



European Monitoring Centre
for Drugs and Drug Addiction

TECHNICAL REPORT

Exploring drug supply, associated violence and exploitation of vulnerable groups in Denmark

Authors

Thomas Friis Søgaard

Marie Højlund Bræmer

Michael Mulbjerg Pedersen

May 2021

Legal notice

This publication of the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) is protected by copyright. The EMCDDA accepts no responsibility or liability for any consequences arising from the use of the data contained in this document. The contents of this publication do not necessarily reflect the official opinions of the EMCDDA's partners, any EU Member State or any agency or institution of the European Union.

PDF ISBN 978-92-9497-638-3 doi: 10.2810/745587 TD-05-21-118-EN-N

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021

© European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2021

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.



About this report

This report, focusing on a single country, provides an analysis of current drug supply models and the related violence and exploitation of vulnerable groups in Denmark.

About the EMCDDA

The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) is the central source and confirmed authority on drug-related issues in Europe. For over 25 years, it has been collecting, analysing and disseminating scientifically sound information on drugs and drug addiction and their consequences, providing its audiences with an evidence-based picture of the drug phenomenon at European level.

The EMCDDA's publications are a prime source of information for a wide range of audiences including: policymakers and their advisors; professionals and researchers working in the drugs field; and, more broadly, the media and general public. Based in Lisbon, the EMCDDA is one of the decentralised agencies of the European Union.



European Monitoring Centre
for Drugs and Drug Addiction

Praça Europa 1, Cais do Sodré, 1249-289 Lisbon, Portugal

Tel. +351 211210200

info@emcdda.europa.eu | www.emcdda.europa.eu

twitter.com/emcdda | facebook.com/emcdda

Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Executive summary	5
Background	6
Methodology	7
Theoretical framework: exploring exploitation.....	10
Results	11
Drug markets and exploitation in Denmark: structural factors.....	11
A more fragmented drug market.....	12
More coercive policies and their possible unintended consequences	12
More labour-intensive supply models	13
Drug sales	14
Reasons for selling	15
Distribution methods	17
County lines drug supply — UK style	18
Mobile delivery sales	20
Open street sales.....	21
Stashing drugs	23
Street stashing.....	24
Stash houses	24
Transportation of drugs	25
Technologically facilitated drug markets	28
Money mules and cybercrime	28
Identity fraud and informational mules.....	29
Cryptomarket purchasing and exploitation	30
Home takeovers	30
Foreign nationals and asylum seekers	33
Trafficking of Vietnamese individuals	33

Trafficking of West African nationals	34
Undocumented migrants and asylum seekers.....	34
Impacts of COVID-19	35
Conclusion	36
Policy responses	37
References.....	39
Appendix: Survey questions	44

This paper was commissioned by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) and produced under contract No CT.19.SAS.0086.1.0. We are grateful for the valuable contribution of the authors. The views, interpretations and conclusions set out in this publication are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the EMCDDA or its partners, any EU Member State or any agency or institution of the European Union.

Authors

Thomas Friis Søgaard, Marie Højlund Bræmer, Michael Mulbjerg Pedersen

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to acknowledge the contributions of the survey participants and experts who made this publication possible. We would also like to thank the EMCDDA for funding this research.

Executive summary

This report, focusing on a single country, provides an analysis of current drug supply models and the related violence and exploitation of vulnerable groups in Denmark.

Recent years have seen a growth in criminals' exploitation of vulnerable groups for drug-related crimes. This development appears to be driven by several structural factors, including increased drug market competition and a proliferation of more labour-intensive supply models. In addition, the introduction of stricter drug- and gang policies in the country seems to have inadvertently created a situation in which experienced criminal actors are more inclined to outsource tasks with a potentially high risk of apprehension and conviction to other, more vulnerable, people.

The retail-level drug market in Denmark was found to be dominated by local supply models. Although recent years have seen a number of developments in the Danish retail market, with dealers starting to send drugs to customers via postal services and to provide mid-range and long-distance deliveries of drugs by car, the retail market is still dominated by locally centred supply. Thus, we did not find evidence of a situation akin to that in the United Kingdom, where inner-city drug market saturation has led to the emergence of a 'county lines supply model', involving significant numbers of urban dealers setting up sales outposts in satellite provincial towns and rural areas with less competition.

Both local and extra-local drug supply can involve various exploitative processes and relationships. Vulnerable individuals' pathways into exploitative relationships are complex, involving a variety of push and pull factors, and many vulnerable individuals are being exploited and coerced into undertaking a variety of criminal tasks. In Denmark, vulnerable young people and adults are still recruited to undertake traditional drug market activities such as street selling, acting as lookouts, and storing and transporting drugs, with some even having their homes turned into sales outlets. However, a key finding in this study is that the recent proliferation of more mobile and service-oriented selling methods has functioned as a catalyst for increased exploitation, in particular of vulnerable young people as drug runners and as digital money mules. Related to this, the increased technological mediation of drug transactions has created new ways in which vulnerable persons are being exploited.

Based on the findings of this study, we identify some priorities for future research to understand the impact of digital developments in retail-level drug distribution on vulnerable individuals and to inform responses to reduce criminal exploitation.

Background

Illicit drug markets have long been characterised by unequal and exploitative relationships between those who organise and those who undertake retail sales (May & Hough, 2004). Recent studies from the United Kingdom, however, have brought attention to how the emergence of novel supply models can facilitate increased exploitation and violence. In the United Kingdom, the proliferation of a 'county lines supply model' has created a situation in which the exploitation of vulnerable populations has become an increasingly systemic feature of retail-level drug distribution (Moyle, 2019). The county lines supply model involves 'outreach' selling, primarily of heroin and crack cocaine, from major cities to drug users in provincial or rural areas (Coomber & Moyle, 2018; McLean et al., 2020). Arguably, the most problematic feature of this supply model is its reliance on labour undertaken by children and vulnerable young people who are groomed or coerced into working as 'commuters' or 'drug runners', trafficking drugs out of urban centres and distributing them in provincial or rural satellite markets (Robinson et al., 2019). An equally problematic feature of this supply model is city-based dealers' efforts to create selling outposts in provincial areas by taking over the accommodation of vulnerable adults (Spicer et al., 2019). These developments have led researchers to conclude that, in the United Kingdom, experienced criminals and gangs are strategically targeting vulnerability as a means of expanding their business (Windle et al., 2020).

While the county lines supply model and its proliferation might be unique to the United Kingdom, research into the exploitative features of this model has spurred international interest in and awareness of the need for a better understanding of the links between drug markets and the exploitation and violent victimisation of vulnerable populations. While there is some evidence of phenomena similar to 'county lines' in several Member States (see EMCDDA & Europol, 2019), detailed information is hard to come by. Understanding the mechanisms and practice of such operations in different locations across Europe and if, how and why they manifest themselves are important areas for research.

This study explores the extent to which a county lines supply model and associated forms of exploitation are also present in continental Europe, focusing on Denmark as a case example. It also maps (alternative) dominant supply models in Denmark and the related key patterns in drug dealers' exploitation of vulnerable populations.

Methodology

To investigate these issues, a modified Trendspotter methodology (EMCDDA, 2018) was used. The study included a literature and data review, including mapping of the available monitoring data and media accounts; an online nationwide survey of professionals and stakeholders; expert interviews; and an expert meeting in Aarhus, Denmark, in August 2020 (see Table 1).

- *Literature and data review.* The study examined published research, grey literature, datasets and media reports on the situation in Denmark, going back to 2005. We took an in-depth and non-systematic approach to the literature review, focusing on material on drug markets, supply and distribution, drugs and gangs, organised crime, outlaw motorcycle gangs, vulnerability, homelessness, violence and exploitation. The information and data examined included those from Danish studies on drug use patterns, the violent victimisation of vulnerable groups, youth marginalisation and homelessness, and gang developments in Denmark, going back 10 years. Additionally, we examined published international research on current drug market trends in Europe, with a particular focus on research on the criminal exploitation of vulnerable groups for drug-related purposes.
- *Online nationwide survey.* To produce data on the situation in Denmark, we initially invited 244 professionals to participate in an online survey. The participants were selected on the basis of their profession, their assumed in-depth knowledge of the illegal drug scene and/or the situation of vulnerable groups, and the geographical location of their work. To ensure a varied sample, participants were recruited from large cities, towns and rural areas, and from all regions of the country. Invitees were encouraged to forward the invitation to relevant colleagues, resulting in 331 complete survey responses. The survey participants consisted of representatives from law enforcement, drug treatment centres, social works, youth crime prevention works, interest groups for drug users and homeless people, shelter or drop-in centres, psychiatric clinics, housing organisations and 'other' (1). The survey consisted of 59 questions (see the appendix (in Danish)), which were designed to enable the mapping of key national trends in drug supply and in ways that experienced criminals might exploit vulnerable persons to undertake criminal tasks such as selling, transporting and/or storing drugs, to act as lookouts or to have their homes taken over for the purpose of drug selling. In the questionnaire, 'young people' were defined as persons up to and including 25 years of age and 'adults' were defined as persons aged 26 years and above. Participants, were

(1) Analysis shows that participants opting to be classified in the category 'other' predominantly include professionals working at care homes or drop-in centres, but also professionals working in social housing projects as drug consultants and street nurses.

asked to indicate whether they worked with/had knowledge about 'both young people and adults', 'only young people' or 'only adults'. On this basis, 291 participants answered questions about young people and 216 answered questions regarding the adult group. In the report, we use the abbreviations PWY for 'professionals working with young people' and PWA for 'professionals working with adults'.

- *Expert interviews.* To gain an in-depth understanding of the interfaces between drug market trends and the exploitation of vulnerable groups, we conducted 16 in-depth expert interviews with representatives from the Danish National Police (*Rigspolitiet*), senior officers from three regional police forces, three youth crime prevention workers, a drug consultant, two former hard drug users, a youth shelter manager, three managers of shelters for adults, a member of The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking and a representative from an organisation combating the trafficking of women. All interviews were undertaken via telephone and lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours. They were all recorded and later transcribed.
- *Expert meeting.* A 1-day expert meeting was held in Aarhus with 16 experts, including a former drug user and representatives from law enforcement, youth crime prevention, shelters and drop-in centres, drug treatment, social housing and drug research. The meeting was composed of nine presentations by professionals, as well as group and plenary discussions that centred on the pre-identified themes of criminal exploitation of vulnerable groups for drug sales, drug storage and drug transportation; debt and violence; home takeovers and general drug supply patterns in Denmark. All presentations and discussions were recorded and later transcribed.

TABLE 1

Overview of quantitative and qualitative data

Data source	Number of participants	Profession/sector (n)
Online nationwide survey	331	Law enforcement (15) Drug treatment workers (64) Social workers (54) Youth crime prevention (99) Interest groups (4) Shelter or drop-in centres (30) Psychiatric clinics (16) Housing organisations (18) 'Other' (31)
Expert interviews	16	Danish National Police (1) Regional police forces (3) Youth crime prevention (3) Drug consultant (1) Former hard drug users (2) Youth shelter manager (1) Managers of shelters for adults (3) Member of The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking (1) Organisation combating the trafficking of women (1)
Expert meeting	16	Law enforcement (1) Youth crime prevention (4) Drug consultant (1) Former hard drug user (1) Managers of shelters for adults (3) Social housing (1) Member of The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking (1) Researchers (4)

The analysis is based on a triangulation of the above-mentioned information sources, with a view to providing as complete and verified a picture as possible. The combination of survey data and expert accounts provides a rich and in-depth view of the key patterns in the drug market

exploitation of vulnerable populations in Denmark. This report summarises the key findings and conclusions of the study. Where results are literature based, references are cited; otherwise, findings are based on the sources described above. In the report, we distinguish between retail 'sellers', who are low-level distributors, and 'dealers', who operate above street level.

Theoretical framework: exploring exploitation

Exploitation can be defined as the harmful instrumental utilisation of another person or his/her capacities, for one's own advantage (Buchanan, 1985, p. 87). In drug markets, a key purpose of exploitative relationships is often to outsource risky tasks to street-level labourers and subcontractors, as this allows 'real' criminals to remain hidden from law enforcement and rival gangs. Drug market exploitation is complex. Not only are there various levels of physical and psychological exploitation that can take place, but the forms of this exploitation also differ according to the actors involved and the sociotechnical context of particular supply schemes (McLean et al., 2020). The exploiters also make use of a range of techniques, such as grooming, manipulation, coercion, intimidation, violence and debt bondage to get the exploited to comply (Robinson et al., 2019; Windle et al., 2020). Adding to the complexity is the fact that the nexus between offenders and victims is far from clear or universal. Not only can the same person be both a victim and a perpetrator, depending on the situation and the array of relations they engage in (McLean et al., 2020), but research also shows that victims of criminal exploitation are often not fully passive. Many initially actively and consensually go along with their recruiter, only to be overtly coerced at later stages. For instance, those exploited by drug dealers are sometimes motivated by economic insecurity, chaotic home lives or homelessness. Some are also drawn in by the prospects of profits, easy access to drugs or the allure of becoming part of a peer group, attaining social status or the consumer culture exhibited by experienced criminals and gangs (Windle et al., 2020). In parallel to the aforementioned push and pull factors, vulnerable people might also be groomed, manipulated, intimidated, coerced or trapped through (drug) debt bondages (Coomber & Moyle, 2018; Robinson et al., 2019). The challenge with understanding any form of exploitation is also that victims seldom see themselves as such. An exploited person might consider a relationship in which they are made to take major risks for little reward to be mutually beneficial, for example when it enables them to fund a drug addiction. Moreover, research also shows that young men are often reluctant to see themselves as victims, as this conflicts with their masculine sense of self (Robinson et al., 2019). Drug market exploitation is thus a complex and dynamic phenomenon. While acknowledging the limitations of professionals' views, we hold that their accounts can

provide important preliminary insights into the often hidden nature and organisation of drug market exploitation in its various forms and guises.

Results

Drug markets and exploitation in Denmark: structural factors

In Denmark, no prior research has directly addressed the issue of the drug market exploitation of vulnerable populations. A survey-based study of socially vulnerable people's living conditions in 2012, however, showed that, of the 1 157 participants, 28 % had experienced threats of violence. In comparison, only 5 % of the average Danish population have experienced this. More importantly, the survey showed that 44 % of individuals classified as 'drug abusers' and 56 % of individuals classified as 'poor' had been exposed to threats of violence. Furthermore, roughly one third (35 %) of 'drug abusers' had, within the last year, been victims of brute violence ⁽²⁾, while almost half (48 %) of the individuals categorised as 'poor' had experienced brute violence. In comparison, only 3 % of the average Danish population have been victims of brute violence (Pedersen et al., 2012). While there might of course be many reasons for vulnerable persons being victimised, recent accounts suggest that some of this violence is linked to increased criminal exploitation of vulnerable populations.

Criminal exploitation of vulnerable groups in Denmark is not a new phenomenon. The early 2000s, for instance, saw massive public concern about the use of fines (*dummebøder*) by outlaw motorcycle gangs as a means of extorting large amounts of money from young people or to get them to undertake criminal labour to pay off an attributed debt (Pedersen, 2014). In recent years, professionals' accounts (Høegh & Moll, 2012), government investigations (LCIK, 2019) and media reports (Sørensen, 2017; Finnemann & Mikaelson, 2020) have warned that there has been a growth in experienced criminals' exploitation of vulnerable groups for drug-related crime. Researchers have also raised concerns that the recent growth in relative youth poverty, and especially youth homelessness, in Denmark ⁽³⁾ has created a situation in which young people have become easy targets for gangs and other criminals to exploit (DR.dk, 2016). These developments have led local authorities (Lauritzen & Østergaard, 2016; Odense Kommune, 2018; Hejlskov &

⁽²⁾ In the survey, 'brute violence' is defined as 'being beaten with fists or an object, being thrown down the stairs, strangled or attacked with a knife or a firearm' (Pedersen et al., 2012, p. 57).

⁽³⁾ While Denmark has comparatively high living standards within the EU, statistics show that, since 2014, the number of children living in relative poverty has risen by 12 000 per year. In 2018, it was estimated that 64 500 children lived in relative poverty in Denmark (Caspersen, 2018). From 2009 to 2017, the number of homeless young people also doubled. In 2019, young people between the ages of 18 and 29 years made up almost one third of the total homeless population (Benjaminsen et al., 2020).

Birk, 2020) and the Danish Minister of Justice (Maach, 2016a) to call for harsher approaches to criminal gangs and for more preventive measures designed to avoid vulnerable groups being lured or coerced into drug crimes. In the following sections, we outline some of the structural processes that have fuelled this development.

A more fragmented drug market

In Denmark, developments in illicit drug markets are closely tied to the story of organised crime groups (Møller, 2013). Historically, the bulk of the revenue generated from illicit drug trading by criminal groups in Denmark has been not from heroin or crack cocaine, but from cannabis sales, and this remains the case today (Moeller, 2012). Danish police have traditionally claimed that outlaw motorcycle gangs dominate the cannabis market. During the 1990s, this became increasingly visible, as disputes over access to the criminal market turned into a violent conflict between Hells Angels and Bandidos, known as the Great Nordic Biker War. In the 2000s, violence escalated, as loosely organised so-called 'immigrant' gangs (i.e. street gangs) began to challenge the dominance of outlaw motorcycle gangs. From around 2013, Denmark saw an influx of new outlaw motorcycle gangs from Germany and the Netherlands. The increased fragmentation of the Danish gang landscape has been a key driver of turf wars associated with access to and control over the retail drug market (Moeller, 2017) and a driver of criminal groups' recruitment of vulnerable yet physically resourceful young people as 'soldiers' in local conflicts (Pedersen, 2014).

The fragmentation of the Danish gang landscape has resulted in increased drug market competition between a growing multiplicity of smaller and larger criminal groups. Increased drug market competition has also been fuelled by the fact that, while cannabis remains the dominant illicit drug in Denmark, recent years have seen a growth in powder cocaine usage (Pedersen et al., 2020). This has not only made supplying drugs more economically lucrative, but also created a greater incentive among crime groups to participate in the drug market. Police have argued that exploitative recruitment of vulnerable young people as drug sellers has become part of an expansionist strategy used by some gangs in their attempt to take over or secure larger parts of local drug markets (Maach, 2016b). Findings also suggest that this increased fragmentation has created a more unstable and nervous market, which in some cities has led gangs and experienced criminals to adopt a rougher and more violent approach to their vulnerable labourers as a means of imposing or maintaining control.

More coercive policies and their possible unintended consequences

As part of a general shift towards law and order politics (Balvig, 2005), Danish drug policy has, since the mid-1990s, become more coercive. This shift was driven by public concerns about increases in young people's use of illicit drugs and about the involvement of outlaw motorcycle

gangs and street gangs in the drug market. To counter these developments, Danish police intensified their targeting of these gangs. Furthermore, the government imposed a number of laws, such as the so-called 'Pusher Law' in 1996 and the 'Hash Club Law' in 2001. While the former increased the penalty for small-scale drug selling (by making second offences punishable by imprisonment and simplifying the expulsion of foreigners involved in drug selling), the latter enabled police to use administrative powers to close down premises where drugs were suspected of being sold and to ban specific individuals from frequenting these premises. As part of its drug policy, entitled 'The Fight against Drugs', the government also amended the Law on Euphoria-inducing Substances so that penalties for selling drugs in small quantities to young people under the age of 18 years were increased to a prison term. Penalties for drug crimes were also raised with the change to the Penal Code in 2004. The maximum prison sentence was raised from 6 to 10 years, while the penalty for serious drug crimes (trafficking and large-scale dealing) was raised from 10 to 16 years (Frank, 2008).

Drug policies such as those described above rely heavily on deterrence theory, assuming that drug offenders are rational actors who respond to adjustments in certainty and severity. However, much active offender research has found that, instead of avoiding or terminating criminal activities in response to sanction threats, drug sellers may adapt in ways that allow them to continue offending and reduce the risks of apprehension (Fader, 2016). Jacobs (1996) termed such adaptations 'restrictive deterrence'. Relevant to this study, apprehension avoidance tactics often include 'risk diffusion', whereby experienced criminals shift risky tasks downwards to those lower in the organisational hierarchy or otherwise uninvolved in drug sales (Fader, 2016). As Danish authorities have intensified their attempts to repress outlaw motorcycle gangs and 'immigrant' street gangs, these groups have become increasingly preoccupied with shifting the risk of apprehension onto others. Deterrence policies and intensified policing may therefore have inadvertently created an incentive for increased criminal exploitation of vulnerable young people and adults in Denmark.

More labour-intensive supply models

Another factor that might have contributed to a growth in drug-related exploitation of especially vulnerable young people is the emergence and proliferation of drug supply models involving rapid delivery services (Søgaard, 2019a, b; Søgaard et al., 2019). While there is broad consensus that the Danish drug market has become increasingly competitive, we did not find evidence of a situation akin to that in the United Kingdom, where inner-city drug market saturation ⁽⁴⁾ has led significant numbers of urban dealers to 'go country' or 'go rural' to find new markets (McLean et al.,

⁽⁴⁾ Market saturation refers to a situation in which the number of drug dealers is not commensurate with the number of users, namely the number of users does not increase with the number of dealers.

2020). In Denmark, inner-city competition has instead created a situation in which dealers have started to compete for customers by providing customer-oriented services such as fast delivery of drugs anywhere and at any time (Søgaard et al., 2019). A key feature of the rapid delivery supply model is the establishment of a branded mobile phone or social media 'drug line', through which customers can order drugs, most typically cannabis, powder cocaine, amphetamine, MDMA (3,4-methylenedioxy-N-methylamphetamine) and opioids and more rarely also heroin. Arguably, a more problematic feature of this supply model is that it is more labour intensive than traditional street or apartment dealing. In more traditional street distribution models, it is typically the buyer who must identify and travel to a seller for a transaction to happen. In the rapid delivery model, much of the 'legwork' is instead located on the seller side, as it is the seller who delivers the drugs to the buyer's home or another place of the buyer's choosing (Søgaard, 2019b). The running of a large drug delivery business thus requires a substantial labour force of runners. The rapid delivery model is today widespread in most parts of the country, resulting in a situation in which experienced criminals and criminal gangs have intensified their recruitment of vulnerable young people as drug runners. Recent years have seen a number of developments in the Danish retail market, with some sellers starting to send drugs to customers via postal services and some runners engaging in long-distance deliveries. It remains the case, however, that the Danish retail drug market is dominated by locally based supply, whether this takes the form of street or apartment selling, mobile deliveries or trust-based social supply.

Drug market exploitation can take many forms. In the following section, we provide a more in-depth account of how and to what extent vulnerable populations are exploited in relation to different drug-related crimes, such as selling, transporting and/or stashing drugs, drug and money muling, identity fraud, home takeovers and the domestic large-scale cultivation of cannabis.

Drug sales

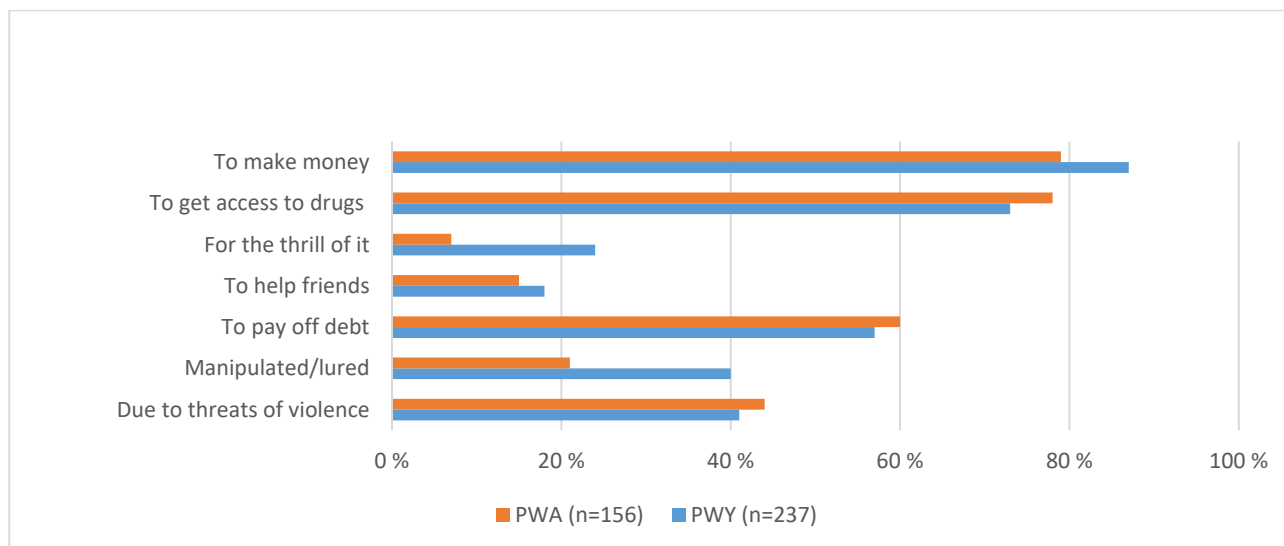
In Denmark, vulnerable young people (those up to and including 25 years of age) and adults (aged 26 years and over) are key targets of criminals who want them to sell drugs on their behalf. As an indication of this, survey data show that, of the 291 'professionals working with young people' (PWY), 81 % (n=237) knew of specific young people who had sold drugs for others. Of these, 84 % (n=198) had, two or more times within the last year, heard about specific young people who sold drugs for criminal others. Of the 216 'professionals working with adults' (PWA), 63 % (n=137) had, two or more times within the last year, heard about specific adults who sold drugs for criminal others. The most typical drugs sold by young people are cannabis, powder cocaine, amphetamine and ecstasy/MDMA, while very few young people sell heroin or crack cocaine. The most typical

drugs sold by vulnerable adults are cannabis, powder cocaine and amphetamine, followed by heroin, opioids, benzodiazepines, diazepam (Valium), methylphenidate (Ritalin) and crack cocaine. Differences in the types of drugs sold by vulnerable young people and adults reflect differences in the general drug use patterns between these groups. In the overall picture, sales of heroin and especially of crack cocaine are relatively low, corresponding with the fact that the use of these substances remains limited in Denmark (Pedersen et al., 2020).

Reasons for selling

Vulnerable young people and vulnerable adults engage in drug selling for criminal others for many different and overlapping reasons. Survey data and qualitative expert accounts indicate that these groups primarily engage in drug selling for others to make money, to get access to cheap drugs themselves or to become part of a peer group. While some are drawn into drug selling by promises that they can earn big money, in reality most work for little reward. Findings also suggest that many sell for criminal others due to exploitation. Of the 237 PWYs who knew of specific young people who had sold drugs for others, 40 % stated that these individuals did so because they had been groomed or manipulated (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
Reasons why vulnerable individuals sell drugs for criminal others

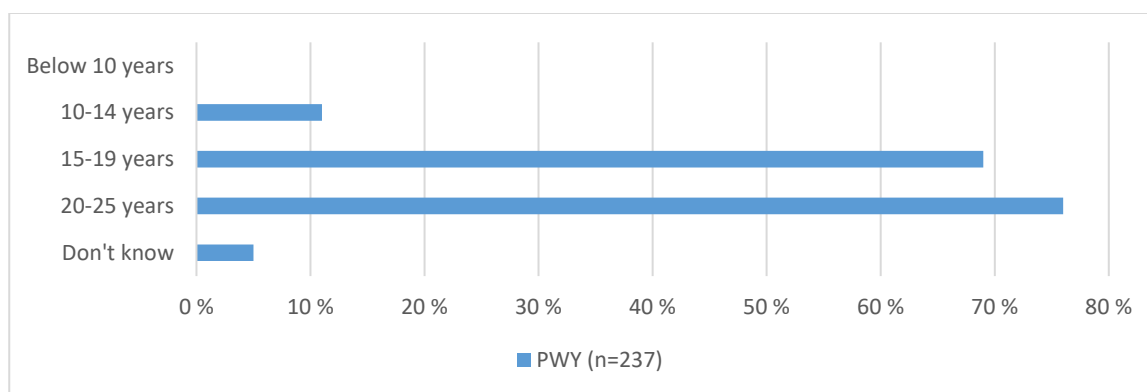


Older and/or experienced criminals often take advantage of vulnerable young people's age, their naivety and their less risk-averse approach to get them to sell drugs. Survey findings show that 11 % of the PWYs knew of young persons who were 10-14 years of age when selling drugs, and

69 % knew of young persons who were between 15 and 19 years of age when selling (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

Proportions of age groups of young people selling drugs for others in local area



As shown in Figure 1, coercion, in the form of threats of violence, also plays an important role in vulnerable young people and adults selling drugs for others. While violence can form part of the initial recruitment process, typically it first becomes prevalent at a later stage. Recruitment often starts with a process of grooming, whereby seasoned dealers befriend a vulnerable and/or drug-using person. At some point, the recruiter might offer that person the chance to make a bit of extra money either by running small errands or by selling to his/her drug-using friends. Similar to findings from the United Kingdom (Robinson et al., 2019), cannabis seems to function as a particularly important hook used by experienced criminals to entice young people into small-scale selling. Eventually, a dealer might encourage the vulnerable person to or demand that they upscale his/her selling. Typically, threats or actual violence set in when a person wishes to stop selling. Violence is thus a means used to keep a person in a sales role.

Survey findings show that a prevalent reason why vulnerable individuals engage in drug selling for others is to pay off drug debts. Among PWYs and PWAs, 57 % and 60 %, respectively, stated that drug debts play an important role (see Figure 1). This was supported by the fact that, of the 291 PWYs in the survey, 76 % had, within the last year, heard about specific young persons who had debt owed to criminal others. Among the PWAs in the survey (n=216), this figure was 75 %. Drug dealers in Denmark utilise drug debt as a form of coerced recruitment. A vulnerable person can end up in debt bondage in many ways. One way is that a drug dealer allows a user's debt to accrue over a long period of time and then asks the person to sell drugs to pay off their debt. As

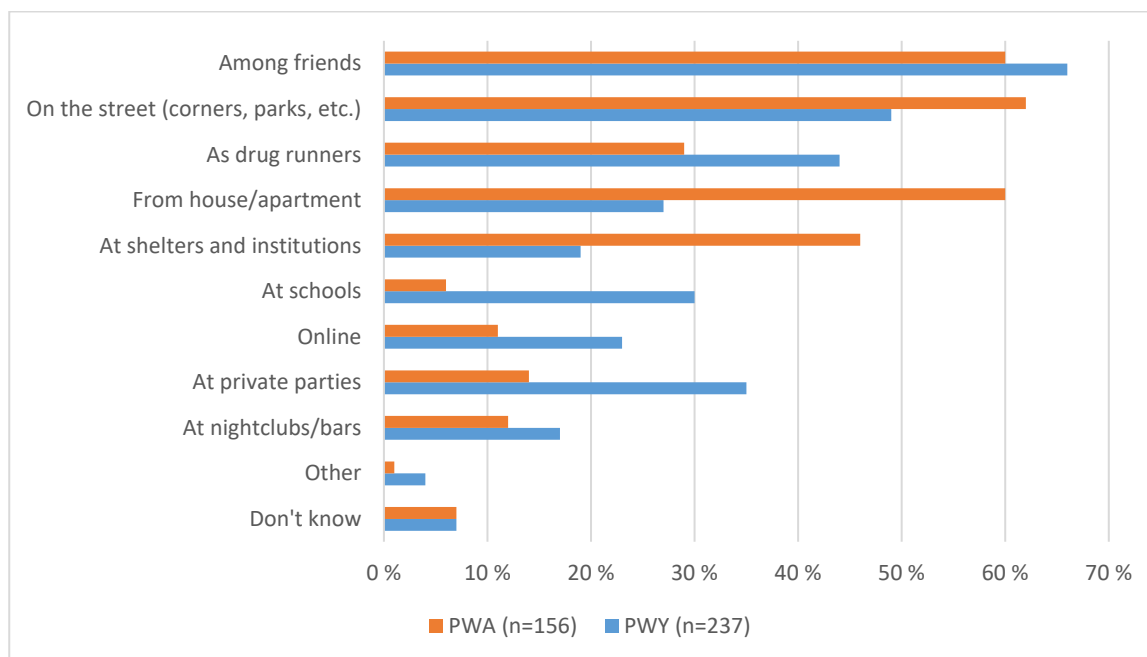
even small drug debts can increase rapidly, due to missed deadlines and incurring interest, the most unfortunate users can end up with debts they can never pay off. A dealer might also entrap a drug user in a debt bondage situation by giving him/her ostensibly free drugs as ‘gifts’, only later to demand money in return. If the person is unable to pay, he/she will sometimes be met with demands to sell drugs to pay off the debt. Another, and very cunning, way that criminals entrap vulnerable persons in debt bondage is by issuing extortive ‘fines for acting stupid’ (*dummebøder*) — that is, large fines given to a person as penance for banal ‘stupid’ actions or utterances or for missed payments on drug debts (see also Pedersen, 2014). Arguably, the most vicious way that dealers entrap a vulnerable person is by giving him/her drugs to sell and then getting an accomplice to rob this person. Afterwards, the person who was robbed is held responsible for ‘lost’ drugs. In Denmark, such robbery scams are called *rulleforretninger*. As with the extortive fines, the purpose of such robbery scams is to entrap a person in a form of ‘indentured servitude’ (Robinson et al., 2019, p. 702), where he/she ends up working without receiving any pay.

Distribution methods

As illustrated in Figure 3, survey findings indicate that when vulnerable young people sell drugs for criminal others, they most often sell to drug-using friends, followed by street sales, mobile selling and sales at private parties. For the adult group, most engage in street selling, followed by sales to friends, sales from a house/apartment and sales at a shelter/institution for vulnerable persons.

FIGURE 3

Where and how vulnerable individuals sell drugs for criminal others



In the following section, we focus on different types of distribution methods in which the exploitation of vulnerable populations is particularly evident.

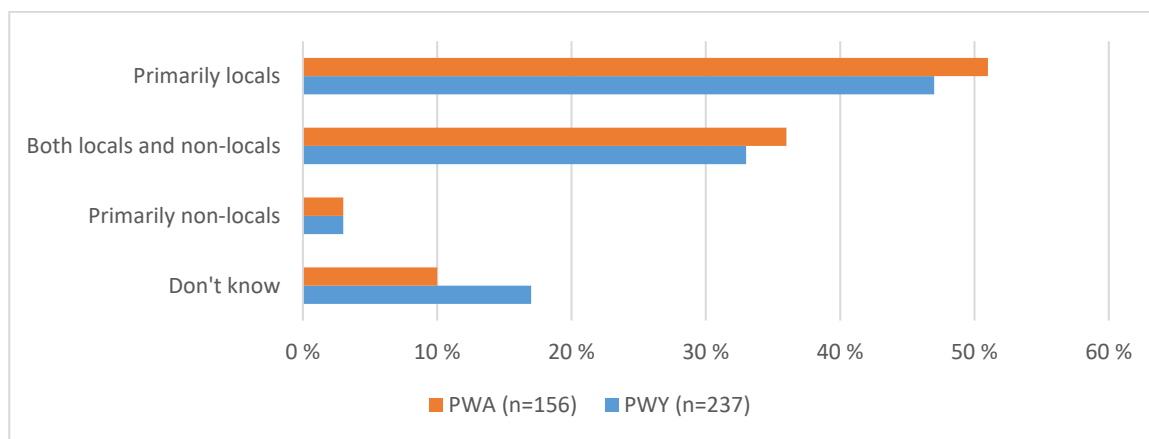
County lines drug supply — UK style

We did not find evidence of a prevalent county lines supply model in Denmark, equivalent to the one described in the United Kingdom (Coomber & Moyle, 2018; Moyle, 2019; Robinson et al., 2019; McLean et al., 2020; Windle et al., 2020). A key feature of the UK county lines supply model is the introduction of a new geography of drug supply, whereby vulnerable young people are sent out from a city supply hub to sell drugs — typically heroin and crack cocaine — in distant smaller towns and rural areas. Contrary to this, we found that the Danish drug market, at the retail level, is still dominated by local supply models. While upper- and mid-level distributors do transport bulk quantities of drugs over long distances, these drugs typically filter into a local retail market through transactions undertaken by lower-level local wholesalers and/or retail sellers who operate within a relatively limited geographical area, such as a particular city/town and its immediate surroundings. While vulnerable young people are occasionally involved in the long-distance transportation of drugs (see the section ‘Transportation of drugs’), Denmark does not seem to face a problem of worrying numbers of young people being sent out by experienced criminals in the largest cities to sell drugs in distant provincial or rural areas. As illustrated in Figure 4, non-local retail sellers seem

to play a relatively small role in local markets. The fact that non-local sellers do at times operate in local markets is not a recent phenomenon, although it might have increased in recent years. As will be discussed later, one likely reason for this development is that recent years have seen an evolution in the traditional rapid delivery supply model, where more dealers have started to provide delivery services of drugs to customers living in a wider geographical area.

FIGURE 4

Who are the individuals selling drugs in the local area?



Another key feature of the UK county lines supply model is urban gangs' use of vulnerable persons' homes to set up sales outposts in provincial or rural areas (Spicer et al., 2019). Although the findings of the present study do suggest that home takeovers to facilitate drugs sales are a growing problem in Denmark, the criminals responsible for these takeovers are most often locals (see the section 'Home takeovers').

There are several likely explanations for why a United Kingdom-style county lines supply model is not prevalent in Denmark. Among the most likely is that cannabis sales continue to account for much of the revenue generated by criminal gangs in Denmark (Moeller, 2012). In addition, the customer base for substances such as heroin and crack cocaine, which are easier to transport and have a higher profit margin per unit than cannabis, is relatively small and mostly concentrated in the large cities. Furthermore, while urban drug markets have come to be characterised by intensified competition between a growing number of dealers, predominantly supplying cannabis, powder cocaine, amphetamine and MDMA, there are no indications that urban markets for these types of drugs have been saturated. There are still plenty of customers for urban dealers to make profit from, so these dealers are less inclined to find new markets in provincial or rural areas.

Mobile delivery sales

In Denmark, most drug delivery businesses are locally bound to a specific city, town or area ⁽⁵⁾. The social organisation of local delivery businesses varies. At one end of the scale are schemes run by individual freelancers or smaller groups. At the other end are more professionally run schemes. In the latter, older or experienced criminals will often manage the 'drug line' with incoming customer orders, while the risky work of delivering drugs is outsourced to runners. Most runners are recruited among socioeconomically vulnerable locals or school dropouts, but can also include high school students. While some are as young as 15 or 16 years, others are above 25 years of age.

Expert accounts indicate that the proliferation of local drug delivery schemes in Denmark has resulted in an intensification and systematisation of experienced criminals' recruitment of vulnerable individuals as drug runners. Some runners are paid a fixed, but low, fee. While some see the work as an easy way to make money, runners take on considerable risks. They are the ones who are most likely to get caught by police and most likely to be attacked by criminal competitors. Some runners also work to pay off drug debts. Expert accounts, along with police investigations and court cases (Møller, 2020; Pedersen, 2020), reveal that some indebted individuals are coerced against their will to work as runners or as 'sitters', tasked with managing incoming customer calls/messages on the drug line. A key finding is thus that dealers' adaptation of more customer-oriented, and more labour-intensive, service approaches has functioned as a catalyst for increased exploitation of vulnerable individuals.

While the phenomenon of delivery sales in Denmark is predominantly local in nature, recent years have seen the emergence of extra-local delivery models. One such model involves city-based dealers offering to deliver drugs over longer distances and into rural areas. Some charge customers an extra fee for long-distance deliveries to cover expenses on gasoline, and some require that customers buy a specified minimum quantity. This model introduces a new geography to the work of runners and, because long-distance delivery is more labour intensive, it could potentially result in an increase in the recruitment of vulnerable individuals as runners. It is, however, unlikely that this supply model will become widespread. The profits — especially from sales of low-volume cannabis units and smaller amounts of powder cocaine — are simply not high enough to make long-distance deliveries a very profitable business. Another extra-local delivery model involves more professional dealers offering delivery services to customers living in a wide geographical area, such as all of Zealand, all of Jutland or all of Funen (see also Bakken &

⁽⁵⁾ The dominance of the local delivery model is supported by findings showing that when young people transport illicit drugs for criminal others, they most often do so over shorter distances (i.e. within city or town limits; see the section 'Transportation of drugs').

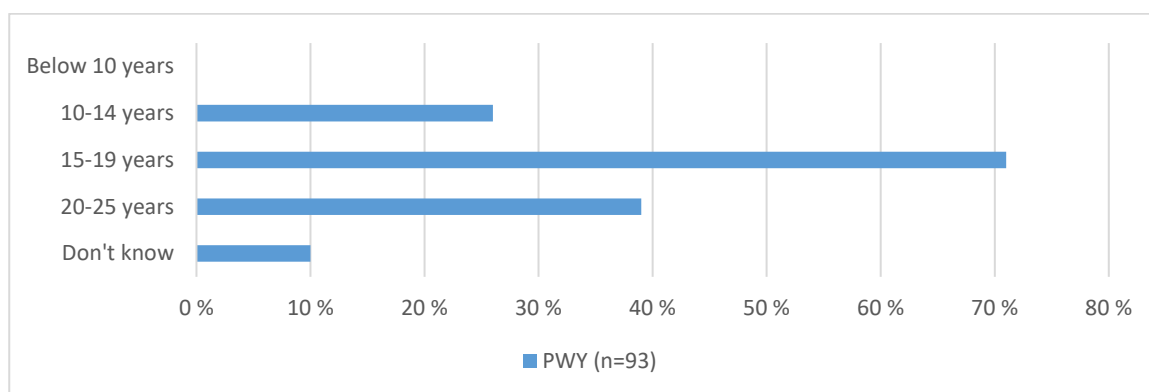
Demant, 2019). Such professional dealers either have local runners in multiple cities and areas or, as is more likely, have formed alliances with various geographically scattered local groups to whom they pass on customer orders for a small commission. In the latter set-up, the dealer or gang managing the drug line comes to function as a call centre, while deliveries are subcontracted to locals. This extra-local supply model does not represent a radical break with the traditional locally bound delivery model. Rather, it is best understood as adding an extra layer on top of the local model, whereby the promotion work and recruitment of customers are more centrally and professionally organised than in the local model, while deliveries are still coordinated and carried out by locals operating within relatively limited geographical areas. It is thus unlikely that a proliferation of this extra-local subcontracting model will result in a further increase in the recruitment and exploitation of vulnerable individuals as runners.

Open street sales

Although ‘open’ drug markets are now rare in Denmark, street sales nonetheless persist to varying degrees, albeit mostly in the large cities. In open ‘street’ markets, sellers are reasonably visible to those seeking drugs or, in the most obvious examples, openly offer drugs to most passers-by (May & Hough, 2004). As a consequence, street markets are also vulnerable to law enforcement. International research shows that, to mitigate the risk of arrest, street sellers often hire lookouts tasked with warning sellers about the presence of police (Johnson & Natarajan, 1995; Jacobs, 1996). This is also the case in Denmark. Of the 291 PWYs, 32 % (n=93) stated that they knew of young persons who had worked as lookouts for drug-selling others. Individuals hired as lookouts are often very young, as illustrated in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

Proportions by age group of young people working as lookouts for criminal others



Findings show that the recruitment of young people as lookouts is far more widespread in the Zealand region, and particularly in Copenhagen, than in the rest of the country. A likely reason is that Copenhagen has the two largest open street markets in the country: the cannabis market in Christiania, which is Scandinavia's largest open cannabis market, and the inner-city hard drug scene in Vesterbro. Dealers in Christiania have a long history of hiring young people as lookouts (Frank, 2008).

Vulnerable young people are also recruited as street sellers. Again, this is far more pronounced in the Zealand region, and particularly in Copenhagen, than in the rest of the country. In recent years, professionals working in Copenhagen have publicly voiced concerns about criminal gangs becoming more aggressive in their attempts to recruit vulnerable young people as drug sellers (Lauritzen & Østergaard, 2016). Commentators have argued that this is an unintended consequence of police crackdowns on the cannabis market in Christiania, which dispersed the market and led some local gangs to try to gain market shares by recruiting vulnerable young people to work as sellers at sites across the city (Marthin, 2016).

While Copenhagen has the country's largest open hard drug scene, the other large Danish cities all have smaller ones. Findings indicate that exploitation and violence are particularly pronounced in this market type. However, expert accounts indicate that there are variations in the levels of violence and exploitation between different cities, and that feuds between local gangs or criminal groups are often a key catalyst for increased exploitation in particular cities. In recent years, the city of Odense has made headlines, as local criminal groups have been particularly aggressive in their attempts to recruit vulnerable drug users as street sellers (Buus, 2017; Sørensen, 2017; Hejlskov & Birk 2020). Increased competition between multiple smaller groups has led to the development of a particularly fierce culture of violence, where criminal groups use threats, violence, occasional torture and even death threats by overdose to coerce dependent users and user-dealers into selling for them (Høegh & Moll, 2012). Criminal groups often target dependent users and user-dealers because of their access to a large network of potential customers (i.e. their drug-using friends). Competing criminal groups also try to expand their business by hijacking vulnerable street sellers from each other. As one representative from Funen's Police Department put it:

We got reports that drug misusers are one day being contacted by one criminal group saying that they have to sell for them. The next day they are approached by another group saying they are to sell for them. They are pressured by different groups, but cannot count on protection from either.

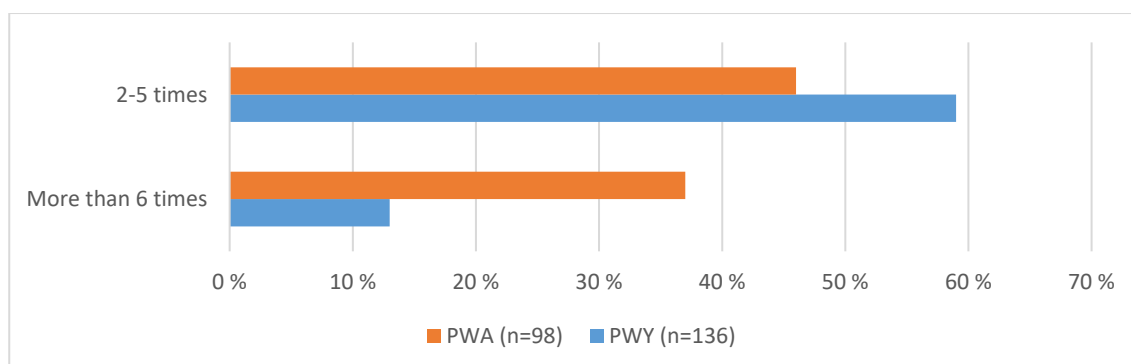
Based on reports of escalating violent extortion of marginalised drug users (Finnemann & Mikaelson, 2020), in 2020, municipal authorities in Odense conducted a small survey among local marginalised drug and alcohol users. The survey showed that, of the 92 participants, approximately one fifth had, within the last year, felt threatened by criminal groups to a ‘very high’ or ‘high’ degree (Odense Kommune, 2020). It is difficult to assess whether Odense represents a particularly violent case or if the reports coming from Odense are an expression of authorities paying extra attention to issues of exploitation among the local marginalised population. Historically, this has been an area easily overlooked by authorities and one in which there is a high level of under-reporting of violence.

Stashing drugs

A near-universal tactic used by dealers and street sellers to avoid police apprehension is to stash drugs in hidden and safe locations (Johnson & Natarajan, 1995). Stashing can be done by individual dealers and sellers themselves. However, it can also form part of a risk distribution strategy (Fader, 2016). Experienced criminals in Denmark often shift risk onto others by making vulnerable adults and young people stash drugs. Survey findings show that, of the 98 PWAs who had heard about vulnerable adults who stashed drugs, 83 % had, two or more times within the last year, heard about specific adults who stashed drugs for criminal others. Of the 136 PWYs who had heard about vulnerable young people who stashed drugs, 72 % had, two or more times within the last year, heard about specific young people who stashed drugs for criminal others (see Figure 6).

FIGURE 6

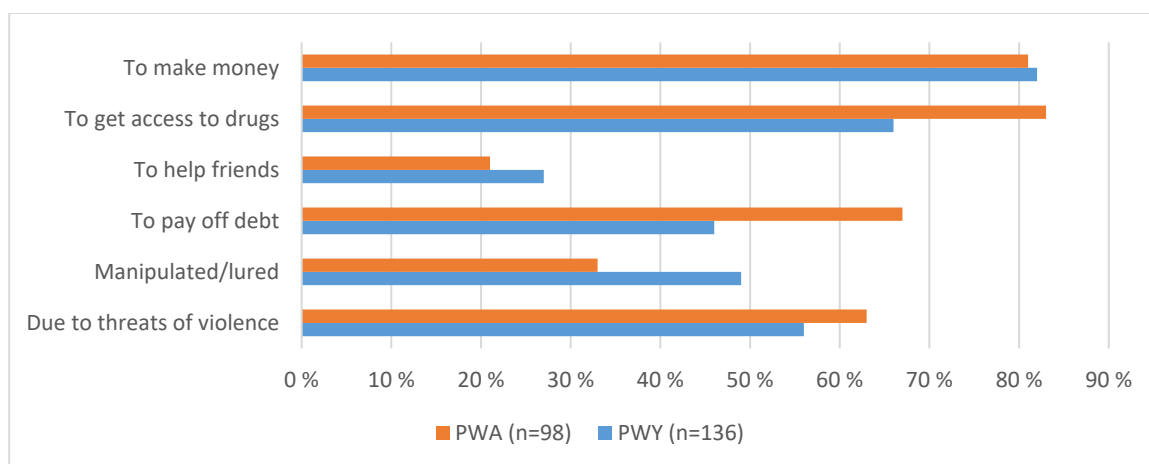
Frequency within the last year of hearing about specific individuals storing drugs for criminal others



Vulnerable adults and young people stash drugs for criminal others for a variety of reasons. The most prevalent are displayed in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7

Reasons why vulnerable individuals stash drugs for criminal others



While some are hired to stash drugs, others do it in exchange for drugs. Some also stash drugs for others owing to threats of violence and others do it to work off debt. These latter scenarios are more prevalent among vulnerable adults than among vulnerable young people. The actual practice of stashing can take different forms.

Street stashing

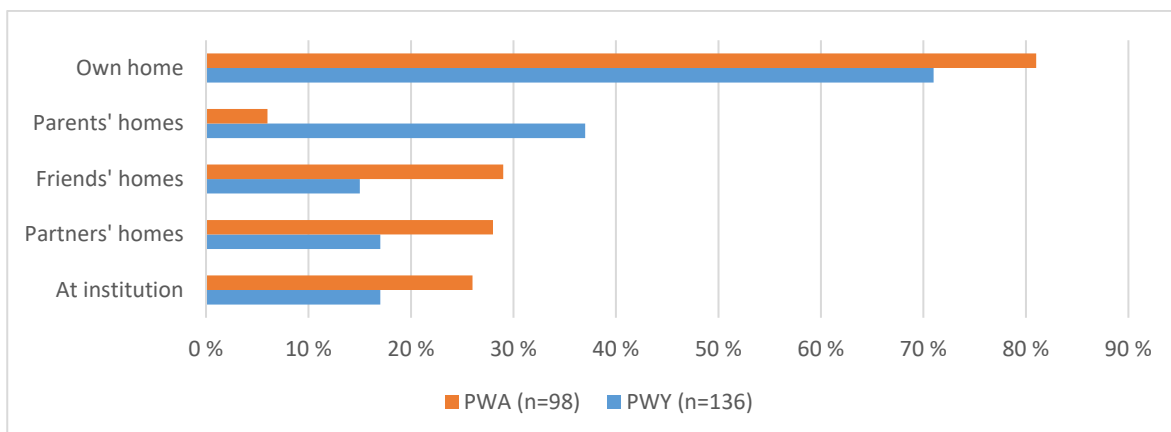
As mentioned earlier, open street sales are particularly vulnerable to police interventions. To avoid charges of 'possession with intent to sell', street sellers therefore often keep only small amounts of drugs on hand or split up the payment and hand-off processes (Johnson & Natarajan, 1995; Jacobs, 1996). One risk management strategy used by some street sellers in Denmark is to deploy vulnerable persons as nearby hang-around stashes, who hide larger amounts of drugs in body cavities, pockets, rucksacks or socks. In this way, these vulnerable individuals carry the main burden of risk in the event of a police crackdown. Findings indicate that vulnerable adults, and especially very marginalised drug users, are the most likely victims of this type of exploitation.

Stash houses

Mid-level dealers, who buy larger quantities of drugs in bulk, often need a place to stash these drugs before splitting them up and distributing them to street-level sellers. Owing to the risk of police detection, mid-level dealers are often careful not to use their own homes to stash these

drugs and sometimes use the homes of trusted vulnerable individuals instead. While mid-level dealers are often reluctant to leave the main bulk of their drug supply in the hands of a vulnerable person, they do, nevertheless, often use them to store significant quantities. Stash candidates are chosen on the basis of their ascribed trustworthiness, and sometimes because they happen to live in close proximity to an open drug scene or a nightlife scene where drugs are sold, making their home a convenient stash when street sellers run dry. While vulnerable persons' own homes seem to be the most preferable place for stashing, findings show that vulnerable individuals also regularly implicate relatives when stashing drugs for criminal others. For example, as illustrated in Figure 8, young people regularly stash drugs for criminal others in their parents' homes, while vulnerable adults occasionally use friends' and partners' homes.

FIGURE 8
Locations of in-house stashing for criminal others



Findings show that young people mainly stash cannabis, cocaine and amphetamine, while adults stash a larger variety of drugs, including heroin, opioids and benzodiazepines.

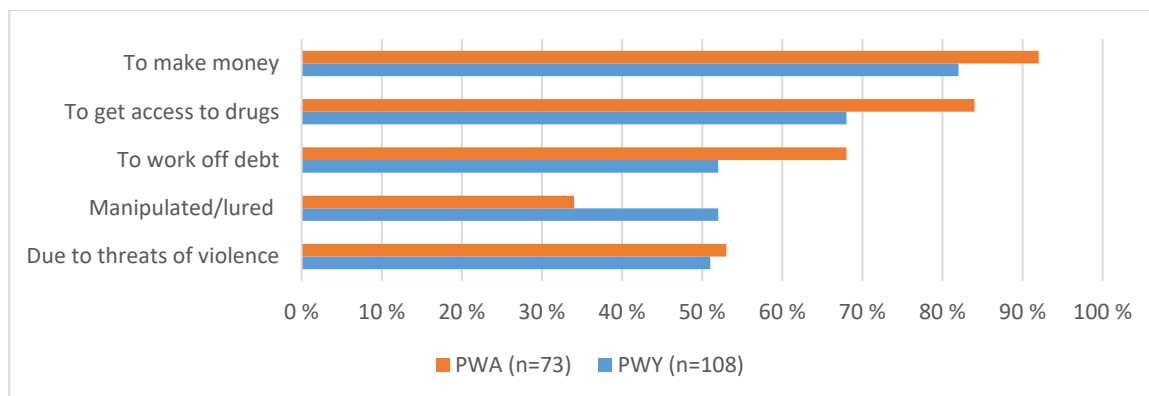
Transportation of drugs

Apprehension avoidance strategies used by experienced criminals include the outsourcing of particularly risky tasks, such as the transportation of large quantities of drugs, to vulnerable others. The survey findings show that 34 % of PWAs and 37 % of PWYs knew of specific vulnerable adults and young persons, respectively, who had transported drugs for criminal others. While making a little money and getting access to cheap drugs were highlighted as the key reasons why vulnerable individuals transport drugs for others, more than 50 % of survey participants stated that vulnerable

groups also transport drugs for others because they are coerced or to work off debt (Figure 9). Debt plays a significant role for the adult group, in particular.

FIGURE 9

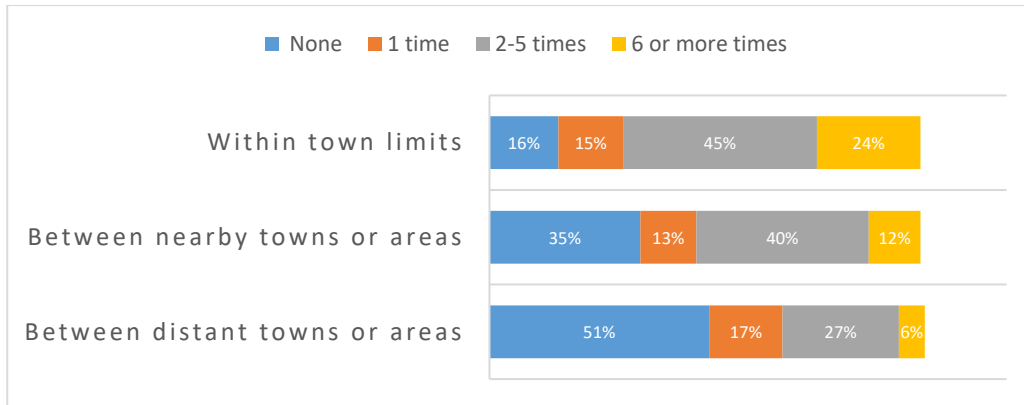
Reasons why vulnerable individuals transport drugs for criminal others



Findings show that there are important variations in the geography of vulnerable people’s transportation of drugs for others. While vulnerable young people are occasionally used as international traffickers, this is rarely the case for marginalised drug-dependent adults, as they are considered too unstable for such tasks. When vulnerable young people transport drugs for others, this most often happens within town or city limits and, to a lesser extent, between nearby towns or areas, as illustrated in Figure 10. Only a small number of young people engage in the long-distance transportation of drugs. Of the 108 PWYs who had knowledge about young people transporting drugs for others, more than 50 % had not, within the last year, heard about specific young people who transported drugs for others over long distances. Only 6 % had heard about such occurrences six or more times in the last year.

FIGURE 10

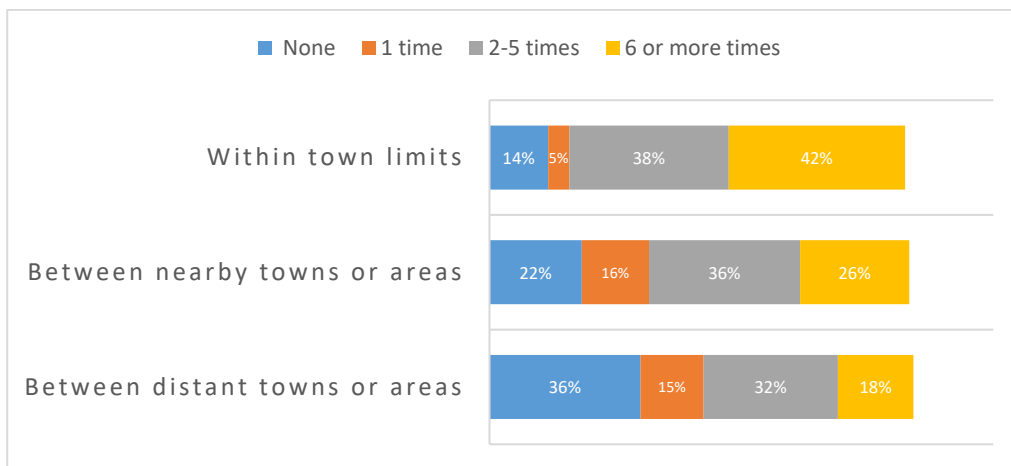
Frequency within the last year of hearing about specific young people who transport drugs for criminal others (n=108)



As shown in Figure 11, similar patterns characterise the adult group, although these individuals are more often involved in the transportation of drugs over long distances than young people.

FIGURE 11

Frequency within the last year of hearing about specific adults transporting drugs for criminal others (n=73)



In the questionnaire, the term 'transportation' was defined broadly, including both the movement of large quantities and mobile deliveries of smaller units. The data presented in Figures 10 and 11 can thus also be read as supporting the finding that, in terms of its geographical composition, the

Danish retail market is dominated by local delivery models, albeit with a growing prevalence of extra-local delivery models.

Two likely reasons why a larger percentage of vulnerable persons over the age of 25 are involved in the long-distance transportation of drugs than vulnerable young persons might be that these individuals are considered more reliable and/or have easier access to a car. A third reason might be the growing trend of experienced criminals using marginalised, drug-dependent adults as 'human containers' for transporting large quantities of drugs or cash over long distances by car. One method is to hire marginalised and/or drug-dependent females to hide drugs or cash inside body cavities and to be passengers in a car being driven by someone else. Marginalised, drug-dependent males are also used as 'passenger mules' in this way. In some parts of Denmark, a new variant of this model has emerged. In response to police tactics whereby they frequently pull over cars driven by suspected gang members and drug dealers and confiscate cash that cannot be accounted for, experienced criminals have begun to use marginalised adults as passenger money mules when needing to transport large quantities of cash within city limits or over long distances ⁽⁶⁾. If a car is pulled over by police, the vulnerable person is to claim sole ownership of the cash to minimise the risk of that cash being confiscated.

Technologically facilitated drug markets

In recent decades, drug transactions have become increasingly technologically facilitated. Not only do dealers use mobile phones to coordinate drug deals (Søgaard et al., 2019), but a growing proportion of drug transactions also take place on online cryptomarkets (Aldridge & Askew, 2017) and on social media platforms (Bakken & Demant, 2019). Findings show that the increased technological mediation of drug transactions has created new ways in which vulnerable persons are exploited.

Money mules and cybercrime

In Denmark, the use of vulnerable young people as digital money mules is a growing problem (LCIK, 2019). Money mules are rarely part of a core group that coordinates criminal activities. Nevertheless, they are crucial parts of larger criminal schemes, as they are used to interrupt a (money) trail that could potentially incriminate a criminal network in a police investigation (Leukfeldt & Jansen, 2015). For example, young money mules are persuaded to give up their debit card and PIN, thereby giving criminal networks access to the mules' bank accounts, which they then use to deposit and/or transfer large sums of drug money. Findings also reveal a new trend whereby

⁽⁶⁾ A variant of this model is that vulnerable young people under the minimum age of criminal responsibility are used as passenger mules, who physically hold the drugs for a drug runner who is driving the delivery car.

young people's bank accounts are used to obscure digital money trails in street dealing. In Denmark, a growing proportion of the population conducts day-to-day payments using mobile payment apps. Many therefore do not carry much cash around. To accommodate this situation, some drug sellers have started to offer customers the option of paying for drugs via payment apps (e.g. MobilePay; see Korshøj, 2020). While customers might think they are digitally transferring money to a seller's account, they are in fact sometimes transferring money to a vulnerable young person's bank account (money mule 1). In this way, the money trail is interrupted. To further obscure the trail, the money is sometimes transferred to the bank account of a third person (money mule 2), who then withdraws the money in cash and hands it over to the drug seller. This method enables drug sellers to provide extra customer services, in the form of a convenient payment method, while at the same time being able to reap profits anonymously. This is another example of how the increased service orientation of many dealers in Denmark can be a catalyst for increased exploitation of vulnerable young people.

Recruiters can be gangs or individual entrepreneurs, some of whom are themselves relatively young. Young money mules are typically recruited through local social networks and have a private bank account in Denmark. Police reports show that young money mules often come from disadvantaged families and lack educational and economic resources and that some are cognitively challenged. While some do it for low economic rewards, others become money mules to help a 'friend' and the most unfortunate do it because they are indebted or coerced. According to the Danish Penal Code, money mules can be prosecuted as accomplices in the main crime, for example drug dealing. Whether or not they are actually prosecuted will depend on whether a prosecutor sees a young mule's participation as a result of intent or exploitation (LCIK, 2019).

Identity fraud and informational mules

Another trend is that drug-indebted young people are persuaded to or coerced into buying new mobile phones on credit and in their own name. Danish law prescribes that to buy a new phone a person needs to register, and many new phones come with a 6-month subscription period with a phone operator. As instalments of their drug debt, postpaid phones are then handed over to the dealers to whom they owe money. Sometimes, dealers sell the phones on to a third person to make quick profits. While the phone is used by a third person, the exploited young person pays the subscription bill. At other times, dealers use postpaid phones registered in a young person's name to establish or maintain a drug line that drug customers use to order drugs. The purpose of this set-up is to interrupt the information trail. If police monitor a drug line and look up the registered phone owner, all they will find is the exploited young person, not the drug dealer. While money mules have their bank accounts exploited, 'informational mules' have their identities and financial credit

exploited. The use of vulnerable young people as informational mules in the running of drug lines is a novel method that represents an alternative to traditional risk management whereby dealers use so-called 'burner' phones and anonymous prepaid SIM cards (see Søgaaard et al., 2019).

Drug-indebted young people's identities and creditworthiness are also exploited in other ways. For example, indebted young people are sometimes persuaded to or coerced into producing cash by taking out quick loans with very high interest rates or are pressured to lease cars or apartments that are then used by the dealer. Exploited young people thus risk racking up large debts to phone-, leasing-, housing- and money lending companies and being officially registered as an uncreditworthy person, with serious economic consequences for their future lives. Marginalised drug-dependent adults are victims of financial identity exploitation to a lesser extent, with the main reason being that many are already registered as uncreditworthy, meaning their identities do not represent assets that can be exploited by criminals.

Cryptomarket purchasing and exploitation

The sourcing of illicit drugs from online cryptomarkets has increased in recent years. While such market platforms are protected from law enforcement through the use of anonymising software, research shows that the delivery of drugs by postal services carries its own risks, as intercepted packages can be traced to senders or recipients. While some recipients try to mitigate such risks by ordering only small quantities or avoiding 'tracked' shipping services (Aldridge & Askew, 2017), findings from this study reveal a growing trend of dealers purchasing larger quantities of drugs online to be resold locally and redistributing 'delivery risks' onto vulnerable others. For example, as a way of reducing their own risk, wholesalers in Denmark exploit indebted young people or marginalised adult drug users to make their names and addresses available for the reception of large quantities of drugs or to go and pick up deliveries at the post office. While cryptomarkets can function to reduce some drug harms, such as customer-directed violence, more research is thus needed on how the growth in wholesale activities on global online cryptomarkets might function as a catalyst for derived and increased exploitation of vulnerable populations locally.

Home takeovers

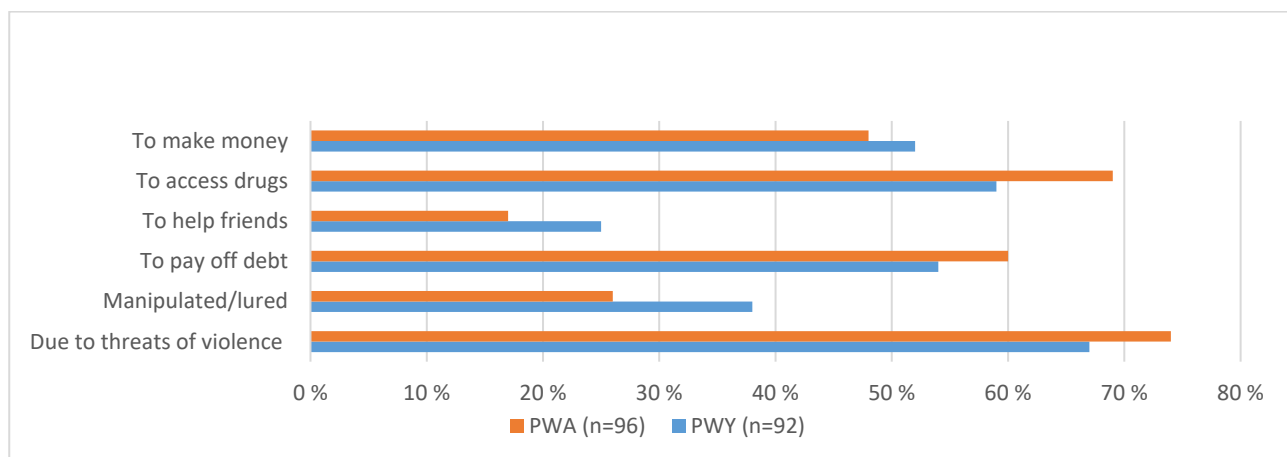
Home takeovers are a type of crime in which a drug dealer takes over a vulnerable individual's home to conduct illegal activities such as drug selling (Butera, 2013). Home takeovers are also known as 'cuckooing' in reference to the cuckoo bird that invades and exploits another bird's nest (Buerger, 1992; Spicer et al., 2019). Various different actors, such as gangs, solo criminals and small-scale sellers, can be the perpetrators of home takeovers. Victims are typically targeted due

to their disabilities, which can include learning disabilities, mental illnesses and drug dependence, but perpetrators also target isolated elderly people, young people and formerly homeless people.

In Denmark, home takeovers by drug dealers are not a new phenomenon and, while survey findings indicate that this type of crime has increased in the last decade, it is nevertheless still only an occasional occurrence rather than a systemic issue. In Denmark, home takeovers happen predominantly in the large cities and less in provincial and rural areas. Perpetrators gain access to vulnerable individuals' homes through the use of various different tactics, such as breaking into a home in the occupants' absence (see also Spicer et al., 2019) or using threats or debts as leverage to gain access. Perpetrators also make use of more sophisticated methods. These include dealers gaining access under the false pretence of being a friend, a drug buddy or a person in need of help and only later setting up a dealing operation in the occupant's home. A home takeover is a complex phenomenon and can also happen through a process of 'quasi-cuckooing' (Spicer et al., 2019), whereby the host initially agrees to let a dealer enter his/her home in exchange for drugs or a small rent. While such relationships are initially mutually beneficial, they often evolve, with the host becoming uncomfortable with the dealer's presence. When hosts try to get a dealer to leave, there is a high risk of violence. The complex nature of home takeovers is illustrated in Figure 12.

FIGURE 12

Reasons why vulnerable individuals grant drug dealers access to their home

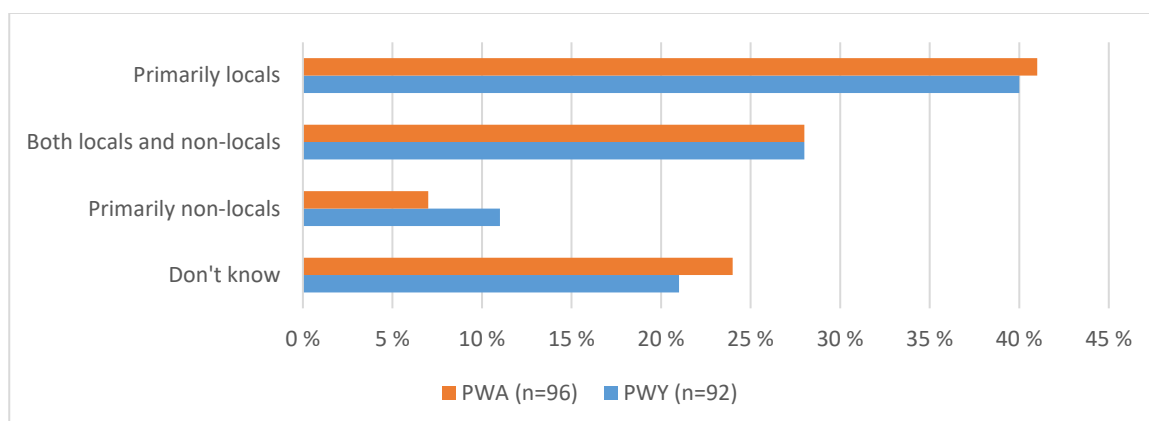


Based on features such as the social make-up of visitors and the types of activities undertaken within cuckooed homes, three main types of venues can be identified in Denmark. The first we

term ‘cuckooed crack or heroin houses’. These are flats or houses that have been taken over either by commercial dealers or by user-dealers supplying hard drugs such as crack and heroin. These venues typically also function as locations where intravenous injection takes place and marginalised drug users can hang out. As the use of crack and heroin is relatively low in Denmark, this type of drug venue remains relatively limited in number. The second type are ‘cuckooed hash clubs’ (not to be confused with cannabis social clubs (Decorte et al., 2017)). Here, a vulnerable adult or young person’s home is taken over by a commercial dealer or sometimes by a group of drug-using young people, who transform the resident’s home into an informal smokers’ lounge and a sales outlet for cannabis. This type of venue is frequented by recreational and dependent cannabis users. The final type we call ‘cuckooed pop-up dealing houses’. These venues function predominantly as commercial sales outlets and, while substance use can occur, they are generally not places where drug customers hang out. The term ‘pop-up’ refers to the temporary nature of the cuckooing period. In this type of cuckooing, residents’ homes are taken over and used as sales outlets for a short period until the dealer senses that the place is getting ‘hot’ (i.e. is likely to attract police attention), at which point the dealer jumps to a new ‘nest’.

To understand the prevalence of and variations in cuckooing, we need to understand how different forms of home takeovers fit within wider drug business models. In contrast with the UK county lines supply model, where the perpetrators are ‘out of town’ dealers who set up sales outposts in satellite towns by taking over vulnerable residents’ homes (Coomber & Moyle, 2018; Spicer et al., 2019), in Denmark, the use of cuckooing methods is predominantly a part of locally centred business models. As illustrated in Figure 13, in Denmark, ‘cuckoos’ are predominantly locals, sometimes from the same neighbourhood or housing estate as the person whose home is taken over.

FIGURE 13
Who are the perpetrators of home takeovers?



In Denmark, 'local cuckooing' (Spicer et al., 2019, p. 16) is fuelled more by traditional than by novel supply models. For example, cuckooed crack or heroin houses have long formed part of the crack and heroin street markets as a means of mitigating police interference. Cuckooed hash clubs can be seen as a mutation of a traditional supply trend that emerged in the 1990s and involved a proliferation of illegal indoor 'hash clubs', functioning as both smokers' lounges and commercial sales outlets (Frank, 2008). Cuckooed pop-up dealing houses can be seen as a market reaction to the passing of the so-called 'Hash Club Law' in 2001, which gave police new powers to close down and ban individuals from premises where it was suspected that drugs were being sold. While the passing of this law led to a drastic reduction in the number of hash clubs, the phenomenon did not disappear. Findings in this study indicate that some dealers instead became extra careful. Rather than using their own apartments as sales outlets, some started using the homes of vulnerable others.

Foreign nationals and asylum seekers

In this section, we focus on the criminal exploitation of asylum seekers and foreign nationals with a loose attachment to Denmark. This is a problem that has become more prevalent in recent decades as a consequence of globalisation and the recent migrant or refugee crisis in North Africa and Europe.

Trafficking of Vietnamese individuals

While commercial domestic production of cannabis remains low in Denmark compared with other European countries (EMCDDA & Europol, 2016), Danish police have, in recent years, reported that Vietnamese criminal groups play a key role in the increasing domestic cultivation of cannabis (Damløv, 2013; Moeller & Lindholst, 2014). From 2007 to 2013, Danish police discovered 154 so-called 'skunk farms' (i.e. high-density indoor commercial cannabis cultivation sites) and arrested 221 individuals, of whom 99 were Vietnamese (Damløv et al., 2013). According to police, Vietnamese crime groups are heavily involved in the trafficking of poor labourers from Vietnam to work at skunk farms in Denmark, and more recently in the trafficking of Vietnamese nationals holding EU passports from Czechia. However, findings from this study suggest that recent years have seen a decline in the trafficking of Vietnamese labourers to skunk farms in Denmark. According to police, one reason for this might be that Vietnamese criminal groups have started to sell their technical expertise in setting up cannabis farms to domestic criminal groups, who recruit vulnerable Danes as labourers. Similar trends have been identified in other European countries (EMCDDA & Europol, 2016).

Trafficking of West African nationals

During the last three decades, West African nationals have become heavily involved in street prostitution and street-level drug dealing in Vesterbro, the biggest open hard drug scene in Copenhagen. According to authorities, many of the West African women involved in prostitution are victims of human trafficking by Nigerian criminal groups, which are also believed to play a key role in the trafficking of cocaine into Europe from South America via West Africa. While authorities and humanitarian organisations have long tried to address the problem of female trafficking for prostitution, authorities and the media have traditionally seen West African men involved in street-level drug selling in Vesterbro as criminals, rather than as victims of trafficking (7). Findings from this study, however, indicate that many West African male street dealers in Vesterbro have also been trafficked and are caught up in similar debt bondages as the women. While the women are forced to pay off their debt through sex work, the men do so by selling drugs. Estimates from The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking suggest that West African women's average debt to traffickers is about EUR 30 000-50 000 and that it takes approximately 2-4 years to work off this debt. It is reasonable to assume that trafficked West African men have a similar debt. Thus, there seem to be close overlaps between trafficking for prostitution and the drugs trade. Not only are the same trafficking routes used to traffic women, drugs and drug labourers (e.g. 'sellers'), trafficked women are sometimes also forced to participate in the drug trade. In Denmark, for example, Nigerian women working as street prostitutes are sometimes forced to store drugs, in their mouth or pockets, for the West African male drug sellers, and trafficked Thai women working at 'massage parlours' are sometimes used as couriers to pass on drugs to drug-trading sex clients.

Undocumented migrants and asylum seekers

Another group of foreign nationals who are today exploited in the open drug scene in Vesterbro, Copenhagen, are young boys from North Africa, particularly Morocco and Algeria. In 2017, a street survey conducted by the municipality of Copenhagen and the Danish Red Cross showed that, of the 97 foreign nationals interviewed in the Vesterbro drug scene in a 4-week period, 28 % were unaccompanied minors, mostly from North Africa (Københavns Kommune, 2017). Investigative work conducted by The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking shows that many of these young boys have a history of living as street children, first in North Africa and later in Spain, Paris and the Netherlands, before making their way to Copenhagen. Many have been exploited and abused by criminal gangs in Spain and France and, while it is unclear to what extent they are victims of human trafficking, their route through Europe seems to correspond with the largest cannabis

(7) Police and the media played a key role in portraying West African drug sellers in Vesterbro as devious criminals, which in 1996 led to the passing of the 'Pusher Law,' which brought increased penalties for small-scale drug selling (Frantzen, 2006).

trafficking routes. In Denmark, these boys live a very vulnerable existence. Aside from being illegal migrants, many are functionally homeless and many speak only Arabic. They are therefore easy prey for local street gangs with whom they share the Arabic language. Findings show that these boys are exploited by gangs to sell and/or prepare drugs, to carry out burglaries and theft, and sometimes also to transport large quantities of drugs across Denmark or to other countries such as Sweden. Expert accounts suggest that criminal gangs groom the young boys, initially by offering them gifts such as new clothes, mobile phones and a place to stay, after which the boys are caught up in debt bondage. Some criminal gangs give the boys benzodiazepines (e.g. Rivotril) to make them more passive and malleable.

Aside from the unaccompanied minors from North Africa, reports also show that many street sellers in Vesterbro are vulnerable non-EU citizens, who either hold a residence permit in another EU country or are (rejected) asylum seekers in Denmark (Projekt Udenfor, 2012; København Kommune, 2017). The media and Danish authorities have historically tended to depict this group as criminal migrants who, as the Danish Minister of Justice put it in 2012, 'under the pretence of being refugees, travel here to make money from other people's misery' (Ministry of Justice, 2012). Findings from this study instead indicate that many are exploited and forced into drug selling by domestic criminal gangs that take advantage of their poverty, despair and precarious living conditions and, in the case of rejected asylum seekers, of their status as illegal migrants. Reports show that rejected asylum seekers, eager to stay in Denmark, are sometimes forced to sell drugs owing to threats that they will be reported to authorities if they do not sell the drugs, which is likely to result in deportation. While criminal recruitment of asylum seekers as drug sellers seems to be primarily a problem in the Copenhagen area, in some provincial parts of western Jutland, young asylum seekers are reported to be recruited by local criminals to work as drug runners.

Impacts of COVID-19

The data collection for this study was conducted before and after the COVID-19 pandemic hit Denmark in March 2020. Research shows that COVID-19, and related restrictions, has had a limited impact on the retail-level drug market in Denmark. In the early spring of 2020, the Danish drug market was characterised by a significant increase in the retail prices of cannabis resin, but only a slight increase in the retail prices of heroin, cocaine and synthetic drugs. During the same period, Denmark saw a significant decrease in the availability of cannabis resin, but only a slight decrease in the availability of heroin, cocaine and synthetic drugs (EMCDDA & Europol, 2020). Since May 2020, retail-level prices and the availability of all of the above-mentioned drugs have more or less normalised. Most of the experts interviewed for this study agreed that the sudden

increase in price and decrease in availability of cannabis resin in the early spring was primarily the result of law enforcement actions in Morocco and Spain and only to a small extent an effect of COVID-19 and related restrictions. Similarly, we did not find evidence indicating that COVID-19 and related restrictions had affected the levels or modes of drug-related criminal exploitation of vulnerable populations in Denmark.

Conclusion

This study found that recent decades have seen a growth in experienced criminals' exploitation of vulnerable young people and adults for drug-related crimes in Denmark. A key factor fuelling this development is that the drug market has become increasingly fragmented and competitive, leading more gangs and criminals to recruit and exploit vulnerable individuals as part of their expansionist strategies to secure market shares. Other factors that appear to be playing a role in this area include the proliferation of more labour-intensive supply models and market reactions to more repressive drug and gang policies.

While the Danish drug market has become increasingly competitive, we did not find evidence of a situation akin to that in the United Kingdom, where inner-city drug market saturation has led to the emergence of a 'county lines supply model', involving significant numbers of urban dealers setting up sales outposts in satellite provincial towns and rural areas with less competition. Although recent years have seen a number of developments in the Danish retail drug market, with dealers starting to send drugs to customers via postal services and to provide mid-range and long-distance deliveries of drugs by car, the Danish retail market is still dominated by local supply models. At street level, distribution is thus still primarily conducted by local actors who operate within a relatively limited geographical area, such as a particular town or city and its surrounding areas.

In Denmark, increased market competition has thus not resulted in a radical new retail market geography. Increased competition has created a situation in which more dealers have started to compete for customers by providing customer-oriented services. A key finding in this study is that dealers' adaptation of providing more customer-oriented services has functioned as a catalyst for increased exploitation, in particular of vulnerable young people. Dealers' attempts to attract customers by providing rapid delivery services have resulted in a rise in the recruitment of vulnerable young people as drug runners. Furthermore, dealers' provision of convenient and app-based payment services to customers has also been coupled with increased exploitation of young people (and their bank accounts) as digital money mules.

Related to this, another key finding is that the increased technological mediation of drug transactions has opened up new ways in which vulnerable persons are being exploited. Aside from being used as money mules, findings show that drug-indebted vulnerable persons, in particular, are at risk of having their identities and creditworthiness exploited as a means of paying off drug debts, to produce quick cash and to function as official owners of local drug lines or as recipients of large quantities of drugs purchased by criminal others on online cryptomarkets. Given the growing importance of digital technologies in drug trading, there is a need for more knowledge about how online drug trading might result in enhanced or novel ways of vulnerable populations being exploited.

Similar to the situation in the United Kingdom (Coomber, 2015), the Danish drug market is highly differentiated, with no unified market and no single supply model, but rather a series of loosely interlinked local and regional markets and multiple supply models. In this report, we have shown that there continues to be a need to focus on how vulnerable populations are exploited in relation to traditional drug market supply models and activities, such as street sales, the storage and transportation of drugs, and home takeovers for drug sales. Owing to globalisation and the recent migrant/refugee crisis in North Africa and Europe, there is also a need to focus on how (illegal) migrants and asylum seekers represent a particularly vulnerable group who are easy prey for gangs and experienced criminals.

Policy responses

In Denmark, policymakers have often responded to public accounts of criminal exploitation of vulnerable populations by calling for harsher punishment and more repressive policies (e.g. Maach, 2016a). As illustrated in this study, however, repressive policies can inadvertently exacerbate drug market harms, as experienced criminals become more eager to shift apprehension risks downwards to those lower in the organisational hierarchy or otherwise uninvolved in drug distribution. It is therefore important that policies in this area are developed and implemented with their possible wider and non-linear consequences in mind. Furthermore, where necessary, mitigating measures need to be introduced that reduce the possibility of enforcement practices having a detrimental impact on the lives of vulnerable young people and adults. To reduce criminal exploitation of vulnerable populations, there is also a need for policies that address the root causes of drug trading and gang culture by focusing on tackling social and economic marginalisation.

Currently, no centralised register or data regarding criminal exploitation of vulnerable populations exist in Denmark. There is therefore also a need for better registering and monitoring of

'exploitation events', as this will give a better overview of the situation and will provide the possibility of tracking changes in the patterns of exploitation. Furthermore, there is a need for more statutory safeguarding processes and multi-agency support to protect and prevent harm to vulnerable young people and adults at risk from criminal exploitation. A crucial aspect of this is close collaboration between police and social services, as well as further engagement with and the education of frontline professionals as regards how to spot victims of criminal exploitation who might not always fully meet the parameters of traditional notions of 'vulnerability' and the 'ideal victim' (Windle et al., 2020). It is, for instance, important that frontline professionals realise that exploitation is sometimes a complex and messy process, and that just because a young person or a vulnerable adult receives something (e.g. money or drugs) in return for something (their labour), this does not necessarily make that person any less a victim (see also Robinson et al., 2019).

References

- Aldridge, J. and Askew, R. (2017), 'Delivery dilemmas: how drug cryptomarket users identify and seek to reduce their risk of detection by law enforcement', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 41, pp. 101-109.
- Bakken, S. A. and Demant, J. (2019), 'Sellers' risk perceptions in public and private social media drug markets', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 73, pp. 255-262.
- Balvig, F. (2005), 'When law and order returned to Denmark', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 5(2), pp. 167-187.
- Benjaminsen, L., Enemark, M. H. and Jeppesen, T. (2020), *Hjemløshed i ungdommen — En registerbaseret undersøgelse af unges forløb før og efter en hjemløshedssituation*, VIVE — The Danish Center for Social Science Research, Copenhagen. pp. 1-158.
- Buchanan, A. (1985), *Ethics, efficiency and the market*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Buerger, M (1992), 'Defensive strategies of the street-level drug trade', *Journal of Crime and Justice* 15(2), pp. 31-51.
- Butera, J-A. (2013), *Cuckooing: home takeovers of vulnerable tenants*, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON (<https://www.homelesshub.ca/resource/cuckooing-home-takeovers-vulnerable-tenants>).
- Buus, C. (2017), *De hjemløse i Odense bliver afpresset af Black Army til at udlevere deres penge. Hvis ikke de gør det, får de tæsk*, Tv2, 13.3.2017, <https://nyheder.tv2.dk/samfund/2017-03-13-black-army-til-hjemloese-giv-os-penge-eller-bliv-pusher>
- Caspersen, S. (2018), *Fattigdom i Danmark — Sørgelig rekord: Der har aldrig været flere fattige børn*, Arbejdsbevægelsens Erhvervsråd, Copenhagen.
- Coomber, R. (2015), 'A tale of two cities: understanding differences in levels of heroin/crack market-related violence—a two city comparison', *Criminal Justice Review* 40, pp. 7-31.
- Coomber, R. and Moyle, L. (2018), 'The changing shape of street-level heroin and crack supply in England: commuting, holidaying and cuckooing drug dealers across "county lines"', *British Journal of Criminology* 58, pp. 1323-1342.
- Damløv, L. (2013), *Vietnamesere dyrker hash for rockere i Danmark*, DR.dk, 29.9.2013, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/vietnamesere-dyrker-hash-rockere-i-danmark>.

Damløv, L., Vithner, J. and Fried, J. D. (2013), *Sådan spotter du en skunkfarm*, DR.dk, 10.10.2013, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/saadan-spotter-du-en-skunkfarm>

Decorte, T., Pardal, M., Queirolo, R., Boidi, M. F., Sánchez Avilés, C. and Parés Franquero, Ó. (2017), 'Regulating cannabis social clubs: a comparative analysis of legal and self-regulatory practices in Spain, Belgium and Uruguay', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 43, pp. 44-56.

DR.dk (2016), *Forsker: Bander udnytter at unge hjemløse er desperate*, 2.12.2016, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/forsker-bander-udnytter-unge-hjemloese-er-desperate>

EMCDDA (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction) (2018), *Trendspotter manual: a handbook for the rapid assessment of emerging drug-related trends*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg (https://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/manuals/trendspotter-manual_en).

EMCDDA and Europol (2016), *EU drug markets report: in-depth analysis*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg (https://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/joint-publications/eu-drug-markets-2016-in-depth-analysis_en).

EMCDDA and Europol (2019), *EU drug markets report*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg (https://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/joint-publications/eu-drug-markets-report-2019_en).

EMCDDA and Europol (2020), *EU drug markets: impact of COVID-19*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg (https://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/joint-publications/eu-drug-markets-impact-of-covid-19_en).

Fader, J. J. (2016), "Selling smarter, not harder": life course effects on drug sellers' risk perceptions and management', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 36, pp. 120-129.

Finnemann, A. and Mikaelson, H. N. (2020), *Trusler fra bander blusser op igen: Fem hjemløse er gået under jorden*, DR.dk, 12.7.2020, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/trusler-fra-bander-blusser-op-igen-fem-hjemloese-er-gaaet-under-jorden>

Frank, V. A. (2008), 'Danish drug policy — shifting from liberalism to repression', *Drugs and Alcohol Today* 8(2), pp. 26-33.

Frantzsen, E. (2006), *Narkojakt på Gateplan. Om politikontroll av narkotika på Vesterbro*, PhD thesis, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen.

Hejlskov, H. and Birk, C. (2020), *Bander i Odense truer socialt udsatte på liv og lemmer: »Det handler om penge og narkomarkedet«*, Berlingske Tidende, 20.9.2020,

<https://www.berlingske.dk/samfund/bander-i-odense-truer-socialt-udsatte-paa-liv-og-lemmer-det-handler-om>

Höegh, B. E. and Moll, J. B. (2012), *I TUSMØRKET. Jagten på penge i den hvide heroins by*, People's Press, Copenhagen.

Jacobs, B. A. (1996), 'Crack dealers' apprehension avoidance techniques: a case of restrictive deterrence', *Justice Quarterly* 13(3), pp. 359-381.

Johnson, B. D. and Natarajan, M. (1995), 'Strategies to avoid arrest: crack sellers' response to intensified policing', *American Journal of Police* 14(3/4), pp. 49-69.

Korshøj, N. (2020), *From thought to action in 20 minutes — when the temptation is right at your hand. A study of the increased accessibility and availability of cocaine through delivery-services*, master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Social Work, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark.

Københavns Kommune (2017), *Afrapportering på samarbejde mellem Dansk Røde Kors og Socialforvaltningen august 2017*, Københavns Kommune, Copenhagen.

Lauritzen, K. B. and Østergaard, E. E. (2016), *Bander presser unge hjemløse til at blive hashpushere*, Berlingske Tidende, 1.12.2016, <https://www.berlingske.dk/samfund/bander-presser-unge-hjemloese-til-at-blive-hashpushere>

LCIK (Landsdækkende Center for It-relateret økonomisk Kriminalitet) (2019), *Unge muldyr. Profilerings af 12-25-årige muldyr i Danmark*, Rigspolitiet, Copenhagen.

Leukfeldt, R. and Jansen, J. (2015), 'Cyber criminal networks and money mules: an analysis of low-tech and high-tech fraud attacks in the Netherlands', *International Journal of Cyber Criminology* 9(2), pp. 173-184.

Maach, M. L. (2016a), *Justitsminister Søren Pape: Jeg garanterer, vi kommer efter banderne*, DR.dk, 2.12.2016, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/justitsminister-soeren-pape-jeg-garanterer-vi-kommer-efter-banderne>

Maach, M. L. (2016b), *Politiet: Banders brug af hjemløse handler ikke om Pusher Street*, DR.dk, 2.12.2016, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/politiet-banders-brug-af-hjemloese-handler-ikke-om-pusher-street>

Marthin, J. (2016), *Hashsalget er rykket længere ud på voldene*, City Avisen, 14.12.2016, <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/link?articles=e606ddf7>

May, T. and Hough, M. (2004), 'Drug markets and distribution systems', *Addiction Research & Theory* 12(6), pp. 549-563.

McLean, R., Robinson, G. and Densley, J. A. (2020), *County lines: criminal networks and evolving drug markets in Britain*, Springer, Cham, Switzerland.

Ministry of Justice (2012), *Bødskov: Indsatsen mod kriminelle asylansøgere styrkes*, <https://www.justitsministeriet.dk/pressemeddelelse/boedskov-indsatsen-mod-kriminelle-asylansoegere-styrkes/>

Moeller, K. (2012), 'Costs and revenues in street-level cannabis dealing', *Trends in Organized Crime* 15, pp. 31-46.

Moeller, K. (2017), 'Cannabis sales and immigrant youth gangs in Denmark. An exploratory study of market structure and youth gang evolution', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 18(1), pp. 20-34.

Moeller, K. and Lindholst, C. (2014), 'Sanctioning large-scale domestic cannabis production: potency, yield, and professionalism', *Scandinavian Journal of Forensic Science* 20(1), pp. 20-27.

Moyle, L. (2019), 'Situating vulnerability and exploitation in street-level drug markets: cuckooing, commuting, and the "county lines" drug supply model', *Journal of Drug Issues* 49(4), pp. 739-755.

Møller, E. (2020), Politiet: Narkohandlere tvang kvinde til at være hashbud, Tv-Syd, 5.2.2020, <https://www.tvsyd.dk/horsens/otte-maend-faengslet-i-stor-narkosag>

Møller, K. (2013), 'Drugs and organized crime in Denmark — recent developments and priorities', in Töttel, U., Bulanova-Hristova, G. and Büchler, H. (eds.), *Research conference on organized crime at the Bundeskriminalamt in Germany (Vol. II) 2011-2012: organised crime — research and practice in Western and Northern Europe*, Wolters Kluwer, Cologne, Germany, pp. 174-192.

Odense Kommune (2018), Hjemløs og bander. Odense står sammen mod banderne: Styrker forebyggelse og hjælp til ofre og udsatte, 22.3.2018, <https://www.odense.dk/presse/pressemeddelelser/pressemeddelelser-2018/odense-staar-sammen-mod-banderne-styrker-forebyggelse-og-hjaelp-til-ofre-og-udsatte>

Odense Kommune (2020), 'Spørgeskema — afrapportering'. Beskæftigelses- og Socialforvaltningen, Odense Kommune, Odense.

Pedersen, K. F. (2020), Medlem af »Porsche-banden« dømt for at sælge kokain: »Jeg skyldte dem penge«, *Skive Folkeblad*, 6.5.2020, <https://www.skivefolkeblad.dk/artikel/medlem-af-porsche-banden-domt-saelge-kokain-jeg-skyldte-dem-penge>

Pedersen, M. L. (2014), Veje ind i og veje ud af rocker- og bandemiljøer En interviewundersøgelse, Justitsministeriets Forskningskontor, Copenhagen.

Pedersen, M. U., Pedersen, M. M. and del Palacio Gonzalez, A. (2020), Trivsel og brug af rusmidler blandt danske unge: 2014/2015 til 2019, Faglig rapport fra Center for Rusmiddelforskning, Aarhus Universitet, Aarhus, Denmark.

Pedersen, P. V., Holst, M., Davidsen, M. and Juel, K. (2012), SUSY UDSAT 2012: Sundhedsprofil for socialt udsatte i Danmark 2012 og udviklingen siden 2007, Statens Institut for Folkesundhed, Syddansk Universitet & Rådet for Socialt Udsatte, Copenhagen, <https://viden.sl.dk/artikler/voksne/socialt-udsatte/susy-udsat-2012/>

Projekt Udenfor (2012), Del 1: Rapport om hjemløse migranter i København. Migranternes problematikker og behov, Fonden projekt UDENFOR, Copenhagen.

Robinson, G., McLean, R. and Densley, J. (2019), 'Working county lines: child criminal exploitation and illicit drug dealing in Glasgow and Merseyside', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 63, pp. 694-711.

Spicer, J., Moyle, L. and Coomber, R. (2019), 'The variable and evolving nature of "cuckooing" as a form of criminal exploitation in street level drug markets', *Trends in Organized Crime* 23, pp. 301-323.

Søgaard, T. F. (2019a), 'Buyer motives for sourcing illegal drugs from "drop-off" delivery dealers', in Kaló, Z., Tieberghien, J. and Korf, D. J. (eds.), *Why? Explanations for drug use and drug dealing in social drug research*, Pabst Science Publishers, Lengerich, Germany, pp. 123-136.

Søgaard, T. F. (2019b), 'Drop-off drug distribution: why users choose to source illegal drugs from delivery dealers', *Nordic Journal of Criminology* 20(2), pp. 213-222.

Søgaard, T. F., Kolind, T., Haller, M. B. and Hunt, G. (2019), 'Ring and bring drug services: delivery dealing and the social life of a drug phone', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 69, pp. 8-15.

Sørensen, C. M. (2017), Black Army afpresser hjemløse til at blive pusher for banden, *Jyllands-Posten*, 13.3.2017, <https://jyllands-posten.dk/indland/politiretsvaesen/ECE9426923/black-army-afpresser-hjemloese-til-at-blive-pusher-for-banden/>

Windle, J., Moyle, L. and Coomber, R. (2020), "'Vulnerable" kids going country: children and young people's involvement in county lines drug dealing', *Youth Justice* 20(1-2), pp. 64-78.

Appendix: Survey questions

Velkommen!

Dette spørgeskema skal kortlægge mønstre og regionale forskelle i narkotikakriminelles udnyttelse af udsatte unge og voksne, samt flowet af illegale rusmidler fra storbyer til mindre by- og landområder.

Med begrebet "udsatte" forstår vi personer, hvis liv påvirkes negativt af en kombination af problemer som svigtende tilknytning til uddannelsessystemet eller arbejdsmarkedet, et markant forbrug af rusmidler, kriminalitet, psykiske udfordringer, usikre boligforhold og familiemæssige konflikter.

På forhånd tak!

Baggrundsoplysninger

Hvilken profession/interessegruppe repræsenterer du? (vælg det der passer bedst på dig).

- Politi
- Rusmiddelbehandler
- Socialarbejder
- Interesseorganisation
- Hjælpeorganisation
- Gadejurist
- Psykiatrien
- Boligforening
- Andet _____

Hvor i Danmark udøver du dit virke?

- Region Nordjylland
- Region Midt
- Region Syddanmark
- Region Sjælland
- Region Hovedstaden
- Hele landet

I hvilke kommune(r) arbejder/virker du? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Liste med samtlige kommuner i Danmark

Hvilke borgere arbejder du med og/eller har viden om?

- Både unge og voksne
- Udelukkende unge (op til 25 år)
- Udelukkende voksne (over 25 år)

I det følgende spørges der ind til unge. Dvs. personer op til 25 år.

Der bliver spurgt ind til situationen i det område, hvor du arbejder eller bedriver dit virke (dit område).

Udsatte unges salg af stoffer for kriminelle andre.

Har du hørt om konkrete unge i dit område, som har solgt stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvilke stoffer sælger unge i dit område for kriminelle andre? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Cannabis
- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin
- Heroin
- Andre opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" unge at sælge for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet til det
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete unge, der sælger for kriminelle?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Hvordan sælger unge stoffer for kriminelle andre? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- I vennekreds
- På gaden (fx et gadehjørne el. park)
- Som bude
- Fra bolig
- Ved værested/institution for udsatte borgere
- Ved skole
- Online

- Ved private fester
- På natklubber el. barer
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

De konkrete unge, der sælger for kriminelle, hvor gamle er de? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Under 10 år
- 10-14 år
- 15-19 år
- 20-25 år
- Ved ikke

I dit område, hvor ofte sker det, at de unge, som sælger for kriminelle andre, er under 14 år?

- Meget ofte
- Ofte
- Nogle gange
- Sjældent
- Ved ikke

Personer som sælger stoffer i dit område, er de primært lokale eller ikke-lokale?

- Sælgerne er ofte ikke-lokale
- Sælgerne er BÅDE lokale og ikke-lokale
- Sælgerne er primært lokale
- Ved ikke

Udkigs- og advarselspost for kriminelle andre (fx. hashvagter)

Har du hørt om konkrete unge, der har fungeret som udkigs- og advarselsposter for narkotikasælgere?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvorfor "vælger" udsatte unge at være udkigsposter for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet til det
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete unge, der er udkigspost for kriminelle?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

De konkrete unge, der er udkigsposter for kriminelle, hvor gamle er de? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Under 10 år
- 10-14 år

- 15-19 år
- 20-25 år
- Ved ikke

Unges opbevaring af stoffer for kriminelle andre.

Har du hørt om konkrete unge, som har opbevaret stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvilke stoffer opbevarer unge typisk for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Cannabis
- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin
- Heroin
- Andre opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" konkrete unge at opbevare stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet til det
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete unge, der har opbevaret stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Hvor opbevarer unge stoffer for kriminelle andre? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Eget hjem
- Forældres hjem
- Venners hjem
- Kærestes hjem
- På institution (fx. botilbud, værested, behandlingsinstitution)
- På skole
- I det fri (fx. park, skov, forladt bygning, gemmested på gaden)
- Egen krop (fx. lommer, mund)
- Andet _____

- Ved ikke

Unges transport af stoffer for kriminelle andre

Har du hørt om konkrete unge, som har transporteret stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvilke stoffer transporterer unge typisk for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Cannabis
- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin
- Heroin
- Andre opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" konkrete unge at transportere stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

De konkrete unge, som transporterer stoffer for kriminelle, hvor gamle er de? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- Under 10 år
- 10-14 år
- 15-19 år
- 20-25 år
- Ved ikke

I dit område, hvor ofte sker det, at de unge, som transporterer stoffer for kriminelle andre, er under 14 år?

- Ja
- Meget ofte
- Ofte
- Nogle gange
- Sjældent
- Ved ikke

Hvor langt transporterer unge stofferne?

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt konkrete unge, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle inden for bygrænsen af dit område?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete unge, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle mellem nærliggende byer el. områder?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete unge, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle mellem fjerntliggende byer el. områder?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange.
- 6 eller flere gange

Er det mere eller mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden, at udsatte unge transporterer stoffer for kriminelle andre?

- Mere udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Det samme
- Mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Ved ikke

Overtagelse af unges bolig til salg af stoffer

Har du hørt om kriminelle, der har brugt konkrete unges bolig til salg af stoffer?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvorfor "vælger" konkrete unge at give kriminelle adgang til/brugsret over deres bolig? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- For at tjene penge
- For selv få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- De hjælper venner
- De hjælper familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De blive snydt til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om, at kriminelle har forsøgt at omdanne konkrete unges bolig til et salgssted?

- Ingen gange

- En gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

De kriminelle, som forsøger at omdanne udsatte unges bolig til et salgssted, er de primært lokale eller ikke-lokale?

- De kriminelle er primært lokale
- De kriminelle er BÅDE lokale og ikke-lokale
- De kriminelle er primært ikke-lokale
- Ved ikke

Gæld & vold

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete unge, som har narkotikagæld til kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete unge, som er blev udsat for vold ifm. inddrivelse af narkotikagæld?

- Ja
- Nej

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete unge, som er blevet afpresset til at begå kriminalitet for at betale af på narkotikagæld?

- Ja
- Nej

I det følgende spørges der ind til udsatte voksne. Dvs. personer over 25 år.

Der bliver spurgt ind til situationen i det område, hvor du arbejder eller bedriver dit virke (dit område).

Udsatte voksnes salg af stoffer for kriminelle andre

Har du hørt om konkrete voksne, der har solgt stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvilke stoffer sælger udsatte voksne typisk for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Cannabis
- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin

- Heroin
- Ander opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" udsatte voksne at sælge for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Howdan sælger udsatte voksne stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser).

- I vennekreds
- På gaden (fx. et gadehjørne el. park)
- Som bude
- Fra egen bolig
- Fra andres bolig
- Ved værested/institution for udsatte borgere
- Ved skole
- Online
- Private fester
- Natklubber & barer
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om, at konkrete udsatte voksne har solgt for kriminelle?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

De personer, som sælger stoffer i dit område, er de primært lokale eller ikke-lokale?

- Sælgerne er ofte ikke-lokale
- Sælgerne er BÅDE lokale og ikke-lokale
- Sælgerne er primært lokale
- Ved ikke

<p>Udsatte voksnes opbevaring af stoffer for kriminelle andre</p>
--

Har du hørt om konkrete udsatte voksne, der har opbevaret stoffer for kriminelle andre?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvilke stoffer opbevarer udsatte voksne typisk for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Cannabis

- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin
- Heroin
- Andre opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" udsatte voksne at opbevare stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingen
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om, at konkrete udsatte voksne har opbevaret stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Hvor opbevarer udsatte voksne typisk stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Eget hjem
- Forældres hjem
- Venners hjem
- Kæresters hjem
- Ved institution (fx. botilbud, værested, behandlingsinstitution)
- På skole
- I det fri (fx. park, skov, forladt bygning, gemmested på gaden)
- Egen krop (fx. lommer, mund)
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Er det mere eller mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden, at udsatte voksne opbevarer stoffer for kriminelle?

- Mere udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Det samme
- Mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Ved ikke

<p>Udsatte voksnes transport af stoffer for kriminelle andre</p>

Har du hørt om konkrete udsatte voksne, der har transporteret stoffer for kriminelle?

- Ja

- Nej

Hvilke stoffer transporterer udsatte voksne typisk for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- Cannabis
- Ecstasy/MDMA
- Kokain (sniffe fx. pulver, krystaller)
- Crack kokain (ryge kokain)
- Amfetamin
- Metamfetamin
- Heroin
- Andre opioider (fx ketogan, morfin, fentanyl, metadon, oxycontin, codein)
- Benzodiazepiner, valium, ritalin
- LSD/svampe
- Steroider
- Lightergas
- Lattergas
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvorfor "vælger" udsatte voksne at transportere stoffer for kriminelle? (sæt gerne flere krydser)

- For at tjene penge
- For selv at få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingens skyld
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Hvor langt transporterer udsatte voksne stoffer for kriminelle andre?

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete udsatte voksne, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle inden for bygrænsen i dit område?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete udsatte voksne, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle mellem nærliggende byer el. områder?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om konkrete udsatte voksne, der transporterer stoffer for kriminelle mellem fjerntliggende byer el. områder?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

Overtagelse af udsatte voksnes bolig til salg af stoffer

Har du hørt om kriminelle, der har brugt konkrete udsatte voksnes bolig til salg af stoffer?

- Ja
- Nej

Hvorfor "vælger" udsatte voksne at give kriminelle adgang til/brugsret over deres bolig? (sæt gerne flere kryds).

- For at tjene penge
- For selv få adgang til (billige) stoffer
- For spændingen
- For at hjælpe venner
- For at hjælpe familie
- De bliver lokket til det
- De blive snydt til det
- De bliver truet
- For at arbejde af på gæld
- Andet _____
- Ved ikke

Inden for det sidste år, hvor ofte har du hørt om, at kriminelle har forsøgt at omdanne konkrete udsatte voksnes bolig til et salgssted?

- Ingen gange
- Én gang
- 2-5 gange
- 6 eller flere gange

De kriminelle, som forsøger at omdanne udsatte voksnes bolig til et salgssted, er de primært lokale eller ikke-lokale?

- De kriminelle er primært lokale
- De kriminelle er BÅDE lokale og ikke-lokale
- De kriminelle er primært ikke-lokale
- Ved ikke

Er det mere eller mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden, at kriminelle forsøger at omdanne udsatte voksnes bolig til et salgssted?

- Mere udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Det samme
- Mindre udbredt i dag end for 10 år siden
- Ved ikke

Gæld & vold

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete voksne, som har narkotikagæld til kriminelle?

- Ja
- Nej

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete voksne, som er blevet udsat for vold ifm. inddrivelse af narkotikagæld?

- Ja
- Nej

Inden for det sidste år, har du hørt om konkrete voksne, som er blevet afpresset til at begå kriminalitet for at betale af på narkotikagæld?

- Ja
- Nej