts, the age (duration) of the relationship, the degree to which the relationship is affective or instrumental, or whether the relationship is hierarchical and the degree to which the relationship is homogenous (i.e. between similar persons as far as personal or background characteristics are concerned). Due to the complex characteristics of the research findings, they concluded that people and their mutual relationships form the building blocks of which social networks are constructed. Examining the complexity given, there are three aspects of social network that are used in analyzing. The three aspects that are mentioned in the research includes the characteristics of the network structure as a whole, the characteristics of the position that a person occupies in the network structure, and relationships between networks.

Structural characteristics can be attributed as networks as a whole. These include the *size* (the number of persons who participate in it), the *density* (proportion of existing social relationships compared to all possible relationships in a network) and the *cohesion* of a network (Bruinsman and Bernasco, 2004). With the findings of the characteristic of relationship, it is assumed that social networks with many mutual affective relationships are more permanent and durable than if they were only to consist of instrumental relationships. Thus we see within many ethnically based criminal groups that there are affective and other forms of emotional relationships with family members. These networks have a stronger group cohesion as a result.

Social networks also have a form. They can have the form of a *chain*, or be *hierarchical* or *central*. When social networks have a chain-like form, there are few social relationships between the persons and the links between people in the network are often not direct, but often occur via someone else in the network. Hierarchical networks occur, for example, in the business world or in government.

If within a larger social network a particular *clique* holds a central position then this is a *central* network.

Bruinsma and Bernasco uses three different illegal markets to help explain their emphasis on the concept of social network and criminal network. These three illegal market includes heroine trade, trafficking in women, and trade in stolen cars. Due to the issue of this research, we will only use the example of heroine trade as the illegal market.

The findings of the research made by Bruinsma and Bernasco are shown and explained. In the heroine trade large geographic distances have to be crossed. In doing this there are criminal networks active that, from a social network perspective, can be typified as follows. The constituents of networks are, on the whole, social relationships in which there are very frequent contacts. This serves to scrutinize the trade for irregularities given that there are large sums of money involved, but also to keep an eye on where the other person is. The social relationships are mostly homogenous in nature: those involved have comparable characteristics when it comes to age, social class, country and region from which they come. These homogenous relationships are strengthened by the affective bonds that they have with each other, often based on mutual family relationships and a common region or village of origin. Most of the mutual social relationships of the members of a criminal network are thus multiplex, layered. They relate to several life areas. These social relationships are reflected in the characteristics of the criminal network in the drugs trade. The size of such a network is generally large (there are many places in the world where contacts are needed and people have to know each other closely to minimize the risks), the network has a high density (most conceivable social relationships are filled: there are many direct relationships because everybody knows everybody else through the existing family relationships), and the network has strong cohesion.

With such research findings, criminology has taken and used the term criminal networks as a designation for the structure of groups of persons who are engaged in organized crime. By the explanation given on how a social network is transformed, criminal networks can be specified in more detail when theories, concepts, and methodologies of social network theory are applied. The research

findings shows that criminal networks are mostly based on collaboration between members of cohesive (and often homogeneously ethnic) social networks.

Conclusion to the research is formulated with three hypothesis on how the concept social network is linked to the concept of criminal network. A first hypothesis is that networks that are characterised by high density and a large proportion of affective relationships (in short: cohesive networks) are pre-eminently suited to criminal collaborations where a great deal of mutual trust is needed. Trust is principally important in activities that are linked to major criminal and financial risks. The second hypothesis is that collaborative relationships between persons, who jointly participate in cohesive networks, are more durable and stable than collaborative relationships between persons who participate in less cohesive networks. We expect therefore that the collaboration between offenders in cohesive networks will be of a longer duration, because their mutual relationships are not merely instrumental, whilst persons who participate in networks that are looser often restrict their collaboration to just one or a few criminal projects. A third hypothesis is that criminal groups with a few mutually segregated clusters in less risky criminal activities collaborate more than criminal groups in which the clusters are more directly connected to each other.

The hypotheses that are formed can assume that the concept of social network does apply and the structure given is suitable for indicating collaborative relationships between network members. From this perspective the social network thus forms an infrastructure, which is not a priori criminal, for criminal collaboration. In conclusion, Bruinsma and Berbasco stated that this perspective of social networks do not exist in advance, but rather that they arise as consequence of regular criminal collaboration. But the research still holds an uncertainty with the question that is stated in the research, do certain illegal markets generate a particular composition and specific characteristics of criminal networks or do offenders adjust their criminal networks to the illegal markets in which they operate? As a final conclusion, they wish to state that the use of the concept “criminal networks” in criminology is in general not precise enough. Networks as such are not criminal. Networks consist of persons and relationships between persons. These persons have characteristics. To view criminals owning a

network, then we must thoroughly analyze it with the concept of social networks.

Continuing on the literature review, a scientific journal called *A Back Door to Globalisation? Structural Adjustment, Globalisation & Transborder Trade in West Africa* by Kate Meagher shows a statement that shows why Nigeria is known for its drug trafficking.

“In West Africa, however, transborder trade has proven itself to be more than an epiphenomenon of distorted markets. Under the influence of structural adjustment and globalisation, these transborder trading structures have not disappeared, but have themselves been restructured and globalised. In fact, despite the contraction of some dimensions of the parallel economy, the overall effect of structural adjustment and globalisation in West Africa has been a significant expansion of transborder trade.” (

Meagher explains that in West Africa, which includes Nigeria, inhabits markets that are well known to be distorted. These markets has then continue to evolve due to the success of globalization and transborder trading structures, in which links to the act of drug trafficking as a transnational crime.

The Great Escape? Globalization, Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Criminal Economy by H. Richard Friman explores on how globalization has impacted the criminal economy and ethnic division of labour in an organized crime. This research is significant to the writer’s research on how an organized crime is based on a criminal network that centrals on the focus of ethnicity and familial bond. The background on the research shows that scholars have posited that ethnic division of labour influences the opportunity structures faced by immigrants in the formal and informal economies of host countries. The production and distribution of illegal goods shows a similar pattern in the criminal economy. It shows the extent to which economic globalization has altered the ethnic division of labour in the core sector of the criminal economy - the illicit drug trade.

Immigrant participation should shift away from a narrow concentration in relatively high-risk and limited value-added activities - such as serving as a drug courier and engaging in street-level retailing - and toward more central portions in host country drug markets, especially as entrepreneurs. Popular perceptions tend to link immigrants to a central role in national drug markets. For Ruggiero (1995:

140-2), though immigrants may have access to drug supplies from their home countries, they tend to lack information about the nature of drug distribution networks in host countries as well as the local roots and financial resources to establish competing networks.

The assumption given on this research has given an effect, the absence of such resources poses prohibitive transaction costs and leads immigrants active in the criminal economy to seek linkages with indigenous crime groups. Focusing on the 'drug economy,' however, Ruggiero (1995: 133) questions the entire continuum of centralized and decentralized criminal organizations on the grounds that it tends to focus on professional criminals - those who are 'extremely skilled, have under-taken an exclusive career, and are often related by familial or ethnic bonds'. Ruggiero posits instead that crime groups often are comprised of loosely tied members who are not all professionals and 'not involved in permanent structures nor engaged in long-term partnerships. These criminals tend to engage in one-off operations, make temporary alliances with legal or illegal entrepreneurs, and often recruit part-timers'.

Pino Arlarchi (1986) argues that these risks make trust and secrecy 'far more necessary among criminals than among businessmen'. One path to secrecy and trust lies in limiting the amount of information available to members of the criminal group and especially to outsiders. Through formal organizational structures incorporating specialized divisions of labour, the core members of a criminal group can isolate other members and outsiders from knowledge of broader operations. A second path lies in reliance on social networks centered on 'common membership of the same culture, the same ethnic or regional community, or indeed the same family'. Such informal ties do not preclude cooperation with outsiders but tend to favour more selective than permanent interaction (e.g. Arlachi, 1986; Ruggiero, 1995).

Ruggiero (1995: 131-4) also argues that the sheer scope of the international drug trade has undermined the ability of crime groups to offset risk through centralized organizational structures or through informal social networks. The growing scholarship and popular discourse on transnational crime suggest that technological change has altered criminal economies by empowering ethnic

organized crime groups.⁵ Scholars point to techno-logical advances in transportation and communication that have enabled crime groups to hide their activities in the broader flows of goods and services, capital, and people into advanced industrial countries (e.g. Stares, 1996; Williams, 1998; Mittelman and Johnson, 1999).

Scholars on transnational crime has tended to view immigrants less as workers or potential entrepreneurs and more as a context within which transnational crime occurs. Thus, immigrants comprise the diverse populations that move, or are smuggled, across borders and are one aspect of the diverse populations that reside in the global cities of advanced industrial countries. The importance of these populations in the transnational crime literature lies in the ability of members of criminal groups to 'blend into' them when necessary to evade law enforcement authorities (e.g. Williams, 1998: 251-2; Mittelman and Johnson, 1999: 112).

Globalization has influenced immigrant and other migrant participation in the drug distribution networks of advanced industrial countries, by opening new sources of supply, expanding potential niche markets and pipelines within home countries, as well as by facilitating linkages between migrants and organized groups based in their home countries.

However, the nature of the migrant participation in the lucrative distribution networks for drugs within advanced industrial countries is not easily captured by marginalization arguments that posit a native/migrant ethnic division of labour. The cases discussed in this article provide evidence that immigrants and other migrants have not been embedded at the margins of criminal economies but have vied with each other as well as with natives for control over the central aspects of distribution networks. Insights into the shifts in control that have occurred lie in exploring the impact of selective law enforcement as well as dynamics of globalization.

On the next discussion, Nigerians are not only known for their act associated with drugs but also they're famous skills of scams. In the journal *The Nigerian* "419" Advance Fee Scams: Prank or Peril? by Harvey Glickman, the research inquires into the nature of the 419 scams, investigating why they persist

in the face of what appears to be universal disdain. It attempts to discern their processes, their reach, and their significance for Africans and relations with Africa. (As illegal activity, perhaps similar to Mafia enterprises, it is difficult to say we are ever able to uncover all the facts.). Legitimate Nigerian business people, already affected by drug traffic through the country, encounter difficulty in transacting their affairs.

A quote gives the statement related on how the Nigerian criminal network exist today.

“Reporters and police informants believe that a Nigerian crime syndicate exists today, which coordinates drug smuggling, arms traffic, money laundering, bank fraud, and 419 scams.”

Glickman stated in his research on the Nigerian 419 scams that Nigerian syndicates existing now manages in the business of transnational crime, which includes drug smuggling.

Transnational Crime and Global Criminology: Definitional, Typological, and Contextual Conundrums by David O. Friedrichs (2007) states,

“The framing of world order is a more tenuous and contested reality, particularly influenced by the behavior of various kinds of transnational networks, ranging from criminal to religious, by global corporations, banks, hedge funds, financial traders, by regional actors, by the leaders of the first "global state"...and by a constellation of civil society actors pursuing an assortment of global policy agendas.”

The statement given shows how the world order is particularly influenced by the behavior of various kinds of transnational networks that includes the network of criminals.

While the journal Drug Wars and Wonder Drug by David Herzberg (2005) gives this statement,

“Others identify international drug trafficking - legal and illegal - as a financial pillar of modern global capitalism, and the "war against drugs" as a periodically successful rallying cry for U.S. military interventions abroad.”

The statement shows how the war against drugs, that includes the act of combating drug trafficking, is part of the financial pillar of modern capitalism. This means that drug trafficking has become of a somewhat business

internationally that holds and promise a lot of profit to criminals and crime entrepreneurs.

Oded Löwenheim (2002) on a research gives an idea related to this research on how it seems that transnational organized crime is relatively decentralized and based on loose networks. In addition, TCOs, despite their transborder dimension, still retain strong ethnic, national, and/or religious inclinations; most are domestic crime groups that have extended their operations into the international market. TCOs also retain a parochial character in that a considerable portion of their revenues is eventually repatriated to their source countries, where the bosses of the organization usually live and where a great deal of the criminal activity takes place (production and processing of drugs, theft of arms to be smuggled, and enticement of women to be trafficked as sex workers, and so on).

While Stephen Ellis (2009) configures and shows how West Africa stands as an international drug trade hub, that of course includes Nigeria. In Nigeria, later to emerge as the hub of West Africa's illicit drugs trade, the colonial authorities in 1934 were experimenting with the cultivation of the coca plant in the botanical gardens in Calabar and at various other stations in the south of the country.¹⁴ By the mid-1950s, there were occasional arrests of farmers in south-west Nigeria for growing cannabis, and small quantities of locally grown marijuana were being shipped from the region to Europe and the USA. At the same time, Nigerian marijuana smokers were also buying small amounts imported from South Africa and the Belgian Congo.

West Africa's most prominent traffickers, the Nigerians, developed footholds in many other countries where imported narcotics could be stored and repacked for onward travel. Nigerian traders especially were truly global. They took over heroin retailing in Moscow.

A senior US anti-drugs official, Robert S. Gelbard, described Nigerian drug networks as 'some of the most sophisticated and finely-tuned transshipment, money-moving and document-forging organizations in the world'. He pointed out that 'they are sought out by both Asian and Latin American drug producers' on account of their commercial skills.⁸¹ The Nigerian drug trade is characterized by

a distinctive business structure that has developed over decades, and which gives depth to the emerging cooperation with traders from other countries and continents.

Crucial to the success of Nigerian drug traders is their highly flexible mode of operation, as those involved constantly form and re-form their business relationships from among a wide pool of acquaintances. This modus operandi closely resembles a so-called 'adhocracy', able 'to fuse experts drawn from different disciplines into smoothly functioning ad hoc project teams' in a way that, according to some management gurus, is particularly suited to the modern business environment. It stands in contrast to the more corporate-style relations of classic American 'mafias' that have exerted such.

Various attempts have been made to profile Nigerian drug traffickers. There is a general consensus among those who have attempted this that the Nigerian narcotics trade is dominated by Igbo people. The employment by Nigerian drug traders of large numbers of couriers carrying small parcels of cocaine or heroin endows them both with a high degree of 'vertical' integration of their marketing channel from purchase to sale, and with the means to penetrate any customs service in the world.

On *The Changing Structure of Organized Crime Groups* by Jharna Chatterjee, Ph.D. (2005), research in this journal shows how the history of criminal organizations emerged and has since changed. Much more than in the past, criminal organizations are networking and cooperating with one another, enabling them to merge expertise and to broaden the scope of their activities. Rather than treat each other as rivals, many criminal organizations are sharing information, services, resources, and market access according to the principle of comparative advantage. By doing so, they can reduce their risks and costs and are better able to exploit illicit criminal opportunities. Although most cooperation between criminal organizations so far has been largely tactical--such as collaborating in smuggling ventures, arranging illicit financial transactions, or laundering money--the potential for broader alliances to undertake more complex criminal schemes in an increasingly global economy is significant.

An example given in the research, shows Colombian drug traffickers link up with Nigerian crime groups who provide couriers for European deliveries. Shipments are routed through Eastern Europe or the former USSR, minimizing the risks of detection. Proceeds of this crime may be laundered through four different countries before reaching their final destination in an offshore haven in the Caribbean. Law enforcement will be fortunate if they can dismantle any of this chain of illicit conduct.

The rise of networks means that power is migrating to nonstate actors, because they are able to organize into sprawling multiorganizational networks (especially "all-channel" networks, in which every node is connected to every other node) more readily than can traditional, hierarchical, state actors. This implies that conflicts will be increasingly waged by "networks," perhaps more than by "hierarchies." It also means that whoever masters the network form stands to gain the advantage.

One of the main scientific journals used in this research comes from Antonio L. Mazzitelli (2006). The theme on this research is to look at how West Africa has emerged and built up a particular criminal network model. The research found numerous factors that help explain the increased importance of West Africa in the world map of transnational organised crime and criminal organisations. Mazzitelli stated that the effects of political, economic and social shortcomings are amplified by the concurrence of external factors such as rapid demographic growth, unchecked urbanisation, inefficient administrations and dynamic regional and worldwide diasporas. In this context, well-established foreign transnational criminal networks seeking safe operational bases for their illicit businesses (narcotics, human beings, pirated goods, illegal migration and natural resources) cooperate and cohabit with newly-born and successful West African indigenous criminal networks.

West Africa, that includes the country of Nigeria, faces many harsh conditions in which includes harsh economic and social conditions, widespread corruption, conflict and post conflict scenarios, porous borders, failing national administrations and a growing culture of impunity. These conditions feed the development of criminal practices in the region and heighten the profile of the

West African regions in international criminal ventures. West Africa also includes varying ethnic conditions, cultural backgrounds and the endowment of natural resources, which contributes to some of the world's lowest standards of living.

Research findings by Mizzatelli shows that West African seashores and ports have become the hub of transatlantic cocaine trafficking. In addition to large cocaine shipments transported by sea, stocked in West Africa and rerouted to final destinations in western countries, hard drugs are smuggled by international criminal networks using 'disposable' human carriers with false passports and forged visas. A picture given in the research shows the area of Africa and its ongoing narcotics trade. In the picture you can clearly see, Nigeria holds the trade of psychotropic substances, cannabis, and heroine. With the picture given, the research also found data on how hard drugs are not only trafficked out of the region but increasingly consumed in deadly homemade cocktails and also cannabis cultivation is widespread for local, regional and to a lesser extent Northern European markets.

The situation of West Africa that is described by Mazzitelli shows how Nigeria were able to gain the ability to join the transnational criminal world. Mazzitelli stated and explained that unemployment, scant capital investment, an unabated capital flow and poor infrastructures are also common features of many of the economies of the West African region. External financial assistance, remittances from migrants and buoyant informal sectors often compensate for structural weaknesses, but also open the doors to all manner of illicit and criminal business practices.

In analysis on the concept criminal network West Africa has become an attractive location for foreign criminal networks, with West Africans as partners, and a particular criminal network model is gradually being built up and exported. Besides the well-known Nigerian networks, new ones are developing in Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Modelled on the Nigerian 'network' type, such criminal organisations have in common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganised' crime. With the statement and explanation given, we may see how Nigerian criminal network does really exist and is one of the popular

criminal network model in the world of transnational crime. A picture on how the network is formed was given as a research finding by Mazzitelli.

As a conclusion Mazzitelli gives an explanation on how the west African criminal network is different to the traditional and more popular organized crime.

“... the overall African context, where project-based, business-oriented structures are far better performers. In this respect, criminal ventures in West Africa adopt structures, *modi operandi* and features typical of the region’s legitimate traders and business people, with a successful entrepreneur inviting one or more junior relations or other dependents to join him in the business as volume grows. The division of tasks within these structures occurs in such a way that new recruits, generally personal acquaintances or relations of the original associates, barely know the employers they are really working for, as well as how their tasks relate to assignments given to other members. The employment offered is generally limited to the project without any expectation of stable –ie, permanent– links to the structure which, on the contrary, fades away upon completion of a given project. Secrecy and an individual’s total loyalty to the group involved in the venture is further ensured by cultural pressures (eg, belonging to the same village, clan or ethnic group) and by the use of religious and black magic rituals threatening supernatural punishment in the event of betrayal.”

II.C. Dimensions

On this research we will use different dimensions to analyze and explain how a criminal network in drug trafficking works. Although many literatures, research, and books has stated the characteristics and dimensions that are consisted in a criminal network, in this research we will only the three most significant and important dimensions.

1. Structure

It is often argued that criminal organizations have a network structure. An example is drug trafficking in Colombia occurs in fluid social systems where flexible exchange networks expand and retract according to market opportunities and regulatory constraints. This durable, elastic structure

did not emerge overnight, but developed over many years as entrepreneurs built their enterprises through personal contacts and repeated exchanges and resources they accumulated gradually, while drawing on social traditions, such as contraband smuggling, that extend far back into Colombia's colonial past (Kenney, 2007).

Network theory argues that when locating transnational crime, it is often found that networks are the media through which individuals and groups move between the local and the global. According to Beare (2000), empirical research reveals that networks consist of a complex mix of criminals that range from the sophisticated specialists to the opportunists—all operating within the same crime field.

2. Key Players

Lemieux describes seven roles that can be found in all networks, and one individual can assume more than one role. They include:

1. *Organizers* are the core and determine the scale and scope of activities.
2. *Insulators* transmit information and orders between the core and the periphery while insulating the core from the danger posed by infiltration.
3. *Communicators* ensure feedback is obtained regarding orders and directives that they transmit to other actors in the network.
4. *Guardians* ensure network security and take necessary measures to minimize its vulnerability to infiltrations or external attack.
5. *Extenders* enlarge the network by recruiting new members and also by negotiating collaboration with other networks and encouraging collaboration with the business sector, government, and justice.
6. *Monitors* are dedicated to the network's effectiveness by providing information to organizers regarding weaknesses and problems within the network so that the organizers can resolve them.

7. *Crossovers* are part of a criminal network, but continue to work in legal institutions, whether governmental, financial, or commercial.

Several of the seven roles make it difficult to combat criminal networks.

According to Lemieux (2003), this is particularly true for the roles of insulators, guardians, monitors, and crossovers.

3. Relationship

Social networks consist of two sorts of elements: actors and relations between actors. In criminal networks, the core is generally composed of actors connected by strong ties, while the relationship between the core and the surrounding subnetworks is achieved through weak ties. These are ties through which information is transmitted in an upward direction and orders are transmitted in a downward direction (Lemieux, 2003).

Social networks also have a form. They can have the form of a *chain*, or be *hierarchical* or *central*. When social networks have a chain-like form, there are few social relationships between the persons and the links between people in the network are often not direct, but often occur via someone else in the network. Hierarchical networks occur, for example, in the business world or in government.

Social networks are also linked to other networks, through persons who are involved in both networks. If social networks were not to be connected to each other in some way or other then nothing would exist that was like a society. All networks would then exist segregated from each other.

II.D. Nigerian Criminal Network in Drug Trafficking

Michael P. Roth revealed a structure that included a “God Father” who directs six smugglers (mules), who transport money and drugs into Nigeria from abroad. Usually the operation begins with a juvenile or woman being sent to a

“Black Magic House” for instructions on swallowing heroin sealed in condoms. Authorities learned that the Nigerians received most of their heroin from Southeast Asia; indeed three of every five couriers arrested in Thailand for heroin smuggling were Nigerian nationals.

Nigerian crime syndicates appear in a variety of incarnations, with most preferring a modicum of organization that might include a leader at the top with lieutenants acting under him; in most cases the actors are affiliated with government agencies or officials. But unlike the traditional monolithic structure of organized crime, some authorities claim Nigerian gangs more closely resemble “cell-like syndicates,” of three to five core individuals (Nicaso and Lamothe 2005). Others, however, have identified well-organized structures resembling an “old fashioned pyramid of hierarchy” connected with criminal operations around the world (United Nations 2005). In any case, as a result of weak money laundering laws and crime bosses who often operate with the tacit approval of high-ranking officials, Nigeria remains among the major players in global organized crime networks.

The following briefly describes the classic structure of the Nigerian drug trade, starting at the top of the ladder, so to speak, by considering the category often labelled drug ‘barons’. In the words of a senior Nigerian drug law-enforcement officer, a Nigerian drug baron requires at least three assets. First, he, or she, needs to be able to buy drugs cheaply at source. As we have seen, from an early date, there were Nigerians who travelled to producer countries in South America and south-east Asia to buy drugs. In 2003, some 330 Nigerians were said to be serving prison sentences in Thailand for drug-related offences. Hundreds of Nigerians were living in Bangkok, notably in the city’s Pratunum district that is home to an African community some 500–800 strong. Many of these are occupied in the textile or jewellery trades, but a significant number are alleged to have interests in crime. There are also substantial Nigerian communities in the south Asian subcontinent, with over 2,000 Nigerians in Mumbai alone.

There is even a small Nigerian community in Afghanistan. A drug baron who lives in one of these locations or has stayed there long enough to build excellent local contacts is well placed to buy heroin. Sometimes, a baron who has

the wherewithal to buy a large quantity of cocaine or heroin at source may sell this to a syndicate of smaller operators pooling their resources for such a major purchase. In December 1997, John Ikechukwe, a Nigerian who had emigrated to South Africa and become rich working the South American route, was murdered after cheating some fellow-traders in such a scheme. According to the South African police, 28 Nigerians were killed in Johannesburg alone in the first quarter of 1998.

A second requirement for a drug baron is a good contact in the receiving country, generally North America in the case of heroin, or Europe in the case of cocaine. North America and Europe have substantial Nigerian communities, some of the millions of Nigerians who live outside their own country. Even if most of these people live blameless lives, earning their keep in respectable occupations, the existence of this diaspora nevertheless constitutes a medium in which traffickers can move. Many Nigerian drug barons keep a very low profile in order not to attract attention. The third necessity for a drug baron is a substantial supply of capital to finance operations. This poses little problem to anyone who has already made a couple of successful transactions

CHAPTER III

METHOD

III. 1. Approach and Type of Research

A qualitative research method will be used in this research. The method used will allow to answer the research question accordingly. A qualitative research will consist of primary data and secondary data. The purpose of using this research approach is to gain the benefit of a qualitative research point of view and result. The result needed for this research is a thorough knowledge of how a criminal network works, which is only possible through a qualitative approach. The reason for this is because a qualitative research gains the knowledge of the issue through the perspective of the researcher and gains the knowledge of the answer through trustworthy subjects in an interview, where as a quantitative research would not be able to gain that result due to the variables and formulations needed in the research. This research will primarily based on literature study and the data collected through literature will be confirmed by a professional that works at analyzing and combating such crime, and also by interviewing an inmate sentenced for this particular crime.

III. 2. Technique in Collecting Data

This research will be a comparative analysis study consisting of 4 collective data that are used to compare non Nigerian criminal networks with Nigerian criminal networks. Each box represents data that will be collected through a literature study and confirmation with a professional in this field.

The dimensions used in this researched will be non Nigerian criminal network, Nigerian criminal network, narcotics, and psychotropic substances, which are all vectors in this research. These vectors has been specially designed to

make the collecting of data easier, the analysis and comparison to also be easier to understand and do, and especially to give the understanding of the research easily to the readers. Each data will be collected with a description of dimensions that consists of structure, key players, and relationship. The dimensions used to describe each data in the box has been explained in chapter two, thus in the next chapters it will only consist of collective data and without the explanations of the dimensions.

Figure 2: Data Dimensions Table

	Non Nigerian Criminal Network	Nigerian Criminal Network
Narcotics	<p>Data I</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Key Players • Relationship 	<p>Data II</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Key Players • Relationship
Psychotropic Substances	<p>Data III</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Key Players • Relationship 	<p>Data IV</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Key Players • Relationship

(Source: designed by the researcher)

After the data has been collected through a literature study as a secondary data base, it will then be further acknowledged and be confirmed by professionals that work especially in the field needed. The confirmation will then lead the data into analysis and comparison analysis. In the analysis segment we will also related links that formed and works inside the network and inside the data that are found by giving further attention to various analyzing factors, which includes the interactions from the network itself and through the data that are found, how they are diffused, and how are they all linked and compared. With that level of analysis, we may conclude the analysis by drawing a table of an opinionated data.

The research made in confirming the documented data is through interviews with two professional practitioners in the fields of crime relating to drugs. The interview was not in depth, due to the purpose of the method, which is confirming the already collected document data. A triangulation method of validating the data collected was made by interviewing professionals, interviewing an inmate that was sentenced for the crime of drugs, and well documented study from world reports, statistic data, and various literatures.

Interviewing an inmate was pursued without an in depth approach. The interview took place in LP Narkotika Cipinang with a Nigerian inmate being the source and informant of data. The interview resulted with no bias results, in which the result of the interview is drawn out in the field notes attached in this research. Due to the obstacle of having the restriction to use a voice recorder, the interview was not documented in a transcript.

With this method, the target is to collect the data needed in pursuing the research purpose and issue. Collecting the data through documents will be the main method and using a triangulation approach will be the method in validating the data.

Due to the research being a study of documents and literature, findings of documents are the use of internet is an essential feature in this study. In searching for the correct document to be used in the study, various keywords are used in collecting the data:

- Nigerian criminal network
- Criminal network in drugs
- Drug trafficking network
- World drug report
- Drug trafficking
- Criminal network structures
- Criminal network key players
- Relationships in criminal network
- Mexican criminal network in drugs
- The golden triangle
- The golden crescent

- Colombian criminal network in drugs
- Cartels
- West African criminal syndicates
- Nigerian type network
- Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia
- Indonesia drug trafficking situation

III. 3. Time of Research

The research started from October 2011 and lasted until December 2011.

III. 4. Research Obstacles

Various obstacles occurred during this research. These obstacles range from the interviews, collecting data, through to the final stage of compiling the thesis. Due to the obstacles that occurred during this research, I am fully aware that this research is still far beyond perfection and can still be perfected through a continuing research. There are a few main points of obstacles that are needed to be stated:

1. The timings and duration in this research are both limited and unpredictable. With that interviews tend to be held spontaneously with the informant giving the permission to interview as a short notice
2. Data findings are still limited and substantially not enough, due to the method use and the obstacle of location and time. The obstacle in compiling and finding the data is that it is mainly gained through internet and limited access to find data straight from the source is almost impossible, due to the location of the researcher.

CHAPTER IV

NON NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING NARCOTICS

The method used in this research is that the data are divided by 4 different vectors. In this section of the data we will discuss and compile informations on how a non Nigerian criminal network in trafficking narcotics operates. With that we will see the many variations and examples of some of the popular criminal networks. These criminal networks will then be seen through the main dimensions used in this research, which are structures, key players, and relationship.

The data compiled are mostly received from the internet, that consists of documents, past scientific research, literature, and reports. Networks that are mentioned in this chapter are only a few non Nigerian criminal network, because of the obstacles and strains in the research we will only examine these few popular and most mentioned criminal networks.

In the appendix is attached statistic data that shows the demographic of foreigners, either arrested by Polda Metro Jaya or BNN and also held as inmates in LP Narkotika Cipinang, who are involved in the crime of drugs. These statistic data can show how Indonesia has grown to be the location for foreigners to widen their business on drugs. The data that are compiled in this chapter links to the numbers of foreigners that are involved in the crime of drugs in Indonesia, which includes South Americans (Colombian and Mexican), other Asians (mainly Chinese), East Asians, and even Australians and Europeans.

IV. 1. Colombian Network

1. Structures

Colombian trafficking operates largely in cartels which are best characterized as a federation of multiple independent groups that, when necessary, forge multiple alliances. They are not centrally organized, although some cartel

members are more powerful than others and offer leadership when required. The cartels function much like legitimate businesses, with sections concerned with distribution, sales, financing, product promotion, security, and so on. They tend to compartmentalize their organizations into production, transportation, distribution and money laundering (Bean, 2008).

Then there are the ‘business criminals’ who are driven by personal financial considerations and do not seek political change, although they may influence events but only for their own purposes. They typically adopt a ‘core group’ structure, making them resistant to infiltration and law enforcement. Examples include the leaders of the Cali or Medellin cartels, plus a varied group of enterprises operating in South America and beyond.

Inside this form of criminal network, a known form of group called by the term the *consorcios*. The *consorcios* are formed by small, independent, and sometimes family based groups that collect morphine base from the farmers and then sell it to other traffickers or process it into heroin themselves. The *consorcios* first identify rural communities known as *veredas* with suitable fields and then at least recruit at least 25 to 30 farmers willing to grow opium poppy, usually by establishing connections with the local leaders. *Consorcios* constitute well articulated mini monopolies. The “invisibility” of heroin trafficking organizations has been further enhanced by the fact that they have largely remained, small, low profile, and family oriented as opposed to the large and visible cocaine organizations that emerged in Cali, Medellin, Bogota, and other cities. The DEA also routinely refers to heroin trafficking groups as small.

2. Key Players

There were once four major cartels in Colombia – the Medellin, the Cali, the Bogota and the Northern Coast cartel (although some see the North Coast and Bogota as one and the same). The position has changed in the last decade, with cartels in Mexico assuming greater importance. Traditionally the Medellin cartel had the most publicity, but the Cali cartel was larger, more efficient and certainly more business-like, although recently unconfirmed claims have been made that the Cali cartel has been broken up. Almost all the cartel members in Colombia are

known to the DEA and the FBI, as are their movements and their major business associates. By all accounts the traffickers were, or are, small-time gangsters, unsophisticated and with an easy recourse to violence. Their lifestyles are ordinary and their tastes crude. They have a shrewd organisational sense which allows them to know whom to employ, how to obtain the best financial advice, and how to enforce discipline. The DEA and FBI have developed an extensive portfolio of cartel members, and consistently and persistently apply to the Colombian government for their extradition.

The Medellin 'king pin', Pablo Escobar, levied what he termed 'war taxes' of between \$100,000 and \$200,000 on Medellin shippers each month to support the cartel's military activities against the state between 1989 and 1993. This conflict led to the death of over 1500 Colombians. The activities of this network had a catastrophic and lasting effect on the political system and stability in Colombia. The conspiracy between politicians and criminal networks led to the imprisonment of about 12 legislators, an attorney general and a defense minister for accepting bribes from the Cali traffickers in the 1994 elections. It was found that at least seven congressmen were elected with funds provided by the cartel.

Pablo Escobar, who controlled the Colombian Medellin and Cali cartels from the mid-1980s until his death in 1993, bought his election into the Colombian Congress as an alternative candidate, which gave him the opportunity to protect his criminal network as well as providing him with immunity from arrest.

Apart from influencing political decisions, criminal networks could also influence the process of law-making typical of a 'state capture'. For example, it was alleged that the constitutional Assembly in Colombia passed the anti-extradition law in 1991 as a result of pressure from the narco-traffickers.

For each vereda, there is a local representative who keeps contact with traffickers located in a nearby city and sets the production targets. Under the plante system, a local merchant and/or trafficker finances farmers who wish to grow poppy. The financial backing consists of both money and credit for the local grower at a local store, providing access to the basic inputs for the field.

3. Relationship

By the end of the 1980s, the Cali cartel already controlled a vast intelligence gathering network that included all public telephone lines in Cali, enabling them to intercept all police and military calls. For good measure, they also had more than 5,000 taxi drivers on their payroll

The large number of small drug cartels are less inclined to utilize open forms of intimidation and/or extensive networks of corrupt police and other officials as was the case with the Medellin and Cali Cartels. While both the Medellin and Cali Cartels operated large, sophisticated armed networks, the new groups were quite literally armies that competed for control of this production.

According to the informants interviewed in the Tolima and Huila departments, two arrangements regulate the relationships between farmers and their financiers and/or traffickers. Known as consorcio and plate systems, these arrangements have been instrumental to the spread of opium poppy cultivation in Colombia.

Under the consorcio system, the farmer gets paid for the land and is at times hired to working the poppy field, whereas employees of the consorcio provide technical assistance during the key production phase. A second option for the farmer is to rent out the entire farm and leave, so as to be able to deny association with the activity while reaping the benefits

In the Guerilla and Paramilitary Groups, Guerilla groups require buyers to pay a per kilo tax on latex purchased from the farmers and they also extract protection money from both poppy growers and local traffickers. These groups also charges for the privilege of bringing into a region both precursors and essential inputs, suggesting they considerable inputs.

IV. 2. Mexican Network

1. Structure

Since 2007, more than 750 individuals have been arrested for links with the group. The United States has placed a \$5 million reward for the capture of its leader Guzman (Bogan, 2009).

Drug Trafficking Organizations (DTOs) in Mexico consist of numerous actors working within a vast supply chain, consisting of individuals operating independently, specialized and tightly knit groups, as well as larger, more hierarchical networks. These connections, of course, included important mid-level drug trafficking networks, like the Sonora-based Caro Quintero organization and the Colima-based Amezcua organization, to which we give less attention. What is clear is that, as Mexico's DTOs began to take on greater market share in the 1980s, they enjoyed a significant degree of hierarchy and cohesion, thanks in large part to the existence of a protective centralized power structure. By the late 1990s, however, there were four major DTOs fiercely vying for control of Mexico's lucrative drug trade in a new era of competition characterized by levels of extreme, high profile violence of a kind never seen before. This pattern has continued to unfold over the course of the last decade.

The organization was divided up among family members and subordinates. Unable to control the organization from prison, Gallardo by most accounts met with his lieutenants and divided the Mexican border crossings among them. According to one 2008 report, Sinaloa/Arizona, Laredo/Nuevo/Laredo, and El/Paso/Juarez were turned over to Amado Carrillo Fuentes (Wallace-Wells, 2007).

Lacking a unified, overarching hierarchy of corrupt state officials to limit competition, the organization of drug trafficking has become more fractionalized. Competing organizations now vie for influence at both the national and sub-national level, sometimes competing to corrupt officials in different agencies within the same administration. As DTOs vie against each other they are rumored to have negotiated various pacts and truces; however, these appear to be short-lived. With the added effect of government counter-drug efforts—sometimes to the benefit of one DTO over another—the end result is a much more chaotic and

unpredictable pattern of violent conflict among organized crime groups than Mexico has ever seen.

In the Gulf Cartel and Los Zetas network by most accounts, Los Zetas are now a managing partner for the Gulf cartel. In May 2009, the FBI warned law enforcement that the Zetas had formed a Texas cell on a secluded ranch where it trains hit men how to “neutralize” competitors in the United States. This has become increasingly necessary to collect debts and spy on competitors. Zetas are also used to protect cocaine and heroin shipments bound for Houston where drugs are repackaged and shipped to other states (Schiller, 2009). They are also active in parts of Guatemala, where they are involved in aerial and overland drug trafficking (Meiners, 2009).

2. Key Players

Based in the Pacific Coast state of Sinaloa, this organization is led by Joaquin “El Chapo” Guzman and Ismael “El Mayo” Zambada, the two most wanted men in Mexico. The cartel is considered Mexico’s “most important drug trafficking organization” (Althaus, 2008).

These shifts have produced a more complicated and inconsistent relationship between the Mexican state and the transnational organized criminal networks that once enjoyed *carte blanche* in Mexico, since the Sinaloan DTO was closely allied to the organization headed by Amado Carrillo Fuentes. As noted above, Carrillo Fuentes, a.k.a. the “Lord of the Skies,” had also worked with Félix Gallardo and pioneered large airborne around the Posadas Ocampo killing. It would be difficult to mistake Guzman for a man of God. There were also allegations that Posadas Ocampo was in fact the actual target of the assassination, which raises controversial questions about possible links between the Church and traffickers.

Thereafter, the overall influence of the Carrillo Fuentes network was significantly diminished, though it is believed that Amado Carrillo Fuentes’ brother, Vicente, took over the coordination of its operations in collaboration with other family members. Moreover, it appears that the intense violence that began to surge in northern Mexico in 2004 coincided with a significant rift between the

Juárez DTO and its former allies in the Sinaloa DTO. While the trafficking organizations described above had a common heritage derived from the Felix Gallardo network originating in Sinaloa, the late 1990s also saw the rise of another important network, known as the Gulf DTO because of its origins and operations in the border state of Tamaulipas, along the Gulf of Mexico. Its founder, Juan Nepomuceno Guerra, got his start in cross-border smuggling by bootlegging alcohol in the Prohibition era. Later, in the 1980s, the networks he forged were taken to a new level by his nephew, Juan García Abrego, who developed ties with Colombia's Cali-based DTO and secured protections from the Mexican government.

Also known as the Arrellano-Felix organization, this cartel has been based in Tijuana since the mid 1980s. The arrest of its founder, Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo, in 1989 for his role in the slaying of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agent Enrique "Kiki" Camarena.

Guzman was also allegedly responsible for nine more bodies—relatives and associates of Félix Gallardo—that showed up on a highway in Guerrero later that year. shipments to transport drugs from Colombia to the United States. During the 1990s, Carrillo Fuentes rose to become Mexico's wealthiest and most powerful trafficker by developing an organization with substantial operations in the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez trade corridor. This network, also known as the Juárez DTO, involved "approximately 3,300 persons in as many as 400 cells distributed across 17 Mexican states." The Juárez DTO enjoyed protection from high-level officials in the Mexican Federal Judicial Police, as well as Mexico's drug "czar" Gen. Jesús Gutiérrez Rebollo, who was eventually arrested for corruption in February 1997. Months later, in July 1997, Carrillo Fuentes mysteriously died on the operating table of his plastic surgeon.

Based in the Mexican border towns of Matamoros, Reynosa, and Nuevo Laredo, the cartel's best known and most feared members work for its paramilitary arm known as *Los Zetas*. Many were veterans of Mexican Special Forces before deserting to the Gulf Cartel for better pay as killers. Dallas, Texas is the Gulf's most prominent U.S. drug distribution destination. The organization is the brainchild of Juan Garcia Abrego and now operates in 17 Mexico states.

Formerly members of Mexico's Army elite, a number of Zetas joined the drug cartels as hit men in the late 1990s. They were among the roughly 120,000 Mexican soldiers who deserted in that era. Mexican cartels now have a pool of military trained killers to draw from (Lloyd, 2007). Among the more prominent Zetas was Heriberto Lazcano, a former member of the elite Special Forces. He was credited as among the first to work for the Gulf cartel as enforcers. Since 2006, Los Zetas have become so influential even their former handlers are incapable of controlling them. In recent years they have expanded their operations as they attempt to control drug routes and oust traditional cartel leaders (Corchado 2007).

Indeed, over the course of the next several years, García Abrego and the Gulf DTO allegedly enjoyed protection from the Federal Judicial Police and the Attorney General's office. By 1989, Abrego's organization was reportedly moving an annual total of 40 tons of cocaine into the United States. In 1996, however, García Abrego was arrested and later extradited to the United States, where he had been added as the first drug trafficker on the FBI's 10 most wanted list in 1995.

García Abrego's downfall led to an internal contest for power between members of his own organization. After a series of clashes and betrayals, Osiel Cárdenas Guillén, a former quasi official police informant, or *madrina*, emerged as the new leader of the organization. In 2001, Cárdenas succeeded in attracting new muscle by corrupting elite Mexican military personnel from the Army Special Forces Air and Amphibian units (known by their Spanish acronyms, GAFE and GANFE, respectively) that had been sent to capture Cárdenas. Becoming Gulf DTO enforcers, this group formed a masked commando brigade commonly known as *Los Zetas*, and fused with the Gulf DTO to form an amalgam known simply as "La Compañía."

3. Relationship

This region has long been a key location for the cultivation of opium poppies for the making of heroin, controlled by the Sinaloa cartel. Since 2001, the

cartel has been at war with the Gulf cartel over control of the strategic border town of Nuevo Laredo.

By most accounts the Gulf cartel has had an upper hand, with an almost two-to-one advantage in gunmen. Nuevo Laredo is key to the Mexican-American drug trade, with the city offering extensive trade facilities and processing more legitimate cargo than any other crossing point along the almost 2,000-mile border between the two countries. In the United States the cartel is most active in Arizona (Roth, 2010).

During the 1990s, the Tijuana cartel dominated the flow of cocaine, marijuana, and heroin into California and the West Coast. In 2006, Mexico extradited Francisco Rafael Arrellano Felix to the United States, the first time the country had ever extradited a major drug kingpin across the border. The Tijuana cartel was considered Mexico's most ruthless and feared drug syndicate at one time. After the death and arrest of two leading Arrellano-Felix brothers in 2002, however, its influence briefly diminished. Since then the Tijuana cartel has been linked to hundreds of murders in that city alone, including 840 in 2008. Much of the deaths are attributable to the ongoing war between several factions within the cartel. In 2009, the U.S. State Department made waves when it issued an official travel warning for Americans contemplating visiting Mexico, including Tijuana, on spring break (Roth, 2010).

Research shows that in some countries such as Mexico, police corruption may be a part of a highly organized network linking corrupt public officials, the police, the judiciary and the criminal underworld.

Considered Mexico's bloodiest gang, the Gulf cartel operates out of the Mexican cities bordering South Texas and controls narco trafficking and sales throughout the Gulf Coast region. The award winning motion picture *Traffic* was reportedly based on his rise and fall from power. Arrested in 1996, Abrego is now serving 11 life sentences following his extradition to the United States. At his zenith he guaranteed Colombian cartels that their cocaine would reach destinations for 50 percent of each load. After Abrego's arrest, Osiel Cardenas Guillen took charge and was credited with luring the original Zetas to his syndicate. They adopted the name Zetas in homage to their original leader who

was killed in 2002 and was identifiable by his radio name *Zeta* (Lloyd & George 2007). Cardenas was arrested in 2003 and has since been extradited to the United States.

IV. 3. Tajikistan Network

1. Structures

The Tajikistan network comes with a small to medium size trafficking groups. Small to medium size trafficking groups appeared simultaneously with the independent peddlers, but largely supersede them as heroin smuggling from Afghanistan expanded. Despite their higher degree of professionalization, the illegal enterprises belonging to the second category rarely consist of more than 10 – 15 persons. Within each group there is some division of labor, but this is quite rudimentary. Affiliation is based on extended family ties, locality, or membership in a professional association, sporting group, or other traditional male groups

2. Key Players

One of the formations of key players in the network are, Independent Peddlers. Opiates were very frequently traded by individuals or small, unorganized groups of people who had no previous expertise and for whom opiate trafficking represented a means of survival. Many drug dealers were women. They were not only disproportionately unemployed, but were also often left as the single heads of their households, because their partners were dead, fighting, or migrated from abroad. Some of them also began to sell drugs on retail markets and even to export small quantities of opiates directly into Russia, usually relying on the help of relatives, acquaintances, or members of the same village or neighborhood.

3. Relationship

Trafficking and distributing groups with a mixed regional base can be found primarily in Dushanbe (Khamonov, 2005). They do not usually do not have a truly international membership. They come together when opportunities arises, to disband again and possibly reform with a partially changed membership on another occasion. Relying on legitimate trade networks, northern groups are frequently in charge of opiate export or wholesale distribution in CIS countries (Khamonov, 2005:4). Unlike independent peddlers, organized trafficking groups usually enjoy some form of government protection, although this may be limited connections with a few Russian border guards, local policemen, or custom officers

IV. 4. Asian Network

1. Structures

International narcotics syndicates inevitably became involved by supplying chemists to the heroin refineries along the Thai-Burmese border, and by taking care of regional and international distribution of the drugs. The syndicates operated independently, but since most of them were dominated by ethnic Chinese often connected with the so-called Secret Societies, or Triads, in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, links with the KMT and some of the KKY forces were easily established.

The couriers were perhaps the most visible links in the narcotics chain since they were often caught and exposed by the media. A courier could be anyone who was hired by the syndicates to carry drugs from one place to another. The couriers were often conveniently, but incorrectly, referred to by the media as well as law enforcement agencies as "drug traffickers", perhaps to deflect attention from the syndicates, which seemed to be above the law.

2. Key Player

Other companies with known drug connections include:

Myanmar May Flower Group. Its ethnic Chinese chairman, Kyaw Win, has emerged as Burma's new high-profile entrepreneur. A Rangoon business magazine names his "old benefactor", an "immensely wealthy Thai entrepreneur" — who is listed in internal documents from the US Drug Enforcement Agency as a major drug trafficker. Kyaw Win has also, from his old base at Tachilek on the Thai-Burma border, done business with Khun Sa and Lt.-Gen. Maung Aye, vice chairman of the ruling junta. In 1990 Kyaw Win moved to Rangoon and established the May Flower Trading Company and, in 1994, the May Flower Bank. In 1997 the May Flower Group took over Yangon Airways, one of Burma's two private domestic airlines.

Peace Myanmar Group. A rapidly expanding business empire controlled by the Yang brothers from Kokang (both Yang Maoliang and Yang Maoan are listed in the US State Department's reports as major drug traffickers; their younger brother Yang Maoxian was arrested in China on drug trafficking charges in 1994, and executed in Kunming). It holds the franchise for Mitsubishi Electric in Burma, and operates a paint factory and liquor distillery producing well-known brands such as Myanmar Rum and Myanmar Dry Gin. It has a large consumer electronics showroom on Merchant Street in Rangoon in a joint venture with the Ministry of Commerce.

The World Group of companies are owned by Wa interests and have investments in construction, retail trading, import-export, and the tourist industry. controlled company, Myanmar Kyone Yeom (Group)—which once ran a finance company that foreign analysts described as "a thinly disguised money-laundering vehicle"—fell out with the government in 1998, and its chairman, Kyaw Myint (aka Michael Hu Hwa; a "colonel" in the Wa army), escaped to Thailand. He is now back in business in Rangoon.

The Good Shan Brothers International Ltd. This company is controlled by surrendered druglord Khun Sa and his family. In February 1996, a month after Khun Sa's surrender, ten new companies were registered at an obscure address in

Rangoon, a virtually empty room in a town house with little more than a sign and a mailbox outside.

The registered owner of the premises is this company, which is engaged in "export, import, general trading and construction," according to the official Myanmar Business Directory. In two surprisingly candid interviews with a correspondent from the Austrian daily Die Presse, Khun Sa stated that he was investing in real estate, the hotel business in Rangoon, and a new motorway from Rangoon to Mandalay.

"Hong Bang ("Prosperous Nation") is the overall name for Wei Xuegang's business conglomerate with branches in Kengtung, Tachilek, Möng Yawn and all over Shan State. Over the past year, Wei has invested millions of dollars in the lumber business, mineral smelting, pig farming, and retail trade through what one Western drug enforcement official called "the biggest money-laundering operation in Southeast Asia today."

Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings (UMEH), Burma's biggest holding company, is 40 percent owned by the defence ministry's Directorate of Defence Procurement, with the rest belonging mainly to senior military personnel and their families. Known locally as the "U-paing Company" it is involved in the gems trade, banking (the Myawaddy Bank), logging, timber processing and coal mining, and is the joint-venture partner in several projects involving foreign investment. Officially, its capital comes from the Burmese army's pension funds, but druglords such as Lin Mingxian (Sai Lin) have invested heavily in this company, often in partnership with high-ranking army officers. Lin is identified in US documents as a major drug trafficker.

3. Relationship

South East Asian heroin traffickers seem to be slightly less sophisticated in their business methods, preferring to remain more individualist, but no less reluctant to resort to extreme levels of personal violence when required (Lo and Bean, 1991).

These ‘business criminals’ (as described by Dorn, Levi and King) closely resemble a group of traffickers and dealers from South East Asia, who are mostly men approaching middle age or older, who have excellent organisational skills, and established connections, often with organised crime syndicates or are prepared to work closely with organised crime, and have capital to invest. They also have a willingness to take large business risks. Their activities exist within a highly competitive market populated by individual entrepreneurs. These traffickers change as enforcement strategies change, or as they tire of the corrupt practices endemic to the illegal trade (Chaiken & Johnson, 1988). Some may be intermittent traffickers – they are often in South East Asia – and are active perhaps once every two or three years. Some may not be involved for a period of time but seem to be drawn back into it (Bean, 2008).

IV. 5. Afghanistan Network

1. Structure

Drug trafficking comprises, as in any business, management chain, administrative hierarchy, demand and supply market, own clientele, established ‘business links’ (along drug trafficking routes) and people who traffic. According to Tamara Makarenko the following groups of actors participate in ensuring (securing) production and trafficking of Afghan illicit drugs. They are drug mafia, transnational criminal groups, insurgents, terrorists and warlords. All of them are important links in the chain of drug trafficking. Farmers, peasants were not included into this chart, since this research is about trafficking, rather than production

Local drug mafia in our case is mainly within Afghanistan’s territory. The groups that interest us are transnational criminal groups, warlords, insurgents and terrorists. The transnational criminal groups have own distinct hierarchy, and controlled territories. The collapse of the Soviet Union allowed the CARs to build their own political and economic institutions. Being pre-occupied with the market reforms, opening own banks, and forming own armies left loopholes, and gaps to

be filled by the criminal groups. Due to the lack of the regional databas on the transnational criminal groups that are involved in the drug trafficking from Afghanistan through territories of several CARs to Russia, it is difficult to measure the number of groups (their size) involved.

2. Key Players

Though, there is some information about the drugs trafficked by warlords, and insurgents. According to Bolot Januzakov, Secretary of Security Council of Kyrgyzstan, Juma Namangoni, ex-leader of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (Uzbek warlord) controlled about 70% of drugs moving via the “northern route.” And he had close links with the Taliban, and United Tajik Opposition, whose activities ranged between being drug mafia and insurgents. IMU tried to break through to the territory of Uzbekistan in 1999, and 2000 through Kyrgyzstan coming from Tajikistan and Afghanistan, in order to overthrow the government of Uzbekistan and to build a Caliphate in the Ferghana Valley.

3. Relationship

Conversely, Interpol representative said that insurgents’ Islamist ideology was a smokescreen for the major drug trafficking. To some extent, it could be plausible, for two reasons: 1. IMU, may be, was trying the new route through Batken, the south of Kyrgyzstan, and was testing the reaction of the Kyrgyz law enforcement agencies; 2. IMU may be was distracting attention of the regional military forces by engaging with them in the shoot out, while drugs were trafficked through other alternative routes. Initially IMU movement was driven by religious ideology, but it seems that extremely high profits from drug trafficking corrupted them. And it could be said that now they turned to trafficking as a priority over ideology because of the high promising economic turnover, and started carrying features of transboundary criminal group rather than religious movement.

Among other warlords Shah Masood's Northern Alliance in the north of Afghanistan was and still heavily involved in drug trafficking as a source of income. They imposed taxes on opium crossing over to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

IV. F. Summary Table of Non Nigerian Criminal Network of Drug Trafficking

Figure 3

Dimensions	Data
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchy structure • Having family as a foundation • Tight bonds with farmers, as they are used in the network as well (producers)
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Producers (farmers, drug lords) • Distributors • State and Law officials who have helped the networks in gaining priveleges
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A business like relationship • Connections with governments • Connections and linking with other criminal network that are capital pursued

(Source: designed by the researcher)

CHAPTER V

NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING NARCOTICS

The main focus of this research is to see and identify the reasons of why a Nigerian criminal network is different from other criminal networks. To find and see this difference, the data is seen through the dimensions used to define a criminal network. With this, data is compiled from documents and literature which are confirmed by a professional practitioner that works within this field of crime. The drugs trafficked in these data are purely narcotics, which may include the general heroin, cocaine, marijuana, and other. Data findings also includes an interview confirming the already compiled data to a Nigerian inmate in LP Narkotika Cipinang.

The inmate who I interviewed as my informant was a Nigerian citizen who was caught delivering a packet of heroin and was already a target operation of the police. His name is stated in the list of inmates in LP Narkotika Cipinang and also his file of sentence is also attached in the appendix. I interviewed him in three sessions, in which he was quite friendly and cooperative along those three meetings. He answered to most of my questions and denies of being a part of a criminal network. His confession is considered to be a false confession, in which most criminals denies his doings in crime when being asked for his confession. Other than that, my informant (M. Abdoulie Bojang) has confirmed the data already collected.

V. 1. Structure

In the late 1990s, the New Jersey State Commission of Investigation announced Nigerian complicity in the international heroin trade. The investigation

revealed a structure that included a “God Father” who directs six smugglers (mules), who transport money and drugs into Nigeria from abroad.

Nigerian crime syndicates appear in a variety of incarnations, with most preferring a modicum of organization that might include a leader at the top with lieutenants acting under him; in most cases the actors are affiliated with government agencies or officials. But unlike the traditional monolithic structure of organized crime, some authorities claim Nigerian gangs more closely resemble “cell-like syndicates,” of three to five core individuals (Nicaso and Lamothe 2005). Others, however, have identified well-organized structures resembling an “old fashioned pyramid of hierarchy” connected with criminal operations around the world (United Nations 2005).

The confirmation of this data is received from an interview with an analyst and former investigator from Direktorat Narkoba Polda Metro Jaya.

“Memang narkoba ini kan suatu jaringan yang dibuat sistem sel ya supaya terputus, jaringan kartel ini, ee, jaringan yang susah ditembus, tadi karena sistem sel tadi, tapi mereka kuat, karena satu dengan yang lain itu tidak kenal, dibuat tidak kenal, masingmasing punya peran.”

Free translation:

“it’s true, that drugs networks are made from a cell system so that it may be disconnected, this cartel network, it’s a network that’s hard to penetrate, because of that cell system, but they’re strong, because with one another they are not acquainted, it was made like that, because each person has their own role.”

The confirmation of data received through an interview, does show that at drug syndicates are structured to be as a cell system. The reasons for this, is that it relates to the nature and structures of a criminal network in general, which is secrecy. Using a cell system may protect this secrecy, because the lower level may not be acquainted with the upper level key players.

With the possible exception of Iran-bound opiates, African traffickers – the majority West Africans - are pivotal to the international trafficking of heroin. Groups often have a large and varied pool of couriers to employ. These may be Filipinos, Indonesians, Pakistanis and Chinese nationals but also West Africans.

Among West African groups, Nigerians are especially active as attested in arrest figures. These groups tend to be organized along tribal/ethnic lines with loose network structures.

West Africa has become an attractive location for foreign criminal networks, with West Africans as partners, and a particular criminal network model is gradually being built up and exported. Besides the well-known Nigerian networks, new ones are developing in Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Modelled on the Nigerian 'network' type, such criminal organizations have in common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganized' crime. Despite the nature of their 'business', West African organized crime syndicates tend to take a very business-minded approach to the way they run their operations

These syndicates are known for their adaptability. They establish cells worldwide to capitalize on freight routes, lax border control and cheaper drug stock. The networks established by West African crime cells are more than just flexible and mobile. They are known to conduct meetings in control-room type situations and to run de-briefs from which they learn to hone their skills from the mistakes or successes of past ventures. Using these methods, West African syndicates have been able to use Pakistan, Thailand and South Africa as launch pads into other areas of criminal activity.

"West African syndicates have been identified as frequently forming consortiums of small businesses within Thailand, frequently shifting alliances and positions. They utilise diversified smuggling techniques as well as fraudulent documents," said Colonel Chatree Paisansin, from the Narcotic Suppression Bureau, Royal Thai Police, one of the international delegates at the West African Crime Conference last year.

My informant claims that the data collected above are true and are the characteristics of a general Nigerian criminal network in drug trafficking. AB confirms that a network of drug traffickers from Nigeria is definitely built on mutual trust and friendship, that is why the structure is very strong on ethnic bonds. Not only from the informant, but also from Polda Metro Jaya who says that Nigerian criminal networks are built on the same background and ethnicity.

Linking to that my informant gave this statement that adds to the data.

“Orang-orang yang sudah ada dalam kartel-kartel narkoba ini, berani dia, mempunyai jaringan yang sangat luas. Dari negaranya, negara ininya, sampe negara tujuan dia sudah punya jaringan. Ya itu, dengan cara dia merekrut, kalau cewe kita dia jadikan gundik. Istri muda lah. Istri lah. Kalau istri gundik. Atau juga mereka itu di Indonesia itu seolah-olah mau dagang. Orang-orang item ini, niger-niger ini kan dagang kain di tanah abang, padahal dagang itu hanya untuk kamufase. Untuk masuk indonesia sebagai ini, sebagai turis, sebagai apa, sampai sini kadang dia punya surat pun dia dibuang. Supaya menghilangkan jejak kan, misalnya dia punya surat untuk tinggal di Indonesia 2 bulan, daripada itu lebih baik di buang. Untuk mengelabui. Berbaur dengan orang kita, banyak juga orang item kan.”

Free translation:

“people who are already in a cartel are brave, they have a vast network. From their home country to their designated country, they already have a network. With an approach of making Indonesians woman to be wives or mistresses, they are able to grow the network. Or they can pretend to sell clothes at tanah abang, which they only use as a camouflage. If they come to Indonesia to Indonesia as a tourist, for what, they arrive and throw out all the legal papers. So they can adapt and take advantage of us.”

V. 2. Key Players

In any case, as a result of weak money laundering laws and crime bosses who often operate with the tacit approval of high-ranking officials, Nigeria remains among the major players in global organized crime networks.

On the other side of the Atlantic, large-scale cocaine trafficking has been a problem in West Africa since around 2004. While data on violence are sparse in West Africa, it is unlikely that the flow of drug money will precipitate the kind of feuds that have been recently seen in Latin America, because the traffickers have been able to co-opt top figures in some authoritarian societies. (UNODC World Drug Report, 2010)

The heroin trade in Indonesia is predominantly controlled and directed by West Africans, particularly Nigerians. In the 1980s and 1990s, Nigerian-

dominated criminal organizations active in many countries became key players in the international smuggling of heroin, particularly into the United States.

V. 3. Relationship

Usually the operation begins with a juvenile or woman being sent to a “Black Magic House” for instructions on swallowing heroin sealed in condoms. Authorities learned that the Nigerians received most of their heroin from Southeast Asia; indeed three of every five couriers arrested in Thailand for heroin smuggling were Nigerian nationals. In the opening years of the 21st century, the DEA regarded Nigeria as Africa’s most important transshipment point (Naim 2005).

There is another literature, even older, which links organised crime and terrorist organizations such as the IRA (Boyce, 1987) where drug trafficking provides the money to finance these operations and the drug traffickers use the terrorists to ensure the source of their supply. The end product is social disruption (Sen, 1989). One view is that as the financial rewards of drug trafficking increase, so too will drug related terrorist activities (Langer, 1986). Another is that terrorist links are constantly being redefined and new terrorist organizations are in turn being developed. Interpol, for example (ICPO – Interpol 1989), draws attention to developments in Africa where heroin from the Indian subcontinent, intended for Europe and North America, is being funneled through Africa by Nigerian organizations, some of whom are composed of African terrorists (Bean, 2008).

Outside these ‘regional’ nationalities, West Africans, especially Nigerians, have also been reported, particularly in Tajikistan. In some instances, they may act as simple couriers, as demonstrated with the 2006 attempt by a Nigerian group to have one of their own cross the Kazakh-Chinese border with heroin (UNODC World Drug Report, 2010). As an example, in June 2007, Kyrgyz authorities arrested a Nigerian who had organized trafficking from Pakistan to Tajikistan and onward to CIS countries, Europe and Australia.

West African groups traffic to multiple destinations, including China, India and Africa. This type of trafficking usually involves the use of air routes

(from the airports of Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Quetta) to transit points like Dubai and onward to Nigeria and other West African countries. The use of post parcels is also widely reported. Africa is both a market and a staging point for other destinations. According to ANF reports, African traffickers “have created two networks: a supply network from Pakistan to Africa and a redistribution network from Africa to Europe and North America and elsewhere.” In destination markets like Europe, West African networks rely on their respective diaspora as a base for their activity (importation and retail distribution of heroin). Recruiting European nationals as couriers to bring heroin by air to Europe has also been reported. The use of air routes is significant; over 37% of Pakistan’s total heroin seizures in 2006 took place at airports. Couriers typically attempt to either conceal opiates in luggage or body carry them out of Pakistan.

The extent to which African groups collaborate with Pakistani groups in smuggling ventures remains unclear. According to the US State Department INCSR 2010, drug trafficking organizations in Pakistan are still fragmented and decentralized but there is a trend towards specialization. Clearly, the market is not closed to outsiders, as Nigerians alone account for fully 32% of drug trafficking arrests in 2008. Rather it appears that Nigerians (and other African groups) overlap in some cases with Pakistani groups, both in Pakistan

In recent years, Nigerian groups expanded in Amsterdam, working inter alia through air couriers flying to the Netherlands from the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname. China reported that West African (especially Nigerian) syndicates were trafficking large quantities of heroin, as well as methamphetamine, to China, especially through Guangdong province.

Large-scale cocaine trafficking through West Africa was first detected around 2004, symptomatic of a shift in the centre of gravity of the global market from the United States to Europe. West African traffickers had long been active in small-scale import and marketing of cocaine in Europe, as they have been in many other parts of the world. But around this time, individuals based in West Africa began to provide logistic assistance to South American traffickers in organizing their maritime shipments to Europe from at least two hubs: one centered on

Guinea-Bissau and Guinea in the north, and one centered on the Bight of Benin in the south; both involving Nigerian traffickers.

In 2009, significant quantities of heroin were also seized in Nigeria, 104 kg. Although this represents a sharp increase from the level in 2008 (12 kg), seizures were already high in 2007 (121 kg). Reports suggest that Nigeria may serve as a transit point for limited quantities of heroin destined for consumer markets in other countries. Over the 2004-2008 period, Pakistan reported significant, albeit declining, numbers of seized heroin consignments intended for Nigeria (36 such seizures in 2008 and 16 in 2009). According to the United States Department of Justice, organizations responsible for trafficking heroin originating in South-West Asia into the United States included some that were based in West Africa. Nigeria has been mentioned as a transit country for heroin by Australia and the United States in recent years. Nigeria assessed that one half of the heroin trafficked on its territory in 2009 was intended for the United States, with 40% intended for Europe and 10% for China. (UNODC World Drug Report 2011)

In 2009, Africa's drug trafficking market was worth an estimated US\$3.2 billion – most of which went to Nigerian organized crime groups. Nigerian groups likely dominate the African drug trade and are active in many countries around the world, including destination countries in Europe. However, drug trafficking in Africa involves both African networks, including Nigerians and Tanzanians, as well as foreign networks, including Chinese and Pakistanis.

In 2007 and 2008, the largest annual seizures of cannabis herb in Africa were reported by Nigeria. However, in 2009 seizures in this country fell by almost two thirds, to 115 mt, from 336 mt in 2008. Nigeria assessed that, in 2009, cannabis herb on its territory originated entirely in Nigeria itself, but was destined for the Netherlands (50%), Japan (30%) and Italy (20%). Nigeria also reported a notable increase in the farm-gate price of cannabis – from 8,000 Naira per kg in 2008 to 35,000 Naira per kg in 2009. Both the decline in seizures and the increase in price were attributed to the destruction of cannabis farms by law enforcement operatives in Nigeria.

In 2000, the U.S. government *International Crime Threat Assessment* report stated that Nigerian criminal syndicates dominated “transatlantic cocaine

shipments between Brazil and Africa” and were “increasingly trafficking South American cocaine to various regions in Africa and throughout Europe.” The report stated that Nigerian traffickers primarily transshipped cocaine using drug couriers traveling via commercial air flights.

In 1994, Nigerian-controlled couriers accounted for 30% of all heroin seized by the U.S. Customs Service. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration has reported that West Africans are continuing to play a primary role in transporting and distributing heroin in the United States.

Historically, West African networks have sourced heroin in Southeast Asia and trafficked it to consuming countries through networks mainly controlled from Nigeria and transnational operations based in various countries, particularly Southeast Asian ones. West African heroin networks have become active in the trafficking of Southwest Asian heroin, particularly from Afghanistan and Pakistan. According to UNODC data, for example, at least 600 Nigerians have been arrested in Pakistan since 2000 in possession of more than 100 grams of heroin.

The West African syndicates have taken several approaches to drug trafficking. One method is to use several couriers on the same flight. In conjunction with the use of different sets of documents among these couriers and complex travel routes, these methods minimize the risk of each smuggling project. Another method is for the syndicates to recruit couriers from the country the narcotics are destined for. This is an example of their awareness of the increasing attention law enforcement is giving West African nationals.

“West African criminal syndicates react swiftly to law enforcement successes and are able to evolve as a result. For example, one established West African method of smuggling cannabis using only Nigerian couriers was picked up by officials. This resulted in syndicates switching to smuggling hard drugs (heroin and cocaine) using European couriers who concealed the narcotics internally,” said Tim Manhire, OIC West African Organised Crime Team, Her Majesty’s Customs and Excise.

V.D. Summary Table of Nigerian Criminal Network of Trafficking Narcotics

Figure 4

Dimensions	Data
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cell like syndicates • Some still owns an old fashion hierarchy • Affiliated with government and law officials
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A leader at the top • A god father like figure • Hires mules and locals to join the network
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quick to adapt • Owns many modus of trafficking narcotics • Brave and are able to take giant risks

(Source: designed by the researcher)

CHAPTER VI

NON NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES

Using the method of comparison, the vector used in the method shows that we will not only see and compare the data between a Nigerian criminal network in general with a non Nigerian criminal network, but also compare the data between trafficking narcotics and psychotropic substances. In this chapter, it is compiled of datas of non Nigerian criminal network that traffics psychotropic substances. Psychotropic substances are generally drugs that are made with synthetic and chemical substances and are not mixed with natural ingredients like the oppy plant. Generally speaking, the trafficking of psychotropic substances are due to the trend of the market that are controlled by the demand and supply of the consumers. The data comprises of criminal networks that operates largely in the trafficking of psychotropic substances.

VI. 1. Mexican Network

1. Structures

What distinguished this group was its ability to get along with competing drug syndicates, as witnessed by its alliance with the Tijuana and Juarez cartels. Most observers trace the success and longevity of this organization to an insulated structure that recruited relatives, extended family members, and longtime friends.

2. Key Players

Founded by the four Amezcua-Contreras brothers in the 1990s, the Guadalajara organization specializes in the illegal methamphetamine traffic.

During the halcyon days of the 1990s, the brothers were dubbed “the kings of methamphetamine.”

3. Relationship

At its zenith the cartel was probably the world’s leading producer of that drug. It was able to accomplish this feat by securing huge quantities of precursor chemicals from India and Thailand. It was then distilled in laboratories on both sides of the Mexican-American border. Despite the arrests of the brothers in 1997, the networks continue to flourish. The meth business proved especially attractive to Mexican organizations. For years they had moved Colombian cocaine for only a percentage of the profits; with methamphetamine there was no sharing. So in effect they made the transition from middlemen to vertically controlling every aspect of the business, from production and distribution to sales (Owen 2007). Although the Tijuana and Juarez cartels tried to break into the market, the brothers became the most important because they were the first to grasp the commercial potential of the trade and were able to quickly adapt to the changing conditions of the marketplace, such as making the switch from ephedrine powder to pseudoephedrine pills (precursor chemicals).

In 1995, Congress was finally convinced by the DEA to control ephedrine in order to disrupt the product of methamphetamine. The Amezcuas responded by switching to pills; and when this source was unavailable, they found new ones in Canada (Roth, 2010).

VI. 2. Asian Network

1. Structures

The scale of ATS manufacturing in Indonesia is already large and the country may potentially displace Europe as a supply source for ecstasy in the region. Malaysia is at a high risk of becoming a major consumer market for ATS as large amounts are trafficked into the country in addition to large-scale domestic manufacturing

2. Key Players

The scale of ATS manufacturing in Indonesia is large and the country may become the next major supply source for ecstasy in the region, potentially displacing Europe as a supply source. The number of clandestine ATS laboratories seized in Indonesia have also increased dramatically in recent years. In 2008, a total of 21 laboratories were uncovered, while 13 laboratories were dismantled within the first quarter of 2009. The seized laboratories continue to be of large industrial-scale size. In May 2009, an MDMA manufacturing plant was dismantled with approximately 10 tons of ecstasy precursors and reagents. The facility had an estimated production capacity of 100 kg of MDMA per production cycle.

A second country that has uncovered large-scale ATS manufacture operations during the past four years is Indonesia which seized more than 21 ATS laboratories in 2008 and 16 ‘ecstasy’ laboratories and 7 methamphetamine laboratories in 2007. Assuming these ‘ecstasy’ laboratories actually manufactured MDMA—as opposed to some other ATS—as was the case in an industrial scale operation in Indonesia in 2008, it is likely that the region’s source of MDMA will shift from tablets currently trafficked into the region from Europe to those made within the East and South-East Asian region.

Indonesia was formerly a transit country for drugs. In the first half of this decade the retableting of ecstasy from Europe was taking place in Indonesia, but during the past five years the country has become a major manufacturing centre for ATS. The domestic manufacture of ATS is increasing, as indicated by the rising number of seizures of sophisticated clandestine manufacturing laboratories for crystalline methamphetamine and ecstasy (MDMA). In the recent past most clandestine ATS manufacturing laboratories were large MDMA and methamphetamine producing facilities. However, ATS manufacturers now appear to favour smaller ATS manufacturing laboratories in private residences in order to avoid detection by drug law enforcement authorities and to limit losses. Transnational organized criminal groups continue to target Indonesia as a destination for illicit drug trafficking and manufacture.

3. Relationship

An increasing number of clandestine synthetic drug manufacturing facilities have been dismantled in East and South-East Asia during the past five years and typically represent the larger, industrial-size operations. The largest number of reported ATS operations dismantled were in China, which reported 37 laboratories seized in 2005, 53 in 2006 and 75 in 2007. Although data were not disaggregated in 2008, a total of 244 clandestine operations were dismantled and it is likely that at least a half were related to ATS. Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, and the Philippines also reported the dismantling of several clandestine ATS labs over the past two years (UNODC, 2009)

Viet Nam may be a potentially vulnerable market as methamphetamine manufacturers seek to diversify away from their reliance on the Thai market. Viet Nam is attractive to traffickers as the country has a large, increasingly affluent and urban population. According to Vietnamese drug control officials, ATS, particularly crystalline methamphetamine, is being trafficked in increased quantities, resulting in larger seizures. Officials also report drug storage points along the northern border with Lao PDR and collaboration between foreign and local traffickers. 2008 saw more than four times the previous record of annual ATS pills seized. According to preliminary data from the Viet Nam Standing Office on Drugs Control (SODC), large seizures continue in 2009.

The methamphetamine and ecstasy market has expanded noticeably in Indonesia over the past three years. Crystalline methamphetamine and ecstasy moved up among drugs of concern in 2008, overtaking heroin and ranking second behind cannabis. Both ATS drugs were reported as having an increasing use trend in 2008. ATS seizures increased considerably beginning in 2004 through 2007, but declined sharply in 2008. However, they continue to remain at a high level, suggesting that international drug syndicates may be targeting Indonesia for ATS shipment and manufacture as reflected in a massive seizure of an estimated 600 kg of crystalline methamphetamine off West Java in 2008.

However, methamphetamine has rapidly become more prominent in other countries and is now the second most common drug of use in Indonesia. Indonesia ranked crystalline methamphetamine as the fourth drug of concern in 2006, after

cannabis, heroin and ecstasy. In 2008 ranked it was ranked as the second most common drug and the use was reported to be on the increase.

According to the National Narcotics Board Indonesia (NNB), the main drug syndicates operating in Indonesia are transnational in character with East Asian-linked operational groups primarily involved in crystalline methamphetamine and ecstasy trafficking and manufacture. West African syndicates are primarily involved in heroin and cocaine trafficking, while domestic Indonesian syndicates dominate cannabis cultivation and trafficking

According to the Cambodia National Police, the major drug trafficking routes into the country are as follows: methamphetamine in pill and crystalline form are trafficked from Myanmar to Cambodia through the northeastern borders of the country by land and river routes; heroin is trafficked into Cambodia from Myanmar by land and river routes and then trafficked primarily to Thailand, Taiwan Province of China, China and Indonesia; cocaine is trafficked to Cambodia from Latin America and then trafficked primarily to Thailand and Taiwan Province of China; ecstasy is trafficked to Cambodia by air from the Netherlands (CNP, 2009).

Much of the crystalline methamphetamine seized in Indonesia in 2009 was reported as being trafficked into the country from the Islamic Republic of Iran by Iranian couriers and from China. Ecstasy (MDMA) has historically been trafficked into Indonesia from the Netherlands and also from China. In recent years, however, the large-scale manufacture of MDMA and methamphetamine in Indonesia has partially eliminated the need for the trafficking of large quantities of ATS. ATS manufactured in Indonesia is also trafficked internationally. There is concern that Indonesia could replace Europe as the source of MDMA in the region.

Drugs trafficked to Indonesia are typically trafficked from Phnom Penh to Bangkok and then to Johor Baru, Malaysia, which has emerged as a key transit point for drug trafficking to neighbouring countries. It is reported that in Johor Baru, criminal groups often change couriers before the drugs are further trafficked to Kuching, Malaysia and Pontianak, Indonesia and then to Jakarta (BNN, 2009a).

As mentioned earlier, crystalline methamphetamine is manufactured in Indonesia. However, it is also trafficked into Indonesia by Iranian couriers by air, on flights that typically originate in Tehran. In 2009, Indonesia law enforcement authorities arrested more than 25 Iranian couriers at international airports in Jakarta, Surabaya and Bali. A significant quantity of crystalline methamphetamine, ecstasy and heroin has also been seized from flights that originate in New Delhi, India.

VI. C Summary Table Non Nigerian Criminal Network in Trafficking Psychotropic Substances

Figure 5

Dimensions	Data
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basis of friendship trust and links • Business like hierarchy and structure • Loose network
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturers • Couriers • Distributors
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturing industry • Home industry • Quick in distributing drugs

(Source: designed by the researcher)

CHAPTER VII

NIGERIAN CRIMINAL NETWORK IN TRAFFICKING PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES

As it has been mentioned previously, the trafficking of psychotropic substances are due to the trend of the market and consumers who controls the demand and supply of the drugs. In this chapter, data are specifically comprised of Nigerian criminal network in trafficking psychotropic substances.

VII. 1. Structure

West Africa often recruit local couriers to smuggle drugs. A large portion of the drugs trafficked into Indonesia is controlled by international criminal groups who traffic drugs into the country along various air and sea routes employing a variety of methods (CID, 2010). Since the early 1990s West African criminal groups have been operating in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta and other big cities. West African criminal groups often use Phnom Penh in Cambodia as a centre for financial transactions and the distribution of crystalline methamphetamine, ecstasy (MDMA) and heroin to Indonesia. Most of the heroin trafficked by West African groups appears to come from Afghanistan. Most of the heroin is trafficked by land (BNN, 2009a).

West Africa has become an attractive location for foreign criminal networks, with West Africans as partners, and a particular criminal network model is gradually being built up and exported. Besides the well-known Nigerian networks, new ones are developing in Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Modeled on the Nigerian 'network' type, such criminal organizations have in common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganized' crime.

These syndicates are known for their adaptability. They establish cells worldwide to capitalize on freight routes, lax border control and cheaper drug stock. The networks established by West African crime cells are more than just flexible and mobile. They are known to conduct meetings in control-room type situations and to run de-briefs from which they learn to hone their skills from the mistakes or successes of past ventures.

VII. 2. Key Players

Increasing activity of transnational organized criminal groups from the Islamic Republic of Iran and West Africa. Transnational organized criminal groups have targeted several countries in the region. West African groups are also reported to be operating in China, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. West African groups have until now trafficked primarily in cocaine and heroin and typically traffic the drugs via air passengers and foot traffic across borders. There are new indications, however, that they may be diversifying into the region's lucrative methamphetamine trade. Cambodia is becoming a key transit country for ATS and heroin and is vulnerable to international drug trafficking gangs. In Lao PDR also, emerging ATS problems are related to transnational syndicates playing an increasing role in the country.

VII. 3. Relationships

China reported that West African (especially Nigerian) syndicates were trafficking large quantities of heroin, as well as methamphetamine, to China, especially through Guangdong province. (UNODC World Drug Report, 2010)

In contrast, recent reports of shipments of methamphetamine from countries in West Africa (notably Nigeria) to various destinations in East and South-East Asia is an international concern, and suggest that a more professional ATS production has been emerging in West Africa. (UNODC World Drug Report, 2011) One emerging trend identified by Japanese authorities was that of methamphetamine trafficking from Africa to Japan. The proportion of methamphetamine seized in Japan that was sourced from Africa increased from

7.4% in 2009 to 36% in the first half of 2010. The West and Central African countries of Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal were prominent among the source countries in Africa.

Nevertheless this trend, together with reports from other countries in the region, suggests that African trafficking syndicates active in the Asia-Pacific region may be expanding their activities to include trafficking of methamphetamine in addition to heroin and cocaine. Cases of methamphetamine trafficking have emerged from various West African nations. Trafficking of methamphetamine originating in or transiting through Benin, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Senegal and in particular Nigeria have all been reported since 2009. Cases are typically multi-kilo and transported via air passengers hidden in luggage or by body concealment resembling methods employed by West African syndicates for other drugs

Nigerian authorities stopped two separate cargo shipments totalling 63 kg of methamphetamine and amphetamine to Japan and South Africa. In July 2009, 10 kg of crystalline methamphetamine, 10 kg of amphetamine and 57 kg of ephedrine were seized in Nigeria en route to South Africa.

Increasing activity of transnational organized criminal groups from outside the region, notably the Islamic Republic of Iran and West Africa, highlights the widening international dimensions to the drug problem in East and Southeast Asia. Over the past years, nationals of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been arrested in several countries in the region, including Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, for attempting to smuggle methamphetamine in crystalline and liquid form. The trafficking of heroin and cocaine by West African groups has been reported by China, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand.

Linking to the trend of trafficking psychotropic substances, my informant added this statement.

“Nigeria itu, khusus untuk narkoba jenis yang tadi itu, sudah jauh menurun ya. Tapi kalau sekarang mulai ada swallow kaya dulu isinya sabu, ya itu mungkin itu menjadi faktor lagi pembangkit ya. Tapi saingannya udah banyak, orang malaysia, orang Iran. Bahkan dia dengan sengaja masuk isinya kosmetik aja dimasukin itu, apa saja

dimasukkin itu, bahkan elektronik, dimasukkin itu, bermacam-macam modus operandi lah”

Free translation:

“Nigeria, especially for the narcotics mentioned before, has lowered. But now there’s swallow that includes shabu (amphetamine), maybe that’s the push factor. But there are a lot of competitors, like Malaysian and Iran. They put it inside cosmetics, anything they can think of they hide the drugs there, even electronics, they put it in, many modus of operations.”

VII. C. Summary Table Nigerian Criminal Network in Trafficking Psychotropic Substances

Figure 6

Dimensions	Data
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruits local couriers • Based on a “Nigerian Network” type • Disorganized crime
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking to the key players on their designated country • Couriers • None manufacturers
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt quickly to the environment and people • Many modus of operation and distribution • activity of transnational organized criminal groups from outside the region

(Source: designed by the researcher)

CHAPTER VIII

DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected will be analyzed structurally, with analyzing the concept of a criminal network in general. With an understanding to what the concept of a criminal network is based on the data collected, the analyzing and comparing of a more specific criminal network will be much more easier to understand. After receiving the knowledge needed to understand the general concept of a criminal network, the data collected will then be analyzed into three parts which are criminal network in trafficking narcotics, criminal network in trafficking psychotropic substances, and a more specific idea and focus of a Nigerian criminal network of trafficking drugs in Indonesia.

Each sub chapter will analyze the data collected as a whole, which will then be compared to what the main focus of the research is, a Nigerian criminal network. The data will be analyzed according to the dimensions that has been formed, which are structure, key players, and relationship. The summary of the analysis will then be compared and drawn out in a table that distinguishes the difference between a non Nigerian criminal network with a Nigerian criminal network.

Relating to the method used and describe in the previous chapter, we may see the resulted data in the vector of dimensions constructed. These data will then be analyzed thoroughly through the systematic phase of analyzing. For a conclusion, the last summary table will be drawn out to view the answer on the research question and issue.

Figure 7. Summary Table of Data in Dimensions

	Non Nigerian Criminal Network	Nigerian Criminal Network																
Narcotics	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Dimensions</th> <th>Data</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Structure</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchy structure • Having family as a foundation • Tight bonds with farmers, as they are used in the network as well (producers) </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Key Players</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Producers (farmers, drug lords) • Distributors • State and Law officials who have helped the networks in gaining privileges </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Relationship</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A business like relationship • Connections with governments • Connections and linking with other criminal network that are capital pursued </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Dimensions	Data	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchy structure • Having family as a foundation • Tight bonds with farmers, as they are used in the network as well (producers) 	Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Producers (farmers, drug lords) • Distributors • State and Law officials who have helped the networks in gaining privileges 	Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A business like relationship • Connections with governments • Connections and linking with other criminal network that are capital pursued 	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Dimensions</th> <th>Data</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Structure</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cell like syndicates • Some still owns an old fashion hierarchy • Affiliated with government and law officials </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Key Players</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A leader at the top • A god father like figure • Hires mules and locals to join the network </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Relationship</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quick to adapt • Owns many modus of trafficking narcotics • Brave and are able to take giant risks </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Dimensions	Data	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cell like syndicates • Some still owns an old fashion hierarchy • Affiliated with government and law officials 	Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A leader at the top • A god father like figure • Hires mules and locals to join the network 	Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quick to adapt • Owns many modus of trafficking narcotics • Brave and are able to take giant risks
	Dimensions	Data																
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hierarchy structure • Having family as a foundation • Tight bonds with farmers, as they are used in the network as well (producers) 																	
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Producers (farmers, drug lords) • Distributors • State and Law officials who have helped the networks in gaining privileges 																	
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A business like relationship • Connections with governments • Connections and linking with other criminal network that are capital pursued 																	
Dimensions	Data																	
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cell like syndicates • Some still owns an old fashion hierarchy • Affiliated with government and law officials 																	
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A leader at the top • A god father like figure • Hires mules and locals to join the network 																	
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quick to adapt • Owns many modus of trafficking narcotics • Brave and are able to take giant risks 																	
Psychootropic Substances	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Dimensions</th> <th>Data</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Structure</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basis of friendship trust and links • Business like hierarchy and structure • Loose network </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Key Players</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturers • Couriers • Distributors </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Relationship</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturing industry • Home industry • Quick in distributing drugs </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Dimensions	Data	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basis of friendship trust and links • Business like hierarchy and structure • Loose network 	Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturers • Couriers • Distributors 	Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturing industry • Home industry • Quick in distributing drugs 	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Dimensions</th> <th>Data</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Structure</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruits local couriers • Based on a "Nigerian Network" type • Disorganized crime </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Key Players</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking to the key players on their designated country • Couriers • None manufacturers </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Relationship</td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt quickly to the environment and people • Many modus of operation and distribution </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Dimensions	Data	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruits local couriers • Based on a "Nigerian Network" type • Disorganized crime 	Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking to the key players on their designated country • Couriers • None manufacturers 	Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt quickly to the environment and people • Many modus of operation and distribution
Dimensions	Data																	
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basis of friendship trust and links • Business like hierarchy and structure • Loose network 																	
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturers • Couriers • Distributors 																	
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manufacturing industry • Home industry • Quick in distributing drugs 																	
Dimensions	Data																	
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruits local couriers • Based on a "Nigerian Network" type • Disorganized crime 																	
Key Players	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking to the key players on their designated country • Couriers • None manufacturers 																	
Relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapt quickly to the environment and people • Many modus of operation and distribution 																	

(Source: designed by the researcher)

VIII. 1. Criminal Network

The analyzing of this sub chapter will comprise of the data collected through documents and confirmed by interviews with professionals practitioner in this field and also a Nigerian inmate sentenced for the crime involving drugs. The main idea of analyzing in this sub chapter is to give the foundation and general idea of a criminal network in general, so that in later explanation and analyzing the concept of a criminal network will already be set the same as the researcher.

1. Structures

The concept of a criminal network as stated by Morselli, varies and differentiates widely based on its scope, forms, and contents. This may vary from simple co-offending decisions to seize an available and attractive criminal opportunity to sophisticated designs to monopolize a given market or geographical territory. Extensively it may also be based on incentives offered by a one-time partnership to execute criminal ventures or framed within a bureaucratic-like infrastructure that demands and enforces exclusivity on the action and productivity of members. He stated that a criminal network may be formed through family or friendship tie, background affinities, resource sharing, individual expertise, group loyalty, or governance by a dominant figure. Related to that, Erickson also added a statement that claims secrecy is a “necessary condition” and risk is a fundamental factor, trust, personal vouching, and social tie strength all increase in importance. This secrecy relates to the structure in which a criminal network structure often protects some participants when their illegal activities are no longer secret and participants become vulnerable to the law.

An important element in the structure of a criminal network is that it faces more intensive and systematic control from external and internal forces. From the outside, a criminal network is structured and adjusts to formal and informal social control agents, like the police, public services, and the community. Linking to this, my informant claims that he has been captured and gave a story as follows, the story began 3 years ago when he was still living alone in Jakarta. Bojang had met a friend who was also a Nigerian. This friend had asked him to do a favour, Bojang agreed because he thought he would help a friend. This Nigerian friend

had asked him to deliver an envelope to his girlfriend who was also living in Bojang's apartment, but because of the high security in the apartment his friend cannot access his girlfriend straight to her room. With Bojang having the access key and passes to his apartment, his friend thought that Bojang may be able to help.

So one night Bojang went down to the lobby to meet his friend and receive the envelope to give to his girlfriend. Not until he received the envelope did he realized that the envelope contained heroin inside. Because Bojang thought that he would only be delivering it to a room, he thought that there would be no harm done. When he was walking up to the room, he was suddenly stopped by a group of policemen who later surrounded him. Bojang panicked because he didn't know what was going on or happening all of a sudden. The police had caught him delivering drugs and said that they would take Bojang into custody. Bojang defended himself and told the police that he didn't know or had anything to do with what the police were assuming. He told them that the man who gave the envelope to him was downstairs and he would be the person the police are looking for. The policemen still took Bojang and had him stayed in the police car while the policemen chased his friend.

The police had chased him back to his house, which was in Bekasi. Along the whole process, Bojang remained in the car with other policemen. He had overheard the policemen had found evidence of heroin all around his house and that his friend tried to escape from his house. All of a sudden, Bojang heard a gunshot. He asked what had happened to his friend, the policemen just answered that his friend might be just shot in the leg. The other policemen who were chasing Bojang's friend carried him to the police car, they were going to take his friend to a hospital because of his bleeding and gunshot. While they took his friend to the hospital, the other policemen took Bojang to Polda Metro Jaya where he would be questioned for his actions. While on the way to Polda Metro Jaya, Bojang overheard the policemen speaking in Indonesian, in which Bojang pretended he didn't understand Indonesian, they said that Bojang's friend died in the hospital. At that time, Bojang knew that he was trapped to be sentenced because he didn't have any other evidence or witness to prove him otherwise.

When Bojang arrived at Polda Metro Jaya, they told him that he would be arrested with the possession of drugs. Bojang defended himself by repeating that he didn't know anything or knew what was going on, he was only there to help his friend deliver an envelope. But the police didn't care of what Bojang had to say, because as far as they know it the enactment of Indonesia stated that any person with the possession any narcotics will be arrested for a duration of ten years (Undang – Undang Narkotika 1997 Pasal 78 ayat 1 dan 2). Bojang was then sent to trial and was sentenced with that degree of conviction.

This confession had me interested because when he told me that he was not part of any criminal network or drug business, the BAP showed otherwise. He was in fact a targeted criminal by the police, in which he had been observed and monitored by the police for months and was being organized to be captured. This showed of how false confession links to how a key player in a criminal network keeps his secrecy toward his network in order to hide its existence.

Linking with that analysis, my informant gave a statement that adds and completes the knowledge of why inmates own an unclear status.

“kalo mereka datang kesini biasanya itu paspornya sudah diambil.. oleh yang diatasnya lagi, sehingga kemanapun mereka harus menuruti perintah yang mengontrol dia atau yang memerintah dia, jadi sering sekali kita lihat kalau kita melakukan penangkapan tidak ada identitas.. yang ngaku juga belum jelas pengakuannya.” (Informant Brigjen Arman Depari, 2011)

Free translation:

“If they come here, their passport are usually already taken by the ones above them, so where ever they go, they have to follow the orders of the ones that controls them. So, often times when we make an arrest, there are no identities. The ones that do confess also gives an unclear confession.”

Arlacchi has stated that criminal settings that were traditionally hierarchical became more decentralized once loyalty and formal order were displaced by individual expertise and entrepreneurial spirit. With that, Waring and McAndrew has explained how structurally a criminal network fits best to denote a criminal collective. First, in co-offending settings, many offenders may be part of the same criminal operation, but they never actually meet. The network frame

grasps this scenario; the group does not. Second, the network framework provides what is probably the most suitable working tool for assembling the resource pooling that is typical; of entrepreneurial crimes that require a greater level of skill, sophistication, and complex collaboration. Third, networks represent collectives that are more adaptable than groups. The network's adaptive features are in its flexibility, which is conducive to the hostile and uncertain environment generally associated to crime.

The network concepts may be applied in different ways, in which the element of structure may be a network that is a form of organization which is independent of other organizational forms or formal organizational systems may emerge from the network. The complex structure and interpretations of the network concept is generally the idea, that if combined, creates a context of flexible order. Morselli (2009) stated that the idea of flexible order begins with the assumption that there is common ground to be found in the interaction between individual and collective interests. To sum up the idea, the network is a self organizing structure that is essentially driven by the emergent behavior of its part. These parts may include a variety of actors, subgroups, clusters, and even hierarchies that are absorbed in the overriding network structure. So it is not so much the individual offenders lack the skills or competency to plan and structure their actions; instead, it is more that the organizational systems which in which may find themselves when executing their crimes and collaborating with other offenders do not require such extensive planning and long term organization. Many profile of criminal networks, which from the outside may appear unstructured and not highly sophisticated, though in fact their operations are highly effective and enduring as such networks.

Generally compiled from the data, we may see that the structures of a criminal network in general consist of various elements but mainly are formed by the ties of ethnic bonds or family background. The data mentioned are compiled from the many examples from the documents collected. One of the forms of a Colombian network referred in the data is called the consorcios which are formed by small, independent, and sometimes family group. In the Mexican network shown like the Tijuana Cartel the organization is divided up among family

members and subordinates. Also in the Indian network, it is mentioned as the data that the structure consists of a small, mostly family run, trafficking enterprise. The Mexican network of Guajalajara Cartel also has insulated a structure that recruited relatives, extended family members, and longtime friends. The data shown in the Tajikistan network also mentions that affiliation is based on extended family ties or locality. The Asian network shown using the example of The Golden Triangle are also dominated by the structure of ethnic bonds, which is dominated by the Chinese ethnics. As the main findings, Nigerian criminal networks are also organized along tribal or ethnic lines with loose network structures.

From the data shown, we may analyze that Morselli is correct by pointing out that a criminal network structure can be based on family or friendship tie, background affinities, resource sharing, individual expertise, group loyalty, or governance by a dominant figure. The data collected mostly shows that a criminal network is built solely on family or ethnics background as a foundation of the criminal network. From that foundation the network then may mature and grow in structure, which may build up to business criminals operating as a criminal network. This maturing process relates to the statement given by Morselli, which he states that the network is a self organizing structure that is essentially driven by the emergent behavior of its part.

With that concept my informant gave a statement that confirms the idea above and links to the data collected on the structure of criminal network in general.

“Organized crime itu memang diorganisir dengan bermacam-macam desain. Tadi seperti yang disampaikan, ada yang memang dengan klan nya sendiri , ada yang memang keluarga, tapi semua organized crime itu harus ada hubungan keluarga. Karena mungkin mereka lebih percaya kalau mereka masih ada hubungan keluarga. Tapi ada juga yang transnasional.. artinya transnasional itu berbagai bangsa, suku, macem-macem di dalem.” (Informant Brigjen Armand Depari, 2011)

Free translation:

“Organized crime is really organized with many designs. Just like you have mentioned, it may be based by clan, it may be from a family, but all of these organized crime needs a family bond. Because maybe they will have more trust if there was a family

bond. But there is also a transnational from, it means that there is many states, tribe, and many more inside.”

The various elements shown from the data is significant to the concept of criminal network itself. As it has been stated in the literature study, Morselli stated that a criminal network varies and differentiates widely based on its scope, forms, and contents. That is why the various elements which emerges different behavior may form a criminal network that in theory is possible to organize the structure of the network itself. Morselli also added that the organizational system of the structure when executing a crime and collaborating with other offenders do not require such extensive planning and long term organization. With that added statement, we may link it to the data collected, which shows that most criminal network are often a short term organization that only works when there is an intensive demand or supply. Although most big cartels and criminal groups shown in the data remained a long term business.

Not only is criminal network based on family ties, but also one of the most important factor of a criminal network in a transnational crime is that it is formed on the basis of a cell system. The interview with the informant in Polda Metro Jaya gave this statement as a data and confirmation of the already collected data document.

“struktur sih, itu kan pekerjaan dibawah tanah ya. Secara struktur, karena sistem sel, yang tau yang diatas. Si A sama si B sama-sama sebagai kurir, ga kenal, tapi A sama B anak buahnya C, D, F, G, H, I, iutu mungkin dipeke a dan b, mungkin b doang, a engga, mungkin dipake dua2nya. Karena mana kan yang bisa memberi cepat gitu.”
(Informant Polda Metro Jaya, 2011)

Free Translation:

“Structure, well that’s an underground work. Structurally, because of the cell system, the one that knows is on the top. A and B both are couriers, they don’t know each other, but A and B has staffs C, D, F, G, H, I. those staffs may be used by A and B, maybe only by B, and A doesn’t use them, maybe both uses it. Because it all dependes on who can bring it the fastest.”

This durable, elastic structure did not emerge overnight, but developed over many years as entrepreneurs built their enterprises through personal contacts

and repeated exchanges and resources they accumulated gradually, while drawing on social traditions. The Colombian network data shows this maturing process by mentioning a business criminals form of network, who are driven by personal financial considerations and typically adopt a core group structure.

2. Key Players

Criminal networks are defined by the activities of key individuals who engage in illicit activity in often shifting alliances. Such individuals often do not regard themselves as being members of a group. Networks are formed around a key series of individuals through which most connection network run. It is likely that networks are more common than represented in the sample. They are considered to be a growing phenomenon. Even when key individuals are arrested, the networks tends to reform it selves quickly around new individuals and activities.

A statement my informant gave me, adds to this analysis.

“jadi tentu saja ada yang mernjadi leader.. ada yang menjadi pelaksana ada yangmenjadi, katakanlah yang lebih spesifik yang mengatur keuangan. Atau yang spesifik lagi dari narkoba itu ada produsennya .. itulah yang disebut organized crime dan transnasional tuh itubisa terjadi dan dimana-mana .. mungkin produsen nya ad di afrika sana boisa jadi pengendalinya ada di asia. Bisa jadi pemegang keuangannya di amerika” (Informant Mr. Arman Depari, 2011)

Free translation:

“of course there is someone who is the leader. There are implementers, there is, let’s just say, to be more specific the one that controls the financial state. Or to be more specific, on drugs there are the producers. That is what we call an organized crime and transnational crime can happen anywhere. Maybe the producers is in Africa, the controller in Asia. The finance manager in America.”

There are many roles that members of a criminal network may take. In which those roles have been mentioned and explained in the second chapter. It has been stated that there are seven main roles or key players in a criminal network, which consists of:

1. *Organizers* are the core and determine the scale and scope of activities.
2. *Insulators* transmit information and orders between the core and the periphery while insulating the core from the danger posed by infiltration.
3. *Communicators* ensure feedback is obtained regarding orders and directives that they transmit to other actors in the network.
4. *Guardians* ensure network security and take necessary measures to minimize its vulnerability to infiltrations or external attack.
5. *Extenders* enlarge the network by recruiting new members and also by negotiating collaboration with other networks and encouraging collaboration with the business sector, government, and justice.
6. *Monitors* are dedicated to the network's effectiveness by providing information to organizers regarding weaknesses and problems within the network so that the organizers can resolve them.
7. *Crossovers* are part of a criminal network, but continue to work in legal institutions, whether governmental, financial, or commercial.

Linking to the concept and roles of key players, my informant explains these matters of all the key players linked to each other.

“Ya atas itu ya ga Cuma membiayai, mereka memproduksi, cara setelah memproduksi untuk mengambil apanya tuh, lewat distributor utamanya siapa sampe pengecer. Itu. Makanya dulu pernah saya bawa keruangan ya itu ada gambarnya. Tuh terungkap karena kita ada yang mengecek. Oh kesini oh kesini. Gitu kan. Accountnya dimana, saya buka accountnya, kemana dibuat accountnya, kemana aja duitnya. Panjang.” (Informant Polda Metro Jaya)

Free translation

“on the upper level doesn't only finance, they also produce, after they produce they take it to the main distributor and up to the retail. That's why I've taken to the room with that picture. Everything is revealed, because we've investigated it. Where they make and take they're account and the money. It's long”

From the data of the Tajikistan network it is explained that a role of a key player called the independent peddlers. It is stated that one of the formations of key players in the network are, Independent Peddlers. Opiates were very

frequently traded by individuals or small, unorganized groups of people who had no previous expertise and for whom opiate trafficking represented a means of survival.

Linking to the roles mentioned as keyplayers, crossovers are commonly found in a network. *Crossovers* are part of a criminal network, but continue to work in legal institutions, whether governmental, financial, or commercial. The data in the Golden Triangle network shows that many institutions, mainly in the financial and commercial state, are part of the drug trafficking network. The data shows these institutions:

Myanmar May Flower Group. Its ethnic Chinese chairman, Kyaw Win, has emerged as Burma's new high-profile entrepreneur. A Rangoon business magazine names his "old benefactor", an "immensely wealthy Thai entrepreneur" — who is listed in internal documents from the US Drug Enforcement Agency as a major drug trafficker. Kyaw Win has also, from his old base at Tachilek on the Thai-Burma border, done business with Khun Sa and Lt.-Gen. Maung Aye, vice chairman of the ruling junta. In 1990 Kyaw Win moved to Rangoon and established the May Flower Trading Company and, in 1994, the May Flower Bank. In 1997 the May Flower Group took over Yangon Airways, one of Burma's two private domestic airlines.

Peace Myanmar Group. A rapidly expanding business empire controlled by the Yang brothers from Kokang (both Yang Maoliang and Yang Maoan are listed in the US State Department's reports as major drug traffickers; their younger brother Yang Maoxian was arrested in China on drug trafficking charges in 1994, and executed in Kunming). It holds the franchise for Mitsubishi Electric in Burma, and operates a paint factory and liquor distillery producing well-known brands such as Myanmar Rum and Myanmar Dry Gin. It has a large consumer electronics showroom on Merchant Street in Rangoon in a joint venture with the Ministry of Commerce.

The World Group of companies are owned by Wa interests and have investments in construction, retail trading, import-export, and the tourist industry. controlled company, Myanmar Kyone Yeom (Group)—which once ran a finance company that foreign analysts described as "a thinly disguised money-laundering

vehicle"—fell out with the government in 1998, and its chairman, Kyaw Myint (aka Michael Hu Hwa; a "colonel" in the Wa army), escaped to Thailand. He is now back in business in Rangoon.

The Good Shan Brothers International Ltd. This company is controlled by surrendered druglord Khun Sa and his family. In February 1996, a month after Khun Sa's surrender, ten new companies were registered at an obscure address in Rangoon, a virtually empty room in a town house with little more than a sign and a mailbox outside.

The registered owner of the premises is this company, which is engaged in "export, import, general trading and construction," according to the official Myanmar Business Directory. In two surprisingly candid interviews with a correspondent from the Austrian daily *Die Presse*, Khun Sa stated that he was investing in real estate, the hotel business in Rangoon, and a new motorway from Rangoon to Mandalay.

"Hong Bang ("Prosperous Nation") is the overall name for Wei Xuegang's business conglomerate with branches in Kengtung, Tachilek, Möng Yawn and all over Shan State. Over the past year, Wei has invested millions of dollars in the lumber business, mineral smelting, pig farming, and retail trade through what one Western drug enforcement official called "the biggest money-laundering operation in Southeast Asia today."

Union of Myanmar Economic Holdings (UMEH), Burma's biggest holding company, is 40 percent owned by the defence ministry's Directorate of Defence Procurement, with the rest belonging mainly to senior military personnel and their families. Known locally as the "U-paing Company" it is involved in the gems trade, banking (the Myawaddy Bank), logging, timber processing and coal mining, and is the joint-venture partner in several projects involving foreign investment. Officially, its capital comes from the Burmese army's pension funds, but druglords such as Lin Mingxian (Sai Lin) have invested heavily in this company, often in partnership with high-ranking army officers. Lin is identified in US documents as a major drug trafficker.

From the Colombian Network it also shows that the role of crossovers plays a great role. The data collected shows that apart from influencing political

decisions, criminal networks could also influence the process of law-making typical of a 'state capture'. For example, it was alleged that the constitutional Assembly in Colombia passed the anti-extradition law in 1991 as a result of pressure from the narcotraffickers. With that, it shows that a criminal network owns a role in the governmental institutions and has gained the opportunity to influence the governmental process.

3. Relationship

Criminal networks are not simply social networks operating in criminal contexts. The covert settings that surround them call for specific interactions and relational features within and beyond the network (Morselli, 2009). Using that statement, Erickson (1981) made a study of risk and the need for security shapes the structure of some secret societies. Erickson then stated, when secrecy is a "necessary condition" and risk is fundamental factor, trust, personal vouching, and social tie strength all increase in importance. Baker and Faulker added that placed risk and concealment are the most important features in criminal networks.

The Cali cartel already controlled a vast intelligence gathering network that included all public telephone lines in Cali, enabling them to intercept all police and military calls. This data shows how the network keeps its secrecy by having an intelligence network to gain power on intercepting phone calls. Another example shown in the data of the Colombian network is that the large number of small drug cartels are less inclined to utilize open forms of intimidation and/or extensive networks of corrupt police and other officials as was the case with the Medellin and Cali Cartels. Where as in Mexiso a similar relationship is shown on emerging and keeping this secrecy, research shows that police corruption may be a part of a highly organized network linking corrupt public officials, the police, the judiciary and the criminal underworld.

Waring (1993) and McAndrew (1999) points out why the network is a suitable alternative to traditional terms used to denote criminal collectives, particularly the group. First, in co-offending settings, many offenders may be part of the same criminal operation, but they never actually meet. The network frame

grasps this scenario; the group does not. Second, the network framework provides what is probably the most suitable working tool for assembling the resource pooling that is typical; of entrepreneurial crimes that require a greater level of skill, sophistication, and complex collaboration. Third, networks represent collectives that are more adaptable than groups. The network's adaptive features are in its flexibility, which is conducive to the hostile and uncertain environment generally associated to crime.

The data on the Golden Triangle shows these distinctive features of what has been explained on entrepreneurial crimes that require a greater level of skill, sophistication, and complex collaboration, in which it may be called business criminals. These 'business criminals' (as described by Dorn, Levi and King) closely resemble a group of traffickers and dealers from South East Asia, who are mostly men approaching middle age or older, who have excellent organisational skills, and established connections, often with organised crime syndicates or are prepared to work closely with organised crime, and have capital to invest. They also have a willingness to take large business risks. Their activities exist within a highly competitive market populated by individual entrepreneurs. These traffickers change as enforcement strategies change, or as they tire of the corrupt practices endemic to the illegal trade (Chaiken and Johnson 1988).

Linking to that analysis, my informant gave a statement as to how the ethnics of Chinese (The Golden Triangle) are entrepreneurial criminals that are strictly based of business methods and links.

“Kalau yang etnis cina itu juga, saya juga, ga yakin kalau hubungan pekerjaan ya, karena itu juga menyangkut masalah fee ya, masalah salary, semua itu kan salary. Jadi antara etnis juga tidak, gak jelas. Kalau memang, pekerjaan kartel tuh bila perlu, semua juga dirambah. Kita tidak bisa. Memang ada sebagian etnis yang begitu, memang ada. Ada memang etnis tertentu lah.”
(Informant Polda Metro Jaya, 2011)

Free translation:

“the Chinese ethnic too, I'm not sure if there is link on the job, because it does involve the fee policy, the salary. So between ethnics too, it is still unclear. If there is a chance, all work aspects of cartels we can encroach. But we cant. There is a few ethnics that

are like that, there is. there are some certain ethnics that are like that.”

In the trafficking psychotropic substances, the Mexican Network also shows this denote of criminal collectives. On the data shows that the meth business proved especially attractive to Mexican organizations. For years they had moved Colombian cocaine for only a percentage of the profits; with methamphetamine there was no sharing. So in effect they made the transition from middlemen to vertically controlling every aspect of the business, from production and distribution to sales (Owen 2007). Although the Tijuana and Juarez cartels tried to break into the market, the brothers became the most important because they were the first to grasp the commercial potential of the trade and were able to quickly adapt to the changing conditions of the marketplace, such as making the switch from ephedrine powder to pseudoephedrine pills (precursor chemicals).

VIII. 2. Criminal Network in Trafficking Narcotics

The analysis in this sub chapter is to give a more specific idea of what a criminal network in trafficking narcotics, which will be then be compared between the non Nigerian criminal network with the Nigerian criminal network. From the previous sub chapter, a general idea has been drawn out in the analysis of what a criminal network is define from the data collected.

1. Structures

It includes the distribution of illicit drugs by large-scale operations, which can and often do cross national boundaries, as well as the small-scale syndicates which distribute drugs at a local level. Each distribution system has its own methods and practices that pose distinct problems requiring different strategies. The geographical areas of production are worth listing, for they show where trafficking occurs and the different types of organizations used to distribute a variety of drugs. Colombian trafficking operates largely in cartels which are best characterised as a federation of multiple independent groups that, when necessary, forge multiple alliances. They are not centrally organised, although some cartel members are more powerful than others and offer leadership when required. The

cartels function much like legitimate businesses, with sections concerned with distribution, sales, financing, product promotion, security, and so on.

A statement from my informant adds to this analysis of how a criminal network is well structured.

“Memang narkoba itu merupakan kejahatan yang sangat terorganisir, baik caranya baik modus operandinya” (Informant Mr. Arman Depari)

Free translation:

“it’s true that drugs are a crime that’s very organized, either in their ways or their modus of operations.”

The Golden Crescent shows the data related to the statement above of how the dynamic of drug distribution may occur. Drug trafficking comprises, as in any business, management chain, administrative hierarchy, demand and supply market, own clientele, established ‘business links’ (along drug trafficking routes) and people who traffic. The transnational criminal groups have own distinct hierarchy, and controlled territories. it is difficult to measure the number of groups (their size) involved.

Norman M. Garland in the book *Criminal Law: For the Criminal Justice Professional* (2003) stated that the structure and size of a crime organization allows a family to carry out crimes that require many people to play many different roles. The Tijuana network of Mexico shows data linking to the structure of the role of family. The organization was divided up among family members and subordinates. Unable to control the organization from prison, Gallardo by most accounts met with his lieutenants and divided the Mexican border crossings among them. Lacking a unified, overarching hierarchy of corrupt state officials to limit competition, the organization of drug trafficking has become more fractionalized. Competing organizations now vie for influence at both the national and sub-national level, sometimes competing to corrupt officials in different agencies within the same administration.

But on the other hand, organizations may work with other people who are already involved with the sale of narcotics as a way to gain control of the market and distribute drugs throughout the country, as it is compounded by the data of the Indian network. Suppliers and dealers of drugs may not be members of the family, but may work for the family and help carry out goals. There are no big organizations involved in the business. Although they may occasionally hire “mules” for the risky phases of the heroin transportation into large city, the traders usually consist of small, mostly family run, trafficking enterprise. Related on the role of families, Mexican network groups that operate in the large-scale heroin market tend to be close-knit, cohesive, and ethnically homogeneous. Mexico consist of numerous actors working within a vast supply chain, consisting of individuals operating independently, specialized and tightly knit groups, as well as larger, more hierarchical networks.

Structural characteristics can be attributed as networks as a whole. These include the *size* (the number of persons who participate in it), the *density* (proportion of existing social relationships compared to all possible relationships in a network) and the *cohesion* of a network (Bruinsman and Bernasco, 2004). With the findings of the characteristic of relationship, it is assumed that social networks with many mutual affective relationships are more permanent and durable than if they were only to consist of instrumental relationships. Thus we see within many ethnically based criminal groups that there are affective and other forms of emotional relationships with family members. These networks have a stronger group cohesion as a result. The Tajikistan network comes with a small to medium size trafficking groups. Small to medium size trafficking groups appeared simultaneously with the independent peddlers, consist of more than 10 – 15 persons. Within each group there is some division of labor, but this is quite rudimentary. Affiliation is based on extended family ties, locality, or membership in a professional association, sporting group, or other traditional male groups.

Social networks also have a form. They can have the form of a *chain*, or be *hierarchical* or *central*. When social networks have a chain-like form, there are few social relationships between the persons and the links between people in the network are often not direct, but often occur via someone else in the network. The

Colombian network data shows that there are the ‘business criminals’ who are driven by personal financial considerations and do not seek political change, although they may influence events but only for their own purposes. They typically adopt a ‘core group’ structure, making them resistant to infiltration and law enforcement. Examples include the leaders of the Cali or Medellin cartels, plus a varied group of enterprises operating in South America and beyond

On the data of the Golden Triangle network, the constituents of networks are, on the whole, social relationships in which there are very frequent contacts. The syndicates operated independently, but since most of them were dominated by ethnic Chinese often connected with the so-called Secret Societies, or Triads, in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau, links with the KMT and some of the KKY forces were easily established. The couriers were perhaps the most visible links in the narcotics chain since they were often caught and exposed by the media. A courier could be anyone who was hired by the syndicates to carry drugs from one place to another. The couriers were often conveniently— but incorrectly— referred to by the media as well as law enforcement agencies as "drug traffickers"—perhaps to deflect attention from the syndicates, which seemed to be above the law.

To distinguish the difference to the Nigerian network, the data showed that there are many distinctive features of a criminal network structure in trafficking narcotics that are similar to other main networks. The Nigerian network owns a structure that included a “God Father” who directs six smugglers (mules), who transport money and drugs into Nigeria from abroad. leader at the top with lieutenants acting under him; in most cases the actors are affiliated with government agencies or officials. But unlike the traditional monolithic structure of organized crime, some authorities claim Nigerian gangs more closely resemble “cell-like syndicates,” of three to five core individuals (Nicaso and Lamothe 2005). Others, however, have identified well-organized structures resembling an “old fashioned pyramid of hierarchy” connected with criminal operations around the world (United Nations, 2005).

These groups tend to be organized along tribal/ethnic lines with loose network structures. Nigerian ‘network’ type, such criminal organisations have in

common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganised' crime. Despite the nature of their 'business', West African organised crime syndicates tend to take a very business-minded approach to the way they run their operations. These syndicates are known for their adaptability. They establish cells worldwide to capitalise on freight routes, lax border control and cheaper drug stock. The networks established by West African crime cells are more than just flexible and mobile.

2. Key Players

Criminal networks are defined by the activities of key individuals who engage in illicit activity in often shifting alliances. Such individuals often do not regard themselves as being members of a group. Networks are formed around a key series of individuals through which most connection network run.

Even when key individuals are arrested, the networks tends to reform it selves quickly around new individuals and activities. The data of the Colombian network shows how a network is formed and reforms it selves quickly. Traditionally the Medellin cartel had the most publicity, but the Cali cartel was larger, more efficient and certainly more business-like, although recently unconfirmed claims have been made that the Cali cartel has been broken up. Almost all the cartel members in Colombia are known to the DEA and the FBI, as are their movements and their major business associates. By all accounts the traffickers were, or are, small-time gangsters, unsophisticated and with an easy recourse to violence. The Medellin 'king pin', Pablo Escobar, The activities of this network had a catastrophic and lasting effect on the political system and stability in Colombia. Pablo Escobar, who controlled the Colombian Medellin and Cali cartels from the mid-1980s until his death in 1993, bought his election into the Colombian Congress as an alternative candidate, which gave him the opportunity to protect his criminal network as well as providing him with immunity from arrest.

The formation and quick reformation of a criminal network articulary in the trafficking of narcotics can also be seen in the Mexican network data of the Sinaloa. Sinaloa, this organization is led by Joaquin “El Chapo” Guzman and Ismael “El Mayo” Zambada, the two most wanted men in Mexico. The cartel is considered Mexico’s “most important drug trafficking organization” (Althaus 2008, A12). The organization headed by Amado Carrillo Fuentes: the overall influence of the Carrillo Fuentes network was significantly diminished, though it is believed that Amado Carrillo Fuentes’ brother, Vicente, took over the coordination of its operations in collaboration with other family members. Juan Nepomuceno Guerra, Later, in the 1980s, the networks he forged were taken to a new level by his nephew, Juan García Abrego, who developed ties with Colombia’s Cali-based DTO and secured protections from the Mexican government.

These networks may reform quickly due to the key players of the network, in which the organizers plays the biggest the role. In the Mexican network data of Tijuana it shows how much the role of an organizer of a criminal network greatly influences and is the core of the network. Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo, in 1989 for his role in the slaying of U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agent Enrique “Kiki” Camarena. Carrillo Fuentes rose to become Mexico’s wealthiest and most powerful trafficker by developing an organization with substantial operations in the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez trade corridor. This network, also known as the Juárez DTO, involved “approximately 3,300 persons in as many as 400 cells distributed across 17 Mexican states.” The Juárez DTO enjoyed protection from high-level officials in the Mexican Federal Judicial Police, as well as Mexico’s drug “czar” Gen.

The Los Zetas network from Mexico also shows how the organizers plays the main role and is the key player of the network. Based in the Mexican border towns of Matamoras, Reynosa, and Nuevo Laredo, the cartel’s best known and most feared members work for its paramilitary arm known as *Los Zetas*. Many were veterans of Mexican Special Forces before deserting to the Gulf Cartel for better pay as killers. García Abrego and the Gulf DTO allegedly enjoyed protection from the Federal Judicial Police and the Attorney General’s office.

García Abrego's downfall led to an internal contest for power between members of his own organization. After a series of clashes and betrayals, Osiel Cárdenas Guillén, a former quasi official police informant, or *madrina*, emerged as the new leader of the organization.

In Asia the main role of a network is also positioned on the organizer, the data collected confirms this with India's powerful organized crime groups, such as the one headed by Ibrahim Dawood, might be involved in large-scale smuggling of heroin via the sea route (DEA, 2002b; US Department of Treasury, 2003) and of how Juma Namangoni, ex-leader of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (Uzbek warlord) controlled about 70% of drugs moving via the "northern route." For the Golden Crescent.

While in Nigeria, the similarity remains to be seen. In any case, as a result of weak money laundering laws and crime bosses who often operate with the tacit approval of high-ranking officials, Nigeria remains among the major players in global organized crime networks.

3. Relationship

Lies in the legal and financial risks associated with the crimes in question, and thereby to the required level of trust between collaborating criminals. In the Golden Triangle network data, South East Asian heroin traffickers seem to be slightly less sophisticated in their business methods, preferring to remain more individualist, but no less reluctant to resort to extreme levels of personal violence when required, in which the level of trust is staged to be more individualistic but still collaborates as a collective.

The social relationships are mostly homogenous in nature: those involved have comparable characteristics when it comes to age, social class, country and region from which they come. These homogenous relationships are strengthened by the affective bonds that they have with each other, often based on mutual family relationships and a common region or village of origin. Most of the mutual social relationships of the members of a criminal network are thus multiplex,

layered. They relate to several life areas. These social relationships are reflected in the characteristics of the criminal network in the drugs trade. The size of such a network is generally large (there are many places in the world where contacts are needed and people have to know each other closely to minimize the risks), the network has a high density (most conceivable social relationships are filled: there are many direct relationships because everybody knows everybody else through the existing family relationships), and the network has strong cohesion.

By most accounts the Gulf cartel has had an upper hand, with an almost two-to-one advantage in gunmen. Nuevo Laredo is key to the Mexican-American drug trade, with the city offering extensive trade facilities and processing more legitimate cargo than any other crossing point along the almost 2,000-mile border between the two countries. Trafficking and distributing groups with a mixed regional base can be found primarily in Dushanbe (Khamonov, 2005:40-41, 46). They do not usually do not have a truly international membership. They come together when opportunities arise, to disband again and possibly reform with a partially changed membership on another occasion. Relying on legitimate trade networks, northern groups are frequently in charge of opiate export or wholesale distribution in CIS countries (Khamonov, 2005). Unlike independent peddlers, organized trafficking groups usually enjoy some form of government protection, although this may be limited connections with a few Russian border guards, local policemen, or custom officers.

A first hypothesis is that networks that are characterized by high density and a large proportion of affective relationships (in short: cohesive networks) are pre-eminently suited to criminal collaborations where a great deal of mutual trust is needed. Trust is principally important in activities that are linked to major criminal and financial risks. The second hypothesis is that collaborative relationships between persons, who jointly participate in cohesive networks, are more durable and stable than collaborative relationships between persons who participate in less cohesive networks. We expect therefore that the collaboration between offenders in cohesive networks will be of a longer duration, because their mutual relationships are not merely instrumental, whilst persons who participate in networks that are looser often restrict their collaboration to just one or a few

criminal projects. A third hypothesis is that criminal groups with a few mutually segregated clusters in less risky criminal activities collaborate more than criminal groups in which the clusters are more directly connected to each other.

In the Colombian network, according to the informants interviewed in the Tolima and Huila departments, two arrangements regulate the relationships between farmers and their financiers and/or traffickers. Known as *consorcio* and *plate* systems, these arrangements have been instrumental to the spread of opium poppy cultivation in Colombia. Under the *consorcio* system, the farmer gets paid for the land and is at times hired to working the poppy field, whereas employees of the *consorcio* provide technical assistance during the key production phase. A second option for the farmer is to rent out the entire farm and leave, so as to be able to deny association with the activity while reaping the benefits. This data is similar to the Indian network, which explains the domestic heroin is brought to final consumer markets in large cities in make shift ways primarily by independent traders, mostly originating from the production areas, who have contacts with farmers or refiners.

In the Nigeria network, the relation is often similar but different in how the traffic the narcotics, in which many statement from Polda Metro Jaya confirms this. Nigerian criminal networks very often uses the modus of swallowing heroin sealed in condoms. Authorities learned that the Nigerians received most of their heroin from Southeast Asia; indeed three of every five couriers arrested in Thailand for heroin smuggling were Nigerian nationals.

To breakdown their relationship inside the network, they may act as simple couriers. This type of trafficking usually involves the use of air routes (from the airports of Peshawar, Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Quetta) to transit points like Dubai and onward to Nigeria and other West African countries. The use of post parcels is also widely reported. West African networks rely on their respective diaspora as a base for their activity (importation and retail distribution of heroin).

However, drug trafficking in Africa involves both African networks, including Nigerians and Tanzanians, as well as foreign networks, including Chinese and Pakistanis. West African networks have sourced heroin in Southeast

Asia and trafficked it to consuming countries through networks mainly controlled from Nigeria and transnational operations based in various countries, particularly Southeast Asian ones.

The West African syndicates have taken several approaches to drug trafficking. One method is to use several couriers on the same flight. In conjunction with the use of different sets of documents among these couriers and complex travel routes, these methods minimize the risk of each smuggling project. Another method is for the syndicates to recruit couriers from the country the narcotics are destined for.

VIII. 3. Criminal Network in Trafficking Psychotropic Substances

This sub chapter comprises of analysis from the data of criminal network in trafficking psychotropic substances. Just like the previous chapter, the analysis will consist of data from the non Nigerian criminal network and Nigerian criminal network, which the analysis will encompass the comparison between the two.

1. Structures

Due to the trend that is growing, the structures of a criminal network in trafficking psychotropic substances does not really differ to the criminal networks in trafficking narcotics. A statement from an informant in Polda Metro Jaya clears this status of structure.

“Ah sama aja, kalau namanya kartel begitu, kerjaannya seperti itu, itu itu, ciri khasnya udah sama deh. Hanya kan yang dibawa beda gitu kan, yang dibawa doang yang beda.”

Free translation

“it’s the same, cartels are like that, that’s what they do, that, that, is their features that’s the same. The only thing that differentiates it is the drugs that they carry.”

Nigerian drug networks as 'some of the most sophisticated and finely-tuned transshipment, money-moving and document-forging organizations in the world.' He pointed out that 'they are sought out by both Asian and Latin American drug producers' on account of their commercial skills.⁸¹ The Nigerian drug trade is characterized by a distinctive business structure that has developed over decades, and which gives depth to the emerging cooperation with traders from other countries and continents. These syndicates are known for their adaptability. They establish cells worldwide to capitalise on freight routes, lax border control and cheaper drug stock. The networks established by West African crime cells are more than just flexible and mobile. They are known to conduct meetings in control-room type situations and to run de-briefs from which they learn to hone their skills from the mistakes or successes of past ventures.

The rise of networks means that power is migrating to nonstate actors, because they are able to organize into sprawling multiorganizational networks (especially "all-channel" networks, in which every node is connected to every other node) more readily than can traditional, hierarchical, state actors. What distinguished this group was its ability to get along with competing drug syndicates, as witnessed by its alliance with the Tijuana and Juarez cartels. Most observers trace the success and longevity of this organization to an insulated structure that recruited relatives, extended family members, and longtime friends (DEA 1998).

Mazzitelli stated that the effects of political, economic and social shortcomings are amplified by the concurrence of external factors such as rapid demographic growth, unchecked urbanisation, inefficient administrations and dynamic regional and worldwide diasporas. In this context, well-established foreign transnational criminal networks seeking safe operational bases for their illicit businesses (narcotics, human beings, pirated goods, illegal migration and natural resources) cooperate and cohabit with newly-born and successful West African indigenous criminal networks.

West Africa, that includes the country of Nigeria, faces many harsh conditions in which includes harsh economic and social conditions, widespread corruption, conflict and post conflict scenarios, porous borders, failing national

administrations and a growing culture of impunity. These conditions feed the development of criminal practices in the region and heighten the profile of the West African regions in international criminal ventures.

Modelled on the Nigerian 'network' type, such criminal organisations have in common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganised' crime. West Africa has become an attractive location for foreign criminal networks, with West Africans as partners, and a particular criminal network model is gradually being built up and exported. Besides the well-known Nigerian networks, new ones are developing in Ghana, the Ivory Coast and Senegal. Modelled on the Nigerian 'network' type, such criminal organisations have in common the very loose, fragmented and business-oriented features which make them extremely successful in the global village of modern 'disorganised' crime.

2. Key Players

A parochial character in that a considerable portion of their revenues is eventually repatriated to their source countries, where the bosses of the organization usually live and where a great deal of the criminal activity takes place (production and processing of drugs, theft of arms to be smuggled, and enticement of women to be trafficked as sex workers, and so on).

The data compiled show the various of key players attached to the many form of networks. Founded by the four Amezcua-Contreras brothers in the 1990s, the Guadalajara organization specializes in the illegal methamphetamine traffic. During the halcyon days of the 1990s, the brothers were dubbed "the kings of methamphetamine." in Mexican. As for ecstasy in the region, potentially displacing Europe as a supply source. The number of clandestine ATS laboratories seized in Indonesia have also increased dramatically in recent years. In 2008, a total of 21 laboratories were uncovered, while 13 laboratories were dismantled within the first quarter of 2009. The seized laboratories continue to be of large industrial-scale size.

Indonesia was formerly a transit country for drugs. In the first half of this decade the retableting of ecstasy from Europe was taking place in Indonesia, but during the past five years the country has become a major manufacturing centre for ATS. The domestic manufacture of ATS is increasing, as indicated by the rising number of seizures of sophisticated clandestine manufacturing laboratories for crystalline methamphetamine and ecstasy (MDMA). In the recent past most clandestine ATS manufacturing laboratories were large MDMA and methamphetamine producing facilities. However, ATS manufacturers now appear to favour smaller ATS manufacturing laboratories in private residences in order to avoid detection by drug law enforcement authorities and to limit losses. Transnational organized criminal groups continue to target Indonesia as a destination for illicit drug trafficking and manufacture.

West African groups are also reported to be operating in China, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. West African groups have until now trafficked primarily in cocaine and heroin and typically traffic the drugs via air passengers and foot traffic across borders. There are new indications, however, that they may be diversifying into the region's lucrative methamphetamine trade. Cambodia is becoming a key transit country for ATS and heroin and is vulnerable to international drug trafficking gangs. In Lao PDR also, emerging ATS problems are related to transnational syndicates playing an increasing role in the country

3. Relationship

Crucial to the success of Nigerian drug traders is their highly flexible mode of operation, as those involved constantly form and re-form their business relationships from among a wide pool of acquaintances. This modus operandi closely resembles a so-called 'adhocracy', able 'to fuse experts drawn from different disciplines into smoothly functioning ad hoc project teams' in a way that, according to some management gurus, is particularly suited to the modern business environment. Together with reports from other countries in the region, suggests that African trafficking syndicates active in the Asia-Pacific region may be expanding their activities to include trafficking of methamphetamine in

addition to heroin and cocaine. Cases of methamphetamine trafficking have emerged from various West African nations. Trafficking of methamphetamine originating in or transiting through Benin, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Senegal and in particular Nigeria have all been reported since 2009. Cases are typically multi-kilo and transported via air passengers hidden in luggage or by body concealment resembling methods employed by West African syndicates for other drugs.

Criminal organizations are networking and cooperating with one another, enabling them to merge expertise and to broaden the scope of their activities. Rather than treat each other as rivals, many criminal organizations are sharing information, services, resources, and market access according to the principle of comparative advantage. By doing so, they can reduce their risks and costs and are better able to exploit illicit criminal opportunities.

At its zenith the cartel was probably the world's leading producer of that drug. It was able to accomplish this feat by securing huge quantities of precursor chemicals from India and Thailand. The meth business proved especially attractive to Mexican organizations. For years they had moved Colombian cocaine for only a percentage of the profits; with methamphetamine there was no sharing. So in effect they made the transition from middlemen to vertically controlling every aspect of the business, from production and distribution to sales (Owen 2007). Although the Tijuana and Juarez cartels tried to break into the market, the brothers became the most important because they were the first to grasp the commercial potential of the trade and were able to quickly adapt to the changing conditions of the marketplace, such as making the switch from ephedrine powder to pseudoephedrine pills (precursor chemicals). In 1995, Congress was finally convinced by the DEA to control ephedrine in order to disrupt the product of methamphetamine. The Amezcuas responded by switching to pills; and when this source was unavailable, they found new ones in Canada.

VIII. 4. Nigerian Criminal Network Of Drug Trafficking in Indonesia

The sub chapter allows to explain how a specifically Nigerian criminal network operates in Indonesia. This sub chapter enables to answer the research question stated and give explanation to how the network operates and why Nigerian criminal networks operates largely in Indonesia.

1. Structures

Under the influence of structural adjustment and globalization, these transborder trading structures have not disappeared, but have themselves been restructured and globalised. Globalization has impacted the criminal economy and ethnic division of labour in an organized crime. Posited that ethnic division of labour influences the opportunity structures faced by immigrants in the formal and informal economies of host countries. The production and distribution of illegal goods shows a similar pattern in the criminal economy. It shows the extent to which economic globalization has altered the ethnic division of labour in the core sector of the criminal economy - the illicit drug trade.

The absence of such resources poses prohibitive transaction costs and leads immigrants active in the criminal economy to seek linkages with indigenous crime groups. Focusing on the 'drug economy,' however, Ruggiero (1995) questions the entire continuum of centralized and decentralized criminal organizations on the grounds that it tends to focus on professional criminals - those who are 'extremely skilled, have under-taken an exclusive career, and are often related by familial or ethnic bonds'. Ruggiero posits instead that crime groups often are comprised of loosely tied members who are not all professionals and 'not involved in permanent structures nor engaged in long-term partnerships. These criminals tend to engage in one-off operations, make temporary alliances with legal or illegal entrepreneurs, and often recruit part-timers.

The statements below adds to this analysis.

“mereka itu tidak serta merta merekrut orang, terus jadi.. mereka lakukan dulu pendekatan, peninjauan, sambil mengetes apakah orang ini bisa digunakan atau tidak. Nah, itu yang mereka lakukan.. jadi tidak datang, orang mau, langsung dia.. mereka

melakukan pendekatan, membantu dengan finansial, mendekati keluarga, mengajak jalan-jalan, bahkan diajak kawin!”

Free translation

“ they don’t just easily recruit people, they make a closure approach to know if they are able to be used or not. That’s what they do. So they don’t just come, people want to join, and just easily picked. They do an approach, helping financially, approaching the famil, taking them out, even asking them for marriage.”

“Kalau saya lihat walaupun mereka , sorry nih, kulitnya hitam dan sedikit bau , tapi mereka tuh sangat cepat berbaur.. sangat cepat beradaptasi.. dan mereka sangat tidak mudah tersinggung.. dibilang apa dibilang monyet segala macem .. kalau bicara dengan mereka tuh cepat akrab...”

Free translation

“from what I see, sorry, their skin are black and has a little odour, but they are easy to adjust. Very fast to adapt. And they are not easily offended. You can say they’re monkeys or whatever. If you talk with them, they’re very friendly.”

“makanya kita jangan kaget ada mereka di kampung-kampung.. main bola dengan anak-anak.. padahal sudah jelas sekali perbedaan mereka, nah itu pintarnya mereka. Itu jawabannya.. itu jawaban saya sebagai praktisi ya bukan sebagai peneliti.. kalau lebih pas lagi memang perlu diteliti.. kalau yang saya amati begitu.”

Free translation

“so don’t be shocked if they’re in the streets. Playing soccer with the kids. Although the difference is very clear, that’s they’re smartness. That’s the answer. That’s my answer as a practitioner not as a researcher. It’s better to be researched. From what I observe, it’s like that.”

Pino Arlarchi (1986) argues that these risks make trust and secrecy 'far more necessary among criminals than among businessmen'. One path to secrecy

and trust lies in limiting the amount of information available to members of the criminal group and especially to outsiders. Through formal organizational structures incorporating specialized divisions of labour, the core members of a criminal group can isolate other members and outsiders from knowledge of broader operations. A second path lies in reliance on social networks centered on 'common membership of the same culture, the same ethnic or regional community, or indeed the same family'. Such informal ties do not preclude cooperation with outsiders but tend to favour more selective than permanent interaction (e.g. Arlachi, 1986; Ruggiero, 1995).

Ruggiero (1995) also argues that the sheer scope of the inter-national drug trade has undermined the ability of crime groups to offset risk through centralized organizational structures or through informal social networks. The growing scholarship and popular discourse on transnational crime suggest that technological change has altered criminal economies by empowering ethnic organized crime groups.⁵ Scholars point to technological advances in transportation and communication that have enabled crime groups to hide their activities in the broader flows of goods and services, capital, and people into advanced industrial countries (e.g. Stares, 1996; Williams, 1998; Mittelman and Johnson, 1999).

The employment by Nigerian drug traders of large numbers of couriers carrying small parcels of cocaine or heroin endows them both with a high degree of 'vertical' integration of their marketing channel from purchase to sale, and with the means to penetrate any customs service in the world.

Mazzitelli stated and explained that unemployment, scant capital investment, an unabated capital flow and poor infrastructures are also common features of many of the economies of the West African region. External financial assistance, remittances from migrants and buoyant informal sectors often compensate for structural weaknesses, but also open the doors to all manner of illicit and criminal business practices.

In analysis on the concept criminal network West Africa has become an attractive location for foreign criminal networks, with West Africans as partners, and a particular criminal network model is gradually being built up and exported.

West Africa often recruit local couriers to smuggle drugs. A large portion of the drugs trafficked into Indonesia is controlled by international criminal groups who traffic drugs into the country along various air and sea routes employing a variety of methods (CID, 2010). Since the early 1990s West African criminal groups have been operating in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta and other big cities. West African criminal groups often use Phnom Penh in Cambodia as a centre for financial transactions and the distribution of crystalline methamphetamine, ecstasy (MDMA) and heroin to Indonesia. Most of the heroin trafficked by West African groups appears to come from Afghanistan. Most of the heroin is trafficked by land (BNN, 2009a).

Linking to that, my informant adds to the analysis of how Nigerian recruits Indonesian in joining their criminal network.

“khusus untuk nigeria ini pada umumnya memang kalau mereka datang dari sana itu, kontak-kontak antar mereka adalah kalangan sendiri. Tapi kalau sudah sampai disini, ya tidak.. mereka sengaja merekrut orang-orang Indonesia untuk memperlancar” (Informant Brigjen Arman Depari, 2011)

Free translation

“especially for Nigerians, generally when they come here they’re contacts are their ethnicity. But when they do arrive, well no, they intentionally recruits Indonesians.”

“jarang kalau orang niger hubungan sama orang cina, jarang oooo. Kalau kulit2nya agak gelap gitu kaya saya, kaya anda gitu kan masih mau.”

Free translation

“it rarely occurs that Nigerian cooperate with Chinese ethnics, rare. If their skins are darker, like me, like you, they still want to.”

Criminal ventures in West Africa adopt structures, *modi operandi* and features typical of the region’s legitimate traders and business people, with a successful entrepreneur inviting one or more junior relations or other dependents to join him in the business as volume grows. The division of tasks within these

structures occurs in such a way that new recruits, generally personal acquaintances or relations of the original associates, barely know the employers they are really working for, as well as how their tasks relate to assignments given to other members. The employment offered is generally limited to the project without any expectation of stable –ie, permanent– links to the structure which, on the contrary, fades away upon completion of a given project. Secrecy and an individual's total loyalty to the group involved in the venture is further ensured by cultural pressures (eg, belonging to the same village, clan or ethnic group) and by the use of religious and black magic rituals threatening supernatural punishment in the event of betrayal.

2. Key Players

Globalization has influenced immigrant and other migrant participation in the drug distribution networks of advanced industrial countries, by opening new sources of supply, expanding potential niche markets and pipelines within home countries, as well as by facilitating linkages between migrants and organized groups based in their home countries. To view immigrants less as workers or potential entrepreneurs and more as a context within which transnational crime occurs. The importance of these populations in the transnational crime literature lies in the ability of members of criminal groups to 'blend into' them when necessary to evade law enforcement authorities (e.g. Williams, 1998: 251-2; Mittelman and Johnson, 1999). With this there is evidence that immigrants and other migrants have not been embedded at the margins of criminal economies but have vied with each other as well as with natives for control over the central aspects of distribution networks.

A compilation of statement agrees and adds to the analysis of the key players dimension in the network.

“Pendorongnya sebetulnya karena negaranya juga nyari orang susah, dia kemampuanm juga terbatas, satu-satunya yang mudah (dagang narkoba). Dia juga memperdaya wanita Indonesia dijadikan gundik. Tapi prinsipnya orang dia, berani, ya itu karena apa, lebih berani mengambil resiko.”

Free translation

“the pushing factor is really how the country finds it hard to find people, they’re human resource is limited, the only easy thing to do is traffic drugs. They also deceive Indonesian women, by making them their mistress. But the principle is that they’re brave, because of what, they’re braver in taking risks.”

“Kalau dia nyatanya, menggundik orang Indonesia, kenyataannya dia itu bawah2nya orang indonesia. Ya kan. Enggak..... Ya kalau dia, golongannya, kurir dan menengah lah. Dia masuk juga dengan kurir ya, kuris saja kalau ada yang bukan kurir, dia dagang sendiri, langsung dijual begini, (batuk), itu kan, (batuk) ya.gimana ya menggunakan kaitan dengan orang setempat. Kalau dia sesama orang niger itu kan disananya, kalau disininya kan lain. Bila perlu kalau ketemu saya ada orang niger sama orang niger, pura2 gatau ga kenal”

Free translation

“in reality, they make wives from Indonesians, the reality then is the bottom of their network are Indonesians. Right. No.....if they’re categorized as couriers and middle leveled. They’re also considered to be couriers, just couriers if there are any that aren’t, they commerce on their own, straight away they sell it, that is how they take advantage of the people locally. They’re all Nigerians in their own country, in here its different. If its necessary if Nigerians meet at the same time, they pretend to not know each other.”

” Ya tadi, mereka gandeng bangsa kita jadi gundik, jadi kurir, hubungan dengan bagus dengan keluarganya, akhirnya keluarga cewek itu satu persatu bisa kena kan, karena duitnya gampang, dua kali niger itu, apa ya, apa ya, kan disini orang muslim, sama sama muslim. Tapi bukan karena muslimnya tapi lebih mudah komunikasi kan orang berkulit warna yang sama gitu loh. Tapi yang jelas, dia perangnya baik”

Free translation

“well, they made our country as their mistress, as couriers, good relationship with the family, at the end the family of the woman one

by one can fall under, because it's easy money. In here, it's muslim, simarily muslim. But it's not about the muslim, but more on how easy it is to communicate with people of the same colour skin. Just to clear it, they do it well."

The heroin trade in Indonesia is predominantly controlled and directed by West Africans, particularly Nigerians. In the 1980s and 1990s, Nigerian-dominated criminal organizations active in many countries became key players in the international smuggling of heroin, particularly into the United States.

3. Relationship

West Africa's most prominent traffickers, the Nigerians, developed footholds in many other countries where imported narcotics could be stored and repacked for onward travel. Nigerian traders especially were truly global. Stocked in West Africa and rerouted to final destinations in western countries, hard drugs are smuggled by international criminal networks using 'disposable' human carriers with false passports and forged visas.

West African networks have sourced heroin in Southeast Asia and trafficked it to consuming countries through networks mainly controlled from Nigeria and transnational operations based in various countries, particularly Southeast Asian ones. The West African syndicates have taken several approaches to drug trafficking. One method is to use several couriers on the same flight. In conjunction with the use of different sets of documents among these couriers and complex travel routes, these methods minimise the risk of each smuggling project. Another method is for the syndicates to recruit couriers from the country the narcotics are destined for. This network occupy and succeed by following their trademark modus, that is swallowing heroin sealed in condoms.

Linking to that analysis, my informant in Polda Metro Jaya gave this statement.

"nigeria ini apa ya, rata – rata orangnya itu kan kuat. Besar kuat. Disana ekonomi juga rendah gitu ya. Sehingga dia untuk mendapat uang itu kan sulit di negaranya, dari jual narkoba itu dia berani mengambil resiko apapun lebih besar, karena apa, narkoba

biasanya kalau orang nigeria, di telan. Sebetulnya bukan di telan, istilahnya bukan ditelan, cara memasukannya bukan lewat mulut, bukan lewat oral, tapi lewat dubur. Karena resikonya besar ya, karena kalau pecah musti mati itu. Yaa gitu dia berani. Dan jaringannya kuat Nigeria itu dimana-mana. Ini kan faktornya faktor ekonomi”

Free translation

“let’s see Nigeria, generally their people are strong. Big and strong. Their economics state in their country is low. That is why it is hard for them to earn money in their country, from selling drugs they are brave enough to take risks, because of what, usually in Nigeria drugs are swallowed. Actually, its not really swallowed, the term is not swallowed, the way they enter it is not through the mouth, not orally, but from the bottom. Because the risk is big, because if it explodes they die. They’re brave. And their networks are strong, because its everywhere. This is economic factor.”

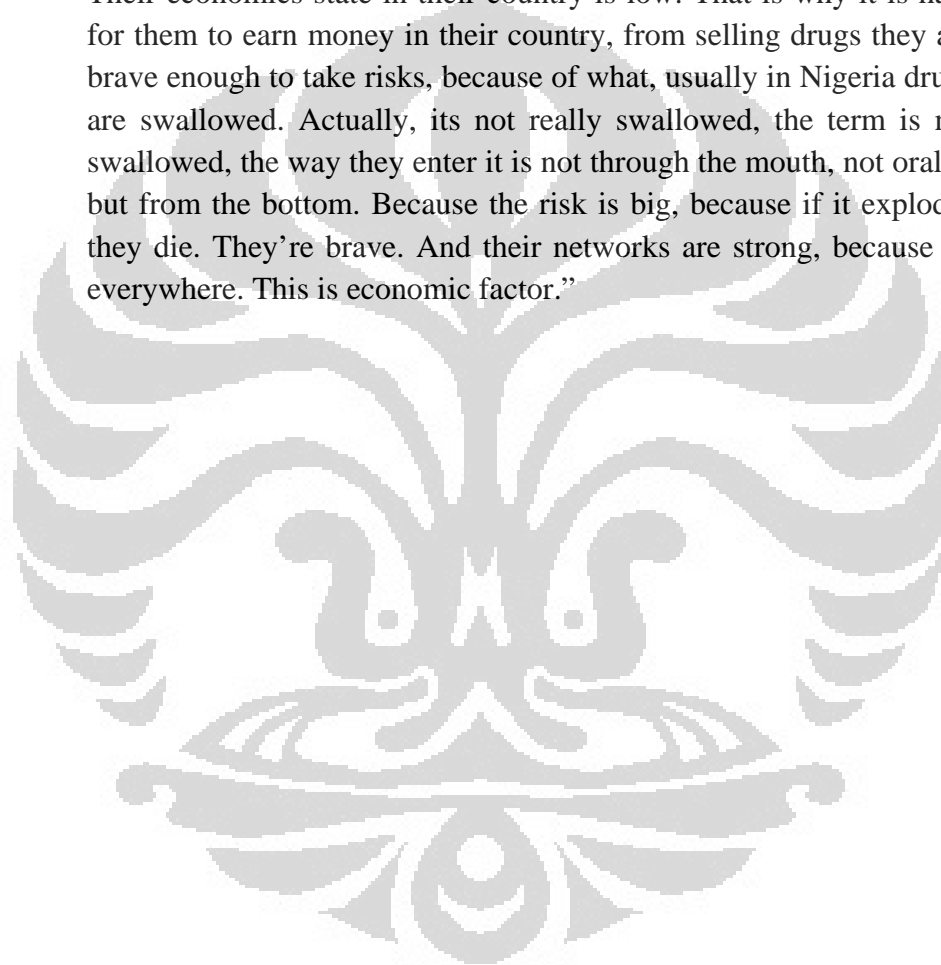


Figure 8. Summary Table of Data Analysis in Networks

Non Nigerian Criminal Network	Nigerian Criminal Network
Structures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not necessarily organized along tribal/ethnic lines • Operates largely in cartels • Cell like syndicates • structured and adjusts to formal and informal social control agents, like the police, public services, and the community. 	Structures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More adaptable to new environment and people, so it makes them more easier to blend, adjust, and build a criminal network by recruiting local citizen • Cell like syndicates • structured and adjusts to formal and informal social control agents, like the police, public services, and the community.
Key Players <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • drug lords are the leader of cartels • uses the seven key players, in which they are spread anywhere in the world 	Key Players <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a Godfather like figure • uses locals as gate keepers and new recruited members as the lower level of the structure
Relationship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • corrupt official forces and government • it is based on business relationship, relating on salary and fee 	Relationship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stronger to adapt • strong in physical figures and brave in taking risks as a modus of operation

(Source: designed by the researcher)

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

IX. 1. Nigerian Criminal Network Of Drug Trafficking In Indonesia

This research was pursued by the issues stated in the background and sought out to answer the research question. The research question stated in this thesis was What makes the Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking more special and different than other criminal networks and how does this form of network operates in Indonesia?

The dimensions of a Nigerian criminal network alters and adapts to the environment in which they are trafficking drugs. They are capable of adapting to new environments, people, and countries. With those skillful features they are able to make themselves known players in the world drug business. Being one of the most successful criminal networks, Nigerian have long played a role in the crime scene of Indonesia. They are known famously as criminals that have long set foot in Indonesia, especially in trafficking and distributing drugs.

Mostly comprises of documented data and confirmation data from interviews with professionals and an inmate, the data shows of how the dimensions of a criminal network were able to distinguish the specialty and uniqueness of a Nigerian criminal network. Looked through 3 different dimensions, which are structures, key players, and relationship, a Nigerian criminal network comprises of similar but yet using a different approach on attacking its goals of trafficking drugs.

From the analysis, we may sum up the whole comparison on how a criminal network on trafficking narcotics differentiates between a criminal network on trafficking psychotropic substances. The analysis shows a thick similarity but it differentiates on how the growth of drug trend effects the three dimensions used to analyze. The growing trend of psychotropic substances in the market is due to the demand and supply of the consumers. Now psychotropic substances are more likely to be consumed by society, this is due to the low price and easy production of the drug.

Criminal networks that are trafficking psychotropic substances are either a home industry with a loose structure or easily a traditional criminal network that has trafficked narcotics and are now following the trend. While criminal networks in trafficking narcotics are more traditional and aren't based on home industry but more on growing the drugs and using the farmers or other local workers are hired to be part of the network as the lower level players.

The data analysis is used to find the reason to why Nigerian criminals are special. Related to the research question, we can answer to why a Nigerian criminal network in drug trafficking considered to be special. Using the dimensions and vectors of the methodology in this research, the data analysis has compared and distinguish the special features of a Nigerian criminal network in trafficking drugs.

A Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia owns very distinctive and special features that maybe no other criminal networks own. They have grown and used Indonesia because they have found this country to be easy to manipulate the people and build a business. The distinctive features that they own consist of their underestimated intelligence and a quick skill to adapt.

Nigerian criminal networks of drug trafficking in Indonesia are very underestimated because of their physical features that's identical to low intelligence. Using the dimensions in the method, structurally a Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia are very well taught and faithful in keeping their secrecy of their network and identity. That feature was laid out and analyze in the previous chapter, linking with interviews with two informants who and also an inmate. From forging passport, misidentifying their self, building a more wide network and giving a false confession, were all ways used by the players in the a criminal network specifically by Nigerians in Indonesia. Looked through the dimensions of key players, the data stated that just like any other criminal networks, the main key player is identified like a god father figure. Other than that, key players of a Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia usually recruits locals by manipulating them and making them as a mistress or wife. With that, it has been analyzed that a Nigerian criminal network of trafficking in Indonesia has a great skill in adapting to new environments and people. In the relationship dimension, a Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia

is heavily based on ethnicity bonds although they grow and recruit more of Indonesians to take part. But other than that, they seldom recruit people with different ethnicity or skin colour. Related on the relationship method, Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia are identified as the strongest physically and mentally the bravest, this is because of their modus of operation at trafficking drugs that are considered able to take the most risks.

Using the background of a transnational crime, the framework of a criminal network, and the focus and main idea of Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia, we may conclude the distinctive features that makes Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia special and to why they have chosen Indonesia as a place to grow their drug business.

IX. 2. Recommendation

1. Theoretical Implication

This research may be explored more, by widening its theory and concept that's used. The concept of criminal network is related and is encompassed under the theoretical framework of Organized Crime. With a bigger framework, this research may be able to be a foundation or a part of a bigger research and focus. Related to widening the research, a public policy approach may be taken and used to create new ways to see the crime.

2. Methodology Implication

The research in this research is able to be widen by altering the methodology used. With this research, the methodology used is a literature and documented study that continues to validate the data using a triangulation method, that is by interviewing two professional practitioner, an inmate linked to drug trafficking, and a series of documented studies. By widening this research we may use a different approach and a bigger focus on the research. Using a mixed method, qualitatively and quantitatively we

can measure and analyze this social phenomena with a bigger framework and focus. The result could create a demographic output of the spread of crime and criminals, in which the research may continue to create a social control policy in order to combat the crime.

3. Strategy Implication

This thesis may be able to be a basis of a wider research or be used to give a general idea in implementing a strategy. It may be used for three subjects, domestic law enforcement, transnational law enforcement, and to for the world diplomacy. For the domestic law enforcement, a general idea of a Nigerian criminal network has been laid out so that it may be used as data and research to studies in order to combat the crime. As for the transnational law enforcement, the similar idea to combat the crime using this research may be possible as a research study, although it has mainly focused on the Nigerian criminal network of drug trafficking in Indonesia. For the world diplomacy, this thesis is able to give a basic foundation for a wider research with a focus of combating the main source of crime, which is the Nigeria itself. When combating straight to the main source of problem, many implications may rises and impacts the world diplomacy by creating new feuds and problems. With a basic knowledge and basic understanding of a previous research, the impact towards world diplomacy may be avoided.

Bibliography

Books

- Aas, Katja Franko. (2007). *Globalization and Crime*. London: Sage Publication.
- Abadinsky, Howard. (2000). *Organized Crime*. Wadsworth.
- Bean, Phillip. (2008). *Drugs and Crime*. Oregon: Willan Publishing.
- Bennet, Trevor; Holloway, Katy. (2007). *Drug Crime Connection*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhattacharyya, Gargi. (2005). *Traffick: The Illicit Movement of People and Things*. London: Pluto Press.
- Brown, Steven David. (2008). *Combating International Crime: The Longer Arm of The Law*. Abingdon: Routledge – Cavendish.
- Chisolm, Malcolm. (2001). *The Internet Guide For Writers*. Wiltshire: Cromwell Press Ltd.
- Croal, Hazel. (1998). *Crime and Society in Britain*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Inc.
- Devito, Carlo. (2005). *The Encyclopedia of International Organized Crime*. New York: Facts on File Inc.
- Findlay, Mark. (2004). *The Globalisation of Crime*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Garland, Norman M. (2003). *Criminal Law: For the Criminal Justice Professional*. Glencoe McGraw Hill.
- Gottschalk, Petter. (2009). *Entrepreneurship and Organized Crime: Entrepreneurs in Illegal Business*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Gottschalk, Petter. (2010). *Policing Organized Crime: Intelligence Strategy Implementation*. Florida: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Greene, Helen Taylor; Gabbidon, Shawn L. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Race and Crime*. California: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Hamzah, Dr. Andi; Surachman, RM. (1994). *Kejahatan Narkotika dan Psikotropika*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika.
- Hawari, Prof. Dr. dr. H. (2006). *Penyalahgunaan & Ketergantungan NAZA (Narkotika, Alkohol, dan Zat Adiktif)*. Jakarta: Balai Penerbit FKUI
- Hunsniger, Jeremy; Klastrup, Lisbeth; Allen, Matthew. (2010). *International Handbook of Internet Research*. Springer Scienc + Business Media.
- Jojarth, Christine. (2009). *Crime, War, And Global Trafficking: Designing International Cooperation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Karch, Steven B. *A Brief History of Cocaine*. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Korsmeyer, Pamela; Kranzler, Henry R. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Drugs, Alcohol & Addictive Behaviour*. Macmillan Reference USA.
- Marsh, Ian. (2006). *Theories of Crime*. New York: Routledge.
- McLaughlin, Eugene; Muncle, John. (2001). *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Mieczkowski, Thomas. (1992). *Drugs, Crime, and Social Policy*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Morselli, Carl. (2009). *Inside Criminal Networks*. New York: Springer Science + Business Media.
- Newman, Graeme R. (2010). *Crime and Punishment Around The World: Africa and The Middle East*. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Noaks, Lesley; Wincup, Emma. (2004). *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Methods*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Paoli, Lelezia; Greenfield, Victoria A.; Reuter, Peter. (2009). *The World Heroin Market. Can Supply Be Cut?* New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Parrillo, Vincent N. (2008). *Encyclopedia of Social Problem*. California: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. California: Sage Publications Inc.,
- Roth, Mitchell P. (2010). *Global Organized Crime*. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Seddon, Toby. *A History Of Drugs: Drugs And In The Liberal Age*. Glass House Book.

Vartanian, Thomas P. (2011). *Secondary Data Analysis: Pocket Guides To Social Work Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Walklate, Sandra. (2003). *Understanding Criminology*. Buckingham: Open Gate Press.

Watts, Rob; Bessant, Judith; Hill, Richard. (2008). *International Criminology: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

Scientific Journals

Bruinsma, Bergen; Bernasco, Wim. (2004). *Criminal Groups and International Illegal Markets: A More Detailed Examination On The Basis Of Social Network Theory*. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Chatterjee, Jharna. (2005). *The Changing Structure of Organized Crime Groups*. Research and Evaluation Branch Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services Directorate Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Ellis, Stephen. (2009). *West Africa's International Drug Trade*. African Affairs, 108/431, pp. 171-196

Friedrichs, David O. (2007). *Transnational Crime and Global Criminology: Definitional, Typological, and Contextual Conundrums*. Social Justice, Vol. 34, No. 2 (108), Beyond Transnational Crime, pp. 4-18

Friman, H. Richard. (Feb., 2004). *The Great Escape? Globalization, Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Criminal Economy*. Review of International Political Economy, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 98-131.

Glickman, Harvey. (2005). *The Nigerian "419" Advance Fee Scams: Prank or Peril?* Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines, Vol.39, No. 3, pp. 460-489.

Herzberg, David. (2005). *Drug Wars and Wonder Drugs*. American Quarterly, Vol. 57, No. 4, pp. 1231-1241.

Klein, Axel. (Mar., 1999). *Nigeria & the Drugs War*. Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 26, No. 79, Africa and the Drugs Trade, pp. 51-73.

Löwenheim, Oded.(2002). *Transnational Criminal Organizations and Security: The Case against Inflating the Threat*. International Journal, Vol. 57, No. 4, pp. 513-536.

Mazzitelli, Antonio L. (2006). *The Challenges of Drugs, Organised Crime, and Terrorism in West and Central Africa*. Real Instituto Elcano.

Meagher, Kate. (Mar., 2003). *A Back Door to Globalisation? Structural Adjustment, Globalisation & Transborder Trade in West Africa*. Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 30, No. 95, Africa, Imperialism & New Forms of Accumulation, pp. 57-75.

Naim, Moisés. (Jan. - Feb., 2003). *The Five Wars of Globalization*. Foreign Policy, No. 134, pp. 28-37

Ruggiero, Vincenzo; South, Nigel. (Mar., 1997). *The Late-Modern City as a Bazaar: Drug Markets, Illegal Enterprise and the 'Barricades'*. The British Journal of Sociology, pp. 54- 70.

Scientific Works

Alkholt, Aimar. (2010). *Nigerian Criminal Networks; A comparative analysis*. University of Bergen: Department of Administration and Organization Theory, Master of Philosophy in Public Administration.

Documents

Cotic, Dusan. (1988). *Drugs and Punishment*. Rome: United Nations Social Defence Research Institute.

Hidayati, Diah Ayu Noorsinta. *Correctional Institutions Searching For an Effective Intervention in Promoting Public Safety and Controlling Drugs Dependent Recidivism*.

http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/PDF_rms/no74/13_p115-124.pdf

Bulletin on narcotics: volume LVIII, Nos. 1 and 2. (2006). *Review of the world cannabis situation*. UNODC, Vienna.

Bulletin On Narcotics: Volume LVI, Nos. 1 and 2. (2004). *Illicit Drug Markets*. UNODC, Vienna.

World drug report 2005. UNODC

World drug report 2006. UNODC

World drug report 2007. UNODC

World drug report 2008. UNODC

World drug report 2009. UNODC

World drug report 2010. UNODC

Annual report 2008. UNODC

Annual report 2009. UNODC

Annual report 2010. UNODC

Patterns and Trends of Aphetamine-type Stimulants and Other Drugs in East and South East Asia 2008. UNODC

Patterns and Trends of Aphetamine-type Stimulants and Other Drugs in East and South East Asia 2009. UNODC

Patterns and Trends of Aphetamine-type Stimulants and Other Drugs in East and South East Asia 2010. UNODC

Patterns and Trends of Aphetamine-type Stimulants and Other Drugs in East and South East Asia 2011. UNODC

Articles

(09 Februari 2011). *BNN Ringkus Pengedar Jaringan Nigeria.* Batam: Media Indonesia.

<http://www.mediaindonesia.com/read/2011/02/02/202039/76/20/-BNN-Ringkus-Pengedar-Jaringan-Nigeria>

Lastania, Ezther. (05 Agustus 2010). *Polisi Ringkus Pengedar Sabu Bernilai Miliaran Rupiah.* Jakarta: Tempo Interaktif.

<http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/kriminal/2010/08/05/brk.20100805-269023,id.html>

Nofrita. (29 Mar 2011). *Jaringan Nigeria Bergeliat Lagi.* Jakarta: Jurnas.

http://www.jurnas.com/news/24218/Jaringan_Nigeria_Bergeliat_Lagi/1/Nasiona1/Hukum

APPENDIX 1

Date: 30 November 2011

Time: 13.00 – 3.30

Location: LP Cipinang Narkotika IIA

Field Note Session One

As I arrived at Cipinang correctional facility I walked straight up to the front door of Narkotika IIA. In front of the front door, three officers are standing outside having a smoke. One of the officer straight away asked me who I wanted to see there, I straight forwardly answered that I am a student at the University of Indonesia and is here to do a research but will firstly see Pak Ramlan at the administration office. The officer kindly guided me to where the administration office is, but when I arrived there the office was empty. It turns out that one of the officer standing outside was Pak Ramlan, the head of administration in Cipinang correctional facility.

As Pak Ramlan entered his office, I followed him straight into his room. He then asked me what I had planned to do at Cipinang. I answered that I was a student at FISIP University of Indonesia and is here to do a research for my thesis. With that answer I handed in my permission letter to research that was given by Kemenkumham prior on visiting Cipinang. He then confirmed my letter of permission and then continuously asked on what my thesis was about. I briefly answered by explaining on how my thesis was on the act of drug trafficking and the criminal network that works inside it and how I specifically focuses on the Nigerian criminal network. With that explanation he nodded continuously, like agreeing with my explanation and aim of research in Cipinang.

Pak Ramlan then asked a few questions, such as for how long the research will last and what kind of prisoner am I looking for. I answered the questions by explaining my research method to him. I shared with him on what I will do inside Cipinang, that I

will only be going back to Cipinang for 2 or 3 more times and only to interview a single Nigerian prisoner. The aim for my interview is only to confirm my already collected data from literature.

I then asked a few questions on the situation and rules that I need to standby while being in Cipinang. Pak Ramlan answered the basic rules are very clear and basic, that when interviewing prisoners cameras and taking pictures are strictly prohibited. I then continuously asked on how the demographic of Nigerian prisoners are there at Cipinang. He explained that there are Nigerians inside the facility, although there has been a flunk in numbers. So there are only a few. I asked him if those few Nigerians are linked or worked in the same criminal network. He answered that about knowing criminal networks, he is not quite sure but he assumes that they are all from different cases and networks. He assumes this situation because he says that prisons aren't responsible of knowing on how they're prisoners are linked to each other and to know if they do come from the same criminals you really just have to ask them. I replied to that answer by asking how are the rules or norms to getting to know them and interviewing them, for example if there was a restriction to ask because it might be offensive to them, any sensitive issues prohibited to ask, and how openly they are to strangers. Pak Ramlan explained that they are commonly interactive although at first may come across shy or afraid, he says that just be careful when talking about families because most of them are so far away from home that most of their families don't even know that they have been arrested and are in jail. They may be scared at first because they tend to think that people who are interviewing them are the press and might leak their information and whereabouts through the press, and they think that it may lead to their families on knowing where they are now. Pak Ramlan says that it will better and fine to just be honest with them on why you are interviewing them. As soon as, we have finished talking, we were guided inside the facility to meet Pak Anton who would then direct me as to how the research system inside the facility works.

When I got inside and after the security process, I was brought inside to meet Pak Tri first as it was instructed by Pak Ramlan and the security officers who checked me. When I got to Pak Tri's office he checked my letter of research and asked what my

thesis was about, I explained it to him briefly. Pak Tri then asked how long and what kind of informant I was looking for. I told him that I need a Nigerian inmate as my informant and that the research will only take place for three or four days. I also told Pak Tri that I was directed by Pak Anton who was already bridge through Pak Akbar Amnoer. When I told him that, Pak Tri straight away called Pak Anton into his office. Pak Anton was already informed by what research was about and what data I needed for my research due to previous phone calls I made to him prior to visiting Cipinang. Both, Pak Tri and Pak Anton, then said maybe for today I could only get the basic data of inmates and maybe the next day I could start my interview. They said all of my research needs will be handled by Pak Asep.

I was then directed to Pak Asep, where I told what my research and thesis was on. He asked me what I needed and offered me the statistic data of foreign inmates, I agreed to take those data. When I received the data for foreign inmates for the year 2011, I asked if it was at all possible to maybe just meet my informant today as a start of my introduction. Pak Asep said it was very possible and that he would find a Nigerian that was part of a criminal drug network and who is very cooperative.

He told me that my informant is named Bojang and that he was very cooperative. So I waited outside Pak Asep's office for Bojang. When I waited for my informant, many inmates are walking around working as a office boys which are part of their rehabilitation program. One of the inmates sat on my table and out of nowhere started to introduce himself and asked me questions. He was a college student in Trisakti, who was caught either using or in possession of drugs at his work place in the Jakarta Post. He said he felt very out of luck and has accepted his punishment now. He asked me what I was doing in Cipinang and why I needed to meet a Nigerian inmate. I only answered him that I was here on an academic purpose and that is to interview a Nigerian inmate for my thesis. I didn't tell him what my thesis was on. He replied by saying that he asked all those questions because the Nigerian inmate I was going to interview was asking about why he was called to the office. He told me that the Nigerian inmate was scared, because he was never called to the office for such purposes.

When my informant finally came, I was quite terrified myself seeing how big he was. My informant looks exactly how an inmate should look like, big and strong figured. I came up to him and asked how he is and introduced myself. When I was introducing myself to him, we were then directed to the consulting room where I could sit and have a conversation with him privately.

When we sat down, I started to introduce myself to him again and what I was here to do. I told him that I was here on strictly academic purpose only and that is to do a research for my thesis and will have him just to guide me and answer a few questions related to my thesis. He looked scared so I calm him down by saying that I will not expose anything that he shares with me nor was I part of any media or press. He looked a little relaxed after I told him that. He began to ask a few questions, like what school I go to, where I lived, and what course was I taking in school. I told him that I was from the University of Indonesia taking a Criminology course and I lived in the south of Jakarta. He then asked me what my research was on, I didn't responsively answered that my research on criminal networks because the I knew he would shut himself from me. So I answered that my research had the basic of knowing the demographics of Nigerian inmates in Jakarta, specifically in Cipinang. I told him that I just wanted to see how they are, what they do, and how they have been.

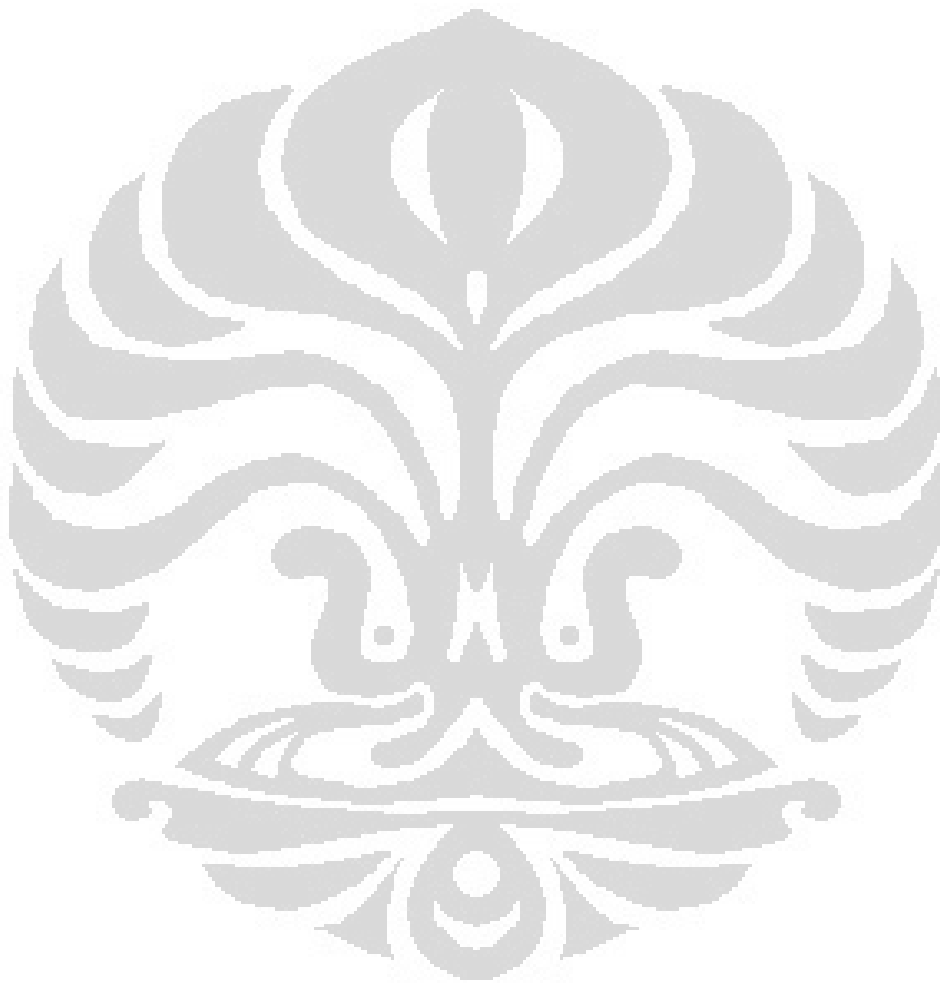
We then continue to have light conversations on the weather, food, and activities he does inside the facility. From the conversations we had, it seemed that his favourite food was cassava and yams and that he does mostly sport activities inside the facility, but he goes to church every week. I then offered him if he wanted to smoke, he took my offer and lit a cigarette. When we the atmosphere started to feel relaxed and that Bojang was starting to open up to me, I then started to ask question to why he was here in Indonesia. I asked him how long he has been in Indonesia. He then started to share his experience and stories to why he was here in Indonesia. Bojang said that he first came to Indonesia because one of his friends offered him to, this friend was also a Nigerian who had a wife and kids here who was Indonesians. He said he had no intention to what he wanted to do here in Indonesia, but he loved to travel so that was the reason to why

he came to Indonesia. I asked him what part of Indonesia has he traveled to, he answered Bali, Jogja, Surabaya, Bandung, and Danau Toba.

He then continued his story by saying that he lived with his friend when he came to Indonesia. He then stated that he was then sentence and put in Cipinang for 11 years and that he was only in here for 3 years, he said that he still had a very long time to go. I didn't ask anything related to his sentence, instead I asked him about the condition inside the facility. I asked how his room was, what kind of facility he has, and how is the social atmosphere between inmates. He told me that he lived in a room alone, where inside he has a kitchen which he can cook and he was locked up every day at 7.30pm and his cell would be open again the next day at 5am. He said that he communicates with everybody, because when you are in a state of isolation like this everyone is your friend. He said that the room placed by inmates differentiates on the fee you can pay to gain the rooms. With that, I concluded that he seemed to be well financed because he was able to gain his own room. My conclusion was then felt more valid because he looked very cleaned and had a style like no other inmates.

After that we continued to have more light conversations. I told him that I will visit him and have continue to have conversations with him like this for another two or three more times. When I felt that I had a good introduction session with him and that more than an hour has gone by, I ended our meeting and said thank you and good bye to him. When I ended it, he asked if he could have my phone number. I was scared if I did or did not give him my phone number that it would effect my research. He said that he wanted my phone number so that it would be easier to see him again for the next session if I contacted him prior to my visit. But then I thought about my safety, and so I said that it wouldn't be necessary to own my phone number because if I wanted to visit him I would have to see Pak Asep first and then he would direct us to meet. He then confronted me by asking "Are you afraid of me?" I responsively said of course not, but giving my phone number was not necessary nor was it needed for the research to which there are research rules that are capable and stated that giving contact information is restricted if it would endanger the researcher. He then agreed to my reasons.

When I had finished my first session meeting with Bojang, I reported back to Pak Asep. Pak Asep said that it would be alright to come back and interview him at any time. He said that just come straight to my office and just bring my research letter. I then said thank you to him and said that I would be back for another 2 or 3 more times, and finally I said goodbye and headed out of Cipinang.



APPENDIX 2

Field Note

Second Session / LP Narkotika IIA Cipinang

Abdoulie Bojang

Monday, December 05, 2011 / 13.00 – 14.30

Field Note Session Two

On Monday, December 5th 2011, I had my second session to interview Bojang. I arrived at Cipinang around 11.00 am ready to meet and interview Bojang again. I went to see Mr. Asep firstly, which needed me to go through the same formal procedure of entering the facility. After I had my cell phone and id placed in the gate before entering the facility, I had my body and bag checked thoroughly.

As I entered the facility, it seems that there was some kind of event going on because of how crowded the facility is. Many prisoners are standing outside and are gathered in little groups of three or four. One of the prisoner whom I had met the first I came, walked along me and asked if I was here to see Bojang again, I only answered to a simple yes. I headed to Mr. Asep's office which had to pass the prisoners. When I arrived at Mr. Asep's office, I asked to be directed to his section of the office and to see if he was available. One of the lady in the office who was eating her lunch told me to go right in because Mr. Asep was already there. I greeted him and said hello, he was surprised to see me but then quickly remembered that I had already said that I would be back on Monday. Without any hesitation Mr. Asep quickly got up and said that he will get Bojang straight away. I followed him outside and then sat down on the waiting bench.

At the waiting bench were several other prisoners who are also having visitors from their loved ones and who are also trying to set up and get a remission. I observe

the many prisoners around me, which are the ones who have taken the paths to take the rehabilitation course in working for the facility. They all wore blue tops and jeans. At that time most of them were trying to set up a new fountain. I waited for quite a long time, until one of the prisoners gave me a drink because of how long I have waited. The prisoner who was sent to get Bojang said that he might take a while because there was an assembly to attend to first. It was the assembly that made the facility looked much more crowded when I first arrived. With that, I waited for almost 2 hours for Bojang to come.

When Bojang finally came, I stood up and greeted him straight away. I shook his hand and asked how he was today. He replied that he was good and then asked if we were able to go straight to the counseling room. One of the prisoners who was working as an office boy, said the room was ready and was able to be used for us. We then straight away walked there.

In the room we got settled and I sat right next to Bojang because I had planned to ask many serious questions related to my research. I asked how he has been for the week and what he has done today. He said that he only did the usual activities he's always done, just play some sports, go to the church, and socialize with friends. He told me that he was really good at ping pong and he claims himself to be the best there. Bojang then asked how my week end was, I answered that I've just been really busy making thesis. After a quarter of an hour of having a light conversation, I started to get in into a deeper discussion with him.

Because on the first session I haven't asked any questions relating to his current condition being a prisoner in Cipinang, I started to ask by how he could have reached an eleven year sentence and how has he ended up right in a correctional facility specifically for narcotics. Without any hesitation and further introduction, he looked at me and said "you want to know? Well, this is my story". He continued on by telling me his story very slowly and without any pauses, I was only listening for the time he is sharing which is quite a long duration.

The story began 3 years ago when he was still living alone in Jakarta. Bojang had met a friend who was also a Nigerian. This friend had asked him to do a favour, Bojang agreed because he thought he would help a friend. This Nigerian friend had asked him to deliver an envelope to his girlfriend who was also living in Bojang's apartment, but because of the high security in the apartment his friend cannot access his girlfriend straight to her room. With Bojang having the access key and passes to his apartment, his friend thought that Bojang may be able to help.

So one night Bojang went down to the lobby to meet his friend and receive the envelope to give to his girlfriend. Not until he received the envelope did he realized that the envelope contained heroin inside. Because Bojang thought that he would only be delivering it to a room, he thought that there would be no harm done. When he was walking up to the room, he was suddenly stopped by a group of policemen who later surrounded him. Bojang panicked because he didn't know what was going on or happening all of a sudden. The police had caught him delivering drugs and said that they would take Bojang into custody. Bojang defended himself and told the police that he didn't know or had anything to do with what the police were assuming. He told them that the man who gave the envelope to him was downstairs and he would be the person the police are looking for. The policemen still took Bojang and had him stayed in the police car while the policemen chased his friend.

The police had chased him back to his house, which was in Bekasi. Along the whole process, Bojang remained in the car with other policemen. He had overheard the policemen had found evidence of heroin all around his house and that his friend tried to escape from his house. All of a sudden, Bojang heard a gunshot. He asked what had happened to his friend, the policemen just answered that his friend might be just shot in the leg. The other policemen who were chasing Bojang's friend carried him to the police car, they were going to take his friend to a hospital because of his bleeding and gunshot. While they took his friend to the hospital, the other policemen took Bojang to Polda Metro Jaya where he would be questioned for his actions. While on the way to Polda Metro Jaya, Bojang overheard the policemen speaking in Indonesian, in which Bojang pretended he didn't understand Indonesian, they said that Bojang's friend died

in the hospital. At that time, Bojang knew that he was trapped to be sentenced because he didn't have any other evidence or witness to prove him otherwise.

When Bojang arrived at Polda Metro Jaya, they told him that he would be arrested with the possession of drugs. Bojang defended himself by repeating that he didn't know anything or knew what was going on, he was only there to help his friend deliver an envelope. But the police didn't care of what Bojang had to say, because as far as they know it the enactment of Indonesia stated that any person with the possession any narcotics will be arrested for a duration of ten years (Undang – Undang Narkotika 1997 Pasal 78 ayat 1 dan 2). Bojang was then sent to trial and was sentenced with that degree of conviction.

I had a very big empathy towards Bojang, because I felt his sadness of how he was caught at the wrong time and the wrong place. After he told me the story, he felt and looked very gloomy. I then started to calm him down by making random and light conversation that had nothing to do with narcotics. He was then relaxed once more. After that I quickly changed the subjects of questions into confirming my already collected data.

I firstly asked about the demographics of Nigerian criminals in Indonesia, were there many or not. The data collected shows that Nigerian criminal networks are heavily spread out in the world, Bojang confirmed that by saying that there are many Nigerians who are here in Indonesia but not all of them are in drug business. And when I asked if he knew about the activities or in general the drug business, he told me he knew but as a third person who has heard it from his friends. He admits to not being connected or in any way part of any criminal activities or group. He said that it was easier to create a network here in the facility because of how the inmates are of course part of a crime. He said that although the facility isolates the inmates from the outside world, but it didn't break the communication chain. Inmates are still allowed to carry mobile phones inside the facility and of course the links they are able to make with other criminals who are inmates.

After asking about the structures, I asked about the key players role in a network. I asked him if my data was all correct about how key players in a Nigerian network was generally headed by an icon or by a person stated with the term “godfather”. He said that it was true, he said everything you heard or read about the person in charge of the business was all true. He said that, this certain person of course finances the whole operation and may or may not know his staff men personally. I then asked him if he knew anyone or if there was anyone with that status he knew inside or outside the facility. He answered no and replied there are none that I know of in Cipinang who are here with that status, he then confirmed it by saying that he really don’t know.

I then continue by confirming my already collected data on the relationship owned by a criminal network. I asked how a relationship plays a role in a criminal network. Bojang answered to an “I don’t know”. For this questions he really didn’t have anything to say or answer. So I drove away from asking further more on this.

I asked how the data I collected showed that Nigeria is a growing and conflict country, the data I collected that showed that “legally” unnoticed the country supports the act of trafficking drugs because it gave an income to the country itself and that the warlords or the so called “godfather” are also a part of the government. He said that those data were all false, he didn’t give an I don’t know like before, he clearly and directly said that it was all wrong. He said that his country did not produce any drugs nor did it support the selling or trafficking of drugs. He then shared that he only knew about the production of marijuana in his country and have not heard about any other drugs like heroin from Nigeria. Because marijuana was heavily produced in Nigeria, he added just like in Aceh, he admits to have used marijuana as drugs. But other than that, he confirms this data by saying it was false.

He then turned the whole conversation back to his story on why he was arrested. He trusted me and told me that it would be wonderful if I could help him get out of the facility. I didn’t give a definite reply to that statement, but I just gave him the advice for him to into trial again.

APPENDIX 3

Field Note Session 3

LP Narkotika Cipinang

Abdoulie Bojang

Wednesday, December 07, 2011

I arrived at Cipinang around 13.30. When I arrived there, I went straight to Pak Asep. To get through to Pak Asep's office, I had to go through the same security process of the facility. After the process I headed straight to Pak Asep's office. When I got there, Pak Asep had gone out and was not absent. But his staffs knew that I was doing a research, so they said that it would be fine to go and meet Bojang without Pak Asep's approval. So I agreed and waited outside for Bojang to arrive. When Bojang arrived we went straight to the counseling room. There we chatted for a while talking about how he has been doing since the last we met.

Since this was my last session to interview him, I only needed to confirm the data he had given me on the previous sessions. When we finished chatting, I recap our two previous sessions to him. We talked about the two previous sessions on how he ended up on Cipinang and about the knowledge he had on the business of drugs. On reviewing the conversation on the two previous sessions, Bojang gave no new comment or information in this session.

He shared the story of how he was caught by the police again, but this time he added a plead that maybe I could help him get out from Cipinang. I only replied with the statement that I was only a student and that there was nothing much I can do to change the situation that he was in right now. I quickly turned the conversation topic to the data of the criminal network dimensions. I asked him several questions again in order to confirm and review the interviews I had done with him. He agreed to all the statements I asked and shared with him.

APPENDIX 4

Interview

Direktorat Narkoba Polda Metro Jaya

Subarto S.H. M.M, Ajun Komisaris, Perwira Analisa Evaluasi Bag Bin Opsnal

Informan: kenapa kok Nigeria berbeda dengan yang lain gitu

Peneliti: he eh

Secara ini sih, Sebetulnya sama saja ya, mungkin ya dia ini, nigeria ini apa ya, rata2 orangnya itu kan kuat. Besar kuat. Disana ekonomi juga rendah gitu ya. Sehingga dia untuk mendapat uang itu kan sulit di negaranya, dari jual narkoba itu dia berani mengambil resiko apapun lebih besar, karena apa, narkoba biasanya kalau orang nigeria, di telan. Sebetulnya bukan di telan, istilahnya bukan ditelan, cara memasukannya bukan lewat mulut, bukan lewat oral, tapi lewat dubur. Karena resikonya besar ya, karena kalau pecah musti mati itu. Yaa gitu dia berani. Dan jaringannya kuat Nigeria itu dimana-mana. Ini kan faktornya faktor ekonomi

Pendorongnya yah?

He eh. Pendorongnya sebetulnya karena negaranya juga nyari orang susah, dia kemampuan juga terbatas, satu-satunya yang mudah (dagang narkoba). Dia juga memperdaya wanita Indonesia dijadikan gundik. Tapi prinsipnya orang dia, berani, ya itu karena apa, lebih berani mengambil resiko.

Dibanding yang lain ya

Kalau yang lain biasa pake tas, pake media lain, dia berani pake media tubuh

Makanya mereka jadi kuat ya, dimana2 ada, keberaniannya itu ya

Iya keberaniannya itu

Secara umum aja pak kalau drug trafficking itu seperti apa? perdagangan narkoba

Drug trafficking itu, perdagangan narkoba itu ada yang regional, ada yang antar benua, antar negara antar benua

Transnasional

Transnasional, nah. Orang-orang yang sudah ada dalam kartel-kartel narkoba ini, berani dia, mempunyai jaringan yang sangat luas. Dari negaranya, negara ininya, sampe negara tujuan dia sudah punya jaringan. Ya itu, dengan cara dia merekrut, kalau cewe kita dia jadikan gundik. Istri muda lah. Istri lah. Kalau istri gundik. Atau juga mereka itu di Indonesia itu seolah-olah mau dagang. Orang-orang item ini, niger-niger ini kan dagang kain di tanah abang, padahal dagang itu hanya untuk kamufase. Untuk masuk indonesia sebagai ini, sebagai turis, sebagai apa, sampai sini kadang dia punya surat pun dia dibuang. Supaya menghilangkan jejak kan, misalnya dia punya surat untuk tinggal di Indonesia 2 bulan, daripada itu lebih baik di buang. Untuk mengelabui. Berbaur dengan orang kita, banyak juga orang item kan. Berbagai cara lah dia ini. Tapi cara memasukkannya itu mereka berani, ya itu tadi, dengan alat bantu, tubuh itu bisa dijadikan media gitu

Kalau keadaannya itu sendiri itu perdagangan narkoba di indonesia itu gimana sih pak? Apa makin berkembang, atau semakin, warga negara asing makin berani.

Kalau saya melihat secara kuantitatif cukup meningkat ya. Itu kan juga antara permintaan, supply demand ya, susahny mencari lapangan pekerjaan. Dengan jumlah apa sedikit, pengangguran banyak itu menghasilkan membuat orang unjuk menjadi jaringan bagiannya, dia dengan sedikit bela saja bisa dapet uang kan, masuk tas itu paling mudah, modalnya sedikit, untungnya besar, walau resikonya besar.

Hmmm

Kalau orang asing masuk ke Indonesia itu satu pangsa pasar indonesia banyak, karena indonesia tuh negara besar. Juga trennya narkotika ini kan banyak jenisnya, kalau dulu orang mengkonsumsi narkoba jenisnya narkotik heroin kokain, nah skrg sabu pun yg tadinya sekarang masuk ke narkotik, itu itu yang paling mudah itu masuk. Karenapangsa pasarnya banyak, orang untuk menghadapi gejala hidup yang berkonsumsi tinggi, ini orang, kalau ininya ga kuat ya narkoba jalannya.

Berarti faktor utamanya tuh ekonomi kenapa mudah berkembang, karena mereka melihat mudah menjadi kartel dan memberi profit yang besar walaupun resikonya tinggi

He eh, trus disini kan permintaan jg tinggi. Karena apa Manusianya juga indonesia tuh, kalo ga ini kan cenderung lemah jadi mati karena ya itu untuk menghilangkan, kalau saya, memakai narkoba, untungnya apa. kalau anak-anak sekarang coba dulu lah pake

ini lah pake apa, pada akhirnya ga kelepas kan. Karena tidak kuat menghadapi kenyataan hidup. Kenyataan hidup itu kan sebetulnya dari segi apapun kan sangat ** aa, mereka yang tidak kuat dengan masalah ini, udah larinya kesana, padahal ituu, masing2 karena iman seseorang ya, gejala itu sangat kesana sekali, apalagi tingkat konsumsi masyarakat Indonesia sangat tinggi kan. Memang narkoba masuk Indonesia itu gencar itu sejak zaman orde baru, itu sedikit, kenapa? Ketat sekali. Karena semenjak keran demokrasi itu dibuka, seolah2 itu semua bebas tanpa batas gitu. Kenapa, begitu itu kan banyak demo banyak ini, orang cari makan semakin susah. Sekarang saya diem aja orang dateng kerumah saya gw bisa beli, orang dapet duit. Jadi secara kriminologi juga faktor ekonomi itu merupakan faktor utama juga, jadi hilirnya itu kemiskinan, kedua kalau udah kemiskinan juga bermuara juga ke penegakkan hukum, orang makin tinggi ekonominya, semakin mudah diberi pengertian, untuk taat hukum. Orang yang ga ini apapun juga dilakukan, secara teori juga demikian

he eh

ya itu

keterkaitannya sendiri itu antara drugtrafficking dengan jaringan kriminal itu gimana sih pak? Maksudnya kayaknya jaringan kriminal dalam perannya menjalankan perdagangan narkoba.

Memang narkoba ini kan suatu jaringan yang dibuat sistem sel ya supaya terputus, jaringan kartel ini, ee, jaringan yang susah ditembus, tadi karena sistem sel tadi, tapi mereka kuat, karena satu dengan yang lain itu tidak kenal, dibuat tidak kenal, masingmasing punya peran. Jadi gini contohnya, si A beli barang, pesennya sama saya, pesennya. Tapi nanti yang nganter sampean, dianternya dimana:? Di hotel nomer sekian, kamer ini, ga mengenal, nanti disitu si A yg ngambil, nanti bayarnya, lain lagi yang bayar, bisa dengan bank, bisa dengan cash. Bayarnya sama siapa, yang nganter barang siapa, yang ngambil siapa, yang menggunakan siapa, berbeda-beda

Hmm beda

Itulah namanya sistem sel, makanya begitulah, namanya jaringan itu seperti itu, tidak mudah membuat jaringan itu terungkap kalau kita tidak mendalami dari awal. Ini kelompok siapa sebetulnya, bagaimana cara kerjanya, dihubungkan dengan yang lain. Kita punya nomer, berapa kali dia komunikasi, contoh misalnya, dengan, sudah ada undang2nya sendiri. Misalnya gini, orang itu barang ada padanya, tuh penguasaannya. Orang bodoh, "eh pak bapak punya rokok ya?" rokok itu dipajang dikantongnya, tapi orang narkoba ga dikantongnya. Di hotel, di hotel dimana, taro dibelakang pigura. Bagaimana seorang penyidik bisa membuktikan itu dalam penguasaannya. Jadi kita tanyanya, nah ini teknik, tidak ada dalam kamus penyidikan kamus ini. Tidak ada dalam

kamus penyidikan seperti ini, ini pengembangan kita, bagaimana sih kok bisa ada dibelakanag pigura. Caranya bagaimana, jadi penguasaan dia , kok ada dibelakang pigura, kita urut dari belakang. “kamu ke hotel ngapain?” “saya mau nginep” “di kamar mana?” “di kamar 15” “oh di kamar 15” “itu kamar siapa? Siapa yang pesan? Konci sama siapa?””kunci sama siapa” naah karena kunci sama saya itu lah selain kamu kan ga ada orang lain, karena ini, karena kunci saya pegang maka itu penguasaan saya, kalau kunci sama pak endang gabisa itu

Pak endang: penguasaan saya berarti

Naah penguasannya, itu harus jeli, ini narkoba ya. Itu sangat jeli

(seseorang pamitan kepada informan)

Yaa ya.

Misalnya gini aja gampangnya, kamu apsari, polisi (mengetuk meja, suara samar) takut, dia make, dia buang. Naik motor atau naik bis lah, dibuang dibawah, ya nemu semua. Ga ketauan saya, kamu yang buang. Tapi kalo polisi liat, “ambil” itu penguasaan dia “tapi kamu yang ngambil” berarti dipenguasaan dia. Kecuali polisi yang ngambil salah itu. “saya gatau itu polisi yang ambil” teknis. Itu dalam penyedikkan, pada saat di lapangan saya ajarkan, bagaimana taktik dan teknik mengambil barang bukti, ada sendiri. Kalau kita ga gitu, salah, pak polisi narok kok. Doyok dulu ga, eh kok doyok, gatau, taro di belakang pigura, disebuah hotel. Naah gitu loh, paham ya apa yang saya omongkan tadi.

Berati kalau kaya gitu, secara general aja, jaringan kriminal tuh apasih, dan apa faktor-faktor yang membentuknya, maksudnya kaya apa karena kejahatan itu memerlukan jaringan untuk melakukan kejahatannya atau itu mempermudah mereka..atau

Oh enggak, jadi eee.. lack spesialisasi narkoba itu. Memang narkoba itu merupakan kejahatan yang sangat terorganisir, baik caranya baik modus operandinya maupun ee. Teknik teknik lain misalnya cara jual beli itu, dulu bon pertama kali mungkin istilahnya cash and carry, barter antara uang dan itu, lama lama enggak, seiring kemajuan teknologi, dia tidak, menggunakan teknologi itu salah satu hal, menggunakan kekerasan itu ciri khas, ciri khas dia itu satu kekerasan, bisa menyebabkan kematian, bahkan karena itu terbukti ini bisa dia bunuh, yang kedua penggunaan teknologi. Bagaimana sih orang udah di napi masih bisa. Orang be..orang udah di lembaga (batuk). Orang yang tau lembaga itu bukan polisi, tapi orang yang gatau itu polisi. Padahal itu di lembaga itu tanggung jawab sipir. Kalau orang kampung itu taunya polisi. Padahal itu sipir, itu disitu itu dibina, namanya lembaga kemasyarakatan dididik kembali kemasyarakatan, tapi disana enggak, makanya makin subur. Ada beberapa muara, ya,

satu sama lain saling terkait. Yaitu kalau terbina oleh para kartel, penyidik juga bisa terbina kalau kita ngga hati-hati. Kita ada yang namanya anggota ***. Tidak ada di ... kriminologi lain, pemilihan terselubung, terus kita juga ada, apa istilahnya, pembuntutan, ya jadi. Itu kita semua, kita bagi. Tak tak tak. Secara hukum kalau kita mengungkap, ya itu semua, siapa berbuat apa bergaul sama siapa. Karena ini, bila perlu kalau sampean ketemu sama sampe empat kali sama siapa bertanya bapak ini apa siapa sih, makanya ganti orang, supaya tidak masuk perangkap.

Tidak terjebak ya

Ha, kita kan membuntutin orang, ternyata, dia belok, dia belok, kita bablas, nomer dua ikut belok. Banyak sekali permasalahan yang timbul karena itu.

Kan saya melihat jaringan kriminal itu dari tiga dimensi, yaitu struktur, aktor, sama hubungan antara mereka semua. Kalau strukturnya sendiri bagaimana sih berperan dalam jaringan narkotika

Eee struktur sih, itu kan pekerjaan dibawah tanah ya. Secara struktur, karena sistem sel, yang tau yang diatas. Si A sama si B sama2 sebagai kurir, ga kenal, tapi A sama B anak buahnya C, D, F, G, H, I, iutu mungkin dipeke a dan b, mungkin b doang, a engga, mungkin b doang a enggak, mungkin dipake dua2nya. Karena mana kan yang bisa memberi cepat gitu.

Itu diputus biar apa ya pak

Supaya kalo ketangkap itu ya putus, biar ga ada keterangan\

Biar ga nyampe keatas ya

He eh, makanya kan gini, kaya kita ngomong korupsi kan bagaimana aktor intelektualnya siapa. Kan gamungkin kan, sama kaya gini, makanya kejahatan terorganisir, cirinya ya itu, sistem terputus. Kalau toh kenal, ya belom tentu, contoh skrg ini, yg gampang ini, kemaren yang ribut2 di tv, sutan batugana tuh, kan orang datang ke dpr, katanya lapor, ini karena begini. Tapi kan bisa. Akhirnya dibalikin/ Itulah sebuah kejahatan terorganisir. siapa yang salah dibuktikan itu harusnya. Ga semudah apa yang dibayangkan. Orang mengira2, kalau kita ngomong media, media ini kadang2. Saya bukan menjelaskan media. Dia divonis dulu orang salah apa salah apa. si a begini ini begini, padahal belom tentu. Adakah bukti yang menurut dia, bukti yang secara politis belum tentu bukti secara materiil. kalau sudah bisa dibuktikan secara materiil dan formil baru bisa diangkat sebagai sebuah kasus. Gitu,

berarti kalau kaya gitu aktor utamanya ga akan terungkap ya

bisa terungkap

tapi susah ya

jadi begini, teori polisi kan, jadi , banyak teorinya, ini jenis narkoba ini misalnya. Sabu, ekstasi atau kokain. Coba di tes secara klinis, secara medis, eh secara laboratoris ya. Oh begini, kok ketemu lagi disini, berarti ini barang yang sama

ooh iya

kan ga mungkin, kamu jual es teler, saya jual es teler, es teler yang buatan situ dengan es teler buatan saya pasti berbeda rasanya warnanya rasanya baunya, atau mungkin apanya gitu pasti ada perbedaan sedikit banyak\

he eh

sama kaya hp nokia kan ada yang tipe ini tipe ini tipe ini, tapi semuanya nokia, paham ya, itu.. jadi ada berbagai, polisi punya data ini.oh ini ini ini. Lama2

nanti nemu keatas

kerucut.

Berarti kalau dilihat dari hubungannya ya, atas tuh Cuma membiayai, terus turun kebawah dia memperdagangkan gitu ya.

Ya atas itu ya ga Cuma membiayai, mereka memproduksi , cara setelah memproduksi untuk mengambil apanya tuh, lewat distributor utamanya siapa sampe pengecer. Itu. Makanya dulu pernah saya bawa keruangan ya itu ada gambarnya cekcekcekcek. Tuh terungkap karena kita ada yang mengecek. Oh kesini oh kesini. Gitu kan. Accountnya dimana, saya buka accountnya, kemana dibuat accountnya, kemana aja duitnya. Panjang. Paham ya?

Paham paham

Jadi dari komunikasi, dari akun yang dimiliki, kemana saja, ciri khas barangnya, nah tertangkap di depok jakarta Bekasi beda2 tapi kok sejenis, berarti satu pabrik nih, ini dimana akunnya ini dimana akunnya, ho semakin kesini kok kesini . naah ngerucut ngerucut ngerucut. Gitu.. jadi gini loh istilahnya dalam satu organisasi, bisa top-down, bisa bottom up. Lalu gimana caranya bottom up? Seperti tadi, tettetetetet.

Yaya, kalau, kan saya melihat jaringan kriminal non-nigeria nya juga, kalau disini yang non-nigeria kaya apa demografisnya, lebih banyak atau sama aja?

Karena ini hanya kurun waktu ya, untuk akhir2 ini sih narkoba jenis sabu mulai ramai, jadi disamping niger, ciri khas nya niger itu selama ini narkoba jenis heroin,

Hmmm, disini heroinnya sedikit ya?

Ya memang sedikit, karena orang, ya jarang, sekarang orang berpindah pada sabu.

Karena apa?

Uangnya banyak, orang kalau sabu, sifatnya itu kan bukan seperti heroin atau kokain. Kalau heroin kan depresan, ini stimulan, orang bergerak

Lebih aktif

Aa, lebih aktif (BATUK)

Itu berkembang di indonesia dengan faktor yang sama ya ekonomi ya?

Semua ekonomi, tapi kan banyak masuk indonesia ga Cuma ini, ada orang dari malaysia, ada orang dari brazil, kenapa. China, malaysia, itu masuk indonesia. Sabu ini kenapa sabu karena sabu ini lagi ngetren, termasuk yang ngetren, maka dimasukkan kepada UU 35, yang tadinya psikotropika jadi narkotika. Kenapa? Sebetulnya uu 35 mengantisipasi hukuman yg minimal. Tapi kalau saya, hukum yang tidak tegas. Orang pasti bermuaranya “polisinya ga ini ga ini” padahal politiknya bertindak setengah mati. Sekarang saya mau teriak sama siapa kalau dia memang diketok 5 bulan atau satu tahun, kan haknya berbeda, saya sebagai penyidik, sudah selesai tuntas sudah. Ada kewajiban lain, yaitu institusi lain, harusnya menangani masalah ini ditangani oleh antar departemen. Orang udah polisi aja deh polisi, biar polisi aja. Kalau itu kan ga bisa juga. Contoh2 kaya tadi dibuat, ya jadi kalau sepanjang ini masih terjadioknum tanda kutip tadi. Karena di polisi jelas, kalau ada yang berani neko2 dikit ya lepas baju. Itu sudah tidak ambil pusing pake apa. tapi kalau dilain2 bukan wewenang saya deh. Kaya tipikor aja deh, gimana nyidiknya, nyidiknya jelas, orang udah pake p21, ya gak, kalau udah pake p21 berkas udah lengkap, kenapa dia ga mampu. Ada unsur apa. yakan. Kan ini kan berkas ini kan jelas nih pasalnya jelas, kalau pasalnya ga ini ya salah siapa.

Balik lagi pak, kan saya ngeliat juga dari memperdagangkan narkotika dan psikotropika, itu ada perbedaannya ga sih kaya memperdagangkan narkotika tuh strukturnya lebih berbeda. Psikotropika berbeda.

Ah sama aja, kalau namanya kartel begitu, kerjanya seperti itu, itu itu, ciri khasnya udah sama deh. Hanya kan yang dibawa beda gitu kan, yang dibawa doang yang beda.

Dari data literatur yang saya temukan tuh, struktur non-nigeria itu hanya sebatas hubungan pekerjaan. Atau mereka tuh punya persamaan kaya persamaan etnis, atau latar belakang yang sama, atau bener2 hanya sebatas pekerjaan makanya terbentuk sistem sel itu.

Kalau yang etnis cina itu juga, saya juga, ga yakin kalau hubungan pekerjaan ya, karena itu juga menyangkut masalah fee ya, masalah salary, semua itu kan salary. Jadi antara etnis juga tidak, gak jelas. Kalau memang, pekerjaan kartel tuh bila perlu, semua juga dirambah. Kita tidak bisa. Memang ada sebagian etnis yang begitu, memang ada. Ada memang etnis tertentu lah.

Dan saya liat dari data yang saya dapat tuh, keyplayersnya aktor utamanya itu sangat berperan kaya diatasnya itu sangat berperan.

Saya melihat ya, tapi saya gamau jadi rasialisme. Kalau di Indonesia ini, tingkat...penjual, e kurir, ke atas, kurir kebawah, warga negara indonesia asli, pribumi, siapapun itu, hanya karena ia pengen dapet duit, dia butuh pekerjaan, bukan bisnis lagi, tapi faktor ekonomi. Atau bicara ekonomi dengan bisnis berbeda ya. Tapi kalau udah menjadikan ini rata2 indonesia keturunan semua, ga ada orang indonesia asli. Ya bahkan mahasiswa dari pergeruan tinggi tertentu tetep indonesia keturunan. Ga kaya mana, kamu orang mana? Orang dari jawa tengah, orang dari sunda, enggak. Itu sunda, jawa, paling2 kalau dari ujung keujung, dia karena keperluan sendiri, make, kalau udah gapunya apa-apa, cewe, make, kalau engga ya dia jual diri sama itu dia jadi satu lah ya. Tapi kalau kepentingan ekonomi itu, masih keturunan ya, rata-rata keturunan. Tapi ini jangan dijadikan rasialisme ya tanda kutip. Saya juga bicara kalau dikampus itu, karena kalau dikampus itu rata-rata yang bisa kuliah juga orang mata sipit, bukannya saya orang jawa, asli, jarang mbak, karena gapunya duit. Yang berani semuanya orang keturunan.

Dan itu sama ya hubungan aktor-aktor dengan itu

Iya

Jadi

Karena gini, orang kita ini biasanya, minang kek, jawa kek, atau apa, dia kalau udah gini, nrimo, yaudah memang begini, yang kuasa tuh, saya menerima kekuasaan(tuhan). Kalau orang keturunan itu kan, karena beda iman kali, mereka tuh uang nomer satu, uang-uang. Kalau kita, ya uang tapi untuk apa.

Kalau kaya gitu kan saya melihat perbandingannya ya, hal apa sih yang membedakan jaringan non-nigeria dengan nigeria?

Ooh kalau ini kan, hanya etnis daerah asal. Dulu2 ya, tahun 80an sampe 2000an.

Kalau secara aktor struktur gitu apa ada perbedaan

Dengan etnis lain

Iya antara nigeria dengan non-nigeria

Oo mereka sangat tertutup sekali soal itu, mereka itu ya tadi, sesama itu tau ya itu begini begini, makanya mereka buka jaringan, seolah2 disini kan baik, punya istri orang sini, digundik2. Dulu si lola2 itu kan nigeria kan, dihukum mati, dia dihukum mati, si lola orang cianjur itu.

Ini yang soal Nigeria itu, demografinya tuh gmn sih di Indonesia? Apa semakin lama semakin banyak apa semakin lama semakin berkurang. Atau bagaimana

Khusus untuk tahun 2000..2011 ini ya, biasanya sih niger itu berkurang lah dari dulu berkurang ya

Tapi dulu banyak banget

Oh iya dulu banyak, dari dulu banyak kan dari kolombia, niger, ameriak latin, niger.sekarang karena byukan lagi kiokain atau heroin, maka bergesernya ke sabu. Sabu itu banyaknya china, satu dua, jepang apa korea. Yang banyak cina, malaysia.

Malah nigeria nya berkurang ya. Faktor yang mendukung mereka itu selain ekonomi, berani ya.

Sudah bukan lagi narkotika jenis heroin atau kokain, tapi udah ke sabu, sabu itu lebih mudah dibuat daripada itu

Ibu2:pak maaf ini mau buat ektp, jam 2, udah janji soalnya

Udah2, yah

Misi bu, hmm gitu

Ga masalah, niger memang taun 2003 Cuma 3 kan, biasanya banyak, ini sedikit.

Masih sama aja antara narkotika dan [psikotropika ya, mereka memperdagangkannya sama aja.

Oya sekarang kan psikotropika gol. 1,2 masuk narkotika, makanya sama lah. Pokoknya prinsipnya sama, Cuma beda pasaran lah. Beda pangsa ya, gitu

Kalo secara struktur tuh saya menemukan kalau nigeria itu hanya bekerja dengan yang rasnya sama etnisnya sama, itu gimana

Ah enggak juga

Oh enggak juga, mereka sudah mencampur

Kalau dia nyatanya, menggundik orang Indonesia, kenyataannya dia itu bawah2nya orang indonesia. Ya kan. Enggak

Dan yang saya temukan itu tuh, aktornya itu tuh, mereka hanya sebagai pimpinan atau ikon, ga kaya yang jaringan lain, ikutan terjun ke bawah.

Ya kalau dia, golongannya, kurir dan menengah lah. Dia masuk juga dengan kurir ya, kuris saja kalau ada yang bukan kurir, dia dagang sendiri, langsung dijual begini, (batuk), itu kan, (batuk) ya gimana ya menggunakan kaitan dengan orang setempat. Kalau dia sesama orang niger itu kan disananya, kalau disininya kan lain. Bila perlu kalau ketemu saya ada orang niger sama orang niger, pura2 gatau ga kenal

Hmm gitu ya

Kalau di tanah abang ya, semuanya dagang kain semua, dagang kain itu di tanah abang

Dan sama2 ga kenal ya

Padahal di dalam kain itu tumpukan narkoba, ng ng ng nggak tau

Oke, dan hubungannya tuh cara bekerjanya sama aja atau ada yang berbeda gitu

Aah hampir sama itu, hampir sama

Hampir sama ya. Untuk menyimpulkan lagi, yang membuat niger itu spesial dan berbeda itu apasih? Selain mereka kayak, berani, dan yaa. Apa pak

Ya tadi, mereka gandeng bangsa kita jadi gundik, jadi kurir, hubungan dengan bagus dengan keluarganya, akhirnya keluarga cewek itu satu persatu bisa kena kan, karena duitnya gampang, dua kali niger itu, apa ya, apa ya, kan disini orang muslim, sama sama muslim. Tapi bukan karena muslimnya tapi lebih mudah komunikasi kan orang berkulit warna yang sama gitu loh. Tapi yang jelas, dia perangnya baik ini ini ini

Berarti dia masih dalam melakukan kejahatan, memperdagangkan narkotika, dia masih ngeliat kulit ya, masih ngeliat ras.

Oh pasti, pasti

Walaupun dalam jaringannya dia mengangkat orang Indonesia, kerja sama orang indonesia

Gak gak, jarang kalau orang niger hubungan sama orang cina, jarang oooo. Kalau kulit2nya agak gelap gitu kaya saya, kaya anda gitu kan masih mau. Iya. Tapi liat sendiri nih, saya orang ini nih, kalau saya berhubungan dengan orang keturunan, orang

keturunan china, mau perlu sama saya kalau ada maunya. Coba anda bayangkan di kampus aja, kalau orang kita, eee kemana kamu, kalau orang cina gamau

Berarti kalau non-nigeria gitu kaya misalnya cina gitu. Apa ya berarti keterikatan sosialnya mereka benar-bener hanya berdasarkan pekerjaan. Sementara yang nigeria itu masih punya rasa oh kita punya etnis yang sama, kita masih bisa berteman

He. He eh. (setuju) Ya, kita kayanya, kita ini, golongan yang saling-saling ini mau, itu mau, apa apa mau. Komunikasi lebih terbuka gitu istilahnya . tapi ya walaupun agak terselubung masih ya ini..kalau orang itu gabisa, coba gamau itu.

Hmm yayaya, oke. Paling itu aja sih pak, udah cukup

Kalau orang niger, ditangkep, jarang yang mau bunuh diri, ga ada. Orang niger. Kalau orang keturunan, nekat lompat, bunuh diri, dia lebih menyii** soal itu. Kalau niger udah, ketangkep ya udah.

Berarti dia benar-bener sangat pemberani yah,

Pemberani, dan istilahnya tanggung jawab ya. Kalau orang keturunan enggak. Nah sekarang beralihnya ke orang Iran, orang Iran banyak, karena kan, narkoba jenis2 tertentu yang datengnya dari irak, pakistan. Datengnya lewat orang iran itu, lewat malaysia, lewat Indonesia lagsung. Cewenya juga berjilbab orang Iran semua. Tapi semuanya hubungannya apa, ini. Salary-salary, profit, ya properti. Kalau profitnya cukup mau dia apa saja

Nigerianya itu sendiri tuh bisa melakukan perdagangan kejahatan narkoba tuh ada hubungannya gasih, ada hubungannya gak, sama kaya negaranya kaya negaranya korup lah dan miskin, sehingga pemerintahnya yaudah pemasukkannya bisa dari

Oh enggak, kalau saya tidak melihat sampe negara kesitu. Tapi memang sulitnya mendapatkan lapangan pekerjaan, dan mudahnya mendapatkan uang darisitu. Jadi ada dua ya, sulitnya mendapatkan pekerjaan dan mudahnya mendapatkan uang darisitu. Profit dari situ ya lebih mudah kan, ya ini dia lakukan.

Ini tuh biasanya memproduksi dari negaranya bawa kesini atau

Engga, orang niger itu kan dari kolombia. Dulu-dulu ya, kokain, kan kolombia.

Berarti dia ke kolombia dulu ya

Amerika latin, ya toh, meksiko, ya toh

Hmm he eh

Kalau sekarang kan sudah jelas ada yang dari birma, thailand, eh birma, pakistan, iran, afghanistan itu ya. Ada juga dari golden, niger itu ya

Golden cressent sama golden triangle

Ya ya, orang2 ini, negara2 itu kan sebagaimana negara2 kacau dan miskin itu kan ada hubungan itu. Tapi mereka udah mulai itu. Tapi cina sendiri kan tidak, cina, cina.. oh ga boleh dia. Tapi dia sekarang sabu, bahannya kimia lebih mudah. Sabu kan kimia semua. Kalau dari heroin kokain itu kan alami rata-rata kan, dia kan kimia sintetis.

Tapi sabu malah jadi narkotik ya sekarang, walaupun narkotik hasilnya dari tumbuhan, ya ga sih. Ya kan

Aslinya sih alami toh, tapi ada juga kimia sintetis, sintetis. Tapi ya tetep aslinya alami, kalau yang dibawa2 kan alami lah ya.

Hmm gitu ya, kalau berdasarkan dimensinya kaya tadi struktur, aktor, hubungannya itu udah cukup gasih menggambarkan kalau jaringan Nigeria itu spesial, kaya berbeda dari yang lain

Oh ya

Atau masih ada faktor lain kaya,. Yang bisa menggambarkan

Yaa saya pikir, Nigeria itu, khusus untuk narkotika jenis yang tadi itu, sudah jauh menurun ya. Tapi kalau skarang mulai ada swallow kaya dulu isinya sabu, ya itu mungkin itu menjadi faktor lagi pembangkit ya. Tapi saingannya udah banyak, orang malaysia, orang Iran. Bahkan dia dengan sengaja masuk isinya kosmetik aja dimasukin itu, apa saja dimasukin itu, bahkan elektronik, dimasukin itu, bermacam-macam modus operandi lah, tapi yang jelas peran orang niger sendiri di Indonesia jauh berkurang.

Hmm, Yasudah deh pak, baik cukup

Cukup ya, makasih-makasih

APPENDIX 5

Interview

Brigjen Arman Depari

D : Apa sih yang membedakan nigeria.. maksudnya strukturnya apakah dia sama aja dengan jaringan kriminal yang lain..? karena saya temuin berdasarkan data saya kalo orang nigeria itu lebih seneng berdasarkan etnisnya.. apa harus sama semua atau bagaimana, Pak?

P : hmm.. ga juga.. kan ini namanya organized crime. Organized crime itu memang diorganisir dengan bermacam-macam desain. Tadi seperti yang disampaikan, ada yang memang dengan klan nya sendiri , ada yang memang keluarga, tapi semua organized crime itu harus ada hubungan keluarga. Karena mungkin mereka lebih percaya kalau mereka masih ada hubungan keluarga. Tapi ada juga yang transnasional.. artinya transnasional itu berbagai bangsa, suku, macem-macem di dalam.

D : oh, ok..

P : nah.. tapi kalo khusus untuk nigeria ini pada umumnya memang kalau mereka datang dari sana itu , kontak-kontak antar mereka adalah kalangan sendiri. Tapi kalau sudah sampai disini, ya tidak.. mereka sengaja merekrut orang-orang Indonesia untuk memperlancar

D : dan itu kan biasanya berdasarkan trust yah.. mereka bisa langsung trust gitu gimana pak? Apa karena berdasarkan mereka mengejar profit makanya yaudah..

P : mereka itu tidak serta merta merekrut oran, terus jadi.. mereka lakukan dulu pendekatan, penjajakan, sambil mengetes apakah orang ini bisa digunakan atau tidak. Nah, itu yang mereka lakukan.. jadi tidak datang, orang mau, langsung dia.. mereka melakukan pendekatan, membantu dengan finansial, mendekati keluarga, mengajak jalan-jalan, bahkan diajak kawin!

D : aaa...iya baru tadi saya mau nanya.. katanya kalau disini orang nigeria banyak menggunakan perempuan untuk dijadikan istri

P : motif sebenarnya itu latar belakang finansial..

D : kalau disini tersebar dimana pak orang nigeria itu?

P : eee.. di jakarta maksudnya? Di jakarta itu paling banyak di daerah tanahabang.

D : dan mereka diem-diem sebagai apa.. tukang jualan atau..

P : ya jelas.. sesuai dengan kedatangan mereka. Kalau ditanya mereka pasti jawabnya mau berdagang. Atau sebagian besar bilang mereka atlet, olahragawan.

D : oh.. berarti sekedar cerita pak, saya ketemu narapidananya. Dia ngaku di BAP-nya dia olahragawan, tapi ngaku sama saya tukang dagang.

P : nah itu kan mereka ini sudah berniat melakukan kejahatan. Dan datang kesini semuanya ya.. ga punya pekerjaan. Kalau punya pekerjaan ya jelas mereka ga datang.

D : iya.. dan lucunya dia.. ya pasti dia ga ngaku ke saya.. terus dia cerita kalau dia sebagai orang ketiga gitu.. tapi saya denger nyaya gini gini gitu

P : ya itu yang memang terjadi ya itu..

D : dan mereka tuh biasanya kayak di film film itu ga, kayak emang bener-bener ada bosnya?

P : yah.. itu yang saya bilang tadi, organized crime .. kemudian organized crime itu kan menggambarkan kepada kita peran dan masing-masing kedudukan di dalam organisasi

D : division of labornya yah..

P ; ya.. jadi tentu saja adayang menjadi leader.. ada yang menjadi pelaksana ada yang menjadi, katakanlah yang lebih spesifik yang mengatur keuangan. Atau yang spesifik lagi dari narkoba itu ada produsennya .. itulah yang disebut organized crime dan transnasional tuh itu bisa terjadi dan dimana-mana .. mungkin produsen nya ada di afrika sana bisa jadi pengendalinya ada di asia. Bisa jadi pemegang keuangannya di amerika

D : makanya organized crime

P : iya terorganisir.. nah itu tadi ya tentu ada yang memimpin, jelas.. dan pemimpinnya lebih dari satu ya bisa.. itu tergantung mereka.

D : tergantung struktur dan bisnisnya mereka. Kalau dari menyelidikinya dan menangkapnya itu biasanya membuat turn-up yah? Dari bawahnya dulu baru keatas...

P : kebnyakan begitu .. karena memang kita disini adalah pasar jadi dari bawah ya memang karena pasar yang di temukan adalah pasar, bukan (permusan??) karena di indonesia sekalipun ada.. produsen yang kecil-kecilan sendiri tapi saya rasa itu tidak signifikan dibandingkan dengan kejahatann narkoba secara keseluruhan . nah jadi yang disebut dengan produsen itu negara-negara tertentu yang memang sudah memproduksi dalam jumlah masal.

D : kayak kolombia, meksiko..

P : ya..afghanistan, thailand, vietnam, myanmar..

D : golden triangle ya pak..

P : golden triangle, golden crescent.

D : kalau untuk demografisnya, banyak ga sih pak.. WNA yang kesini yang memang khusus tujuannya berbisnis narkoba, dan kenapa ya pak?

P : pada umumnya.. ini pelakunya kebanyakan adalah orang asing.. tapi mereka tidak disini. Itu permasalahannya buat kita sehingga kita sulit menjangkau dia . jadi mereka selalu merekrut kurir kurir itu , jadi kita tangkep orang-orang kita sedangkan tadi mereka itu yang tadi bos –bos itu, top-top managernya dalam organisasi dari kejahatan itu, mereka tidak.. entah dimana. Mungkin mereka mengendalikan dari amerika sana, seperti yang saya bilang tadi.. teknologi informasi kita sudah cepat sekali.. jadi tidak ada bedanya dia di bogor atau di jakarta timur jakarta selatan dengan dia di amerika, tidak ada bedanya.. sama saja pencet telepon, sama saja, mau menghubungi di bogor dan amerika sama saja.

D : itu ter-organized nya banget ya..

P : jadi memang satu-satunya kejahatan yang sudah organized crime itu ya narkoba dari dulu.

D : dan itu kejahatan narkoba berhubungan dengan sama yang lain ga sih pak? Kayak terorism, money laundring,

P : yang jelas money laundring.. kalau yang lain lain ya itu kita motifnya masing-masing , motifasinya masing-masing, Tapi kalau moeny laundring jelas, pasti tu nempel artinya pasti bersamaan, walupun prediket crime nya itu narkoba tapi pasti nempel dengan money laundring, pasti mereka melakukan itu dengan alasan uang.. money itu, terus bagaimana cara mencucinya. Sekaligus disitu.. tidak mungkin mereka

berpikir jualan narkoba nanti uangnya biarin aja, ga bisa.. justru mereka tujuannya uangnya.. sekarang ini. Bukan seperti dulu ada motif politik , ada motif karena perang dulu, ada perang candu, memang motifnya bukan uang.. kalau jaman sekarang memang alasannya ekonomi.

D: berarti pada utamanya faktor pendorongnya adalah faktor ekonomi ya pak..

P : ya benar,, ya kemudia itu tadi mungkin saja ada kelompok-kelompok ternetu yang cari uang dengan cara ini untuk melakuka tindakan lain, untuk mendanai, kegiatan lain bisa jadi.. terroism.. tapi di Indonesia belum..

D : belum yah

P : belum ada kita lihat..

D : kalau saya lihta kembali lg ke nigeria.. saya melihat itu negaranya negara konflik ya pak ya..

P : ya lama itu konflik.. kalau ga salah tahun 90-an masih konflik.. 90-an keatas baru sudah tidak ada perang saudara.. tapi di dalam masih sering terjadi.. sampai saat ini sebenarnya..

D : dan itu ada hubungannya ga sih, saya kayak melihat mereka pemerintahannya melegalkan drug trafficking itu sebagai pemasukan untuk negaranya, dan aktor-aktor utamanya pun juga..

P : ga juga, kan disana sebagai sumbernya kan ga ada sumber narkotik kan ga ada,, Kalau kita lihat geografisnya kan ga ada yang tumbuh disana..

D : ganja pun juga nggak?

P : justru mereka itu Cuma bagian dari organized crime nya itu

D ; terus mengapa mereka bisa menyebar dimana-mana?

P : nah.. ini mungkin perlu dikaji secara lebih sosiologis pemasyarakatan. Kalau saya lihat walaupun mereka , sorry nih, kulitnya hitam dan sedikit bau , tapi mereka tuh sangat cepat berbaur.. sangat cepat beradaptasi..

D : oiya ya

P : dan mereka sangat tidak mudah tersinggung.. dibilang apa dibilang monyet segala macem .. kalau bicara dengan mereka tuh cepat akrab..

D : oiya bener, saya mungkin itu bakat alami, seperti yang kita lihat kan mungkin orang cina berdagangnya bagus.. itu bakat alami.. di negara kita ada orang padang orangnya

bgini, ada orang batak.. itu sudah bakat alami.. talenta gitu yah.. menurut saya.. jadi nigeria ini cepat sekali beradaptasi.

D : makanya mereka juga cepet berkembang ya jaringannya..

P : makanya kita jangan kaget ada mereka di kampung-kampung.. main bola dengan anak-anak.. padahal sudah jelas sekali perbedaan mereka, nah itu pintarnya mereka. Itu jawabannya.. itu jawaban saya sebagai praktisi ya bukan sebagai peneliti.. kalau lebih pas lagi memang perlu diteliti.. kalau yang saya amati begitu.. mengapa saya juga tanya kenapa sih kamu mau sama orang itu? Coba, ini memang perlu karena memang benar mereka cepat sekali beradaptasi.

D : tapi memang dari yang saya baca sih memang begitu.. mereka memang cepat beradaptasi.. karena mereka kan memang mencari profit jadi mau ga mau mereka juga harus..

P : ya dan itu tadi mereka juga sudah menyadari tujuan dari profesinya

D : kalau modusnya caramereka memperdagangkannya dan menyelundupkannya kesini, katanya mereka paling berani juga ya pak

P : mereka tidak langsung, mereka tuh perantara-perantara.. jadi mreka jarang membawa sendiri

D : o gitu.. yang saya lihat di foto-foto kayak dimasukin ke dalam bagian tubuh..

P : nah itu kan kebanyakan bukan mereka.. kurirkan.. ada juga orang mereka , tapi tetap kurir.. akrena mereka tau kalau orang-orang niger pasti di cek

D : karena udah ter-label.. disini banyak pak?

P : sekarang sudah nggak.. disini sifatnya tahanan sementara..

D ; itu dari dulu sekarang menurun apa.. semakin meningkat? Kalau khusus nigeria pelakunya?

P : nigeria tahun ini ada sedikit peningkatan.. tahun-tahun yang lalu sudah lama tidak ada.. tahun 2010, 2006-an tuh lama ga ada. Ini meningkat lagi.. ada peningkatan saya bilang yah.. jadi kebanyakan mereka ini membawa heoin

D : katanya sekarang juga sudah berubah ke sabu ya pak?

P : ya sekarnag sudah ada smua kalau ya namanya nyari uang tadi.. apapun itu pertamanya aphetamine, ekstasi, kalau dulu heroine.. kalau orang item lah itu heroine..

D : dan itu peningkatannya ada hubungannya ga sih dengan jaringannya? Semakin secret dan semakin susah atau mengikuti tren aja?

P : ya kadang-kadang banyak faktornya.. kalau di negara-negara luar ketat.. susah lewatnya atau pemeriksaannya.. kayak di malaysia misalnya.. ketat sekali masuk ke bangkok.. nah itu sepi disini.. tapi kalau mungkin disana agak longgar.. mereka lihat ada celah gitu, mereka banyak .. walaupun itu longgar itu.. dan produksi banyak yang dihanguskan disana ya ga ada barang juga jadinya misalnya longgar.. jadi banyak faktor..

D : secara ga langsung mreka bisa dibilang pinter juga ya pak ya..'

P : oiya mereka memang sudah jelas kan resikonya mati atau tidak.. jadi mereka betul-betul mnegasah otak, jadi bagaimana dalam rangka kegoatan itu mereka selamat.. berani mengambil resiko..

D : apalagi karena mereka gampang beradaptasi.. dengan lingkungan barunya.. lalu mungkin ada apalagi pak cerita yang seru mengenai nigeria?

P : yaa..kalo mereka datang kesini biasanya itu paspornya sudah diambil.. oleh yang diatasnya lagi, sehingga kemanapun mereka harus menuruti perintah yang mengontrol dia atau yang memerintah dia, jadi sering sekali kita lihat kalau kita melakukan penangkapan tidak ada identitas.. yang ngaku juga belum jelas pengakuannya..

D : yang saya bingung narapidana saya itu ditulis sebagai raong gambia, tapi dia mengakunya orang nigeria. Dan katanya sih elama ini yang menguru dia tuh kewarganegaraan nigeria

P : nah itu dia, banyak itu.. ntar di paspornya begitu masuk sini diambil.. supaya dia ga bisa kemana-mana. Dia dimanfaatkan.. dan dia juga mau itu masalahnya..

D : karena dorongan ekonomi itu tadi yah..

P: sebagian besar..

D : jadi sebenarnya ada ga sih perbedaan antara WNA yang menjalankan drug trafficking dengan nigerianya jaringannya ada perbedaan ga sih pak? Sesungguhnya apa sama aja? Kayak nigeria cenderung membuat jaringannya berdasarkan etnis.. dan wna berdasarkan faktor ekonomi atau apa gitu ga juga ya pak, apa sama aja?

P : Memang kalau nogeria ini harus sama bergerombol dengan kelompoknya